

# STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

## S. D. S. BULLETIN

Vol. 2, No. 2

November, 1963

### ARRESTS HIGHLIGHT VIETNAM

#### CAMBRIDGE:

##### A Report

by Carl Wittman

Aside from being the focus of national attention for weeks this summer as one of the "hot spots" of the Negro movement, Cambridge was a laboratory/workshop in social change for seven Swarthmore volunteer workers on the SNCC project there this summer.

As a background to a discussion of what liberal/radical students did and can do in Cambridge, it is important to know the history of the Negro movement there. The first stage lasted from the arrival of SNCC secretaries (in Dec. 1961) until Spring of 1962 and involved a demand for open accommodations, particularly in restaurants. Tactics, which included picketing and negotiating, were carried on by local people, with the help of the sometimes-present secretaries, and weekend as-

(cont. p. 12)

#### DEMONSTRATIONS

by Doug Ireland

A demonstration organized by the Student Peace Union in conjunction with SDS on Oct. 18 led to the arrest of seven picketers, including two SDSers. The occasion for the protest was the appearance of Mme. Nhu at the National Press Club.

The demonstration, which was endorsed by the Howard U. paper, began at the White House at 10:30 a.m. and moved to the Press Club at 11:15. Washington police debated the legality of the picket line with monitors while FBI photographers took pictures

(cont. p. 6)

#### INSIDE

- pp. 2-5--Chapter reports
- pp. 7-9--News from the campus and elsewhere
- p. 10--Mississippi freedom vote
- pp. 10-11--the Harlem Education Project
- pp. 14-16--Selma, Ala.: A Special Report
- pp. 17-18--Cuban Travellers: Views & Defense
- p. 18--Civil Rights and the Mass Media
- pp. 19-20--Up-to-date Literature List

### 2 MILLION SOUTH AFRICANS WILL DIE . . .

...or suffer permanent effects of grave malnutrition as a result of a two-year old famine occurring in the Transvaal section of that country. Only world-wide aid, solicited by the South African regime and charitable agencies, could prevent such a disaster. But instead of making such an appeal (or buying grain from North America), the Verwoerd government has done everything possible, including threatening the field workers of charitable agencies and churches which might publicize conditions, to hush up the catastrophe so that it could not be used against it overseas by those opposing its policy of racial segregation (apartheid) and exploitation. Ministers are prevented from rejoining their congregations after leaving the Transvaal for a few weeks; foreign newsmen and photographers are barred from many areas; natives and even visitors are beaten or shot at by heavily armed and touchy police--this is the Verwoerd regime's response to conditions which have caused thousands of Africans to be reduced to a weekly diet of three meals thin porridge, and millions to be threatened (and many already visited) by death and deformity.

This regime is supported by the US (despite anti-apartheid statements), which refuses to enact against South Africa the sort of measures which have almost completely closed Cuba off from American commerce. In next month's Bulletin an article will appear on conditions in this segregationist country which depends so much for its existence on American business, financial, political, and diplomatic support.

# CHAPTER REPORTS

(Editor's note: The following chapter reports are generally taken from letters and reports of activity by the leaders of the respective groups. We always want very much to publish news of what SDS members, whether or not organized into a chapter, are doing. More chapter activity is reported in the Vietnam story (pp. 1, 6-7).

## JOHNS HOPKINS / GOUCHER

by Kim Moody

We started the year by having introductory meetings at Hopkins and Goucher and a booth on Student Activities Day at Hopkins, which helped to make us known. Since then we have had two business meetings and have about doubled our membership (now 25). SDS has picked up the peace issue here, after participating in a caucus to abolish the SPU chapter, a move prefaced by a good deal of discussion and what we believe to be some sound thought on the role of students in politics. A two-part article on the thought behind this will be published in the Hopkins News-Letter, and will be forwarded for the Discussion Bulletin.

Projected is a public educational series which may in part be carried on with local NSM and other campuses--especially Morgan State (a Negro college) and Goucher. Another project now being investigated is a Baltimore SDS newspaper, a real newsprint job if possible but mimeo or printed if necessary. If these two projects can be swung, there is no doubt that we can double our membership again.

In the way of action, we provided about 35 of 45 participants in a picket line demanding clemency for the Giles-Johnson youths. This is a case in which 3 Negro youths are condemned to die for the rape of a white girl. New evidence produced by the Giles-Johnson Defense Comm. has shown that they are clearly not guilty. Gov. Tawes has commuted all three sentences to life imprisonment, which will silence a lot of protest since most will forget that they don't even deserve any sentence. We also took 20 people down to the rally part of the Oct. 18 Washington Vietnam demonstration. Naturally we are also getting people out to CORE demonstrations and to the NSM tutorial.

## UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN (VOICE)

by Barbara Steinberg

Most of our recent activity has been in ideas rather than action... Our Economics and Labor Committee is investigating Ann Arbor price structures--rents, prices for books and groceries, etc.--and when we get a final report from them, we will probably put together a definite program... During the next eight weeks (following Oct. 21) VOICE is sponsoring a Documentary Film Festival--films from the UAW, the American Friends Service Committee, and various other organizations will be shown free, on campus, every Thursday night... VOICE members are participating in the Culture Club's tutorial, which has grown fantastically and caused a good deal of interest and participation among previously uncommitted people... VOICE Civil Liberties Committee brought Mike Brown, one of the students who broke the Cuba travel ban, to speak here... The Civil Rights Committee sponsored Fred Feckheimer, a law student here and one of those arrested in Americus (Ga.) to speak... We had a campus demonstration on Vietnam, attended by over 400 people, more than 50 of whom stayed for 2½ hours to carry on discussion and dialogue with the speakers. (First time really good discussion got going with non-VOICE people!)

## U. OF RHODE ISLAND

Students for Democratic Action (the URI SDS group) held an open meeting Oct. 10, at which National Secretary Lee Webb spoke with considerable success to 35 people. At present, there are 15 SDS members in the group, though there has been no formal membership drive. An organizational meeting is scheduled for the last week in October to determine a schedule for the year.

Individual members of the chapter have been very active in various aspects of the campus' life. As part of the activity of the local civil rights group, in which many SDSers are active, Andy Colonna headed a "Food for Freedom" drive. In recent campus elections, candidates endorsed by Focus (a newly formed political party lead by SDSers) took 12 of the 30 seats in student government. (23 candidates had been endorsed.) Al Szymanski is editor of the campus political magazine, Outlook, which

(cont. next page)

# SDS LOCAL GROUPS

## SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

by Carl Wittman

should have its first issue published by the end of November.

SDS members are active members of Dialogue, a campus political organization concerned with presenting issues on campus. Nada Chandler is chairman of the speakers' series which will bring, among others, Tom Cornell (Catholic Worker) and Paul Goodberg (Provisional Student Civil Liberties Co-ordinating Committee) to campus this semester.

In the recent censorship controversy at URI, involving the campus magazine's having been prevented from using the word "Wfuck" in the context of a story, SDS members have worked with the student government and the campus paper in defense of academic freedom.

by Nada Chandler

## VASSAR COLLEGE

by Nancy Jarvis

The Vassar C. SDS chapter, which recently changed its name from Organization for Political Awareness to SDS, is involved mainly in trying to introduce issues onto campus, and also in civil rights work. Each week's "Vassar Miscellany News" (the campus paper) has at least one letter to the editor from an SDS member; and since the paper's editor and some staff members are SDS members, there is opportunity for expression of SDS concerns in the news and feature columns and editorial page of the paper as well. In addition, the chapter is seeking ways of injecting issues into classroom discussions, and some faculty members are willing to do this if they are provided with bibliographies and other materials. A projected chapter-published newsletter should help outreach efforts.

Chapter members are active in the work of the Vassar Civil Rights Committee, which conducts a tutorial in Poughkeepsie and which is trying to involve itself more in the Negro community there, despite some opposition from the civil rights organizations there, which would seem to prefer that Vassar students do no more than babysit for prospective voters while they go to register.

