"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION," PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

"You may as well open the book and be fully honest about your plans to begin with."

7. Register and have records of all participants wherever possible.

8. Participation should be based on a written discipline or upon some set of principles or constitution. No exceptions should be made.

9. Problems arise between persons in groups. Boy-girl relationships develop resulting in "sloppy public demonstrations of personal affection. Sloppy clothing should be avoided.

10. Psychological problems arise. If possible, a mature person with experience in family relationships should have a leading role.

11. The white participant in civil rights activities, especially in the "Deep South" faces special problems: how to live with and communicate with Negroes; he may be treated as a second-class participant.

[redacted] a symposium entitled "What's Ahead for the American Left?" was held at 124 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, on March 15, 1957. In addition to speakers from the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and other leftist groups, CHARLES WALKER spoke as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist type group. He stated there is a long way to go before a real socialist movement is established; that the situation is one of human values, not revolution. He noted that the aim is for justice and brotherhood; that secret police, spies, etc., foisted on the people as a temporary emergency, are all part of violence and war itself is the enemy. He stated he desired nonviolent revolution.

[redacted]

[redacted]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION, PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

He said that any premature plans for union of socialist groups would fail; the Communist Party has been discredited, and that the American left is safe only by use of nonviolence.

An article in the "Sunday Bulletin," identified above, issue of December 15, 1963, captioned "Quakers Provide the Mainspring of the Peace Movement Here" quoted CHARLES WALKER as saying "The Communist Movement in the United States is dead, they have no influence.." The article notes that WALKER is a Quaker who was sentenced to four years imprisonment during World War II as a conscientious objector.

The manual then discussed public relations and suggests brief biographical sketches of well-known civil rights leaders, press releases, news media, etc. It instructs that press releases should read like a news story and should include Who, What, Where, When and Why in the first sentence or two.

The following suggestions for publicity campaigns are included:

Keep leaflets readable, down to earth, use English suited to the locale, don't promise what you can't deliver.

The manual then outlines a suggested format for a meeting:

1. Call to order
2. Minutes of previous meeting
3. Summary of correspondence
4. Reports of special officers
5. Handle old or unfinished business
6. New business
7. Good and welfare
8. If no further business, adjourn

[redacted]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION, PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Citizenship and Voter Registration
(Chapter 3)

The manual states.."in much of the South repression is the law, oppression a way of life, and veering from the path of 'our way of life' is not tolerated at all. Here an independent idea is subversion that must be squelched, for each bit of intellectual initiative represents a threat. Negroes have learned what is necessary for immediate survival: that silence is safest, so volunteer nothing and tell 'them' only what they want to hear... ... Your job: to help them begin to question.. to help the people see this hope, and inspire them to go after it..

Suggestions for teaching and "discussion leadership" in a community involved in a civil rights problem include relation of subject matter to participants' level of understanding; keep classroom atmosphere informal; prepare presentation carefully; lead but do not dominate discussion; encourage participation by everyone.

The manual then sets up a typical budget for a three week voter registration project involving 20 persons plus two leaders. The total is $800 plus travel expenses.

The manual notes that in many Southern states there are percentage wise as many poor whites, excluded from politics as Negroes; that in the 1870's and 1880's there was a powerful alliance in the South between the poor whites and the ex-slave population. The final objective of current campaigns to refranchise the Negro and poor white is to resurrect that alliance, to forge a political force in the South which will be liberal, pro-trade union, pro-civil rights. This coalition will have to do away with the present Dixiecrat blockade of progressive legislation in Washington, D.C.

Workshop in Direct Action
(Chapter 4)

Workshops may involve lecture and theories as part of the schedule, but the real aim is practice.

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION, PUBLISHED BY [redacted] PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Five good reasons for workshops are listed:

1. To practice skills
2. To understand your opponents
3. To build up morale
4. To get rid of tensions
5. To make for more democracy.

"Role-playing" or "socio-drama" involves two or more persons spontaneously acting out roles in the context of real problems which the group faces. The leader defines the problem, sets the scene, casts the characters, commences the action and ends it when the point has been made.

Several "scenarios" of role playing are included in the manual.

One example concerns an eviction. A group of civil rights demonstrators is blocking access to a tenement to prevent a constable from evicting a tenant who has been participating in a rent strike. The constable and several citizens urge the group to obey the law and move out of the way; then the constable and the police officer threaten the group with arrest if they do not move.

The workshop leader then discusses the above set of facts with the participants and might ask questions such as: How do the demonstrators respond to the other citizens and to the constable? How do they respond to the officer?

A cast is then selected of three or four demonstrators, two or three citizens, a constable, one or more police officers who then act out the parts assigned them.

Other sample scenarios are "The Congressman," "The Barber Shop," "The Magistrate's Court," "The Cell," "The Picket Line," and "The March."

[redacted]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION", PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Direct Action Tactics
(Chapter 5)

The manual states that one catalog of nonviolent action lists 64 different methods of nonviolence which have been used historically.

The manual lists those which appear to be most significant for the current civil rights struggle.

1. Marches and parades.

The manual states that a common method of discrediting marches and parades is to describe them as disorderly and violent. Two steps can eliminate the validity of this charge (A) Either silence or singing in unison (B) Set up a system of leadership, including a marshal and a number of line leaders.

2. Picketing and vigiling.

The difference between picketing and a vigil is that a vigil is longer and is held in a meditative spirit. Often a vigil is held around-the-clock for several days.

The manual lists a "Sample Discipline" for pickets which includes:

(a) Attitude of good will in face of provocation

(b) Nonretaliation to violence

(c) Abide by decisions of person in charge

(d) If arrested, submit with promptness and composure

(e) Promptness in appointments and carrying out of assigned tasks.

Suggestions offered to organize an effective picket line include:

(a) Assemble somewhere other than where picket will be,

then go to place in group.

(b) Refer questioners, press, or police to person in charge

(c) Walk erectly, be careful in use of language, no profanity, etc.

(d) Assign two leafleteers to each location so leafleting can continue if one leafleteer becomes involved with a questioner.

(e) Pick up discarded leaflets (to avoid charges of littering, etc.)

(f) Avoid unnecessary scurrying about.

3. Fraternization.

Used in countries occupied by a foreign power. This was effective in some instances in Norway under Nazi occupation.

4. "Haunting"

This is a means of reminding officials of the immorality of their behavior; volunteers follow them everywhere they go. In India, during Gandhian struggles, arrests were made but volunteers "haunted" the authorities until they were sick of it.

5. Leafleting

6. Renouncing honors

i.e. Negro students might send back American Legion School Awards; Negro veterans might send back Medals of Honor.

Noncooperation can take several forms including:

7. Strike

8. "Hartal"

This involves staying at home a full day or more. This shows unity and self-discipline. The populace used this device during

the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

9. Consumers' boycott

i.e. Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott

10. Renters boycott

Refusal to pay rent because of grievances against landlord.

11. School boycott

12. Tax refusal

"Why pay the police who are beating you?"

Direct nonviolent intervention includes:

13. Sit-ins

14. The fast

Gandhi was the best example of this technique.

15. Reverse strike

i.e. The unemployed in Sicily in 1956 voluntarily repaired a public road that was badly in need of repair in order to call attention to severe unemployment in the area and the government's failure to deal with it.

The manual states "... although this method looks harmless enough at first glance, it has in practice been regarded as a sufficient threat so that reverse strikers have been arrested, imprisoned and even in some cases shot by police attempting to stop them from working!..."

16. Nonviolent interjection and obstruction

This involves placing one's body between another person and the objective of his work.

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One of the most dramatic and highly publicized examples of this technique occurred in early 1964 at a Cleveland construction site where several actionists lay down in front of a bulldozer. A minister, seeing that the operator might reverse direction, lay down behind the bulldozer and was killed.

Counter-Demonstration Operations
(Chapter 6)

Pages 78-79 state in part, "Remember that the opponent would like, if possible, to provoke your group into wild statements, inaccurate or exaggerated accusations which cannot be proved, name calling, undignified behavior, confusion and disorderly behavior [redacted] fighting among the leaders, desertion from the ranks, and outright violent retaliation."

To attempt to avoid this the authors suggest discipline, calmness, restraint, education and organization. If attacked, they suggest one alternative might be to say to the assailant in a calm voice, "Sir, may I ask you a question?" They also suggest that if a group is under attack they might start spontaneously singing a hymn together.

"Tough" policing of civil rights falls into two categories:

"Alabama System"

This involves the lack of police protection for civil rights demonstrations and permits the formation of mobs (e.g. Freedom Riders, 1961).

"Mississippi System"

Forbids the formation of mobs and uses police authority to crush civil rights demonstrations.

In the North two variations of the Mississippi system (1) the "hard" line disperse or else, and (2) "soft glove" technique, initially, followed by polite requests to disperse, then veiled threats, for example to have leading demonstrators committed to mental institutions for observation.

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The best possible combination is to have a well organized, well educated movement combined with "legal police tactics."

Police Tactics

Once they have received orders, police and troops don't care about objective of demonstration. They are concerned whether they are dealing with a crowd, a mob, or a riot. The authors define a crowd in motion as a mob; a riot as a disturbance of three or more persons who want to overcome any opposition to their action by lawful or unlawful means.

