

Dear Dennis & Wendy:

Was happy to hear from you, and picturing you two huddled up together in front of a TV set pining for news of the southern revolution. I am sending you a copy of the

white paper
BLACK
called the →

SOUTHWEST GEORGIA PROJECT:

which is a

propaganda sheet prepared for the

Submitted to the Coordinating
Committee of SNCC on Dec. 27
1963

to keep them from cutting off the supply lines to our S.W. Georgia beach head. Knowing the cynics that you are, and being one of the same blood, you will notice I have made a few marginal notations.

Keep this out of the hands of the A.P., U.P., and other wire services and bear with me.

TURN PAGE AT SIGNAL.

(play appropriate fanfare, followed by two hours of singing and praying. At least three persons must carry the light of Jesus and be carried from the room before proceeding.)

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REPORT AND PROPOSALS
CONFIDENTIAL

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Don Harris, Bob Marts and Doree Bell & John Perdue (when he gets off his research kick) are holding the Fort in Americus. The "separate" report never got finished and as Don put it - "What the Fuck!"

believe that it wasn't written by a white man.

INTRODUCTION

Action, tension and struggle are the ways of this Nonviolent war, but whether we emerge as protagonists of a new order or victims of the old, depends on our resources in creativity, commitment and cold, scientific logic. The countering forces of this struggle are massing for a last ditch, all out offensive; we must be ready!

Our prospective has been to approach the area of conflict (segregation) on as many fronts as possible. There is no shot gun method. We have engaged in direct action-sit-ins, stand-ins, picketing, marching, etc.. We have promoted Voter Registration and get out the vote campaigns. We have endorsed selective buying and economic withdrawal projects. We have participated in inter-organizational efforts with and without strife. We have had personal problems that negatively effected the group and group discipline that hampered the personality. We have seen men walk away from the chains of the mind and others remain the slaves of this system. And we have been working together-black and white.

What follows is an attempt to put into some form, the way we work, where we work, and the direction toward which we work. It would be logical, then, to give an epitome of Southwest Georgia history, followed by brief descriptions of current action and speculation. Finally, proposals are made for each county on the basis of resource and need and the point of relativity is made-the counties are a part of a total picture of political organization, economic reconstruction, and social transformation. It is relevant at this point to answer the questions raised here.

First of all, we have entered counties which may act as beachheads into the second and third congressional districts which have large Negro populations. In fact, in the third congressional district, blacks outnumber the known opposition whether the count is by head or county. One might conclude that as blacks become enlightened voters, the status quo will change. Color will no longer be the main groove along which political policy must run-if our job of education is effective along with the change in attitude. We know that a black tyrant is as bad as one of another color.

the hell it won't

But it will be no surprise to see persons who come to our mass meetings arise as candidates for political offices and the meetings and group structures propagating present the machinery for such endeavors.

The other point in this connection is that a conscious effort is being made to develop power in groups of counties which form state senatorial districts. For example, Dougherty County is the twelfth Senatorial District by itself, and Lee County and Terrell County make up two of the seven counties which make up the fourteenth Senatorial District. In this effort, there is a build up of political influence from the county to the State to the Federal Government. But there is also a practical point to be considered. The distance between various workers of us is cut down. There can be more sharing of hardships, more of a spirit of fellowship while in the heat of the furnace.

In the second place, there must be a radical shift of the means of economic power. The way people earn a living and their way of living become topics of major interest. Somehow, there must be a re-construction of the economic basis of our livelihood. Jobs must become more accessible. Government contracts and projects with Federal subsidies must not be sullied by discriminatory practices in hiring, training, and upgrading. The wage level must also lose its color line. Just as important is the problem of the vanishing small farmer—the cooperative is a partial solution. But the basic question is the role of Government—will it move into areas where the programs it has developed have been made null and void by the segregationists? Do we want the government to take more of a role in the area defined as social functioning of our society? How far should the government go in this connection? What will make the Government of this Country move—demonstrations? the enlightened electorate? the devastation of war? These questions must be answered soon by some power within these so called democratic walls. We are at the level of discussants of the issue at this point, but as the enlightened electorate grows and gains power and the media of communication becomes within our sphere of influence, these questions will be answered and there will be action forthcoming. Right now, they stand before us as Waterloo stood before Napoleon.

Finally, ^{some of us} we count success by the number of minds freed to think as they will and act in proportion to their willingness to suffer. It is only a matter of a short time before public and private facilities are desegregated. But the use of these facilities, whether a man will sit in the back or say "yes suh" or "Tom" or vote intelligently after he registers, has more to do with how a man sees himself in relation to other men, than the directive of a law or some kind of injunction. There must be a new man. The man must see what this system does to people—to whites and to blacks. Then, he must accept himself for what he is and his brother in the same respect. Our entire system of values will be turned upside down. Ours will become an age of scrutiny from the grass roots up. The once, well defined jurisdiction of religion, politics, morals, federal government, state government, and color, are to come under the examination of the little people. They will speak with the voice of one body and one vote but together, they will be heard across this country. It is within such an atmosphere that re-location of power will begin to take place and the revolution in its tangible manifestations will take place. What follows below is a guideline for action.

Now, with this definitive theoretical background
let's see what has happened so far...

Notice that some of the dates & facts are messed up.
Joyce "bleeding on the cross" Barnett kept score and
occasionally got confused. That is - myth with reality.

SNCC in Southwest Georgia

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October ALBANY: Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagon arrive in Albany to set up a voter registration program. Charles Jones joins them later.

November 1. ALBANY: Charles Jones, Charles Sherrod, Cordell Reagon, James Forman, Malyrn McCollum (white) test bus facilities in Atlanta and Albany. While en route, bus was halted by State Troopers and ten Albany policemen met the bus at the Albany station. No arrests.

November 22. ALBANY: Five Albany State College students arrested in Trailways terminal. Three post bond. Bertha Gober and Blanton Hall, SNCC volunteer workers, contact Albany State's Dean Miner was at the station, directing Negro students to the colored waiting room.

November 25. ALBANY: Bertha Gober receives a letter from Dean Miner expelling her from school. Albany State students march on campus in protest of Bertha's expulsion. Many are fired from campus jobs.

December 10. ALBANY: SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, SNCC Office Manager Norma Collins, SNCC field secretary Robert Zellner (white), SCLC's Bernard Lee, Per Laurson (Danish free lance writer), Tom Hayden (white free lance writer), and Atlanta University student Lenora Taft go on a SNCC sponsored "Freedom Ride" via train from Atlanta to Albany. They integrate the train, but when they arrive in Albany they are met by 300 Negroes who want to welcome them. Chief of Police Lauric Pritchett asked them to leave - they leave. Once outside, Pritchett accused the group of obstructing traffic and arrested the nine Freedom Riders and - Bertha Gober (arrested with a policeman called her name and she answered) and Willie Mae Jones (who was pulled out of a car and arrested).

All were bonded out the next day except: Laurson (Chief Pritchett said that he is being held for the "border patrol") and Zellner stayed to keep him company.

December 12. ALBANY: 400 Albany Negroes arrested (including the original Freedom Riders) when they marched downtown to protest the arrests of the Freedom Riders.

December 13. ALBANY: 737 people were in jails in Albany, Corvallis, Dawson, Americus, Seburg and Newton. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., arrested on December 15, vows "I'll be in jail until Christmas."