Two major projects on the radical fires at Swarthmore are Chester and dining-room construction. The Chester project has been the failing and immature baby of the Political Action Club (SDS affiliate) for 3 years now, but perhaps adolescence is setting in. Over the summer, the more radical young Negroes of the Chester, Pa. (66,000 population, 40% Negro; 2 miles from Swarthmore) NAACP broke away and formed the Young Adults Council. In September, they called a march on Chester; and although only 300 showed up, it boosted morale and picketing for fair employment has continued since. In Chester, wanting to move after an exciting and stimulating last semester at Cambridge (see report on p. 1), we have organized a survey. The objects of the survey are: (1) to get Swarthmore students into the ghetto to talk to people, begin to open their ideas on the problems and sobering realities of the movement; (2) to find accurate information on housing, politics, employment and attitudes (we're covering  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the houses in the Negro wards, with a 20-minute questionnaire); (3) to get to know the local Negro kids, who are helping with the survey; (4) to keep interest high in the Negro community, and keep ourselves in touch with it.

We launched the survey last Sunday (Oct. 20), after two map-making and reconnaissance trips. Eight of us and six local Negroes set out and covered thirty households, with generally positive response. We've discovered that single interviewers are better than teams, and color makes little difference. Three days later a group of four continued, and we had a training session that night, which 35 attended. Enthusiasm was high.

A committee is researching into discrimination in dining-room construction. As usual, the issue is fuzzy; and the resulting discussion has brought forth much valuable thought: conflicting loyalties to the college; possibilities of no change at all, no matter what we do; fears of consequences; morality of various techniques (picketing, negotiation, blocking construction). (cont. next page)

We have set up three weekly seminars on campus, one discussing the Negro movement, its history, components, and potentials; a second touches on the economy and automation, especially as it affects the short- and long-run goals and techniques of the Negro movement; the third is on peace and war. They are broken into sections of about 10 students each, with a total of seven sections. The discussion and thinking is enthusiastic and exhilarating; hopefully, outside reading will produce some papers. The seminars will last for ten weeks at three hours per week.

We have sponsored Kentucky mine leader Berman Gibson, South African student Joe Louw (in response to a college-sponsored South African Information Agency officer; this indirect exchange produced a long story in the Delaware County Daily Times), anti-HUAC-er Frank Wilkinson, and Rev. Lawrence Campbell of the Danville (Va) Christian Progressive Ass'n.

### HUNTER COLLEGE (BRONX)

by Mark Scher

The Hunter (Bronx) chapter, as reported in the October Bulletin, is conducting a tutorial program in a section of the Bronx called Morrisania. This area is typical of the changing, racially mixed areas of many urban centers subject to the migrations in and out of minority groups. The current ethnic proportions are 44% Negro, 42% Puerto Rican, and 13% European-Jewish. Prior to 1945 the area was predominantly Jewish; after the war came a large influx of Negroes and since 1955 a similar wave of Puerto Ricans. The Negro segment of the community is now stabilized and has formed the new "old guard". The remaining Jewish population is advanced in age beyond retirement; a few own small stores. The following statistics, drawn from the 1960 Census and the US Depts. of Labor and Commerce, should give some idea of conditions in Morrisania:

- the average income is \$4310, which is in the lowest 5% of the Bronx
- the average unemployment rate is over 10%
- the area is in the lowest quartile of the Bronx in education (except for the established Negro section, which is in the 2nd and 3rd quartiles but paradoxically has Morrisania's highest unemployment rate)
- the area accounts for 3% of the housing units in the Bronx but has 20% of the

units classified by the US Commerce Dept. as having a "clear and present danger to its occupants". This kind of housing accounts for 25% of Morrisania's dwelling units; a further 50% are deteriorated, which means they have rats, falling plaster, no water, etc. As is to be expected, the area's landlords live elsewhere.

--the high school dropout rate ranges from 15% to 25% (increasing with the percentage of Puerto Ricans); this figure is for ages 14-17, which means that very few students remain in school past age 16 to graduate

The chapter's program is centered around the tutorial program, emphasizing remedial reading and math. Tutors, one-third of whom are from the area, are themselves instructed by a professional remedial reading teacher in techniques. The areas, from high schools and junior highs, were contacted through school guidance counsellors, PTAs, and other community organizations.

It is impossible to catalogue the abuses which go under the name of education in these schools, but a few examples should be indicative. The teaching of reading is so poor that some high school students are at the third or fourth grade level, while the local Youth Employment Service reports that some students can't obtain jobs because they can't fill out applications (including some high school graduates). Too often the junior high guidance counsellor will urge a student to go to a vocational high school "and we'll get you into a college". Teacher turnover is so high that students have as many as seven or more substitute teachers a year in some courses.

Our next project is housing: I have been meeting regularly with a group of 18-21 year-olds, who are interested in investigating housing violations and rent reduction.

### WILSON COLLEGE

by Alison Raphael

SDS activity by the Wilson C. chapter has taken several forms. SDS members form a large percentage of the Civil Rights Comm, which is conducting a fund drive for SNCC and an investigation and probable boycott of a local motel (whose business comes in large measure from parents and dates of WC students) for discriminatory renting practices. The CRC is also attempting to work within the Negro community through tutorials and other personal contacts. They have

(cont. next page)

suggested that high school students keep a file of cases of employment discrimination to be used later in an equal employment drive. It is encouraging the Negro community to mobilize against a redevelopment project which is causing a serious housing problem because Negro houses are being condemned for the project without any effort's being made to rehouse them.

In the area of peace and international relations, SDS has sponsored a faculty member's speech on several aspects of the question, with another professor to speak more specifically on the economics of disarmament. We have worked through the NSA committee to bring discussion of Vietnam to a student government meeting. NSA moved that the student body accept the NSA Congress resolution on Vietnam, and we proposed an amendment calling for the withdrawal of American troops (which, incredibly, aroused great controversy).

We also worked through NSA to force the administration to withdraw an "off-limits" dictum which would prevent students from going into the Negro section of Chambersburg (the Pa. site of the college) and into most of its bars. In addition, we have begun to publish a four-page paper entitled "Comment" dealing with all issues.

### OBERLIN COLLEGE

In reports from Tim Craine at Oberlin we get the impression that the campus is highly organized on the left and that specific SDS organization would be redundant. The following is from a letter from SDS member John Ehrensaft to the weekly college paper there, describing Concern, in which many SDS members are active:

"Concern is an unorganization... with no dues and no bureaucracy. Our objective is political education on all matters left of center. Many political activists found themselves so involved in the mechanics of social change that they often neglected re-evaluation of their motivating concepts. Several little liberal and leftist groups existed with very little dialogue and mutual challenge taking place between them. Only too rarely are term papers read before and discussed by fellow students. Oberliners had been to the Soviet Union, the Ivory Coast, Yugoslavia, Jamaica, etc. during the summer. Many foreign students were anxious to express their political views. If lines of communication could be established between these persons, a hell of a lot of learning would occur.

"...In the coming weeks Changpyo Hong will discuss the political crisis in Korea; Tim Patterson will tell of his summer experiences with the new class in Yugoslavia; Hank Herring will read his paper on the Black Muslims; Pak Choong Lieu, Pang, and Irene Lo will exchange views on Red China; Ezekiel Kaungamo will analyze moves toward political federation in East Africa..

"Concern's Peace Research Project aims at people who are interested in disarmament but don't know much about it. Any person ...is fully welcome... About 50 pages of reading a week are suggested;.. people have been interested enough to do this."

### Cal. Y.D.s take liberal stands

(CPS) At their recent Convention, the California Young Democrats went on record in favor of American withdrawal from South Vietnam, admission of Red China to the UN, and more federal intervention in civil rights action in the South; but they refused to investigate sending a delegation to Cuba next summer "to determine the truth about Cuba." Many of the resolutions adopted were critical of the Kennedy Administration. Nonetheless, Gov. Edmund Brown (Dem) refused to try to muffle the YDs in response to the state's Rep. Chairman's charging of the YDs with "dangerously irresponsible policies". Gov. Brown did indicate his disagreement with the YDs' positions, and said that they represent a rather extreme viewpoint and are part of a small minority.