Officers find it more practical and less dangerous to arrest random citizens at the edge of the mob rather than a leader or speaker in the center.

Individuals can be controlled more easily than groups. Police officers try to drive the crowd away from sensitive areas by use of gas, horses (also referred to as cavalry by authors), dogs, fire hoses, etc. "Sleeper" elements are sometimes planted behind the police "skirmish line" to set up a counter demonstration to divert an attacking police unit.

The manual points out that there is no defence against gas attack except masks or leaving the area. The immediate reaction is to panic and run. The authors warn against this and urge an orderly dignified retreat.

The use of cavalry and dogs is chiefly psychological. "Some dogs are trained only to hold, not to bite, but don't count on it."

Demonstrators are warned against lying down in front or horses as severe injuries will result.

The authors suggest a "human chain" to withstand pressure of fire hoses, but warn that other counterdemonstration operations generally follow.

The white participant is regarded as an outside agitator, a Communist, as a light-skinned Negro, and if a woman, a prostitute. Violence, if it erupts (in the "Deep South") tends to focus on the white picket.

You can recognize police or FBI photographers because they take photos of individual demonstrators rather than of the entire action.

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Arrest and the Courts
(Chapter 7)

A policeman does not need a warrant to arrest a demonstrator he sees committing a felony, misdemeanor or summary offence.

If the demonstrator feels he is not guilty and resists arrest, the officer can use all necessary force to arrest this person.

Immediately at the time of arrest the demonstrator has the right to ask why he is being arrested; before being questioned at the police station following the arrest, the police must tell the arrested person of the charge against him. "In many places the police have the right to fingerprint and photograph you," according to page 91 of the manual.

Constitutional rights and privileges are then discussed in some detail as they affect persons under arrest.

In summary offense cases the arrested person has additional rights (beyond those afforded in the cases of felonies and misdemeanors). (1) The Justice of the Peace must ask how the person pleads, (2) the arrested person can tell his side of the story, (3) he can have his own witnesses, (4) if the Justice of the Peace finds him guilty, he must tell him exactly what he found him guilty of and the penalty thereof.

The manual urges that a lawyer be retained if possible.

The manual cautions ".. A realistic view would therefore be that constitutional rights are an extremely relative matter, and that in many instances involving civil rights activity, the civil rights worker may as well forget they exist."

The manual quotes the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1961) that ..."Negroes feel the brunt of official brutality proportionately more than any other group. Approximately two out of every three complaints (received by the Department of Justice) originated in the 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia..."

[redacted]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION, PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Civil rights matters that wind up in federal courts are usually matters involving violations of injunctions granted by federal district court (86 districts) or appeals from state supreme courts.

The manual alleges (page 95) "... The FBI has been notoriously lax in stepping in to help civil rights demonstrators, even when brutality against demonstrators was proceeding right in front of the agents." It should not be assumed that Negro police officers are sympathetic; some of them "lean over backwards" to be tough.

Civil rights leaders owe it to the demonstrators answers to the following:

(1) Why are we demonstrating?

(2) At what point will he "call it off?"

(3) Are we likely to be arrested?

(4) Will we accept bail?

(5) If arrested, in what priority will be released (wage earners, students, etc.)

(6) How much will we cooperate with police.

(7) Have we announced in advance our intention of breaking the law?

(8) Shall we remain in jail rather than pay fines?

(9) Will legal action be taken against officials who "rough us up?"

Jail
(Chapter 8)

Demonstrators are urged to wear loose, tough clothing, two sets of underwear (while in jail can wash one set while wearing the other) to have sweater or trenchcoat, toothbrush, deodorant, soap,

[redacted]

cigarettes, toilet paper, Kleenex, notepaper, ballpoint pen refills. If you must wear glasses, tape them on.

Under the heading "Keeping up Morale," page 105 of the manual states that some exhausted civil rights workers look forward to jail as a place they can catch up on their sleep. Singing, lecturing, "role-playing," sharing of experiences, etc., are suggested to combat boredom, also projects to contribute to prison life such as a newspaper, paint-up, fix-up, etc.

The authors do not recommend noise making as a form of agitation to obtain concessions while in jail as it can lead to destruction of property, rioting, etc., which is alien to the nonviolent discipline.

Sit-downs outside the cell or when moving from one place to another are an additional protest method.

Another method is the hunger strike. Generally prisoners engaging in a hunger strike drink water; not to do so is fatal in ten to fifteen days. Some fasts taking only water have lasted two months or more.

Nonviolence and Armed Defense
(Chapter 9)

Because of a "sense of desperation" which has developed in recent years within the Negro Community there has been an increased attack on the tactics and concepts of nonviolence and an increased interest in the tactics of armed defense.

Advocates of various brands of Black Nationalism criticize nonviolence on several grounds.

1. Knowledge that Negroes are armed and will defend themselves deters aggression.

The authors answer that violence does not deter violence; that nonviolent action deters brutality better than violence does.

[redacted]

"A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION. PUBLISHED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE, PHILADELPHIA, PA."

Another criticism is that nonviolence is foreign to the nation's way of doing things. Negroes have for centuries been the victims of violence, and this has become a part of their way of life. Nonviolence is the tactic of the white middle-class intellectual, not of the Negro working-class.

The authors' rebuttal to this argument is that the roots of nonviolent action in America go back to Puritan Massachusetts and to colonial Pennsylvania (Quaker influence). The boycott was used during the American Revolution; the labor movement has made full use of nonviolent tactics. The Golden Rule and the Christian ethic are part of the American way of life.

Another argument for violence is that racism is a disease. It is less important to convert the racist enemy than it is to remove his opposition to the struggle and eliminate his threat to the homes and families of Negroes.

The answer given by the authors is that nonviolence provides three more kinds of power: economic power, political power and psychological power.

With respect to political power, the authors contend that mass demonstrations (nonviolent) are powerful and make it difficult for the politicians to rule without making concessions.

On commenting on the psychological power of nonviolence they note that the Christian Church would not have become involved in the struggle for change to the degree it has if the movement had been violent.

Another contention of the pro-violence faction is that nonviolence is all very well when there's not much at stake, - a few votes, a few jobs, etc. When it comes to real numbers in jobs, votes, housing, schools, etc., and when the "Negro movement begins to march upon the real citadels of the power elite, then no mercy will be shown, and we will be crushed despite all the protestations of Christian love. Only arms will save us."

The authors answer this in part by saying ..."If this means that the only way 170,000,000 whites will give up their key privileges is for 20,000,000 Negroes to defeat them

[redacted]

with arms, then there is no hope..." They contend that such guerilla type terrorist activity will bring only hardship and death, mostly to Negroes.

Appendix A Bibliographical Notes, pages 119-123.

This section cites several authors and gives brief comments on their books. This literature deals with Negro protest, migration of Southern Negroes to Northern cities, Negro separation, the Negro's cultural contributions, trade unionization and related matters.

Among the books and authors mentioned are "Negro Slave Revolts in the United States" by HERBERT APTHEKER, and "Negro Leader in Time of Crisis" by W. E. B. DU BOIS.

HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the CPUSA at its 17th National Convention, December 10-13, 1959.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Doctor W. E. B. DU BOIS died in Ghana, Africa, at the age of 96. He was a prominent crusader for Negro rights, who at the age of 93, joined the Communist Party, USA. His letter of application to the CPUSA and GUS HALL's acceptance were printed in "The Worker" issue of November 26, 1961.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist publication.

[redacted] on December 18, 1963, advised that GUS HALL as of that time was General Secretary, CPUSA.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Appendix "C" to "Manual for Direct Action," by Oppenheimer and Lakey

(Security Notes for Deep South Work, adapted from CORO suggestions)

TRAVEL (a) When persons leave their project they must call the home project person-to-person on arrival at their destination in person. If they are reported missing, personnel will notify central hq. A system of daily reports will note all changes in personnel, transfers, etc. Phones should be used only when there is no time to use mail. Care should be taken to avoid using full names of persons over the phone. Checklists to keep track of all personnel at all times should be maintained

(b) Doors of cars should be locked at all times. At night, windows should be rolled up as much as possible. Gas tanks should have locks and be kept locked. Hoods should also be locked.

(c) No one should go anywhere alone, especially not in an automobile, or at night. Travel at night should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

(d) Remove all objects from your car which could be construed as weapons: hammers, files, iron rules, etc. No liquor bottles, beer cans, etc. should be inside your car. Do not travel with names and addresses of local contacts.

(e) Know all roads in and out of town. Study the county map. Know locations of safe homes and contacts in the county.

(f) When getting out of a car at night, turn car's inside lights off first.

(g) Note any cars which circle offices of Freedom Houses. Take license numbers of all suspicious cars. Note make, model and year. Cars without license plates should be reported at once to project office.

[redacted]

DOMICILE (a) If it can be avoided, try not to sleep near open window. Sleep at the back of houses, that is, the part farthest from the road or street.

(b) Do not stand in doorways at night with lights on behind you. Draw shades if you sit in lighted rooms. Do not congregate in front of the house. Make sure doors to houses have locks and are kept locked.

(c) Keep records of all suspicious events, e.g. cars circling around the house or office. If an incident occurs, or seems about to occur, call the project, and also notify local FBI and police.