Several students, including SNCC's Charles Sherrod report brutality from police. City Commission agrees to: obey ICC ruling (then 48 days old), to release all legal demonstrators on straw bonds, to reduce bonds on the Freedom Riders (bound over state charges), and to hear the grievances of the Negro Community.

NO AGREEMENT HAS NOT BEEN KEPT.

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January 9 & 10. ALBANY: SNCC field secretaries in Albany organize the city's first "Freedom-in" at the city's segregated Carnegie Library.

January 12. ALBANY: Ola Mae Quarterman, suspended student from Albany State College was arrested on a city bus for "cursing." Her arrest spirited a boycott that drove the bus company out of the city. Bus company officials agreed to integrate and even hired a Negro bus driver, but the City Commission would not let them operate integrated.

January 11. ALBANY: SNCC announces that it is stepping up its voter registration drive and will move into Lee, Terrell, and rural Dougherty County.

January 12. ALBANY: 42 Albany State College students have been suspended. Most have said that they will not go back until Bertha Gobar is readmitted.

January 18. LEE: The Lee County Training School closes down its high school session after the students stage a boycott when one student, 16 year old Charles Wingfield is expelled. Wingfield had asked his principal for better school equipment.

January 19. ALBANY: SNCC field secretaries Charles Sherrod and Charles Jones are arrested in the Albany Trailways terminal for "loitering."

January 23. ALBANY: The Albany Movement officially begins boycott of stores and buses.

February 3. TERRELL: Roychester Patterson is slapped and kicked by Dawson ex-Sheriff Howard Lee in the courthouse in Dawson. The youth was accompanying a lady to the registrars office.

February 9. TERRELL: Charles Sherrod arrested in Dawson for "disorderly conduct."

February 13. ALBANY: Charles Jones arrested for "letting an unlicensed driver drive his car."

March 27. ALBANY: SNCC Freedom Riders thrown bodily from an Albany courtroom when they tried to sit integrated during their trial. Trial continued.

April 6. ALBANY: Charles Jones and Cordell Reagon arrested at Crowe's Drug store in Albany.

April 21. ALBANY: Walter Harris shot and killed in Albany.

April 28. ALBANY: Slater King leads march protesting killing of Walter Harris. Fifty persons who marched were arrested.

June 23. ALBANY: Twelve Negroes of Albany went to Washington, D.C. to picket the White House.

June 27. ALBANY: Editorial in Albany Herald by James Gray.

ALBANY DENIES BIG LIE

Albany Negro agitators, in extremes in pressing their integrationist charges, have resorted to the Hitlerian tactic of the "Big Lie," in their pleas to the U.S. Department of Justice for assistance.

...let us remind Secretary Jones et al that the Dept. of Justice is not without its local resources. The Dept. has several capable men quartered in Albany. They are perceptive, highly trained and alert.

June 31. TERRELL: Ralph Allen and Joseph Pitts beaten on head by white man while canvassing in Dawson.

- July 4. TERRELL: Ralph Allen picked up for investigation in Dawson, Ga.
- July 9. ALBANY: King, Abernathy, Walker, and Jackson tried in Records Court. Fined \$178. or 45 days in jail. King, Abernathy went to jail.
- July 11. ALBANY: 32 arrested protesting King's jailing. Rev. Robert Alfred of and Rev. C.M. Steele of Tallahassee, Fla. led the line.
- July 12. ALBANY: King and Abernathy freed by mysterious benefactor.
- July 17. ALBANY: Nearly 50 teenage Negroes attempted to use downtown Albany Carnegie library. Were turned away. No arrests.
- July 18. ALBANY: Demonstrations at pool, Teen Center, tennis court (Tift Park), lunch counters. 42 also tried to get into Trailways Bus Terminal Grill. Paul Hicks was blocked and refused entrance because he was a "nigger."
- July 18. TERRELL: First visit by Z.T. Mathews to Voter Registration meeting in Sasser.
- July 19. ALBANY: Seven jailed in lunch counter sit-in, and 50 others tried unsuccessfully to use white restrooms and held a picnic in the white picnic area of Tift Park.
- July 20. ALBANY: Federal injunction prohibiting marches, demonstrations. Order issued by Judge Elliot, U.S. District Court, Middle District of Georgia, Columbus. Petition filed by Mayor Kelly of Albany, City Manager Steve Roos, and Police Chief Laurie Pritchett.
- July 21. TERRELL: Ralph Allen knocked down and beaten in Dawson, Georgia.
- July 24. ALBANY: Albany Movement attempts to negotiate. Were not received by City Officials.
Judge Tuttle, Chief Judge of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, sets aside the injunction prohibiting demonstrations.
Mrs. Marion King struck, kicked from behind, knocked to the ground while jailed demonstrators in Cavilla, Ga. (Mitchell County). Sheriff is John S. [redacted]. She was five months pregnant at the time and also carrying her three year old daughter Peg Diamond and Kathleen Conwell arrested in prayer vigil on steps of City Hall in Albany. They were protesting beating of Mrs. Marion King.
"Violence" in the streets of Albany after the mass meeting that night.
- July 25. TERRELL: "I tell you Cap'n, we are a little fed up with this voter registration business... we want our colored people to live like they've been living for the last hundred years - peaceful and happy." Sheriff Z.T. Mathews, two deputies and about 10 "disturbed white citizens" walked into the voter registration meeting in Mt. Olive Church, Sasser, Ga.
- July 25. ALBANY: The Albany Movement filed suits to desegregate all public facilities parks, playgrounds, public library, bus lines, theaters, cabs, and the City Auditorium.
- July 27. ALBANY: M.L. King, Dr. Anderson, Rev. Abernathy, Rev. Gay, Slater King and ten others arrested after prayed vigil in front of City Hall.
Five hours later, Charles Jones led 17 more to City Hall. They had to be carried into the jail on stretchers, as they refused to walk.
- July 27. IEE: Joan Maxwell, Penny Patch encounter law and "disturbed citizens" in Smithville, Ga.

July 28. ALBANY: Bill Hansen beaten in county jail and placed in hospital with broken jaw, and broken ribs.

Attorney C.B. King hit up side the head by Sheriff D.C. Campbell when he went to county jail to inquire about reported beating of Bill Hansen.

18 arrested on prayer vigil.

Nine pickets arrested.

July 30. TERRELL: Ralph Allen, Charles Sherrod arrested in front of Dawson Court-
house for vagrancy.

Charles Jones struck in face while in County Jail.

July 31. ALBANY: 21 arrested at library.

August 1. ALBANY: 39 arrested attempting to use public library. Six more arrested at City Hall in prayer vigil.

August 3. WASHINGTON: President Kennedy: "...It is wholly inexplicable why the leaders of the Albany government will not sit down with citizens of Albany and try to solve racial issues..."

August 10. ALBANY: 15 pickets arrested, swimming pool closed, library closed and padlocked.

August 11. ALBANY: All parks closed when integrated groups tried to play tennis, swim
lunch counters closed down. Ruby Doris Smith, Penny Patch, Rev. Samuel B. Wells,
Rev. Kinloch, Bob Zellner arrested at Holiday Inn.

August 13. ALBANY: Holiday Inn trial. \$200 or sixty days.

August 15. LEE: Shady Grove Baptist Church burned in Lee County.