The YDs' stands contrast with the recent "takeover" of the Young Republicans by supporters of very conservative, Birchite policies.

### a thanksgiving suggestion

SDS member Joe Landis (C. of Wooster, Wooster, O.) commends to other SDSers' attention a suggestion from the New England Comm. for Non-Violent Action: that we all commemorate Thanksgiving by fasting and, where possible, a public vigil. Joe writes that the money saved by staying at college over Thanksgiving (transportation money) and fasting (eating money) could be used to alleviate the starvation and disease in the world, while the fasting could affect not only one's college community but also (through local publicity) one's home community, friends, and their home communities.

What should Thanksgiving mean?

# VIETNAM DEMONSTRATIONS, cont.

of individual demonstrators as well as moving pictures from the window of a nearby office building.

Ten minutes before Mme. Nhu was scheduled to arrive, the Deputy Chief of Washington decided that the forty demonstrators--mostly students from George Washington, Howard and American Universities--were blocking pedestrian traffic, although the line was carefully monitored by the students precisely to prevent such an occurrence. After being warned that they would be subject to arrest if they continued picketing in front of the Press Club, the chief monitors decided to move the line across the street as requested until a lawyer could be telephoned about the constitutionality of the police action.

When the lawyer advised the group that the police ruling was a clear violation of the First Amendment, seven volunteers agreed to cross the street and resume picketing. By this time a crowd of 300 had gathered in front of the Press Club. (When line monitors asked the police how 300 people wouldn't obstruct pedestrian traffic when 40 picketers had, silence was the reply.) When the seven began picketing in the only open space available--in front of the Press Club entrance--30 police immediately surrounded them. "Get ready to take pictures," yelled the Deputy Chief; then, "Not yet--wait till the crowd gathers." After a large enough crowd had jammed around the seven and pictorial "evidence" of obstruction had been obtained, the picketers were lead to a waiting police van. Those arrested included Washington SDSers Doug Ireland and Ed Knappman, three SPU national staff members, and two others. All were eventually released.

The picketing continued across the street from the Press Club until Mme. Nhu made her exit, when she was greeted by a chant, as she had been when she entered. The Dragon Lady was also picketed by 35 students when she spoke that evening at Howard U.

Later the same night, 400 attended a rally and heard Editor I.F. Stone; Socialist leader Norman Thomas; Ton Dat, former First Secretary of the Vietnamese Embassy; SDS Vice-President Paul Booth; and SPU National Secretary Gail Paradise denounce the repressive Diem/Nhu regime and the US's support of it. Stone declared that "the trouble is not in Saigon but in Washington

... In the East we still maintain the policy of appeasement [of dictators] because it is the easiest one... Saigon as well as Birmingham and Atlanta has ruined our reputation as a government of the free." Thomas spoke of "the American sickness, the desire for...black and white answers"; he scorned America's "almost fanatical anti-Communism that blinds us to the most vicious forms of suppression and totalitarianism." Paul Booth emphasized the enormous gap between official U.S. principles and actual U.S. policy--in Vietnam and within this country: "For the President, the maintenance of domestic harmony remains more important than the battle for jobs and freedom... The Vietnamese have paid heavily for our folly [in supporting Diem]... This great nation [must] harness its human resources in behalf of causes which are just."

## *Around the Country*

At Wayne State U. (Detroit), Pete Werbe reports, 50 students, representing SDS and SPU, picketed in downtown Detroit for two hours on Oct. 19 to urge withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam and withholding of all aid to the Diem government. Signs carried read, "Down with the Nhu frontier", "CIA pays for attacks on pagodas", "Strategic hamlets are concentration camps", and "US GIs die for a dictator".

George Goss reports that at the U of Texas SDS/SPU members drew quite a crowd as they sought student signatures to a petition calling for cessation of US aid to South Vietnam. The major accomplishments were 170 signatures during the first day and a number of lively debates on the UT campus, plus a front page (though somewhat unfriendly) article in The Daily Texan.

As already reported under "Chapter Reports by Barbara Steinberg, a U. of Michigan rally drew 400 people and resulted in much speaker/audience interchange.

From the U of Wisconsin, Joan Wallach reports: On Oct. 18, we had a turnout of some 400 for a demonstration, at which all the speakers were students. One dealt with facts and fiction about Vietnam, giving statistics and answering various misconceptions--e.g. that the U.S. is not directly involved in the war. The best speaker (a grad student in American history) dealt with the contradiction between stated US goals (democracy, individual liberty) and

(cont. next page)

actual foreign policy. He was particularly effective since he's a member of the Young Dems, a group which before this year would never have participated in such a demonstration. In addition, he had a telegram from Congressman Reuss (D-Wis), which increased our publicity enormously, praising our position and calling for an end to US aid to Diem and involvement in the war. I chaired the meeting and talked about the necessity for student action on the issue. We ended by having the meeting endorse a resolution calling upon the President to get the U.S. out of Vietnam.

What was most important about the demonstration from our point of view was that SDS (although not formally recognized on campus) initiated it and our involvement, I think, was able to involve groups like ADA and the Young Dems--something which has not happened before on this campus, which abounds with splinter left groups. We reached more people as a result, and publicity was good, too.

Another important aspect of this demonstration--as it was with the Birmingham one and will be with the Americas one--was its nation-wide nature. The sense students have, as individuals or members of campus groups, of being part of something larger creates greater enthusiasm because they feel more effective and also compelled in some way to support "the others". Somehow, when you suggest a demonstration, the term "nationwide" elicits unexpected interest and enthusiasm.

*Have you received the  
PREP newsletter yet?*

If not, contact:

Peace Research and Education  
Project  
715 Arch St.  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

*Have you received the  
ERAP newsletter yet?*

If not, contact:

Economic Research and Action  
Project  
510 E. William  
Ann Arbor, Mich. 41808

by Nada Chandler

URP is presently waiting for responses to recently-sent questionnaires and requests for case studies and material for the prospectus. As soon as a reasonable response is obtained, the compilation and publication of these materials will take place. At present, the pamphlet on U.R. is in the process of being written and should be ready for publication by mid-November. Once the written materials have been collected, it will be possible to stimulate campuses into attempting reform.

The crucial problem in any U.R. project is that it requires people on the campuses who are willing to assume responsibility with the understanding that reform will not come overnight. It takes time to see the results of a program, and especially on more conservative campuses, in the first year there must be room for compromises. Once the first steps have been taken, then the others follow much more easily. Some time this semester, there may be packaged seminars and suggested speakers available on U.R. issues.

#### SERVICE CORPS CIRCUMSCRIBED

On August 14, the Senate passed the National Service Corps bill by 47-44, but not until S.C. Senator Strom Thurmond successfully moved an amendment requiring that NSC units not be sent to a state without having been invited by its Governor. This amendment's result is obvious: In the South, segregationist Governors will prevent local communities (especially those with more liberal administrations) which are desirous of having NSC units' help from receiving it if to do so would result in any way in stirring up trouble (e.g. helping Negroes).

The whole program smacks too much of Kennedy tokenism: it is too likely that the Corps, though made up of concerned and dedicated young people, will not be directed at basic economic, social, and political causes but will only deal with amelioration of the symptoms. Nonetheless participation in the program may well open the eyes of young people and cause them to draw conclusions unintended by its initiators. The danger remains, however, that the social concern which is becoming increasingly manifest in young people will be deflected by the NSC into reformism.

# An Open Letter To NSA

by Paul Booth

At Homecoming at Swarthmore last weekend, an alumnus mentioned to me that a friend of his from home (Virginia) had come back from the NSA Congress a changed man. This delegate had represented a large state school in the upper South, had come to the Congress as a conservative Republican, and had departed as an anti-HUAC, pro-civil rights liberal. I know that there were more like this fellow, and that means that NSA is still a forum in which NSA people can enter into political dialogue with all kinds of groups. I don't know how to measure our success in that regard at the most recent Congress, but I want to emphasize, as I did not in my October Bulletin article, that the process of politicization did take place this summer at the NSA Congress.