(d) Under some circumstances it may be advisable for new personnel to make themselves known to local police, introduce themselves, and tell them their reason for being in the area.

(e) A telephone should be installed. If a private phone is used, put a lock on it; otherwise, install a pay phone.

PERSONAL (a) Carry identification at all times. Men should carry draft cards.

(b) All drivers should have in their possession drivers' licenses, registration papers, and bills of sale. The information should also be on record with the project director. If you are carrying supplies, it is well to have a letter authorizing the supplies from a particular individual, in order to avoid charges of carrying stolen goods.

(c) Mississippi is a "dry" state, but though liquor is ostensibly outlawed, it is available readily. You must not drink in offices or Freedom Houses. This is especially important for persons under 21.

(d) Avoid bizarre or provocative clothing, and beards. Be neat.

(e) Make sure that medicines prescribed for you by a physician are clearly marked with your name and the doctor's name, etc.

POLICE Under no circumstances should you give the address of the local person with whom you are living, his or her name, or the names of any local persons who are associated with you. When police ask where you live, give your local project or Freedom House address, or if necessary your out-of-state home address.

VISITORS Find out who strangers are. If persons come into project offices to "look around," try to find out who they are and what exactly they want to know. All offers of help should be cleared through the project director.

RECORDS Any written record of any importance should have at least four copies. Keep original and send copies to (in case of Mississippi COFO project) Jackson, Greenwood, and Atlanta. Bear in mind that offices may be raided at any time. Keep a record of interference with phone lines, and of calls to the FBI. This information should go to hq.

GENERAL (a) People who do not adhere to disciplinary requirements will be asked to leave the project.

(b) Security is a matter of group responsibility. Each individual should take an interest in every other individual's safety, well-being, and discipline.

(c) At all times you should be aware of dangers to local inhabitants. White volunteers must be especially aware of this point.

(1) [redacted]

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)

The March 1, 1954, issue of the "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page three of "Labor Action," an official publication of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), contained an article concerning the creation of the YSL, which pointed out that at a unity conference occurring February 12-14, 1954, at Labor Action Hall, New York, New York, a merger occurred between the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Socialist Youth League (SYL). The new organization was named the YSL.

On April 9, 1956, another confidential informant advised as follows:

The YSL has frequently worked in close sympathetic cooperation with the ISL toward similar objectives, although each major issue given mutual consideration is decided upon by these organizations individually. The YSL serves as an apprenticeship for the ISL, but ISL selection of members from YSL ranks is made on an individual and personal basis. In many instances YSL members are also members of the ISL.

The YSL and ISL utilize the same printing house in New York City and the YSL publication is printed as an insert in "Labor Action." Frequently, lecturers before the YSL are ISL members.

[redacted]

[redacted]

The September 22, 1958, issue of "Young Socialist C... ge," which appeared as page five of "Labor Action," contained a ...ited statement from the National Action Committee of the YSL which indicated that the YSL had been dissolved. The statement appeared under the caption "Join the Young Peoples Socialist League."

The YPSL is publicly known as the youth affiliate of ...e Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation.

[redacted]

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH
YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

On October 26, 1956, a confidential informant advised that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had recently formed a branch of the National YSL in Philadelphia, which branch held its first meeting in Philadelphia on October 7, 1956. On June 25, 1958, this informant advised that the YSL still maintains a branch in Philadelphia.

This informant on October 8, 1958, advised that the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL in September 1958, had disbanded and merged with the Philadelphia Branch of the Young Peoples Socialist League(YPSL). The YPSL is publicly known as the Youth Affiliate of the Socialist Party, Socialist Democratic Federation.

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (SP-SDF) and its affiliated youth group Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)

The Independent Socialist League (ISL), formerly designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450, and the Young Socialist League (YSL), dissolved and disbanded in 1958.

The Philadelphia Branch of the ISL and the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL also disbanded in December, 1958.

Many persons who formerly had been members of the ISL and the YSL joined the SP-SDF and its affiliated youth group, the YPSL.

The SP-SDF and the YPSL have not been designated by the Attorney General of the United States and are not known to be controlled or dominated by any subversive organization.

The ISL and YSL are characterized separately.

Sources of this Bureau whose identities are concealed in this document have furnished reliable information in the past.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-58)

F B I

Date: 7/10/64

Transmit the following in Plain Text
(Type in plain text or code)

Via Airtel
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: Director, FBI ATTN: CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION

FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (100-4899)

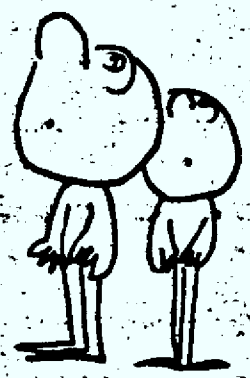
SUBJECT: (1) AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
IS - C

Re my airtel, 7/9/64.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of a publication entitled "A Manual for Direct Action" by MARTIN OPPENHEIMER and GEORGE LAKEY, published by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa., in 1964.

100-113923

A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION



BY MARTIN OPPENHEIMER
AND GEORGE LAKEY

A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION

Table of Contents

by Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey

Friends Peace Committee
1520 Race Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
1964

INTRODUCTION

This book is a rush job, like so many jobs in the civil rights direct action movement. It is written, however, so others will not have to rush quite so much. We put it together so you can have, in one place, information and alternatives on which you can base some of your thinking. It is not the Bible, however, and better things will come. As James Farmer has pointed out, we are in our infancy in nonviolent action. It may be that in the course of the revolution we will grow to maturity.

We admit our shortcoming frankly because frankness is a virtue and because you will soon discover it anyway. Here, as in so many cases in the movement, virtue and practicality go together.

There are people who do not believe in manuals, or in training, or in thinking ahead. They prefer to make all the mistakes for themselves. This book is for those who care more about the success of their struggle than about their own painful learning-by-experience. What we have put down here has been gleaned from the experience of civil rights and other movements; it includes some of the ideas of those who have learned painful lessons and want others to profit by them.

An important value of a manual like this is that it promotes democracy. A leader who alone understands the dynamics of a struggle and the

techniques for waging it, has a monopoly of power. Power flows to those who understand what is happening. When understanding and knowledge are shared, more persons can take a responsible part in decision-making. The movement need not flounder while the leader is in jail. Those readers who believe in democracy will see that a manual, and training, help to make a movement more democratic--and its participants more responsible.

Another reason for this book is that many of those who are now engaged in the struggle are young. Times are very different from the early forties when a few seasoned veterans of the peace and civil rights movements experimented with direct action tactics. Today a great deal of the leadership comes from young people, angry with a society which preaches brotherhood and practices discrimination. Participants in sit-ins have described the struggle in moral terms: there is less theory than in the thirties. Since morality strikes deep, people can be deeply moved and very angry. Anger, like so many emotions, can be used constructively or destructively. The way indignation is channeled will depend partly on the readers of this manual.

The early campaigns for civil rights were led mostly by middle class Negroes and whites: Now, more and more participants are from the working class and the unemployed. We know from study and experience that working class people are readier to use violence than middle class people. Because of the way children are brought up, because of the values they are taught,

because of frustration piled on frustration, it is easier for some people to use violence in the struggle. This is another problem the reader must face. By sharing the knowledge gathered in this manual new recruits to the movement will come to a better understanding of what is happening, and to a more positive reaction to the events of the day.

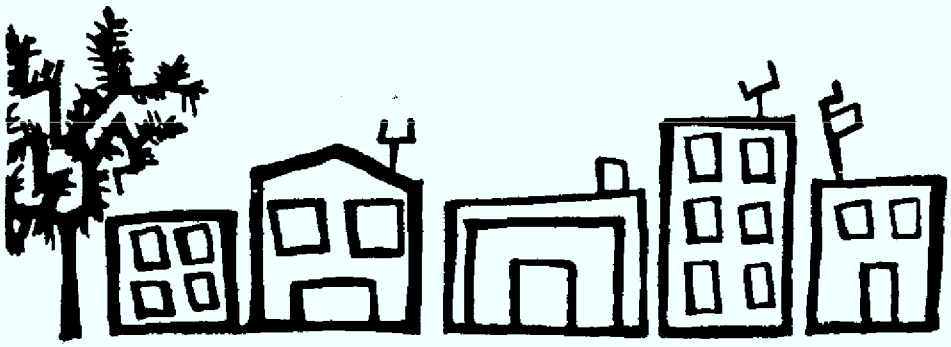
We have all seen people, angered by a piece of machinery which would not work, give it a kick or try to force it by brute strength. And we have seen others inspect the machine closely, find the right lever, and set it running again.

This manual begins with an examination of that complicated piece of social machinery, the community, and points to some of the levers which can be used for bringing about change. But usually the levers will not be moved without organization. Education of participants is essential if the movement is to be democratic, and aware of its direction.

Preparing for direct action means choosing tactics and training in their effective use. The manual will also share what is known about nonviolent defense. Arrest, court procedures, and prison, too, require preparation. The issue of how far nonviolence should be taken, and whether armed self-defense makes sense will also be raised.

Finally there are appendices with interesting reference material recommended for jail and other spare-time reading

Your comments and suggestions are very much needed if future editions are to be better than this one is. Please send them to us.