August 16. ALBANY: Cordell Reagon arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of
minors." Six arrested at bowling alley. Shirley Gaines (16) of Albany beaten.

August 17. ALBANY: Pastor pilgrimage to Albany.

August 20. ALBANY: Kneel-ins at churches. Three arrested at First Baptist (witho-
ut knowledge of Pastor, Brooks Ramsey.)

August 31. LEE: Agnew James, Frank James, James Mays, and Charles Wingfield homes
shot into in Lee County.

September 1. ALBANY: Mrs. Luella Hilson, Mr. Ira B. Brown, Mrs. Dolly M. Tinley, Mrs.
Grooby Scavins, Mr. L.A. Lawrence, Rev. Silas McKindrick, Mrs. Ella Yancy, Dr.
Anderson, Mrs. Bessie Singleton, Mrs. Eunice Lawrence, Mrs. Eldora Casedy, Mr. Jeffer-
son T. Davis, Mr. Sam Hall, and Rev. Samuel B. Wells, attempted to enroll their child-
ren at the white school in Albany and were refused by Supt. J.J. Cordell. The schools
were blocked off by city officers.

Sept. 3. TERRELL: Sassar deputy sheriff D.E. Short ran SNCC workers Ralph Allen,
Erathia Hall, and Willie Paul Berrien out of town at gunpoint.

Sept. 6. TERRELL: Jack Chatfield shot at home of Mrs. Carolyn Daniels in Dawson.

Sept. 9. TERRELL: Mt. Mary and Mt. Olive churches burned in Terrell County. Church-
es were pastored by Revs. William Boyd, and L.C. McClendon, and S.W. Swaggott of Albany.

Sept. 10. TERRELL: Prayer vigils at sites of two churches.

Sept. 13. ALBANY: Negroes attempted to elect Mr. Slater King to the post of Dougherty County Democratic Committee.

Sept. 15. TERRELL: Burning of I HOPE church in Terrell County.

October 11. ALBANY: Luther Woodhall, wearing T-shirt with "Don't buy downtown and town on it, was taken into custody by Detective Manley and a city officer, taken to the detectives office and questioned and slapped by city detective Manley. Held until stores closed and told to go home.

Oct. 24. ALBANY: Democratic Primary for post of City Commissioner. Thomas C. Chatmon Negro, one of the three running. Result: run-off between Mr. Chatmon and B.C. Gable set for Nov. 20.

Oct. 27. TERRELL: Jack Chatfield, Carver Neblett, Larry Rubin arrested in Dawson, Georgia, for trespassing on the property of Mr. Sam West (Negro).

Oct. 27. ALBANY: Bottle thrown into Albany SNCC house.

Oct. 29. TERRELL: Three SNCC workers jailed in Bronwood on "tresspass" charges after they entered a white-owned grocery store to canvass for voter registration.

November 12-16. ALBANY: Average of 25 kids picketing downtown wearing T-shirt every day.

Nov. 12. ALBANY: Jack Chatfield arrested in Albany while observing picketers. Chatmon refusing to obey an officer and disturbing the peace.

Nov. 20. ALBANY: Run-off between Chatmon and Gable. Gable won.

Nov. 30. ALBANY: Luther Woodhall arrested and charged with sodomy in Albany.

December 6. SUMTER: Burning of Mr. Trim Porter's house in Cobb, Ga.

Dec. 8. ALBANY: Group from Albany left to go to Washington D.C. to picket and talk to Justice Department.

Dec. 3. ALBANY: The Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority initiated a voter registration drive in Albany. They wished to register 2,000 voters by Christmas. They failed to attain this goal. However 300 new voters were registered.

January 15. TERRELL: An ordinance was adapted January 8 in Dawson, Georgia. Issued by Mayor Roundtree, the ordinance prohibited "parades and assemblies on public street, or other public property, or in any public without a permit...and trespassing on any private property or in any private building..." The words parade, tresspass, and assembly were redefined so as to facilitate the arrest of SNCC personnel working in Dawson.

January 26. TERRELL: D.E. Short, deputy policeman of Sasser, Ga. was brought to trial for the violation of the civil rights of three SNCC workers. Despite the presence of the Justice Department officials, the defendant was found not guilty by an all white jury.

February 28. SUMTER: Two SNCC workers, Don Hazzard and John Churchville, move into Keinonia Farm and begin full time field work in Sumter County.

March 7. TERRELL: Prathia Hall and Faith Holsuert move into Terrell County and begin field work there. Faith is the first white field worker to live and work in Terrell County.

March 7. ALBANY: City segregation laws abolished.

March 9. ALBANY: Four teenage girls were arrested for sitting in at lunch counters in Albany. They wished to test the segregation law's repeal - to see if there had been any change in policy and service.

March 11. ALBANY: Arrest of SNCC field secretary Bill Hansen. Bill was charged with a traffic violation, and was released on a \$17 bond. On the same day two students were arrested for sitting on the wrong side of the court room.

April. ALBANY: Carnegie Library desegregated.

April 4. ALBANY: SNCC receives permission to hold mass meetings in the town of Americus at the Union Tabernacle Church.

April 8. WARE v. JOHNSON trial. Charles Ware charged that Baker County Sheriff Johnson shot and beat him.

April 12. Federal Grand Jury found in favor of Sheriff Johnson.

April 20. ALBANY: High school students set up picket line at Carl Smith's store. Demand that Smith upgrade Negro employees to responsible positions. Five people were arrested.

May 13. ALBANY: Fifty students were jailed for demonstrating over the period of a week. Reverend Wells leads eight people to City Hall to conduct a program of prayer vigil. All were arrested.

May 14. ALBANY: SNCC workers return from the counties in order to concentrate on demonstrations in Albany. There is determination to see Albany an "open city." As voter registration projects therefore must be temporarily abandoned, VEP money must be sacrificed. People willing to go to jail in connection with the demonstrations have been contacted.

May 15. ALBANY: SNCC demonstrated at the International Ministerial Alliance Meeting. There is a meeting of ministers held to determine leadership.

May 17. ALBANY: Jack Chatfield and Willie Ricks are arrested demonstrating in front of city hall.

May 20. ALBANY: Elections are held on Bond Issue. Albany Movement leaders have directed their following to vote no on all Bond Issues.

May 21. ALBANY: On election day Joni Rabinowitz, Prathia Hall, and Joyce Battle charged with handing out leaflets and arrested. Also arrested were Jerome and Albany movement leader Slater King and Dr. Anderson. Joni and Joyce were stripped in view of male prisoners.

May 22. ALBANY: Faith Holbert and Don Harris were arrested at an evening demonstration. Faith was fondled while being searched. Ralph Allen was also arrested May for crossing the center line while driving, and was bailed out of jail for \$100 following morning.

May 23. ALBANY: A nock march was held in Albany after frustrated attempts to visit those in jail.

May 25. ALBANY: Sherrod arrested while driving the bus. The charge was failure to yield the right of way. Another nock demonstration took place, ending with the arrest of thirty five.

June 2. ALBANY: Rev. Wells and several others are tried, convicted and released on probation.

June 6. ALBANY: The rest of the prisoners are convicted and released on probation. No bond was required of them. During this time 60 people were in jail, all fasting for varying times, some up to 9 days.