## TIMES Distorts Russell Letter

The following is an excerptation/paraphrase of a letter sent by world-famous philosopher Bertrand Russell to a number of American publications and organizations:

When I originally charged, in a letter in the NY Times, that the US was using chemicals in Vietnam, a Times editorial attacked me for failing to provide evidence. In my reply, I devoted five paragraphs to specific documentation with regard to the chemicals used. The Times printed my letter but omitted all particular references to chemicals. The US has been charged by the South Vietnamese Liberation Red Cross with using various chemicals (including white arsenic, various kinds of arsenite sodium and arsenite calcium, lead manganese arsenates, DNP and DNC, and calcic cyanamide) which kill animals and/or vegetation and eat into human flesh, and with having spread these poisonous chemicals on large and densely populated areas of South Vietnam. These conclusions follow a year's study by the S.V.L. Red Cross, which has urged international investigation of them. The use of these weapons, napalm bombs and chemicals, constitutes and results in atrocities, and points to the fact that this is a war of annihilation. The Editor of the Times, in reply to a private protest of mine about the distortion of my views, stated that the reason my evidence was not published was that it was known all along to the Times!

# New Literature Available

In last month's Bulletin was a list of Liberal Study Group and other papers described as an up-to-date literature list. In this month's Bulletin is a truly up-to-date literature list, including the following items of special interest which were not included with last month's list:

\*\*Prospectuses of the various city projects of the Northern Student Movement, including those in NYC, Washington, Detroit, Boston, Phila., Baltimore, Chicago, and Hartford, plus the overall prospectus for National NSM.

\*\*"The Bruns Strike: A Case Study in Student Participation in Labor", by C. Clark Kissinger of the U of Wisconsin: this is an exciting and inspiring account of UW students' saving a mechanics' strike at a local garage by picketing and working with them in setting up a rival garage.

\*\*"Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities", by the American Civil Liberties Union: a good short (15 small pages) piece for those students fighting for their basic rights to control their own newspaper, other publications, and extracurricular activities; to associate themselves for action or education on or off campus; to insist on due process in disciplinary cases; etc.

\*\*"The Revolution not Seen", by Dave Delinger, is reprinted from the Fall '62 New Politics: it scores "North American socialists and liberals who...unleash such righteous fury against the only country in the hemisphere which has seriously set about the dual task of freeing its people from the death-grip of United States imperialism and humanizing its society in the interests of all its former victims-- except, unfortunately, those who use violence against it (but who of the critics is in a position to cast the first stone, on that account?)."

\*\*"The Politics of the Ghetto", a speech by Tom Hayden at a recent NSM conference. An excellent articulation of the call for building local bases of power and for local insurgency.

\*\*Bob Ross's LSG paper entitled "The USNSA: A Policy Critique": this paper was the most widely read single paper at this summer's NSA Congress. Bob has had long and vast experience in NSA, is past V-P and N.C. member of SDS, and is presently studying at the London Sch. of Economics.



## Students Protest Wallace Silencing

(CPS) At the U of Pennsylvania (Phila.) and Adelphi C. (Long Island), the refusal of permission to allow Governor Wallace of Alabama to speak has elicited student protest. At UP, more than 200 students, organized by ACTION political party and the Women's Student Government Ass'n, picketed in front of the university's administration building and then marched to a nearby auditorium where 1000 parents were listening to the University's Provost speak on "The Meaning of Liberal Education". The Governor was being invited by the Daily Pennsylvanian, but permission to use an auditorium was refused, ostensibly because the campus NAACP chapter had insufficient time to arrange a protest. This was refused by the NAACP, who hit the University for concealing their real reason.

At Adelphi, the joint student/faculty/administration Student Activities Committee refused the Governor permission to speak because "...the committee...feels that Governor Wallace, by defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court, does not represent the ideals and practices that we uphold at Adelphi." The Delphian, the campus newspaper, replied to the committee in an editorial stating that "we fear that this action by the Committee will set a precedent to bar any speaker from the Adelphi campus who 'does not represent the ideals and practices that we uphold at Adelphi.' We submit that in a democracy it is always beneficial to hear all types of opinions expressed, if only to help strengthen our own..."

## BRYN MAWR JOINS NDEA

(CPS) On the recommendation of the college's faculty, the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr C. (Bryn Mawr, Pa.) has decided to join the National Defense Education Act program. Bryn Mawr had refused to participate hitherto, primarily because of the disclaimer oath recently amended out of the Act. President Katherine McBride said that the College felt that "the legislation has improved...it becomes more important to try and give individuals the right to make the choice... We'll continue to make clear what we think are necessary improvements." She suggested that the "forgiving" of 10% of a loan per year up to 5 years for those who go into teaching should apply to doctors and social workers also.

## CAMPUS CIVIL LIBERTIES VICTORY

Last June the University of Alabama promulgated a ruling that no student at UA could write or comment on any racial matters for publication. The editor of the Alabama Crimson and White, Mel Meyer, gained national prominence by his editorials calling on UA students to accept peacefully the integration of the University last year. He was named "student editor of the year" by the U.S. Student Press Ass'n, and was to serve as the southern correspondent for the CPS, a function he would not perform under the UA edict. This year, however, the ban was suddenly and blandly lifted; and the UA Administration denied that it was ever meant to inhibit Meyer, though the editor thought that in fact it was aimed specifically at him. (By CPS)

Two weeks after it had voted to close to non-A.U. students a series of lectures sponsored by the Student Association, the American U. Student Senate reversed itself by an 18-5 vote. The original limitation of attendance at the lectures was prompted by a disrupting Nazi demonstration at one program. Protests by A.U. and other District University students, plus pleas at the Student Senate meeting by Howard U. chief student officer Phil Hutchinson and Howard Hatchet Editor Mel Schnapper, were instrumental in causing the reversal. (by Doug Ireland)

At Chicago Teachers College, which is part of the city's school system and under the Superintendent of Schools, the campus newspaper was suspended--for a day--after it printed a cartoon attacking the Superintendent of Schools, who was at the time in the midst of resigning and rescinding his resignation. The Dean of CTC suspended publication of the paper and confiscated copies of that issue, denying censorship and saying his action was to insure that the paper "respect the image of the college in the community. But when Chicago papers jumped on the story with glee, reprinted the cartoon and writing stories on the incident, the paper resumed operations the next day. The Dean said that no disciplinary action would be taken against involved students.

(by CPS)

(CPS is the Collegiate Press Service, the wire service of the US Student Press Ass'n, 3457 Chestnut, Phila., Pa. 19104.)

# HARLEM EDUCATION PROJECT:

by the H.E.P. staff

The Harlem Education Project was created in July, 1963, when several members of the Northern Student Movement established a tutorial program in Central Harlem. Drawing upon the academic skills and personal commitment of over fifty college students, H.E.P. was able to meet the immediate educational needs of junior high and high school students of the general Harlem community.

From the summer tutorial, the Project broadened into the related areas of housing and neighborhood reconstruction, while workshops in art, drama, and dance evolved with the interest of tutees. Younger students organized on their own an athletic club, and a newspaper, The Harlem Voice, provided a significant means of self-expression.

At this time H.E.P. was located in a storefront on Eighth Avenue [in Harlem];

the office was meant to serve as a meeting ground for a student-staff and the life of the street. For one year the eight staff members worked on various programs with a wide scatter of students, some parents, teachers, ministers, shopkeepers, tenants. The office turned into a semi-club house, where students of the immediate neighborhood came to know the staff and regard with some amusement their efforts to coordinate work that was carried on in at least eight different places.