Chapter 1: The Community

You act and react, as a civil rights worker and as a member of a movement, within a series of communities. There is the greater community of the Western world. There are smaller communities such as the family, small groups, cliques. But for our purposes the community in which we are interested is that of the city or town, as it exists within a state and region. While no two communities are ever the same, some general rules do apply to most communities that exist within a culture.

Whether you are engaged in citizenship education or sit-ins, it is important to know the community in which you act. In terms of an ongoing, organized campaign, it is crucial to be aware of a series of conditions--Who has the power? What is the relationship of forces, both racial and otherwise? What is the economy like? If you are considering a boycott, it is important to know what role the Negro community plays in relation to the stores being boycotted. In a city like Atlanta, downtown stores do not depend much on Negro trade because Negroes tend to deal with their own well-established

concerns within their own communities. A boycott will be difficult. In a city like Nashville, where the Negro community is located not far from the center-city business district, and where whites have been moving to the suburbs rapidly, the business district is heavily dependent on Negro trade. A boycott may be crucial.

Another example which shows the importance of analyzing the power structure of the community is the role played in the community by the state government. That a city is also a state capital may change its reactions--state legislators may take a hand (usually negative) in the struggle. Or, because a state government has differences with a local power structure, it may play a role, either negative or positive, in the struggle, where otherwise it might stay out. You may have to contend with (or have the tacit alliance of) state troopers. These are all factors of which you should be aware before the struggle begins. It is important, therefore, when coming to a community, to make a careful survey, or community study. Sources of information include: back copies of local newspapers, local almanacs, Chamber of Commerce figures, census data (available from the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce or at most large libraries), and interviews with local business, labor, and political figures (preferably before they know why you are really there). Do not neglect looking at the society pages to find out which families "count" in decision-making processes, and do not forget to inspect the forces moving within the Negro community.

What factors should you be looking for when you make this "social inventory?"

1. Who has the power in the community? That is, which people, families, and business concerns, which politicians, ministers, educators have the authority to make decisions which influence the behavior of other individuals or groups, or things? Generally speaking, the real decision-making power will tend to overlap with "society." Not all people in "society" have power, and not all power people are in the society, but as a group they will overlap. The elite (and this is just as true in the Negro community) will have gone to certain schools and universities, will live in a certain area considered more desirable, will belong to certain social clubs, will attend certain churches, and above all, will be concentrated in certain occupations and professions: directors of large business, (smaller in smaller communities), financiers, and the lawyers who serve them constitute the "power elite" of a community. The elite will vary, of course, with the kind of community--in an area of large plantation-type agriculture, there will be one kind of elite. In a more commercial and industrial area, there will be another. Above all, it is important to remember that elites do not always agree among themselves. They have interests which differ and sometime conflict. These differences and conflicts can be "used" by the smart civil rights worker. Example: Generally it is wise to try to boycott all stores, even when some stores are prepared to give in to demands on equal hiring and serving. The managers who are willing to give in will then pressure the more stubborn ones.

It is generally necessary to deal with the power structure when raising civil rights demands, and it is important that the power structure be aware of the issues. Frequently the biracial commission or Mayor's Committee will channel information from the civil rights groups through to the power structure, and this is valuable. A power structure which is ignorant of the issues, and of the nature of the opposition, cannot make realistic decisions in the conflict situation. Nor can the movement act realistically unless it is aware of what the power structure is likely to do. Conflict is ultimately the test through which both sides learn about each other, and this is one of the best aspects of the dispute. The century-old silence between the races (and ignorance about real feelings despite all talk that "we know our Niggras") is being broken, because conflict talks.

2. What are the relations between the racial groups? In making out a social inventory it is crucial to know what the situation is, and has been, before moving on. What rights do Negroes have? How did they get these rights? Can Negroes be policemen? Firemen? If so, only in Negro sections? Who votes? Who rides buses? Who can go to the movies? Balcony only for Negroes? Which Negro businesses are really white controlled? Which churches? Which politicians? Which school board members?

The most important factor, again, in determining the present relationship of the races (and making a prediction of the degree of resistance to future change) is the proportion of Negroes in the population. The more Negroes, the more resistance, except in large cities.

This means that we must be aware of what we're getting into. (You don't need training manuals for the fairly easy situation!) As is the case with any exercise, you practice the way you play, and winners tend to be people who practice hard and know the angles. The Deep South particularly is no affair for amateurs.

3. Who are your friends and who are your opponents?

You can assume very little when you first go into an unfamiliar community. Some spade-work may have been done by someone before you, but this is frequently not the case. Education matters less than an ability to understand and communicate. The noisiest civil rights revolutionist may only be telling you what he thinks you want to hear, or what he thinks you ought to know. Some ministers, school teachers, and businessmen in the Negro community depend on segregation for their living. Others do not. People with independent incomes (or no incomes) will tend to be readier to act than those who depend on others and are insecure. Juvenile gangs, if approached in the right way, can be given a new purpose in life and can be valuable allies --but do not expect them to become nonviolent angels overnight. Furthermore, traditional educational methods (lecture)may not work and you will have to try new and ingenious methods of teaching and training.

It is important to try to involve segments of the white community. In Charlotte, N.C., the involvement of white Unitarians finally broke resistance to the sit-ins. Frequently a gesture will help: is there a union organizing campaign going on? These are potential allies. You

cannot expect allies to come to you simply because our cause is just. Everyone has prejudices of many kinds--the thing to do is to limit a person's chances to find reasons for bringing these prejudices out into the open. This is an important reason for nonviolence--it makes good public relations sense because it limits the chance for finding reasons to be against the movement. At the same time we cannot compromise, because not only will we lose thereby, but the Negro community, whose involvement is crucial, will be antagonized. Therefore: to maximize allies, don't antagonize, but don't compromise.

When going to other organizations for help, it is important to know how policy is made: by a few leaders, or at membership meetings, or otherwise? And can these organizations really be of help in the long run, or will they "use" the cause to promote a particular brand of politics? Will a change in national policy force them to abandon you? Your community study should show which organizations, churches, unions are likely to be help (based on their past record). All groups in a community (regardless of type --even Alcoholics Anonymous) as well as all individuals fall into one of the following classes:

1. Active associates and friends in the cause.
2. Support, but not active participation. Financial help.
3. Moral support, some individuals giving money.
4. Neutral--organization divided evenly.
5. Hostile, but not active...wait and see.
6. Actively hostile (Citizens Councils, Klan, etc.)

Your primary job is (a) to decide which of the above is your target group in a particular

campaign; your secondary task is (b) to move everybody one step up. Each of the groups will require a somewhat different approach (to be discussed in the section on public relations).

Where allies are concerned, your chief problems are fear, and apathy. We can't say much about fear. This is something you'll have to deal with depending on the situation. Alternative ways of earning a living and finding a roof can't always be created (e.g. Tent City in Tennessee). As to apathy, this may be due to bad planning, poor preparation, poor timing, and/or poor leadership. People declare a kind of mental sit-in when they are confronted with dictatorial "leaders" who keep the decision-making process clasped tightly to their own bosoms. People who don't trust the rank-and-file sufficiently to let them know what is happening as it develops and have a say in it, don't deserve to be trusted, and apathy sooner or later results. Partly it results because dictators talk a big game but don't produce--their failure to produce is due to the fact that they make mistakes, and this happens because they don't listen to anybody. Totalitarianism simply is not the most efficient way of "getting things done" in the long run. Sooner or later leaders become isolated, and the organization degenerates into a clique affair.

Strategy must be guided by your own situation, and cannot be taken out of a book. There are, however, some considerations you should take into account:

1. The political awareness of the Negro community. In some places the Negro community is so frightened, apathetic and/or lacking in civic awareness that the first step may be a voter registration campaign. Communication and concern can thereby be built about the major issues facing Negroes.

2. The number of Negroes in proportion to whites. If there is a large number of Negroes in proportion to whites, the white community will feel especially threatened in a physical sense. The strategy will have to take this into account, and prepare for a longer and tougher campaign. Boycotts obviously work better in a situation of numerical superiority.

The political situation may be such that while the town is bitterly opposed to the movement, the governor of the state is a potential ally. Large demonstrations may be required to flag his attention. On the other hand in the town may make concessions which the state may not, because of political ambition by the governor or for some other reason. In such a case, it would be better not to get the state and possible state police violence involved.

The main point is that what works in one situation may not in another, and massive demonstrations may not always be tactically best thing to do.

3. The support of outsiders. If there is a "law" in direct action which has held true consistently over the years and geography, it is this: the presence of outsiders can work against the success of the cause. Opponents use outsiders' presence as an important propaganda weapon against the campaigners. In the civil rights struggle outsiders help segregationists maintain their belief that local Negroes are not really in the struggle of their own will, and consequently, the status quo can not be so unjust after all. Some civil rights groups, realizing this, have taken great pains to identify themselves as local. In one case in the Upper South leaders of a sit-in asked a publicity-conscious organizer to go back to his national office, and issued a statement that they were not connected with his organization.

Organizers from outside may sometimes be necessary. When there is no local movement, or if the movement is in trouble and lacking important skills in direct action, there is often no choice but to bring in outside help.