June 7. SUMTER: Rape of Annie B. Hayes. Returning from store, picked up by a white man, and kept all day long. Was returned that evening to her mother. The Sheriff refused to investigate, even though Annie's mother and brother witnessed the act.

June 11. SUMTER: Annie B. Hayes dies, complications from internal injuries.

June 11 - 15. SUMTER: Orientation of approximately 20 new summer workers at Kootenai State.

June 19. ALBANY: 300 people marched in CME. Peter deLissovoy, Phil Davis, and Bob Perdue were among thirty arrested. Charged with disorderly conduct and refusing to obey an officer. Perdue also charged with assault with intent to kill, and was beaten in jail.

June 20 through the following week. ALBANY: 10 staff arrested at various times. Joanne Christian, Penny Patch, Jean Wheeler were arrested during demonstrations. Joanne was beaten by the police, including Chief Pritchett. Sue Wender, Joni Rabinowitz, David Bell, Bob Blechner, and Wendy Mann arrested for vagrancy. Willie Ricks was arrested for inciting to riot. Mass meeting was held at Jerusalem Church. Molotov Cocktails and bottles were thrown into the church.

June 21. ALBANY: Three staff members were arrested outside Shiloh Church, Miriam Cohen, Bert Steck, and Cathy Cade. The police grabbed them as they left their car in order to enter a mass meeting. In the evening Eddie Brown was arrested while driving the rambler. Vera Giddens saw the police putting objects in the car and taking photographs. She observed these things from her cell window. By eight o'clock the SNCC office was surrounded by police, forcing SNCC workers to retreat through the back door and seek refuge at Shiloh Baptist Church.

June 24. ALBANY: The Shiloh Baptist Church received bomb threats and crank calls. The SNCC staff remained inside the church for eight days.

July 7. ALBANY: Slater King and his two sons were arrested attempting to purchase tickets at TIFT Park Pool. The children were released, but King remained in jail. Nine others were also arrested, including SNCC staff, Peter Rothstien and Burt Steck. One girl was slapped by the police.

July 8. ALBANY: Sherrod and 16 others marched downtown to City Hall in order to protest these arrests. Rev. Wells was one of the 17. All were arrested and jailed. Six of the prisoners were dragged; one girl was dragged by one leg, her head banging on the jail house steps. Rev. Wells was dragged by his genitals.

July 13. ALBANY: Jessie Bailey, Albany Negro, was shot by a 19 year old white from Baltimore named Fred Kelly. Kelly did not know Bailey; he shot him because, "I had to shoot a nigger." Bailey was the first Negro Kelly saw. Kelly was arrested and charged with assault with attempt to kill, and was released on \$500 bail.

July 13. ALBANY: Three Negro youths vaulted a fence surrounding Tift Park Pool. They swam briefly, and left through the front gate. Six others were arrested protesting their being refused admittance. Elsewhere ten juveniles were arrested as they attempted to picket the homes of prominent Albany businessmen. Nine others, wearing "Unequal job opportunities" T-shirts protested downtown.

- July 13. ALBANY: An interracial group was denied entrance to Temple B'nai Israel.
- July 19. SUMNER: Americus, Ga. 11 Negroes were arrested picketing a segregated movie house. Fifty-five others were arrested from a crowd of 200 protesting at the jail. The trial for the Sumner county juveniles was set for Sept. 3. They sat in jail for 46 days.
- July 31. ALBANY: The bedroom of the Albany SNCC office was sprayed with bullets. One was injured, although the child living next door was missed by inches.
- July 31. SUMNER: Teenagers picketed in downtown Americus. Eight people picketed the Theater, two lunch counters and the police station. As they picketed within the bounds of a city ordinance, only two were arrested.
- July 31. ALBANY: Three young people were jailed in Albany. They had ordered coffee from an Albany drugstore, and were accused by the owner of refusing to pay their bill.
- August 1. ALBANY: A twenty year old mother, Mrs. Lannie Mae Thrower, was convicted of "destroying public property." She spent forty days in Jail awaiting trial, and she has been returned to jail to await trial on another Grand Jury Charge, "assault with intent to kill." Mrs. Thrower is accused of throwing a bottle at a police car.
- August 2. ALBANY: Three SNCC workers, James Daniels, Pete deLissovoy and Phil Davis together with local resident Lucille Morman, were convicted of "disorderly" charge and failure to obey an officer.
- Aug. 3. SUMNER: Approximately 2000 students have boycotted the Americus schools in protest of the jailing of fellow students. Willie Ricks is held to be responsible for this by the police, and is wanted for contributing to the delinquency of minors. Nineteen persons were tried in Americus. They were sentenced to thirty days in jail or \$55.
- Aug 3. ALBANY: Mrs Dessie Mae Christian, mother of four, was thrown against a door by Albany policemen, and then jailed in Albany. The Christian family has been active in the movement here since its inception.
- Aug. 8. SUMNER: John Perdew, Ralph Allen, and Don Harris were beaten and jailed in Americus. Also beaten and jailed were a local Negroes, Sallie Mae Durham and Ed McDaniel. The SNCC staff members were charged with attempting to incite a riot, attempting to incite insurrection, obstructing lawful arrest, unlawful assembly, seven peace bonds, totaling \$40,000. Attempting to incite insurrection is a capital offense in Georgia. / each.
- Aug. 8. ALBANY: A red Oldsmobile made two attempts to run down two SNCC workers, Carol Kornfield, and Phil Davis. Other staff members had recently received three
- August 9. SUMNER: 175 persons demonstrated in Americus. Police clubbed them with billy sticks, and burned them with electric cattle prodders. A large percentage of this group were arrested. Milton Wilkerson (19) required twenty stitches in head. Emanuel McClendon (67) required six stitches. Thomas Moulas required three. Douglas suffered severe burns from cattle prodders. Collin McGee bled profusely from his nose after being beaten with clubs. Johnny Boynton (16) had head wounds which had to be closed with four stitches. Innocent bystanders were dragged into the street and clubbed. James Williams leg was broken and he was severely beaten. The jail facilities were abominable. There were no working toilet facilities, no shower. Children sleep on the floor; girls were locked in a room with no ventilation.

Aug. 9. ALBANY: Nine indicted by the Federal government in Macon; eight Albany citizens and one SNCC field secretary: 3 for conspiracy to obstruct justice and six for perjury. Those indicted were Dr. W.G. Anderson, Luther Woodall and Robert Colbert (for perjury); Mrs. Goldie Jackson, Mr. Robert Thomas, Mr. Thomas Chatnon, Mr. Slater King, Rev. Wells, and Joni Rabinowitz (for perjury).

Fifty-eight people had been subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury in Macon, concerning the circumstances surrounding the picket of Carl Smith's store in April. After ten days of hearings, nine were indicted. Joni Rabinowitz was charged with lying about her presence at the picket line; the other perjury defendants charged with lying concerning their alleged attendance at a meeting in attorney C.B. King's office.

Aug. 11. SUMTER: A group of twenty-five knelt in prayer at the police station, and were arrested. Archie B. Porter was arrested and beaten while walking home. His father went to inquire about him and was arrested also.

Aug. 12. SUMTER: Sammie Joe Haynes was arrested and beaten on the street.

Aug. 13. SUMTER: The Justice Department, through the F.B.I. office in Atlanta, announced that they could find no evidence of police brutality in Americus.