In the fall of 1963, with a turnover of half the staff, the meaning and method of the entire H.E.P. operation was brought up for deep re-evaluation. Central to the discussion was consideration of the tutorial, which in some sense had served as a base of operations. Involving over 200 sets of college tutors and younger tutees, the program had met with only sporadic success. The tutorial was operated out of five church community centers, and had offered a part-time meeting ground for people of

## 200,000 UNREGISTERED NEGROES VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI

A concerted state-wide effort is being made by Mississippi civil rights organizations to tally 200,000 Negro votes in a mock election for integrationists Aaron Henry (Negro state NAACP head) for Governor and Ed King (white Tougaloo C. Dean) for Lt. Gov. The candidates' platform is built around four major issues: justice, education, economics, and voting rights. (Gov. Barnett was last elected with 95,000 votes.) Seeking to show that the "elected" officials of Mississippi do not represent the people of that state, the campaign will serve also to help organize the voter registration projects throughout the state being carried on by SNCC and others. In addition to the mock elections on Nov. 2-4, which will use churches, barber shops, and schools as polling places, voters will be urged to write in for the Henry-King slate on regular election day November 5.

Students from a number of northern schools, especially Yale and Stanford, have gone to Mississippi to help to register voters and to get out the vote on Nov. 2-4, and have also raised money for the campaign. As of shortly before the voting date, Stanford had raised \$4300, Yale and NYC \$6000. Campaign workers have been harrassed with the usual police arbitrariness and brutality, being arrested for any reason police officials could think of.

In Mississippi, only 6% of the eligible Negroes are registered. (Negroes make up 36% of the total population.) The campaign for voter registration is being conducted by Bob Moses, director of the Council of Federated Organizations (a joint effort by SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and NAACP).

Because the Bulletin is being prepared just as the mock elections are taking place, results of the campaign cannot be reported until next issue.



# CAMBRIDGE cont.

istance of college students from the Maryland-Philadelphia area.

Stage two began in Spring 1963 when Gloria Richardson, part of the rich and well-established St. Clair family, and her executive committee (made up of ten working class residents of the town's Negro section) broadened their demands to include full and fair employment, equal and desegregated schools, access to recreational as well as restaurant facilities, an end to police brutality, and a housing project: across the board demands--"NOW". With large sit-ins and arrests on five weekends outside students and some local people threw the town into an uproar. Mass marches began, and police brutality and antagonism were at their highest. In May, this phased into stage three, as local people took over completely and outsiders pulled out. Mass and total support of the Negro community, including the churches for the first time, was mobilized finally; and mass arrests occurred in late May.

After a few quiet weeks, events were touched off again in early June when two 15-year old sit-in leaders were sent to reform school (they just got out in early Oct.). The mass marches on the jails at first attracted women and children, but as white antagonism grew, unemployed and young men joined the marches: at the height one of every seven Negro residents was on the marches downtown. Many of the marchers were armed, and a reign of terror (shootings, store burnings, a race riot) prompted the whites to demand protection from the National Guard. The Guard was fair, and regulations were applied uniformly; but it was clear to everyone that they were freezing the status quo. Maryland soon tired of spending \$25,000 a week to keep a town under martial law, and in mid-July the Guard was withdrawn after the city fathers satisfied state and federal leaders by conceding a referendum on a public accommodations Charter Amendment.

Negroes opposed this from the beginning because it was subject to a vote of a 2/3 white electorate.

A repeat of the previous week of terror brought the Guard back five days later. Again the shootings and damage had been almost all against the white community in

revenge and in self-defense, and the Guard arrived to protect the whites and stop what we at Swarthmore call an "intolerable situation".

The Kennedys stepped in at this point and persuaded white officials to really support the public accommodations referendum; and after national ill-publicity, two months of National Guard occupation, and four months of 90% effective Negro boycott of the downtown stores, those officials were more willing to listen. Partly out of desperation and fear of violence and partly out of an ill-founded hope that for once white leaders would begin to act on grievances, the Negro leadership conceded to the "omnibus" Washington agreement, which has actually given nothing more than token desegregation of the schools, but which included halting demonstrations until the referendum.

A bitter power struggle developed within both the Negro and the white communities. The white "Cambridge-first" businessmen of the rich First Ward supported the referendum for public accommodations, while the segregationists fought it bitterly. In the Second (Negro) Ward, the Negro movement leaders, including Mrs. Richardson, advocating boycott of the referendum, said it was degrading to vote for inherent rights, and in any case was only "peanuts" in comparison to total demands. They were opposed by the ministers and both the national and local NAACP. On Oct. 1, the movement leadership won handily, as 2/3 of the Negroes boycotted the polls in the Second Ward. The referendum lost by 300 votes and was defeated in every white ward--even the supposedly "liberal" First Ward. The fact that the boycotting Negroes could have passed the referendum has alienated many outside white liberals, but the boycott has the continuing support of the Second Ward--and us, too!

During the weeks before the referendum, after months of exhausting leadership, Mrs. Richardson resigned under pressure from Negro moderates and some national civil rights personnel in Cambridge, and from local elements who wanted a more active boycott and resumption of demonstrations. Her resignation only resulted in a vacuum, and a few weeks later she resumed command, after strenuous appeals from her lieutenants and followers.

Demonstrations have not resumed, although demands remain the same: the leaders are

# CAMBRIDGE cont.

waiting to see how the chips fall in the white community, and don't want to endanger defendants in the trials. The National Guard remains there in a token force, and officially there is a no-demonstration ban.

The old-guard economic structure, silently pro-segregation, is presumably trying to benefit from the loss of prestige which "liberal" businessmen and city fathers suffered in the referendum. The next step on either side is unknown, but we assume that Negroes have gone too far to stop now and will resume demonstrations if no progress is made.

As to the role of us Swarthmore students in Cambridge: In the spring of '63 (when the demands were being broadened), we were the main supporters and bodies in demonstrations. During these months we were close to decision-making and helped to formulate plans and organize demonstrations. For many weekends, Swarthmore organized 20-30 students to travel the 125 miles to Cambridge for sit-ins, jail-ins, and voter registration.

With the increase in local participation, our role in leadership declined, and SNCC and NAACP leaders took our places as confident of local leadership. The student staff of ten worked for three months on administrative functions and, mostly, on our own, initiated four projects:

1. tutoring of 100 students (grades 4-12), mostly in math and English, for three hour hours a week for eight weeks, in groups of 3-6. This led to
2. the transfer of 23 students to newly (but tokenly) integrated schools in Sept., with a few incidents but no real trouble;
3. voter registration, mostly in the city;
4. an extensive survey of 2000 Negro inhabitants, furnishing us with information on age, migration patterns, religion, politics, employment, housing, and attitudes toward the movement. The results are pom-piled in a mimeographed 70-page study, and may be reproduced in larger quantity by SDS or SNCC in the future. The most significant information (aside from the invaluable general information from talking with that many people, especially at the height of the movement) found was the following:

--Cambridge is a town with very few 18-30 year olds; women, and people, and children

predominate. Population is decreasing. 88% are born in the county or city itself; the rest come from Georgia or the Carolinas.

--65% of potential voters are registered. Most are registered Republican, but are pro-Democratic. Youth and education are on the side of the Democrats.

--Average education is 8.8 years, up 1.6 from the 1960 census. Dropout is very low; the average length of education of 18-25 year olds is 11.0. Low education (5.2 yrs. average) predominates in the elderly (56 and up). Schools are tokenly integrated, but Negro schools are very inferior.

--Housing is bad: 40% live in highly over crowded conditions; 35% have no inside toilet facilities; 55% have no phone; 65% have no hot water. 73% rent their houses, from both Negro and white landlords.

--Unemployment is significant: 29.5% according to the census. 41% of the total labor force in one year is unutilized; unemployment at the time of the interview was 37%. Median family income is \$2180, median individual income \$1100; white Cambridge and Maryland figures are 2½ times higher, U.S. figures 3 times higher.

--When asked what they most wanted, 42% said employment, 26% housing, 21% schools, 6% public accommodations. 89% participated in the boycott of all white stores; more than half had been to a mass meeting.

Other factors which make the Cambridge situation interesting in terms of social change include:

--the presence of two large migrant labor campus, mostly Negro, and as usual poorly housed, educated, and paid;

--the ascendance of a militant and mostly Negro union movement, with a strike going on since August at a tomato-packing plant. Most Negroes are still unorganized, but the union is making rapid progress;

--the weakness of the Negro church, especially after their referendum defeat;

--the absence of leadership on the local, county, or state level in solving the basic problems of the community, which are the same as the nation's: unemployment, poverty, racism, and a refusal to deal with any of these;

--the increasing sophistication and understanding of the local Negro population that it is an economic, not a race, war, and that "just any" Negro leadership won't do; and their realization of the role of the state (i.e. the police, National Guard, Kennedy);

--the fact that many students know Cambridge and have been there, providing a body of possible workers in the future, either here or elsewhere in the mid-South.