However, this should be done realizing that there will be some ill effects. If a movement in a town is healthy and has good leadership, it can be a real disservice for leadership to call for "1000 supporters" from a nearby city to come and "help" them.

There are things outsiders can do which minimize the bad effects, such as raising money or picketing their local affiliate of the demonstrators' target. Direct action can also be taken at the state or national capital.

One more reason why it is not necessarily helpful to have outside leadership or numbers of demonstrators is that in the last analysis no one can give anyone else freedom. Following the Freedom Rides, valuable though they were in many ways, Negroes went back to segregated practices in town after town because they had not won the freedom for themselves.

4. The stages of the struggle. Most direct action campaigns go through several stages. If we label them according to the reactions of the opponent, we have: (a) indifference; (b) active antagonism; (c) disunity; and (d) negotiation. The first stage, indifference, has already passed in many areas because of the national impact of the struggle and due to wide press coverage. Even in towns where no direct action has taken place, there is no longer much indifference and lines have been drawn. The town may be edgy and the power structure may, at the onset of demonstrations, immediately respond with active antagonism. However, if you are working in a town where indifference is the first response, you can use the time gained

to good advantage in tightening up organizational effectiveness.

The second stage, active antagonism, is the period when the tide often runs highest against the movement. It may be long or short, depending on a number of factors including how deeply committed the opponents are to segregation. There is a tendency at this time for communication between Negro and white to cease.

This stage is crucial, for it is here that a lot of learning takes place. In the heat of conflict people are hyper-sensitive to the actions of the other side. Actions which confirm the prejudices the opponent has will be seized upon and magnified; those which counter the prejudices will have more impact than ordinarily. Disorderly, undisciplined direct action will confirm the belief that "those Negroes aren't ready for freedom," while courageously facing troopers without wavering will refute, among at least some, the belief that "Negroes, like animals, will be scared away by a show of force."

Some of your forces will at this point question the usefulness of continuing the struggle --"we are worse off now than when we started." They are right in the sense that, if the campaign stopped now, Negro and white communities would be farther apart than before you began. However, if the struggle continues it will pass into stage three. Frequently a "cooling-off period" takes place next. Some negotiating, usually not fruitful, often accompanies this stage.

The third stage, disunity of the opponent, is the fruit of what came earlier. Demonstrations have been resumed. More and more of the people in or near the power structure will have doubts about the rightness of the measures they are taking to beat you down. Reconsideration of their position will take place. White moderates can play an important role here, setting up lines of communication between the civil fights forces and the opponents, and finding arguments (including economic) which make it seem unreasonable for the power structure to hold out much longer. The discussions among the opponents and the moderates often go on without the knowledge of the civil rights leaders; unless there is a dramatic breakthrough like a prominent minister's preaching on your behalf, you may not be aware that this stage is actually occurring until it is finished.

The fourth stage, a second and more realistic round of negotiations, is also an important one, for poor negotiation can bring a return to open conflict. The negotiator should try to do two things: (1) describe the results of change as <u>less</u> threatening than the opponents suppose, and (2) describe the results of <u>not</u> changing the practices as more threatening than the results of change. *

One way to show that change would not be threatening is to bring with you illustrations of successes in other places. Sometimes opponents

*This and the following on negotiation borrows heavily from John P. Dean and Alex Rosen, <u>A Manual of Intergroup Relations</u>.

will agree to have a trial run of the change; this must be done in good faith, however, without using it to sound out customers or citizens by telling them "We're just trying this thing out--what's your reaction?" Experience shows that polling in advance of desegregation brings many more negative reactions than will actually occur if the change takes place.

The negotiator also needs to describe the results of not making concessions. He makes it clear that these results (more demonstrations, etc.) will occur if a solution cannot be worked out, but he also makes clear his great reluctance to use them unless forced to do so. Experience shows that the negotiator is not usually effective if he is hostile and uses the sanctions as a threat to the opponent--"You give what we want or you'll get what's coming to you!" The tone should be friendly and firm.

If the opponent is using excuses like "This isn't the time to do it," "We can't move to quickly in these matters," it is wise to get him on record officially in favor of fair play practices in general. He will then have difficulty later evading this commitment. The negotiators should try to foresee all possible evasions which the opponent might introduce, and anticipate them, using workshops and socio-drama to brief the negotiating team.

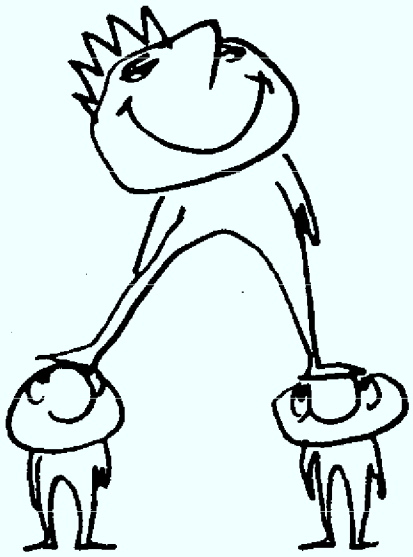
In this description of the four stages of direct action we have assumed that preliminary negotiations did take place and the authorities (official, employer, manager) refused to give in. There are two important reasons why preliminary negotiations should occur:

first they may solve the problem (some towns have agreed after witnessing nearby cities in the throes of direct action,) Second, they provide a chance for direct actionists to meet the opponents and confront the reality of what and whom they are dealing with.

5. The economic situation. It is pretty clear that direct action is more effective when there are economic pressures such as boycott or strike available. However, even if no economic tactics are available, the civil rights worker need not be discouraged. Direct action campaigns have been effective without the economic angle, for example when the Quakers struggled for religious liberty in Puritan Massachussetts. Despite much brutality and some loss of life, the Puritans finally came around.

6. The constructive program. An activity which is useful for many direct action campaigns is the "constructive program." The Freedom School is one kind, the work camp another. These programs are helpful because (a) they draw in help from people who would not engage in direct action tactics; (b) they develop organizational know-how and group spirit on the part of new people; (c) they provide a morale boost during a time when the direct action campaign may be suffering reverses; (d) they contradict one of the prejudices whites have about "lazy Negroes who don't help themselves"; (e) they get things done which need doing. Work camps can, for example, fix up the apartments of old people, clean up vacant lots for playground space and fix up buildings and church rooms to be used for recreational and meeting purposes.

7. How Do You Choose? Some time you must make a decision as to which of a variety of possible targets you will move in on. Shall it be lunch counters or movies, churches or beaches, jobs or voting? How does one make a choice of strategy such as this? The previous six points have outlined some of the factors which go into such a decision--basically, a consideration of these factors should give you an idea of your strengths and weaknesses. But a strategy cannot only be based on a realistic view of your strength and the opponent's condition. It must also be based on at least two other things: the national picture, and local needs. If, this year, the national thrust of the entire civil rights movement is on voter registration and political action you would not want to divert your local movement and hence weaken this national effort. At the same time, the strategy which you choose must meet some local needs, must fill some local demand, otherwise the community will not be motivated to join in the struggle. In summary, strategy should be determined and modified by the degree of political awareness of the Negro community, the proportion of Negroes in the total community, the strength of the organization (including leadership), potential outside help where this is a positive factor, the economic situation (vulnerability) of the Negro and white communities, the national picture, and local needs. Good leadership should be able to develop a constructive and workable strategy based on the participation of the community in the strategy decision.



Chapter 2: Setting Up An Organization

Once the civil rights worker has analyzed the community, and thought about a strategy, he should proceed to set up an organization. Forms of organization, their structures, and their affiliations if any will depend on the job decided on, and the personnel available. The worker may want to join an existing group in order to influence it; he may want to set up an ad hoc, or temporary group composed either of individuals, or of representatives of other groups, or he may want to create a new group. In recent years most groups tend to be "single-cause" rather than many-purpose, with the exception of some student groups (in some cases, single-cause groups later develop into many-purpose groups). It is generally easier to join an existing group than to set up a new one, and to affiliate rather

than to maintain complete independence. There are certain advantages stemming from national affiliation, including financial help, staff help, legal aid, and reputation.

Organization implies bureaucracy. Every organization has bureaucracy, and this is not a "dirty" word necessarily. It simply means that there is a chain of command or communication through which decisions are carried out. Bureaucracy becomes "dirty" only when decision-making no longer reflects the rank and file membership, and/or when the structure interferes with carrying decisions out. This happens when the structure becomes too large, or when decision-making processes are unclear so that decisiveness is lacking, or when routine alone becomes central in the life of the organization.

Every organization, whether it is the U.S. Army, a business corporation, or a peace or civil rights group, must have a chain of command. Our assumption is that the chain of command should go from the bottom up, that is, should be democratic. This is so because democracy is (a) efficient, moreso than dictatorship in the long run; (b) better able to move in the direction of creating a more human society because it involves people in the determination of their own destinies, hence in the fuller involvement and development of their personalities; and (c) more able to recruit the kind of forces needed really to overcome oppression and injustice because in the long run movements based on demagogy do not result in justice -- the means help in determining the ends.