Aug. 17. SUMTER: Another 35 were arrested praying at the police station, bringing the total of persons arrested above 200. Also on August 17, Mayor Walker announced that no white citizens of Americus were interested in a biracial committee to solve race problems. Zev Alconi (CORE) charged with inciting insurrection.

Aug. 20. SUMTER: James Brown, 30, was shot in the back of the neck and killed. The bullet was fired by a local policeman.

Aug. 20. SUMTER: Commitment hearings were held before Justice of the Peace Bradley for Don Harris, Ralph Allen, John Perdew, Thomas McDaniel, and Sallie Mae Durham.

Aug. 28. 158 people from Albany and Southwest Georgia participated in the March on Washington. SNCC circulated the following petition: "We, the undersigned, petition the Justice Department to dismiss the indictments of nine civil rights workers in Albany, Georgia"... "We ask for proof that in Southwest Georgia, 'the Federal Government is not a white man.'" About 30 people from Southwest Georgia went to Washington a day early to picket the Justice Department in protest of the Macon indictments and the recent brutalities in Americus.

September. ALBANY: As a result of pressure from the new military direction on equal right, the negro USO was closed down. After the USO was disintegrated the funds that were given to it by the city were stopped.

October 1, Albany: Classes started today at the Lincoln Height elementary school as part of the newly formed Adult Education Group. 100 persons are attending classes in reading, arithmetic, spelling, geography, and science. This is the result of a summer project by SNCC to find persons interested in furthering their education.

October, Sumter: 8:30 in evening, SNCC field worker Dave Bell was almost hit by a car. The car stopped, and Dave was forced in. The two white men drove around with him for a half hour discussing whether they should lynch him or take him to the sherrif. He was taken to the sherrif, Chappell's office and questioned for about an hour, and then released being told that he'd better watch out, or something would happen.

November 1, 1963, Americus:

SNCC field secretaries, Don Harris, Ralph Allen, and John Perdue were released after three months imprisonment, without bond, in the Sumter County jail. A three judge federal panel ruled the "incitement to insurrection" charge on which they were being held to be unconstitutional. Released with the three SNCC workers were Zev A. of CORE and Sally Mae Durham and Thomas MacDaniel of Americus.

November 17, 1963, Albany, Ga. :

John Washington, a SNCC worker, was arrested in Albany for carrying a sign attesting, "Segregation is a killer, look what it did in Birmingham, Alabama". He was charged with "disorderly conduct" and "disobeying an officer". He served a 15 day sentence.

December 5, 1963, Americus: SNCC field secretary, Ralph Allen was found guilty by an all white jury of "assault with attempt to murder". He was sentenced to two years in prison. The case is now under appeal. Ralph Allen, Don Harris, John Perdue, and Thomas MacDaniel were all indicted by a Sumter County grand jury the recent a week on charges of "assault with attempt to murder" and "resisting arrest".

December 8, 1963, Dawson, Ga. : The house of Mrs. Carolyn Daniels which has served as a voter registration headquarters in Terrell County for SNCC was riddled by bullets and bombed early Sunday morning, Dec. 8. Mrs. Daniels was hit in the left foot by a bullet. The shooting and bombing was probably a reprisal for the large number of Negroes registered in Terrell the previous month (30). This atrocity is the latest in a long series of such incidents in Terrell.

December 23, 1963, Albany : The Quebec - Guantanamo Peace Walkers (CNVA) with permission from Chief Laurie Pritchett to pass through Albany and pass out leaflets were arrested when they left the route upon route. Thirteen members of the walk were arrested along with one local resident. They were charged with "disorderly conduct", "refusal to obey an officer", and "refusal to obey a given parade route". Another member was arrested and held for "investigation" when he went to jail to inquire about the charges.

December 23, 1963, Macon Ga. : Sentences were handed down for the Albany Movement perjury trials: Mr. Chatham and Mr. Thomas - five years suspended sentences. Reverend Wells and Slater King - one year and one day in prison. Joni Rabinowitz - four years in prison with parole possible at any time. All cases are being appealed. Joni is out on \$3,000 appeal bond. Bonds for Rev. Wells and Slater King were set at \$2,500.

ALBANY

A. Recent History:

The past few weeks in Albany have been used to evaluate the project and to attempt to define the path for the months ahead. The entire staff participated in a workshop at Selma, Alabama, at which time many areas of concern to SNCC and the S.W. Georgia project were covered.

SCLC, in the person of Mr. Willie Bolden from Savannah, Georgia has been conducting a voter registration drive in Albany. The Dougherty County Crusade for Voters, as the project is called, has registered only a few persons since its inception.

Reverend Mosely has helped set up a citizenship school program. At present three schools are being conducted every Tuesday and Thursday of the week. A total of 15 persons are attending the classes.

The Car Pool, which has been sponsored by the Albany Movement since the busses were shut down, has considerably dwindled in effectiveness. The ministers are not showing up in the morning to drive, and consequently SNCC is becoming more and more responsible for transporting the maids to work.

Adult education classes are being held at the Lincoln Heights Elementary School teaching reading, writing, geography, science and spelling. SNCC field workers canvassed for people who wanted the classes and four groups, totaling approximately 100 people, are now attending.

Slater King and a few others have been holding planning meetings for the Negro Savings and Loan Co. *Since 1961.*

The Quebec to Guantanamo Peace Walkers (CNVA) arrived in Albany Sunday and are making their quarters in our "Freedom House." On Monday the 23 11 of them were arrested when they left the parade route Fritchett prescribed for them. They are fasting in jail and at present plan to stay in jail through their trial and then will serve the complete sentence.

→ asst. chief of Police.

In the past four weeks five policemen have been injured, primarily by flying objects. One was killed on a motorcycle. Two potentially explosive situations have arisen in Harlem: 1. when a police dog was poisoned outside the bus station, and 2. when police threatened to shoot unless a crowd of Negroes moved on. Nobody moved.

B. Assessment:

The Albany movement and the Negro Community in general has at times been confused as to what SNCC was doing in Albany. ^{understand} Some of this may be due to the summer project where a number of us started various things but failed to see them through. The first thing then, must be a commitment by the people who will stay in Albany to see the responsibility and seriousness of their actions and then to find out what is happening in the community and then see it through. _{of the year.}

The Albany Movement itself has become a small group of people trying to do a lot of work. The attempt to encourage participation from the community in the decision making and activities of the movement has been neglected. The board will cooperate with any project it feels is healthy for the movement and our relationship to such persons as Slater King, Rev. Wells, C.B. King, and Mrs. Jackson is such that we can greatly influence and assist what they do.

The boycott of the white downtown business area has been gradually losing effect. This was especially true during the Christmas season when large numbers of Negroes from Albany and the surrounding communities were shopping downtown. We know that the boycott at its inception was very effective and reduced the gross quarterly sales greatly. Several stores have been forced out of business. Now we must find new ways to enforce the boycott and rebuild the pressure we once had.

C. Proposals:

You can guess how much of this will materialize

1. We should instigate an evaluation of the present situation in Albany by the active movement people. This dialogue will help plan a program of action that the community will accept and fight for.