# SELMA, ALABAMA - FOCUS of

(Ed. note: The following article consists of excerpts from (1) a Special Report on Selma, Ala., by SNCC, of which a copy can be obtained from SNCC, Room 902, 156 5 Ave., NYC 10010; and (2) an article in New Republic of Oct. 26, 1963, entitled "Registration in Alabama", by Howard Zinn, a scholar/activist in the movement.

FLASH: We just received from SDS NC member Mary Varela of the SNCC staff in Selma a request that we notify Bulletin readers of an adult literacy project which Mary is directing in Selma this coming summer, for which applications must be sent soon because of an early 1964 training session for participants.

Mary writes that this is a pilot project to "create materials, to experiment with both teaching methods for adults and methods for building community machinery to carry on the project when the literacy team leaves. The materials will have a two-fold purpose--to teach reading and writing and to both deal with the identity problem through using concepts of Negro history and also build a vision of the possibilities of the Negro vote in the democratic process. We will work much of the time with people motivated to learn to read and write because of the voter registration movement in Selma. Our long range goal and dream is to use what we learn from this summer's project in Selma to draw up a year's length program for a number of other cities with the purpose, over a number of years, of cutting down sizeably illiteracy percentages in the black belt."

Mary goes on to outline the need for functional literacy, which is linked closely to the two main demands of the human rights movement--jobs and votes. A more complete prospectus for the project will be sent with the December Bulletin; in the meantime, for information contact Mary Varela, SNCC, 8½ Raymond St., Atlanta, Ga. 30314.

## SPECIAL REPORT on SELMA

The majority of the residents of Dallas County, of which Selma is the seat, are Negro (57.7%), the minority white (42.3%). But only 0.9% of the eligible Negroes are registered, according to the Civil Rights Comm. (Voting, 1961). Registration of eligible whites is 64%. Adjoining Wilcox County has never had a Negro voter, altho

78% of its population is Negro; the same is true of Lowndes County, which also borders on Dallas County.

The 1961 Civil Rights Commission report on Voting says: "Testimony at the Commission's Alabama hearing uncovered economic pressures and registrar's discriminatory practices which prevented Negroes from voting in this County (Dallas)... In April 1961 the Justice Dept. filed suit to enjoin such practices. The suit has not yet come to trial." Two and a half years have passed since the suit was filed. In the meantime, conditions have not changed.

The County Sheriff's Dept., under the direction of Sheriff Jim Clark (who has attended every mass meeting held by SNCC, the Dallas County Voters League or the Dallas County Improvement Association with his gun on his hip and frequently an electric prod in hand), maintains a 300-man strong militia. This specially deputized posse was used to hinder union activity in Dallas County (there is only one union there now) and has been used to intimidate Negroes at mass meetings. At least one hundred of these deputies wear old army fatigues and helmets and boots. They are empowered to carry weapons and make arrests. The state patrolmen also help in breaking up demonstrations.

Prior to his arrest on Sept. 24, SNCC Staff Coordinator Worth Long stated, "Selma is in a state of siege. Everywhere you look you see state policemen or members of the special posse brandishing clubs and cattle prods." To date, about 100 high school students and students at Selma U. (Negro) have been arrested on charges of "truancy". Police have stopped students wherever they gathered or while they walked along the street, and arrested them for "truancy".

52% of Dallas County families have an income of less than \$3000, or less than \$54 a week. The Trailways bus station is the only desegregated public facility in the county.

The president of one of the largest manufacturing companies in Selma is also the president of the county's White Citizens Council. Businessmen who do not support the WCC cannot make loans in the local bank. Members of the Council are working in key positions in banks and the city government.

(cont. next page)

# CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION: a report

The Commander of Craig Air Force Base has thusfar refused to direct his attention to the rigid segregation policies which affect both Selma's citizens and the men under his command. He thus disregards Defense Sec'y McNamara's June 7, 1963 Directive: "Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents, not only in areas under his immediate control but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours...The commander of a base... has the responsibility...to declare off-limits communities in which discrimination exists." A dairy company, Clover Leaf Cream, which supplies products to Craig Air Force Base, has a government contract. It hires no Negroes.

With the white power structure connected to the Citizens Council, and with the US Armed Forces bases maintaining a supporting position in maintaining the racial status quo of this black belt county, the hope of fair employment for Negroes is dim indeed. The USO itself does not admit Negro servicemen.

## ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

The first demand of the Negro community in Selma is for "Voter Registration without Intimidation". The Selma movement has adopted the SNCC slogan, "One Man-One Vote". Other demands are for fair employment practices, the release of all demonstrators and dropping of charges, and the integration of public facilities.

The Negroes of Selma and Dallas Counties are politically impotent without the vote. They have no way of influencing the choice of those who hold public office, even though they are in the majority.

Further, they have no channels for redress of grievances. It is not possible for them to appeal to the sensibilities of influential whites to pressure city officials to relieve the suppression of First Amendment freedoms. They cannot turn to the average white citizenry when between 200 and 500 white males in the town are deputized in a special vigilante force. They cannot go to local and county law enforcement officials, who have made it plain that they are there not to protect rights of protest and

vote, but to keep down any dissent or any concerted attempts to get the vote.

They cannot hope for the protection of the Federal Government which, at best, filed suit over two years ago merely to enjoin the registrar's practices. On the basis of past experience, there is little hope that the Federal Government will now prosecute those who are now depriving Selma Negroes of their constitutional rights.

## *"Registration in Alabama"*

On the first and third Mondays of every month, the Board of Registrars of Dallas County takes applications from would-be voters. The form, however, is a long one, and the applicant is also questioned orally. As a result the Board has never been able to enroll more than 30 new voters in a day. At this rate, even making the incredible assumption that the Board accepted every Negro applicant, it would take the Board 10 years to equalize the Negro-white ratio.

At 9:30 a.m. on SNCC-proclaimed Freedom Day in Selma (Oct.7), there were 50 Negroes in line before the county courthouse. By 11:00 there were 250 Negroes in the line, 200 of them would never get inside the courthouse door. Standing over these men and women were helmeted men with clubs and guns, members of Sheriff Clark's posse. By noon, the line did not seem to be moving.

Four FBI agents and two Justice Dept. lawyers spent Freedom Day in the Federal Building across the street from the courthouse. The FBI agents were taking pictures, and watching. The Justice Dept. men were just watching.

What happened in Selma on Freedom Day?

A Negro registrant, before he got to the door of the county courthouse, had to run a gauntlet of armed troopers and a local cameraman whose pictures could cost the Negro his or her job.

The registrants waited from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., standing in the sun without food or water, without being able to go to the toilet. State troopers told them they could not leave the line and return. (When I asked a Justice Dept. lawyer standing by if he would go over to the state troopers and say that these Negroes had a right to

Selma, Ala., cont.

get a drink of water, he said, "I think they have that right. But I won't do it.")

There were two "incidents".

1. At 11:55 I looked away from the line of registrants, across the street to the Federal Building. On the steps of the building--so still that for a weird second I thought they were statues--stood two young members of SNCC, facing the county courthouse and holding signs reading "Register Now for Freedom Now" and "Register to Vote". I crossed the street to get a better look. At that moment Sheriff Clark and two members of his posse crossed the street, walked up the steps of the Federal Building, snatched the signs, and pulled the two young fellows down the stairs and into a police car. I have seen a number of examples of the invisibility of federal power in the South, but I didn't quite believe this. I turned to the Justice Dept. man and asked, "Is that a federal building?" "Yes," he replied.