There are ways in which democratic decision-making and full participation by the rank-and-file can be undercut. Early in the formation of a group a decision must be made as to structure, and while democratic structure does not guarantee democracy, it does help. A decision must also be made on how decisions are to be taken: by parliamentary or by consensus (the Quaker "sense of the meeting") methods. Both have advantages, and both have disadvantages. Consensus tends to work best when the members of the group have a lot of agreement on basic philosophy, while the parliamentary ystem tends to guarantee representation to organized minorities and recognizes the importance of caucuses. Both systems can be manipulated, by persons with the best intentions, not to speak of those with less than the highest moral outlook.

Several kinds of conditions help to undermine democracy aside from outright manipulation, or help make manipulation possible: wearing the group out with late and boring meetings, or holding the group until most members have gone, leaves the way open for a well-organized minority to railroad ideas through. Having present officers appoint or elect other officers should generally be regarded with suspicion. Nominating committees for officers, rather than nominations rom the floor are another technique for keeping the decision-making within a small group. Most important of all are the development of informal person-to-person relationships: shortcuts, doing favors, and the praiseworthy but misdirected desire to want to avoid mistakes, hence letting "experts" do all the jobs. This tends to happen particularly in the midst of crises

and emergencies when "we can't afford to make mistakes," and can't take a chance on letting a less-trained person do a job and learn at the risk of having him make mistakes. Unless deliberate decisions are made by the group to expand the techniques of the trade, techniques (such as running a meeting, writing a leaflet, running a mimeo machine, being picket captain, etc.) will remain the property of a few "experts," who tend gradually, and frequently without realizing it, to exclude the rank-and-file members from a real role in the organization.

In civil rights groups conditions of crisis always exist. This makes the situation more serious. In addition, you run into the argument that decision-making should be limited to those who fully participate in organizational work--something that is not possible, given the speed of the movement and the constant meetings required, for everyone. A second-class membership can develop under such circumstances, and a type of clique arises in which the "true revolutionaries," that is, those whose entire lives are taken up with the movement, have a different life from the rest of the members, different values, slang, etc. Insofar as such a clique criticizes current values it may have a contribution to make, but when it separates itself from its own rank-and-file, and from the community at large, because of its style of living, it does the movement a disservice. Democracy in any case suffers.

If you need to fight against the growth of non-democratic tendencies in an organization, you must organize your action (that is, form

caucuses). This is true whether the non-democratic group is informal, or whether a clearly anti-democratic faction exists. You must organize pro-democratic people to conduct a clear-cut fight on this issue, otherwise, after a time, the organization is doomed to develop in such a way as to undermine its ultimate goals: the democratic and just development of society.

Whether you are conducting a struggle within your own organization, or working as a democratic minority in another group, several suggestions may help:

(1) All organizations have three primary functions: policy-making, organization, and education (including both education of the group itself and public relations). Regardless of what body makes policy (conventions, executive committees, etc.) he who is in charge of carrying policy out ultimately determines what happens. The organizer, secretary, coordinator of committees, administrator is the man to watch--or the man to be. This fact can be used either for evil or for good.

(2) You must organize your group into a caucus, meet ahead of meetings plan strategy, and have a floor leader. Sit in a scattered position throughout the audience. Keep your best speaker for last in an exchange from the floor. Know your parliamentary procedure so as not to be outmaneuvered, and so as to make best use of your numbers.

(3) Remember that you, as a leader, are no good without an organized following, just as an officer is no good without a top-notch first sergeant.

The good leader must have a perspective(not constantly react to situations as they arise), credibility(not promise what cannot be accomplished, over-or under-shoot the potential, keep the group moving at its capacity), and "image" or personality. Remember that a leader can be cut down just as surely by apathy as by elections, and that you can sabotage any organization by obeying all the rules carefully, just as you can sabotage it by a "slow-down." This, after all, is just another way of doing "passive resistance."

(4) The good leader recognizes minority points of view without being bullied by them. Dissenters are a part of the movement unless proven otherwise, and above all they are human beings and must be treated as such. A good leader will insist that arguments be to the point, and will not allow "ad hominem" or name-calling arguments which attempt to discredit people's thinking by some form of "guilt by association."

The above are general points. What are some of the specific jobs that need doing? (This is partly based on Charles Walker's Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action, Cheyney, Pa.)

(1) Once the executive committee and the officers have been set up (with clearly established lines of authority, responsibility, and decision-making and with as little overlap as possible) we are ready to move.

(2) A timetable for action is worthwhile. Persons who have charge of such jobs as publicity, office management, transportation, communication, housing, training, supplies, finances, literature, etc, should be appointed, or elected. Special

resource persons, when needed, should be lined up: workshop leaders, legal counsel, public relations specialists, etc.

(3) Frequently a headquarters in the field must be set up. Select its location carefully for convenience and possible symbolic value. Keep quarters neat and clean. Your headquarters speak for you; you will want to post notices, posters, etc, and possibly open it with a reception and press conference.

(4) Finances are always a tricky matter. Open a special bank account if necessary. Be clear on any tax-exemption problems. Set up a simple bookkeeping system in case your regular bookkeeper is arrested. Your opponents will seek excuses to charge misuse of funds and there may be investigations. Your financial affairs should be kept fanatically clean.

(5) Office supplies, communications equipment, (walkie-talkies, etc.) and equipment for meetings must be on hand when they are needed. Make sure your machinery is kept in good repair so that it can function when you need it. The problem of record-keeping must be clarified: while you may not wish to have records seized (hence have supporters punished) at the same time it is important to keep track of activities for the sake of accounting for responsibilities, informing new personnel of work in progress when they take over, and helping sociologists and historians in their job for the future.

(6) Secrecy: It is possible to confuse and delay the obtaining of "secret" information by your

opponents in various ways. However, if your opponents are determined, this is pointless. It results in inefficiency because you have to cover up a lot you do from your members; authoritarianism because you cannot tell your members what is going on, and mistrust. In any case your opponents, if they are determined, will plant "informers" and/or modern electonic devices in such a way that your activities will be an open book. You may as well open the book and be fully honest about your plans to begin with. You should try to plan tactics (to be discussed later) which do not depend on secrecy for their value.

(7) Register or have records of participants in all projects wherever possible (a) in order to keep them informed prior to the event; (b) to find out if they have special skills; (c) to keep track of problems as they develop; (d) to follow up later on for deeper involvement; (e) to inform attorneys or relatives in case of arrest, accident, and/or violence. Participants in long-term projects should be insured if possible.

(8) Participation in a project or membership in an organization should be conditioned upon acceptance of a written discipline, or upon some set of principles or constitution. No exceptions should be made. It is your job to educate people to the acceptance of your principles, but until they do, they stay out. Such principles do not have to be complicated or numerous. In this way you can cut down on misunderstandings, violations of lines of responsibility and authority, and thus limit the likelihood of violence because

of your own people losing control of a demonstration or of themselves. This also helps the morale and public image of the movement, and gives outsiders a sense that the organization is something special to which it is a privilege to belong.

(9) Relations between persons in the group (also to be discussed under "Workshops") will always be a problem to some degree. Boy-girl situations develop. Rules rarely work, so none will be given here. Sloppy public demonstrations of personal affection, needless to say, violate other aspect of most disciplines, and can be handled that way. Sloppy clothing likewise.

(10) Psychological problems also arise. People join movements for all kinds of reasons, and the untrained person will rarely be able to distinguish "real" from stated reasons except in extreme cases. This does not need to become an issue until personal problems interfere with the working of the group. If at all possible a somewhat older person with experience in family situations should have the kind of leading role in the organization so that he can step in and give guidance without appearing to interfere in anybody's personal life or making the problem person feel pushed around.

(11) The white participant in civil rights activities, especially (although not exclusively) in the Deep South, faces a special problem: how to communicate with and live with Negroes in a movement which is primarily of, by and for Negroes, and how to survive in action. To varying degrees he may be treated as a second-class participant by Negroes, and frequently, though in very subtle ways, he will be called upon to "prove" his sincerity.

This is a difficult role; on the one hand the white participant should not give in to reverse racism in order to be accepted--he should be accepted because of what he does, and not because of what he is. On the other hand he must establish contact and communication, and maintain them in order to be effective. The white participant should not be afraid to take on an equal role, including in the decision-making process, but he should try to establish his credentials as one who has the right to participate because he, too, has put himself on the "firing line." The white participant has many of the problems which face an anthropologist or a sociologist visiting a group with which he is unfamiliar. To be accepted without losing one's own individuality and standards is not easy.

Public Relations

You should not assume that because our cause is just, anyone who is worthwhile will support it--or that anyone who does not support us isn't worth trying to get. Prejudices run deep and must be dealt with. Allies are essential, because (a) civil rights workers are a very small minority in this country and cannot carry enough weight to change society no matter how moral the cause; and (b) certain kinds of allies are important because they lead to the breakdown of significant points of resistance (e.g. ministers, scholars, dignified mothers of white governors). It is therefore important, while not compromising, to try to limit the amount of antagonism from potential allies. This is the key to good "public relations." It involves primarily two things:

cutting down on actions which can be misinterpreted to be hostile and negative; and improving interpretation of all activities. Remember that many people are only looking for an excuse not to support the movement. While we cannot avoid creating excuses for those who are really looking for them, we can avoid presenting them on a silver platter.