2. We will work with the Albany Movement Board to set up pressure groups in the city to investigate and change such conditions as the segregated Albany Hospital (Hill - Burton act), housing projects, and to speed up integration of the schools. Another group could be organized to force the city to pave roads and sidewalks, and to provide better sanitary facilities. An attempt should also be made to bring a Federal Surplus Food Program to the city. These groups will hopefully involve persons who have not as yet been reached by, or who have drifted away from the movement. Teachers and professional people who fear active participation can do some of the research and communicating with the proper government agencies.

3. We should hold workshops in Albany and the rest of Dougherty County on non-violence, rural areas development, voter registration, and other areas where the need arises. These workshops would serve a valuable educational role and equally important serve as focal points for gathering people together.

4. Some people should start researching the economic, industrial, and union makeup of the city. This information could uncover alliances and weaknesses in the power structure which we might at a later time exploit. It may be possible, for example, to use the Manpower Development Training Act to train people for skilled work. It may also be possible to organize groups in such sweatshops as Bob's Candy Co. and bring in a union.

5. We must develop an emotional focal point which will increase the effectiveness of voter registration in the city. Part of this would include laying the groundwork for a political machine for the next city election.

6. We will find and interest more people in the adult education classes and try to get more teachers for the citizenship schools.

7. We will continue on the community center project that Bob Cover and others started this summer. It would be beneficial to the community and the project to have a center where meetings could be held, as well as a place to have a library, recreational facilities, and to hold handicraft type classes.

I'm going to either organize the maids or make them walk.
8. We will build up the car pool so that the maids can make it self-sufficient financially and administratively. Then we will use group pressure to get all of them registered and to observe a downtown boycott. Then it may be possible to get them to stick together and fight for higher wages and better working conditions.

9. Using the recent FCC directives we will increase our use of radio editorials as well as attempt to get programs on the local radio and TV stations.

10. We will take Hal Witt's suggestion (Nov. 25, '63) and find a few persons to be trained in the taking of affidavits.

11. We need and will attempt to recruit new personnel from Albany State College and Fort Valley State College.

12. Direct Action: We will use direct action, in form of picketing and sit-ins to draw emphasis to particular problem areas such as the hospital, and a store which physically abused a Negro customer.

D. Requirements:

We have spent a great deal of money trying to maintain junk cars. It would be much more economical and save the daily frustration of the car crisis if we had some late model cars in Albany and the counties.

Finances: Americus, Albany and the Terrell-Lee County projects will each be financially independent. This will facilitate record keeping as well as keep the money more readily obtainable.

Personnel: Sherrod

1. Coordinate activities in counties.
2. Make an analysis of the project on a regular basis.
3. Keep communications open between Atlanta office and the project.
4. Keep the project informed of what is happening on other projects where we work.
5. Write articles on involvement in the movement, the project especially, and SNCC in general.
6. Live and work in each county for short stretches of time, lending observations which would probably be more objective than persons intensely involved in a particular situation.
7. Be available to take over in a situation where the staff workers in a county are out of action.

Randy Battle: Will be working with the car pool, voter registration, and other projects when started.

James Daniels: Will begin to develop new ways to enforce the boycott of downtown and the Albany Herald; will increase the effectiveness of the block captain and leaflet distribution workers *and steal paychecks to feed his children.*

Phil Davis: Will work with the Albany Movement people and help set up the research and action groups mentioned above. Also begin to set up educational workshops in the community.

I am in Albany with James & Randy. Most of the problems have vanished along with the reduction of staff. (Maybe I just can't get along with many people.) No car problems, we put wire screening on the door & nailed all the windows shut to stop the stealing. James, Richard Morris, and Jerome have gotten serious all of a sudden and have, along with the crew of girls, organized an Albany Student Movement. Many kids are involved, and the idea has taken hold. They hope to rent the small house next to the old SNCC

TERRELL COUNTY

Recent History: Between November 1 and November 22, 1963, Wendy Mann, R.B. King, and Bob Cover were working in Terrell County, principally in Dawson. During that period of time they brought 47 people down to the courthouse to apply to register to vote. Of these, 33 appeared on November 22 to take the registration test. All of these people chose to register by literacy and of the 33 people, 30 passed the test. The three who flunked the test were actually illiterate. In the 3 1/2 weeks they were in Terrell, they found a great decrease in the amount of fear in the Negro community. Many people who would not have considered registering last year were willing to try this year. It is believed that this attitude was primarily due to the fact that there had been no violence directed against voter registration people almost a year. The church burnings and shootings seemed to be thought of by many as a thing of the past.

During this period in Terrell they tried as much as possible to use local people in canvassing and decision-making. The ten or fifteen people who have been attending citizenship meetings regularly all seemed to be somewhat revitalized by the successful activity. People like Lucius Holloway and B.W. Cooper who had been regular attendants, and (in the case of Mr. Holloway) leaders of the movement last year, were brought back. A group of between four and eight kids started to meet regularly at Mrs. Daniels' house. They were unsuccessful, however, in involving any substantial number of new people in active roles in the movement.

A citizenship school, under the direction of Mrs. Daniels, was started on November 1. Some ten ladies who had applied to register began attending regularly.

On the night of November 9, 1963, they had a series of threatening phone calls. On the evening of November 12, R.B. King and Bob Cover spotted a car with two white men in it as they were leaving the citizenship school to go to another meeting. When they turned the car lights on, the whites drove off. On Saturday night, November 16, R.B. King was arrested for speeding. He was going 45 in a 50 mile zone. Deputy sheriff Donoway arrested him for going 63. Upon his arrest he was beaten up. Negro prisoners in the jail. Chief of Police Cherry was seen by R.B. and others dropping a bill of unknown denomination to the leader of the prisoners who were beating R.B.

From November 22 until December 8, 1963, there were no SNCC workers staging in Terrell County. No activity with the exception of the citizenship school went on during that period. Early on the morning of December 8, the house of Mrs. Carolyn Daniels was broken into many times and a bomb was thrown into her front bedroom, rendering the rest of the house uninhabitable.

John Allen and Don Harris arrived here on Dec. 8 and stayed for two days. Bob Cover came back on Dec. 9 and has been here since then.

Week of Dec. 18 - Dec. 25, 1963

Wendy Mann, R.B. King and Bob Cover have been working in Terrell. Five people have applied to register to vote. On Friday night, Dec. 20, at about 8:30 p.m., Mr. Lucius Holloway called and said that he thought there had been some shooting in the Sardis area between N. Ash and N. Center Streets by a group of whites in a late model car. Probably either a '63 or '64 Plymouth or Dodge. From Mr. Holloway's story and the stories of Miss Eula Davis and Mr. John Moon (who were also in the area) it appears that a crowd of whites went through the area either shooting or throwing firecrackers. Several of these people and others heard sounds that seemed like shots. In addition, a heavy object was thrown onto the roof of the American Legion Club on N. Center

4. An investigation of the roof of the building yielded no results.

On Monday, December 23, Bob and Willie were escorting two people into the courthouse to register to vote. A well-dressed, middle-aged white man who they had never seen before, aggressively approached them and demanded to know what they were doing. Bob informed him that the people were going to register to vote. He then approached Bob and swore at him for awhile, giving the "same old traitor to the race crap." Bob told him he would pray for him. He then got mad and started swearing again. Bob started to write down a description of him and of what he was saying. He came over and grabbed Bob's clipboard and tore up the page Bob was writing on. Bob talked after him, and he threw the clipboard down and walked out of the courthouse.