2. Lunchtime passed, but no lunch for the more than 300 Negroes on the registration line. The sun was hotter now. Jim Forman (SNCC chairman), in charge of the day's operations, sent some people for sandwiches and water. By now, blue-helmeted state police had taken over from the posse, but Sheriff Clark and his men were still around. Forman and Mrs. Boynton (a local Negro leader) walked over to talk to Sheriff Clark. Forman said, "Sheriff, we'd like to give these people some food." Clark replied, "They will not be molested in any way." Forman said, "We don't want to molest them. We want to give them food and to talk to them about registration." Clark shouted, "If you do, you'll be arrested. They will not be molested in any way and that includes talking to them."

Forman and Mrs. Boynton went back across the street, where a shopping cart with a keg of water and sandwiches were set up. Newsmen were called over. Mrs. Boynton said, "We want to see if to Mr. Clark 'molesting' means giving people food." Forman told the newsmen, "We wired the Justice Dept. last night for marshals; we figured Clark might be violating federal law today. But we've had no reply.

Two SNCC members, Chico Neblett, a tall,

## 2 CONFERENCES

\*\*The NYC Conference on Students & Social Action will be held in mid-Dec. NYC area members will receive a mailing soon.  
\*\*POLIT (U.Chi. political party) will sponsor a conference on economic issues in cooperation with SDS in mid-Feb. Emphasis on poverty, automation, unemployment.

good-looking former student at Southern Ill. U., and Avery Williams, dark, quiet, stepped forward and filled their arms with sandwiches and registration material. It was an unreal scene: food was going to be delivered to people standing in line in front of a public building, and it was as if paratroopers were preparing to drop into enemy country in wartime.

"Let's go, man," Neblett said. He and Williams crossed the street. We newsmen and photographers followed. The state troopers converged on the two young men as they approached. Their commander yelled, "Get 'em!" Suddenly the two were on the ground. I saw Chico Neblett stretched out, troopers over him. I saw them jab at him with their clubs and saw him writhe under what looked like shock induced by the electric cattle prods the troopers carried. Four of them picked him up and dragged him away, and then I saw them throw him and young Williams into the green arrest truck at the corner. In the meantime state troopers and posse men were pushing and shoving all of us standing nearby, cursing, threatening, ripping one photographer's clothes. We retreated across the street. The Justice Dept. men hurried in and out of the Federal Building. The FBI watched.

I walked down to the corner a few minutes later to see if the line that had extended all the way around it and halfway down the block was diminished by the tension. Some 30 more Negroes had joined the line. I went back to the steps of the Federal Building and waited for Freedom Day to be over. At 4:30 it was, and the several hundred men and women in line drifted away. A young Negro lawyer visiting from Detroit, who had observed the day's events, said with emotion in his voice, pointing to the people walking quietly from the line: "Those people are heroes. They should be given medals."

Then what should be given to the President and Attorney-General of the United States?



# STUDENTS RETURNING FROM CUBA are Persecuted, Defended, Corroborated

This summer (June 30-August 25), 59 young people went to Cuba to view conditions there and to test the State Dept. ban on Cuban travel. Upon their return they received considerable attention--including a HUAC hearing, a Federal Grand Jury indictment, and article-writing and speech-giving in many forums--and have gained support for their right to travel from many distinguished men in and out of academia. The following report, necessarily too brief to be complete, reports: (1) on efforts by HUAC to persecute the travellers; (2) on efforts by the students and others to defend their right to travel; (3) on the travellers' views of Cuba after having been there--and their corroboration by politically unimpeachable sources.

## Persecution

On September 12 and 13 in Washington, HUAC held a hearing to investigate the Permanent Student Comm. for Travel to Cuba, the group which had sponsored the trip. Aside from the usual HUAC tricks (including a friendly witness, innuendo that a witness was a Communist, questions about associations, etc.) and a delicious moment when Phil Luce (in charge of press relations for the trip) demonstrated handily that HUAC Chairman Willis (D-La.) was unfamiliar with the legalities surrounding a travel ban, two incidents are notable. The first occurred after the first witness (a right-wing plant in the travel group) had spoken but before any other travellers had; at this time Willis tried to move the session into executive session, in a clear attempt to present to the press and public only the unfriendly view of Cuba. The second incident (actually a series of incidents) involved virtually continuous police irregularities, roughness, and sometimes even brutality as Willis attempted to assure that audience reaction was not favorable to the pro-Cuba witnesses by having police forcibly eject anyone who applauded anti-racist or pro-civil liberties remarks by the pro-Cuba witnesses or who objected to Willis's arbitrariness or police actions. Those who seemed as though they might be sympathetic to the travellers (i.e. looked like students) were prevented from entering the hearing room after the first session, often being treated quite roughly by the police. Although police were baited and sometimes showed, it

was clearly the Willis insistence on a friendly audience and, especially, the police's roughness and brutality that was basically to blame. One result of all this was an obscuring of the civil liberties issue by sensational stories of police/student set-tos.

(This section is derived from a report on the hearings by Paul Goodberg of the Prov. Stud. Civ. Lib. Co-ord. Comm.; for a copy of that report or a detailed report on all recent HUAC hearings on Cuba, write: PSCLC Box 4938, Washington, D. C. 20008.)

## Defense

The list of "respectables" who have defended the right to travel to Cuba is impressive, and includes the NY Times (editorially on Oct. 14) and Henry Steele Commager (in the Times Magazine of Oct. 20). When the students returned from Cuba, the first five through the customs line had their passports stamped "temporarily invalid". The rest of the group then conducted a sit-down until they were allowed to pass through customs with their passports intact, though later they all received letters telling them their passports also were "temporarily invalid". Another legal battle involves the subpoenaing of five leaders of the Permanent Comm. by a New York Grand Jury. The Kennedy Administration has cleverly tried to foster the "small group of Communists leading nice young kids astray" image of the trip by indicting only active leftist leaders of the trip (including four members of the Progressive Labor Movement and Phil Luce, youth secretary of the Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.), rather than indicting all 58 returnees and probably making martyrs out of them en masse. This case could be of great importance in opening the door of not only Cuba but China also to visitors from the US; both countries, now on the unvisitable list, are eager to have American (and other Western) visitors, and certainly both must be visited.

(For more information on the legal and defense aspects of the case, contact Phil Luce, ECLC, 421 7th Ave., NYC 10001.)

## Corroboration

As was to be expected, the vast majority of the travellers to Cuba had positions on Cuba ranging from vaguely favorable to dogmatically favorable. Articles about Cuba have appeared in publications ranging from

# CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE MASS MEDIA

Editor's note: The following is derived from information sent to us by Bill Higgs, until recently (when he was run out of the state on a trumped-up morals charge) the only white lawyer in Mississippi who defied Negroes. The parts in quotation marks are from decisions by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

Presentation of only one point of view by Southern communications media is a factor which helps maintain patterns of segregation. Hearing only the racist's ideas on television, radio, and in the press, even the reasonable Southerner has his attitudes on the race question distorted. The FCC, which regulates all American radio and TV stations, has clearly stated its disapproval of one-sided broadcasting. The FCC has found that stations (1) have a duty to

## CUBA STUDENTS, CONT.

"Progressive Labor" to the Houston "Chronicle Outlook" (daily). Especially worth noting are articles by recent ("legitimate") travellers to Cuba Graham Greene (New Republic, 11-2-63) and Donald Grant (The Progressive, 10-63), who is foreign affairs analyst for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and who recently wrote a corroborative series of articles on Cuba in the NY Times. The general impression of Cuba includes: Fidel's frequent, long, comprehensive, highly educational speeches are of vital importance in helping the Cuban people to understand what the government is doing and why, and to help them to participate in the government; Fidel is constantly among the people, always willing and anxious to discuss affairs of state with common citizens; for the majority of Cubans food and other basic necessities are more readily available than before the Revolution and in general conditions are better; rationing is an insurance of equitable distribution and not an indicator of scarcity; the Cuban economy, far from being in its death throes, is being built on a new, autarkic basis; the measure of personal political and religious freedom is quite wide and certainly wider than the American press reports (talking against the regime and/or its ideology is allowed and occurs; only organizing against the regime is forbidden); American foreign policy has been ridiculously short-sighted vis-a-vis Cuba; and, basically, despite some bureaucratic inroads, the Revolution is still very vital and alive.

present fairly all relevant viewpoints on controversial issues; (2) must give any responsible person or group a reasonable opportunity to reply to editorial attacks; and (3) must provide service to minority groups. Civil rights organizations can effectively seek to obtain the compliance of radio and TV stations with these requirements, and the FCC will assure the compliance of any stations which respond reluctantly. The FCC has stated,

...it is evident that broadcast licensees have an affirmative duty generally to encourage and implement the broadcast of all sides of controversial public issues over their facilities, over and beyond their obligation to make available on demand opportunities for the expression of opposing views. (emphasis added)

Not only must a station seek to be a forum for public issues, but it has certain extra responsibilities when a person or group is attacked either in a station editorial or in any station broadcast. The FCC notes,

The station owner's personal involvement in the controversy may also be a factor which must be considered, for elementary considerations of fairness may dictate that time be allocated to a person or group which has been specifically attacked over the station, where otherwise no such obligation would exist.