What we are talking about when we say "public relations" is really "propaganda." Propaganda, like bureaucracy, is not necessarily a dirty word. It has become dirty because propaganda has come to be associated with lying and distortion of the truth. The distinction is often made between propaganda (which has a distinct message) and education (which leaves conclusions open.) But even education is propaganda, because leaving conclusions open is a kind of message, or value in the direction of democracy.

Before any educational or propaganda campaign is begun it is important to sit down and analyze your "target population," the people whom you want to move (or in some cases keep in their present state of mind in the face of campaigns by others to move them. Propaganda is sometimes defensive). There is, first of all, the hard core of supporters (refer to the chapter on The Community). Then there are friends whom you want to bring in closer. Then there is the vast neutral public. Then there are those in opposition, to various degrees, to the cause. The final objective of all propaganda is move everyone one step closer to you, or, in cases where there is an offensive on against you, not

.o have them move away from you. Every ,ropaganda item (mass meetings, press releases, leaflets, TV programs, etc.) should be aimed at a particular segment of the population, your "target."

Various publicity methods which you may want to consider include: background information sheets to support press releases for newsmen and community leaders; brief biographical sketches of well-known leaders and participants to help with "human interest" stories; press releases for dailies, the wire services, special press services (religious, labor, Negro, etc.); neighborhood papers; radio and TV news departments; commentators and columnists who are sympathetic. You may want to offer advance interview, or tape record special speeches. By all means try to visit key editors, news directors, and special reporters in order to interpret events. Writing letters to the editor should not be neglected, but they should be kept short and to the point.

It is crucial to remember that your job is to inform, not to seek publicity for publicity's sake. Try not to be put into the position of do-ng things for the press which are not a natural part of the action, no matter how picturesque they may be, but remember to be friendly in your replies to the press, and try to interpret what you do as fully as possible.

When you are speaking "on the record" you should be particularly careful to quote accurately, and give only facts of which are certain. Double-checking is more important than being fast on the come-back. If you are the public affairs officer, you should try to do

more reading on this complex subject.

Press releases should be clearly marked as to time of release, and should be double-spaced. They should not be too long--two pages at maximum. After a while you will get to know the peculiarities of the local press and you will tailor your releases to meet their requirements of format. All press releases should read like a news story, beginning in the first sentence or two (at most) with Who, What, Where, When, and Why:

(-WHO-)
Joe Brotherhood, chairman of the local
(-WHEN-)
chapter of Citizens for Equal Rights, this morn-
(-WHAT-) (-WHERE-)
ing announced a full-scale boycott of all major

downtown department stores by Negro citizens.

He said the "no-buy" campaign would remain in
(-WHY-)
effect until all the stores hire a satisfactory

number of Negro clerks.

Brotherhood, 32, who is professor of theo-

logy at nearby Baptist Seminary, said he had

the agreement of four Negro churches and five

Negro community groups on the ban. (etc.)

Here are some general cautions for publicity campaigns, leaflets, and other affairs of a public relations nature:

1. Keep leaflets readable. Don't clutter them up with too much reading material. Start out with something that will hold the reader's attention. "Police Brutality in this Neighborhood," not "Citizens for Equal Rights."

2. Keep your public relations down to earth. Make your charges so they are believable. Ask people to do something that they can really do right now, given their present state of mind. "Come to Freedom School," not "go immediately to register." Don't insult their basic prejudices or beliefs. You want to communicate, not drive them away (e.g. don't say "your preachers are nothing but Uncle Toms." It's libelous, anyway, to charge a person publicly with being a Communist, or an Uncle Tom!)

3. Don't promise what you can't deliver. People who disagree with your ideas may gradually come to believe in you as a person if you really show you can deliver. Try small things first. Don't try too much because failure tends to undermine morale.

4. Watch your language. Use the English that makes sense to the community in which you are working. Watch your appearance. Appearance is a communicating device. You cannot expect people to raise their own standards of cleanliness, or look up to you as a leader, when you act like a slob. The civil rights worker gives up a cer-

tain amount of his private rights when he joins the movement.

5. Keep social affairs social. Don't push too hard on newcomers. Be friendly and make them feel at home. Don't huddle in a corner with the in-group clique. Don't acquire the reputation of having absolutely fixed views, of being dogmatic and inflexible. When in doubt, shake hands.

Conducting a Meeting

It is pointless to try to write a guide to parliamentary procedure in a manual such as this one. Every organization, over a period of time, develops its own procedures, somewhat based on the parliamentary rules laid down in Roberts Rules of Order, but modified to meet specific local conditions. The most important thing to remember about procedure is that its chief purpose is to get business efficiently conducted while protecting the will of the majority, and the rights of the minority. Procedures should be amended, changed, thrown out, and invented as long as that chief purpose can get accomplished better.

A typical business agenda might read as follows:

1. Call the meeting to order: "The meeting will please come to order."

2. Have the secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting, with emphasis on the

main points, motions passed and action approved. Ask "Are there any corrections to the minutes," then, after all corrections are made, "The minutes stand approved as corrected." Some organizations like to have the rest of the agenda read at this point, with specific topics listed, so that members know what is ahead.

3. Have the secretary read short summaries of the more important correspondence, especially letters fron the national office. If action is required, it should be taken either at this point or under old or new business.

4. Reports of special officers (treasurer, particularly, plus membership committee chairman, etc.) and committees (such as the executive committee, special projects committee, housing, education, public accomodations, etc.) After each report, ask for questions or discussion from the floor. There may be motions asking specific action, or correcting the actions reported on, at this time.

5. Unfinished, or Old Business should be taken care of next. This is business which has not been covered by committee reports. Ask the floor "Is there any unfinished business to come before the body?"

6. New Business should be next on the agenda. Some new business may have been reported by a committee such as the executive committee, and this committee may wish to make a more formal report at this point and ask for action. When this is concluded ask "Is there

further new business?"

7. Some organizations have a place on the agenda for "Good and Welfare," meaning more general gripes. This is a good place to air them and try to cope with such problems out in the open.

8. "There being no further business, the chair will entertain a motion to adjourn."

Before and after many meetings in the civil rights field there may be a short prayer, a moment of silence for meditation, and/or a short song.

While there is little point in outlining a formal method of procedure, there are some keys to having an orderly meeting: (These are based on A Call to Order, a guide to parliamentary procedure prepared by the United States National Student Association.)

1. Before starting a meeting, the chairman should be sure that he has an outline of the business to be considered (the agenda.)

2. Any time an officer or a committee makes a report, there should be a motion to accept or adopt it, or change it, or, sometimes, reject it.

3. The chairman should always state clearly the motion on which the vote is about to be taken in order that everyone has a clear understanding of the issue. Amendments are usually in order after a motion has been made.

and they are voted on before the main motion.

4. Courtesy to the group is the key to an orderly meeting. Every member has rights equal to every other member.

5. Only one subject at a time should claim the attention of the group.

6. The will of the majority must be carried out, and the rights of the minority must be preserved.

Chapter 3: Citizenship and Voter Registration

(This chapter is based in part on notes distributed by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) for teaching in Mississippi, but is general enough to apply to other areas in which civil rights workers have contact with the local population for various educational purposes.)

In much of the South repression is the law, oppression a way of life, and veering from the path of "our way of life" is not tolerated at all. Here an independent idea is subversion that must be squelched, for each bit of intellectual initiative represents a threat. Negroes have learned what is necessary for immediate survival that silence is safest, so volunteer nothing and tell "them" only what they want to hear. Workers in the South will be teaching people who have lived in the South all their lives. They have been deprived of decent education, denied free expression and free thought,

and most of all denied the right to question. Your job: to help them begin to question.

What are the people like? They are each different, but they will have in common the scars of the system. Some will be cynical. Some will be distrustful. All will have a serious lack of preparation both with regard to academic subjects and contemporary issues -- but all of them will have a knowledge far beyond their years of how to survive in a society that is out to destroy them. Because they have this knowledge, this awareness of the extent of evil in the world, they will be ahead of you in many ways, but most of this knowledge is negative. It is only half the picture, and it is this half which is crumbling. There is great reason to hope for the first time. Your job: to help the people see this hope, and inspire them to go after it.

What will they demand of you? They will demand that you be honest. Honesty is an attitude toward life which is communicated by everything you do. Since you, too, will be in a learning situation, honesty means that you will ask questions, as well as answer them. It means that if you don't know something you will say so. It means that you will not "act" a part in the attempt to compensate for all they've endured in the South. You can't compensate for that, and they don't want you to try. These people have been taught by the system not to trust. You have to be trust-worthy. There is little you can teach them about prejudice and

segregation. They know. What you can do is help them develop ideas and associations and tools with which they can do something about segregation and prejudice.

How? The key to teaching is honesty and creativity. Materials prepared by those familiar with the profession, and with the situation, can help, but ultimately you must discover the way for yourself.

In some areas you will find that you are almost the first civil rights worker to be there, and if you are white, almost certainly you will be the first white civil rights worker. You will have to deal with the problem of your novelty as well as with the educational challenge. In such areas, interest in education will have to be created, and teachers will have to recruit their students.

In other areas there have been projects in the past and you will be warmly welcomed. Almost everywhere you can count on one thing: there is a local desire for a worker. Otherwise you would not be sent.