On Tuesday, Dec. 24, at about 1:55 p.m., Willie Ricks went into the courthouse with the man who wished to apply to register, and another man, Willie Browner, who merely went along for the walk. Willie and Willie were sitting at the large table in the courthouse waiting for Mr. Crumbley to come out from applying to register. Deputy Sheriff Donoway came up to Willie Ricks and swore at him and told him to get up. Willie got up. The Deputy Sheriff then told him to sit at a little bench. Willie stood there. Donoway then grabbed Willie and dragged him to about 3 or 4 feet from the bench and threw him the rest of the way, causing Willie to hit the wall. After that, Willie started to write down what had happened. Donoway said, "You write down anything and I'll knock the hell out of you." He then walked away. Then, the Custodian came up to Willie and said, "This is my courthouse and don't you try to take over." Willie then stood by the door to the registrar's office, about 3 feet from the door and against the wall. John Senn, deputy registrar, swore at him and told him he was in the way. He then slammed the door in Willie's face.

Assessment of Project (Bob Cover): The shooting and bombing has had a great effect from what I can see so far, upon the attitudes of the people here. The 8 or ten women who had been attending citizenship school represent an example of the effects of this incident. About five of the regular attendees showed up the Monday night after the bombing. When they learned that Mrs. Daniels would not be teaching the class for awhile, they decided one by one that maybe they were too busy to attend until after Christmas. Mass meetings which had increased from an average attendance of 10 to an average attendance of 20 during November, are back down to the same old ten people. In other words, the new incident of violence has left the movement with the same really committed people who have been with us consistently since the beginning. In our canvassing since the bombing we have not met with any success so far. The effect of the bombing has not been to arouse people to action, at least not in any of the people we have seen. Instead, it seems to have re-trenched the old idea that there is nothing a Negro can do against the power of the white man here, and any effort to change the status quo will meet with reprisals.

One aspect of the movement that will have to change soon here is the continuing use of techniques suited for a mass movement while dealing with a small group of people. A simple example of this is that the mass meetings in Terrell run pretty much on the same format as the mass meetings in Albany, Americus, or Selma, where there are hundreds of people attending. I plan to start next week in using the mass meeting as a sort of citizenship school where we'll talk about political structure, Negro history, etc. The people who have been attending also seem to feel that this will be a good idea.

An assessment of our position in Terrell at the present time would be rather gloomy. We have the same ten or fifteen people we have always had. We also have the same old problem of how to reach the vast majority of the Negro population here that remains afraid to challenge the white man's rule. In the proposals that follow I will consider mostly the problem of how to bring people together. The most basic problem in Terrell is, it seems to me, the problem of getting enough Negroes together at

Proposals.

As a first step in bringing people together, SNCC should start sponsoring or taking an active part in forming special interest groups in the community regardless of their connection with political or economic ends. Someone like Mrs. Elders might help by forming a garden club or a canning club among farm women which would then be a forum for us by virtue of her position in it. Already existing groups like the American Legion can also be utilized as a forum. With regard to the Legion, the Commander, Mr. Weston, registered in November. Mr. Holloway is the assistant. Therefore we should be able to get some kind of opportunity to use this club. Mr. Holloway is working on this now for us.

We will, as already planned, help in organizing a rural areas development program in Terrell county. This work will bring us into contact with farmers in a more threatening situation than voter registration work. In this area we expect to have Jac Wasserman of the National Sharecroppers' Fund come down to Southwest Georgia for the weekend of January 15. He will hold workshops with the local farmers.

In Dawson we will continue having an intensive canvassing effort supplemented by the usual techniques of leaflets, posters, and possibly radio announcements on the local station. This, however, will not be enough without some really enthusiastic local people to push registration. The kids have not been responding so far. Only a few kids are even vaguely interested and these are mostly from the "movement families." There is one young man from Albany who is planning to leave school in Albany and wants to work out here. He has thought of enrolling at the high school in Dawson. I have reservations about such a plan though not about the individual involved. He would be a tremendous asset as a student at Carver High.

Some of the women who were attending citizenship school will, I am pretty sure, continue after Christmas. The school will be a big asset if it can be made active enough to attract more of these solid well-established church sisters. I would recommend a few simple changes such as a social hour after the school when coffee and cookies would be served to facilitate gossip in a semi-controlled environment. This school has been made up of a relatively homogeneous group of women from one section of Dawson all of whom are neighbors and friends. It might be better to set up several such schools rather than try to get more people to come to one.

We have been very negligent in bringing the few active people from this county into contact with movement people from other places. Such contact has been restricted to visitors from Albany at mass meetings and a few visits to mass meetings in Albany and Americus. If possible I would like to see some of the kids from here attend workshops or youth council meetings in Americus. Some of the older people attend Albany Movement board meetings as guests. I would also like to see a sort of inter-county committee for rural area development started including people from Terrell, Lee and Sumter counties.

An effort must be made to involve certain well-defined groups in the county. Teachers and the ministers are the two most important ones. We will try to have some kind of meeting with the teachers who might be interested in registering. Several teachers have expressed the idea to me that they would like to register if there were other teachers to go along as protection. The ministers will be a tougher group to get a foothold in. I will talk to Rev. Green from Santa who is with the movement and has a church here to see if he can get some sort

of meeting of the preachers.

D. Requirements (Bob Cover): The project in Terrell County needs at least two full time workers and one car. On the basis of past experience there is a need for at least \$15.00 per week for gas, \$15.00 per week for food and another \$10.00 per week for miscellaneous expenses. The car being used out here is old (54 Ford) and can be expected to need serious repairs in the course of the winter. Money for this project can come from Atlanta directly or from Albany, so long as money is forthcoming on a regular basis. This project needs connections with the rest of Southwest Georgia if only for psychological reasons. The same ten or fifteen people get tired and discouraged just looking at each other at mass meetings and other meetings concerned with the movement. It is always a boost when people from Albany or other places come to these meetings.

Since December 18 Willie Ricks and Bob Cover have been attempting to work both Lee and Terrell Counties. This is virtually impossible to do with only the two people and the present lack of local personnel. Willie has been most successful in working with younger people and he has been working mostly with these people. Bob has been handling relationships with the movement leadership. Actually, their functions are really identical, and in most respects they work in a team, canvassing and talking to people, areas such as citizenship schools and the institution of Negro history discussions in mass meetings are handled mostly by Bob, while areas such as getting people out of cafes to register and speaking persuasively a la Baptist preacher are handled by Willie.

Bob will be leaving this project by the end of the spring. It is not too early to think of the need for a continuity to exist when one SNCC worker leaves and another comes into an area. Someone should be ready to be out here on a regular basis by the time Bob leaves. This is especially important in Southwest Georgia, where the off and on, in and out aspect of SNCC has been a serious problem in Lee and Terrell counties. Also, almost all of the staff will be expected to have left by the beginning of next fall. Continuity should be provided for now.

A new black field worker - George Best - is working with Bob & Willie in Lee & Terrell. They have the most promise of any of us - if Bob doesn't tire out first trying to get along with Willie.

LEE COUNTY
Proposals for 1964

A. Recent history:

In the past month or two, voter registration has been carried on in Lee County by J.C. Moorner, Agnew James, James Mays and other local people. They have done an excellent job. In November, over 40 people went to register, over 30 of whom passed the test.