This was later interpreted by the FCC to mean that "the licensee has an affirmative duty to take all appropriate steps to see that the persons attacked are afforded the fullest opportunity to respond." Furthermore, the party attacked must receive a copy of the text "either prior to or at the time of the broadcast" and an offer of the station's facilities to respond to the attack.

The FCC has stated that one responsibility of a station is "consultation with leaders in community life", which, in the South, clearly must include Negroes.

And on July 25, 1963, the FCC reaffirmed these rulings, with specific reference to their relevance to civil rights questions. With powerful legal weapons such as those cited, and a Commission seemingly willing to put teeth into them, civil rights organizations (and other social concern groups also) have the opportunity to break the monopoly of the mass media which the defenders of the status quo so often enjoy.

# LITERATURE LIST

To order literature, indicate at left of item how many are wanted (or simply check to receive one). Except for the first category (About SDS) and the last one (Pamphlets and Periodicals), the price for all items is the same: 1/10¢; 5/40¢; 10/70¢; 20/\$1.00. The multiple amount may be made up of any number of different items or or one item. Please enclose payment with literature order, and note amount at bottom of this page.

## I. ABOUT SDS (all items free; note request for contribution for some)

- Basic Brochure about SDS
- Port Huron Statement, 52-page manifesto of values and beliefs (25¢ donation appreciated). Product of 1962 SDS Convention.
- America and the New Era, 30-page analysis of "the America scene" and strategy for dealing with it. Product of 1963 SDS Convention. (10¢ donation appreciated)
- SDS constitution
- SDS literature list
- What is the LID? basic information about our parent organization, the League for Industrial Democracy

## II. PAPERS FROM THE 1963 LIBERAL STUDY GROUP (price indicated at top of this page)

- "Politics and the Academic Community", by Paul Booth
- "Our Crisis Economy: The End of the Boom", by Ray Brown
- "The American Planned Economy: A Critique", by Robb Burlage
- "Students and Labor", by Al Haber
- "Student Social Action", by Tom Hayden
- "Unions and the Working Student", by Dom Jacobson
- "Will Negroes Use Guns?" by Harlon Joye
- "Disarmament and the American Economy", by Ken McEldowney
- "The Doctrine of Unfreedom, University Reform, and Campus Political Parties", by Donald McKelvey
- "Economic Development, the Major Powers, and Peace", by Donald McKelvey
- "The Intellectual as an Agent of Social Change", by Paul Potter
- "The University and the Cold War", by Paul Potter
- "The USNSA: A Policy Critique", by Bob Ross
- "On Neo-colonialism", by Tom Timberg
- "Latin America: A Continent in Revolution", by Arthur Valenzuela
- "Civil Liberties and the McCarren Act", a joint statement by SDS and Campus Americans for Democratic Action
- "Readings on Poverty in America", a collection

## III. PAPERS FROM THE 1962 LIBERAL STUDY GROUP (price indicated at top of this page)

- "The South as an Underdeveloped Country", by Robb Burlage
  - "Deterrence and Reality: Where Strategy Comes From", by Todd Gitlin
  - "The Political Significance of the Freedom Rides", by Tom Kahn
  - "The Albany Movement: An Example of the Civil Rights Movement", by Jim Monsonis
  - "The Campus Press", by Michael Olinick
- (cont. on next page)

AMOUNT OF MONEY ENCLOSED WITH THIS LITERATURE ORDER: \_\_\_\_\_

## HAVE YOU PAID YOUR DUES?

Unsigned articles are the responsibility of Bulletin Editor Don McKelvey. No article necessarily represents SDS's views. Headlines for this Bulletin by Judy Walborn.

"Membership in the SDS is open to students, faculty and others who share the commitment of the organization to democracy as a means and as a social goal....

"SDS is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership."

---from the SDS Constitution

# LITERATURE LIST, cont.

## Papers from the 1962 L.S.G. (cont.)

- "Farm and Migrant Workers", by David Steinberg
- "Catholic Students and Political Involvement", by Mary Varela
- "Two European Views of the Cold War: 1. Berlin--Why Not Keep the Status Quo? 2. Two Hungarian Students' Proposal for Depolarization"
- "Bibliography: Civil Rights in the North", from the Sarah Lawrence Conference
- "Bibliography: Civil Rights in the South", by Robb Burlage
- "Bibliography: Peace and Foreign Policy", by Todd Gitlin
- "Bibliography: American Higher Education", by Ralph Kaplan

## IV. PAPERS FROM THE 1961 LIBERAL STUDY GROUP (prices at top of p. 19)

- "Disarmament", by Mike Parker and Norm Uphoff
- "Youth Conservation Corps", by John Warnock

## V. MIMEOED MATERIAL FROM THE OFFICE (price at top of p. 19)

- "A White America in a Non-White World", by Noel Day (a speech)
- "The (Cuban) Revolution Not Seen", by Dave Dellinger
- "Peace, Power, and the University", by Dick Flacks and Al Haber
- "Politics of the Ghetto", by Tom Hayden (a speech)
- "The Bruns Strike: A Case Study in Student Participation in Labor", by Clark Kissinger
- "The Economics of Apartheid", by Sam Boud
- "An Open Letter to the New Left", by C. Wright Mills
- "Cambridge, Maryland: A Report", by Carl Wittman
- Prospectuses of the Northern Student Movement:
  - National NSM
  - NYC: Harlem Education Project
  - Washington: District Action Project
  - Hartford: North End Community Action Project
  - Baltimore
  - Boston
  - Chicago
  - Detroit
  - Philadelphia
- "Newsletter" of the Peace Research and Education Project"

## VI. PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS (price as marked)

- "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities" by American Civil Liberties Union, 15 pp., 10¢
- "Activist" magazine; sample copy free.
- "The Age of Automation: Its Effect on Human Welfare", by Warner Bloomberg, 39 pp., 35¢
- "The American Ultras", by Irwin Suall, 34 pp., 75¢
- "Dissent" magazine; sample copy free; 25¢ each thereafter
- "Fraternities Without Brotherhood", by Alfred M. Lee, 159 pp., 35¢ (list \$1.45)
- "Health Services in Britain", British Information Service, 54 pp., 35¢
- "New University Thought" magazine, miscellaneous issues, 50¢ each
- "The TVA and Its Critics", Gordon Clapp, 15 pp., 15¢

Clip and send to: Students for a Democratic Society, Room 405, 112 E. 19, NYC 10003

Name ..... School & Year.....

Mailing Address ..... Zip Code .....

Permanent Address ..... Zip Code .....

I wish to join (see bottom p. 19) & enclose ( ) \$1 initiation + ( ) \$1/semester dues

I am a member; enclosed are \_\_\_\_\_ back dues &/or \_\_\_\_\_ for 63-4 (\$1/semester)

I wish to contribute to SDS: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ enclosed; \$ \_\_\_\_\_ pledged on \_\_\_\_\_ (date)

I do not wish to join but would like to receive the Bulletin for 63-4; \$1.50 enclosed

Send me information on SDS and mailings for two months.

I am a member and need ( ) a membership card and/or ( ) a constitution.