P.T.A. has been organized with SNCC help and will probably get official recognition from the school.

Assessment of present situation:

At the present time in Lee County there is a small but strong local leadership that has been working pretty much on its own for the past five or six months. This leadership includes Agnew James, James Mays and J.C. Moorner. There is also a committee of six local people who are leading a group to work for the establishment of a PTA in the Negro school. The PTA was abolished there last year because of radical elements in the leadership. This committee with some assistance from SNCC has been able to hold meetings of up to 75 people. The school has now been opened up for PTA meetings of this group.

There is a hard core of 10 to 12 high school kids, mostly girls, who can be counted on for help in canvassing and other such work. There are an additional 6 or 10 kids who can be counted upon only from time to time.

So far, we do not have a place to stay in Lee County.

B. Proposals for Lee County:

If the school Board of Lee County does not grant the PTA permission to use the school building and become a recognized organ of the school, there is a strong possibility that a school strike and picket of the school will be organized for the first week in the new year.

We will have an intensive canvass for voter registration during the Christmas holidays while the kids are out of school. There are ten or twelve girls who have promised to devote a lot of time to canvassing during their vacation.

The people who have assumed leadership roles in the PTA seem to be developing to be as strong leaders as the old established leadership of the movement. We would like to develop this leadership into committed leadership for the Lee county movement.

We would like to try to develop interest groups for the kids who seem to be very enthusiastic about the movement. It would be good to get something the kids would have as their own rather than their canvassing or doing other things "for us."

We have two people in Lee who have been trained at Dorchester to lead citizen-ship schools. We hope to push them to get at least one school started by January. Many people have expressed interest in attending school.

Requirements: Lee County requires a car and two voter registration workers. There is also a need for a place to stay permanently in the county. For the present, Mrs. Daniels' home in Terrell can serve as a base. A minimum budget would include \$15 for gas, \$15 for food, and \$10 for miscellaneous expenses.

RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

A. History

The only program in this area that we have made a serious attempt to carry through in Southwest Georgia has been the organization of a farmer's cooperative. In the Spring of this year a group of farmers began to meet for this purpose. By mid-summer there were over 40 farmers who had expressed varying degrees of interest. A committee was appointed, chaired by Mr. James Mays of Lee County, which was to make the necessary decisions for the group. The Coop was to provide the services of buying seed and fertilizer and marketing certain crops for its members. The most important aspect of the coop was to be the operation of a pecan processing and shelling plant, presently owned by Koinonia Farm. Run at full capacity, the plant would be able to provide about 50 jobs for a five month period, and would produce about 500,000 pounds of processed pecans. The cost of the plant and of all necessary auxiliary equipment would be about \$27,000. Koinonia had agreed to give us generous terms for payment of the money. In addition to this capital investment, money would be needed for operating expenses (mostly to buy pecans in the shell) for at least the first year. At least \$40,000 would be needed to run the plant at all, and about \$150,000 would be needed to run the plant at full capacity.

Mr. Thomas Delton of the RAD office was to advise us on the ways and extent of possible government help. He gave the impression that most of the money could be raised through government loans from various agencies. A proposal was drawn up at his suggestion and was submitted to him. All of this occurred by mid-summer. Mr. Delton proved to be a hard man to pin down. For over a month, nothing was done while we waited for him to inform us of the next step. Delton was consistently optimistic about the chances of getting a loan in a reasonably short period of time.

While Mr. Delton had the proposal and was supposedly doing something about it, a critical situation was reached for two reasons. First, it began to be obvious that it would probably be difficult to get a loan in time to begin operation of the plant for this year. This year's crop of pecans is the largest in history and good crops are almost invariably followed by poor ones. The year 1964 would probably be a very bad year to start. It was either start now or in 1965. At the same time, Koinonia began to despair of getting any sort of commitment from us and advertized in trade journals and newspapers. Three groups expressed interest in the plant.

Mr. Mays, Bob Cover, and Wendy Mann met with Mr. Delton and two other representatives of federal agencies to discuss our specific problems on Wednesday, October 1963. At that time they informed us that it might not be possible to get govt. financing, that if we did it would take at least six months to get it, and that at 15% of the financing would have to come from the local area.

A meeting was held of the membership of the cooperative with a representative of The Farmers' Cooperative Service. At that meeting the membership agreed that the formation of a cooperative would be unfeasible for the immediate future. Mr. Mays and others were appointed to look into the possibility of forming a development corporation which could be turned into a coop at a later time. Mr. Mays is presently spending a lot of time at Koinonia learning how to run the machinery if we can't up enough money to buy it for next year.

B. Assessment of Rural Area Development Program :

Rural Area Development work has been done in a rather haphazard way by SNCC in Southwest Georgia. A coop seemed like a good idea so work was started without a proper foundation in research and community mobilization. As with most work in this area specialized knowledge concerning what to expect from the govt., and who to go to for help and information is a necessity. Future work in this broad area should be done without a proper foundation.

The cooperative, or development corporation is now floundering and will soon be dead if we cannot involve people other than Mr. Mays in an active role. We should push for incorporation as a development corporation in the near future so that we can start raising money which will be necessary whatever we do.

Workshops have been scheduled for farmers in Southwest Georgia with Jac Wasserman of the National Sharecroppers Fund. Mr. Wasserman will be in Southwest Georgia on January 15 and will stay for several days.

A feasibility study for rural areas development in Southwest Georgia is being done by people at Ft. Valley State College at the present time. We will be able to make use of it when it is finished.

C. Proposals for a Rural Areas Development Program :

A first elementary project for rural areas development work would be to get a group of farmers in Lee and Terrell Counties to initiate a petition among Negro farmers to ask their respective county commissioners to appoint county agents to service Negro farms. Lee county has, never had a Negro county agent. Terrell County used to have a Negro agent, but he quit when the county refused to provide its share of the money towards his salary. No new agent has been appointed. These same groups could also petition the state of Georgia for Negro appointed County FHA - USDA staffs and boards.

A longer range program could be started in trying to generate sufficient interest among Negro farmers in Terrell, Lee, and Sumter Counties to put up the name of a Negro on the ballot for the next Agricultural Stabilization Commission (ASC) county board elections. It would take the signatures of only 6 farmers in each county to get a Negro's name put on the ballot. Furthermore, it is not beyond reason to hope for the election of one Negro in each county given sufficient long range planning.

Food surplus distribution programs could be started in Terrell and Lee counties and possibly in Sumter as well.

Experts could be brought in to give workshops on new farming techniques and on the available government aid programs and loan programs.

D. Requirements for a Rural Area Development Program :

A good rural areas program would need at least one well trained field secretary, familiar with all govt. and private programs for development of rural areas and help to small farmers. He would also need to be familiar with available sources of information, and should have a comprehensive knowledge of the Southwest Georgia rural economy. A designated person might spend some time in N.Y. with the NSF to get this specialized knowledge.

PERSONNEL: S.W. Georgia

Project Director: ¹/₂ *spiritual leader.*
Charles Sherrod

Field Secretaries:

AMERICUS: Don Harris - 924-5863
Bob Mants
Dave Bell
John Perdew

LEE: Willie Ricks
George Best

TERRELL: Bob Cover - 995-2347

ALBANY: Randy Battle - 436-4902
James Daniels
Phil Davis