It is important to realize that many of the communities in which you may find yourself are in the process of rapid social change and the program in which you are engaged will be in the midst of this ferment. You may find yourself involved in political activities, registering people to vote, organizing political rallies, campaigning

for Negro candidates, and preparing to challenge the local political power structure. The classroom experience and the real life political experience, both for for you and for your students will be linked, and will overlap. This is how the classroom experience will become real. At the same time you will have to balance your local participation with the need to prepare for classes.

In some communities local activity may go beyond politics, involving direct action, mass demonstrations, jail, etc. You must keep a sensitive ear to the ground so that if this should happen you can make a tactical choice as to the continuing educational program, and its possible modification.

Educational techniques will depart considerably from the formal classroom lecture system many workers are used to from college days. Since one of the prime goals is to develop local leadership, it is important to help students express themselves. Hence discussion is the preferred technique. Discussion helps to encourage expression, brings feelings out into the open where they can be discussed and dealt with productively, develops participation on many levels, develops group loyalty and responsibility, and develops critical and self-critical faculties, as well as the ability to take criticism from others. While short lectures, socio-drama, reading aloud, and singing can all be used, discussion should be used as

a follow-up in almost all cases.

Here are some hints for better teaching and discussion leadership:

1. Subject matter should always be related to the student's level of experience, and his every-day problems.
2. No expression of anybody's feelings should ever be ignored or passed over. Bring them out and discuss them honestly and with compassion.
3. The classroom atmosphere should be informal, but not sloppy. You may want to arrange seats in a circle, use first names, let the students lead occasionally, etc.
4. Sessions should always be prepared in advance, especially if audio-visual aids are to be used in the most effective way.
5. At beginning of the session, summarize quickly what was covered the day before, or ask a student to do so. At the end of a session, summarize what was covered during the session, or let a student do so, and let the group know what will be done in the next session.
6. Keep the language simple, but don't talk down. At the same time, keep standards always up so that you set an example.
7. Hold your criticisms until a good give-and-take atmosphere has been established between you and the students. Be positive: praise accomplishments whenever possible, especially before making a criticism.

8. One-hour sessions are usually maximum for any single session.

9. The group leader should lead, not dominate; give direction and keep discussion going, not "control."

10. The best way to keep things moving is to ask questions, preferably the kind that can't be answered just "yes" or "no."

11. Encourage participation by everyone, without bulldozing the reluctant, quiet participant.

12. The good leader should be willing to answer questions at all times, and share his own experiences and feelings, too.

13. In a situation where any verbal expression at all is a sign of progress, the leader should not be too critical, and should protect students from each others' overly critical and downgrading attacks, if such should take place.

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If you are setting up a voter registration or citizenship education project by yourself, you will have to draw up a budget. Below is a typical budget for a straight three-week voter registration project involving 20 persons plus two leaders:

Food	$ 420.00
Utilities	15.00
Household supplies	15.00
Postage, phone, office supplies	10.00
Travel on job	30.00
Truck rental	10.00
Insurance ($1.15 per person per week)	70.00
Education & Recreation	30.00
Leaders' honorarium	100.00
Leaders' travel home	100.00
Total	800.00 plus travel of participants.

One, but by no means the only, way to schedule citizenship workshops in a short, three-week project, is to hold three of them: (1) You and Your Vote -- Why Vote? (2) How to Register (3) Know Your Candidate. In canvassing neighborhoods for participants, as well as for people to register, it is useful to keep records, as indicated on the following sample "Daily Report Sheet" and individual index card.

Daily Report Sheet

List totals

1. Homes visited _____
2. Eligible voters (all over 21) _____
3. Nonregistered voters (eligible voters) _____
4. Registered voters _____

List totals and names

1. People to arrange transportation for _____

2. People volunteering transportation help _____

3. Families needing baby sitters _____

4. People volunteering baby sitting help _____

List comments, standard responses and problems, direct quotes, sections of interviews.

Individual Index Card

Address _____

Ward _____

Precinct _____

Phone _____

Date of visit(s) _____

Persons not registered

_____

_____

_____

_____

Persons need to reregister

_____

_____

_____

_____

Plans to register or reregister

_____

_____

_____

_____

Services offered:

Services needed:

Not at home, revisit _____

Comment (need to tall. further, etc.):

Workers: _____

_____

Longer projects will obviously involve larger budgets, and more complicated training programs, with opportunities to create a long-range grass-roots voters' organization, follow-up work, evaluations, etc. Participants in an educational campaign, especially if they live together (as in a single house) will want to set up a steering committee, hold regular evaluations of their work, discuss how they are getting along with local citizens (and with each other), and allow for some recreational and reading time. They should bring with them, among other things, a suit or a dress (for girls) suitable for attending a local church. Organizations sponsoring educational efforts will make every effort to inform participants in projects of the local voting and registration laws, deadlines, etc.

In canvassing for citizens to register to vote, or actually to vote, workers must remember that mothers with children to care for must have some way of having the children watched while they are out of the house. One way of doing this is to have a "chain" in which the first mother to return home sits for the neighbor, who then returns to sit for her neighbor, etc. Car-pools to take groups of people while other workers act as baby-sitters are another method. Remember that the pulpit, the factory gate, the shopping center, and the street-corner (especially during evenings) are natural channels to urge citizens to register to vote, if these channels are properly approached, and properly used.

Free films, and leaflets should not be neglected -- both are occasionally available from friendly trade unions. Churches may lend the use of mimeograph machines and typewriters.

Ultimately, of course, the purpose of voter registration is to get people to vote, and to elect to various public offices candidates who will accurately represent the interests of the electorate. Since resources are limited, you will not be involved in any and every voting district in which there may be low registration or participation in elections. Frequently candidates appealing to the Negro vote may not be to your liking, but because they represent at least a small step towards the political education of the community, or because they represent at least a lesser evil alternative to a racist, you will be put in the position of having to support him. This does not mean you have to support everything he says or does -- but remember that you are an outsider, and that your criticisms must make sense locally if you are not to isolate yourself from the very community which you seek to help educate.

Remember, too, that in many Southern states there are, percentage-wise, as many poor whites excluded from politics as Negroes. At one time, in the 1870's and 1880's, there was a powerful alliance in the South between poor whites and the ex-slave population. The final objective of current campaigns to refranchise the

Negro and poor white is to resurrect that alliance, to forge a political force in the South which will be, by its nature, liberal, pro-trade union, pro-social services, pro-civil rights, and in the long run for a positive foreign policy and for peace. Because such a force will have to do away with the present Dixiecrat blockade of progressive legislation in Washington, D. C., it will have a profound and long-lasting influence on all of American life. Your part in voter registration, even though it may seem minute, helps to forge this political force.

Chapter 4:

Workshops in Direct Action

The workshop is different from a conference or an educational meeting in that its goal is to involve all of the participants in the practical application of skills, rather than lecturing to them, or giving them purely theory. Workshops may involve lectures and theory as part of the schedule, but the real aim is practice. The kind of participation in a workshop may vary -- from leaders attempting fully to draw out and involve members of an audience, to breaking up into work sessions or "buzz" groups, to "role-playing." Most workshops will involve all of these, plus some lecture or panel discussion sessions. The particular concern of this chapter is role-playing. Obviously, for best results it is necessary to keep the size of workshops down in order to involve all of the participants -- yet workshops must be large enough to profit from a variety of personalities and talents.

There are five good reasons for workshops, and particularly for role-playing:

(1) To practice skills. Participants, by taking on various roles, learn how to behave in different situations. They get an idea of what to expect and how to react in the best way (to obtain best results). Mistakes are less likely later on. Going into the streets, into unfamiliar surroundings and new situations without some training and understanding of the principles involved is as foolish as going into a ball game without knowing the signals or the rules.

(2) To understand your opponent. By playing opponents' roles, the worker gets to feel how the opponent thinks and feels. This will be of tremendous value in the real situation because the worker will be better able to make judgements as to possible reactions to various tactics. It is particularly important prior to conducting negotiations, because the negotiator will be prepared for some of the answers and arguments from the opposition side. Tactics that deal more realistically with how the opponent actually thinks are more likely to develop this way.

(3) To build up morale. By practicing a variety of situations together with the people with whom you'll be going into action, you'll get to know each other better, and build up confidence in what each member of the group is likely to do under pressure. In the face of tremendous hostility it is crucial to have confidence in the other members of your group. The group, as it works together in

preparation for an action, builds up this confidence, or morale.

(4) To get rid of tensions Everybody, particularly the victim of segregation, has tensions. It is important, when in action, to keep tensions under control. But in a crisis situation tensions tend to build up and come out. People "crack" under strain and "blow up." After a while, some begin to suffer the equivalent of "battle fatigue." Obviously this presents a real danger if it takes place in an actual situation. In the workshop, the opportunity is created to get rid of tensions before the action. Everybody has a chance to blow off steam in a harmless place. Frequently this happens when participants "let go" at other participants who are playing the roles of opponents: police officers, members of the white power structure, "Uncle Toms," etc. (Joking and singing also help to do this.)

(5) To make for more democracy. The workshop, by spreading skills to a larger number, helps to build up a bigger body of persons who are familiar with techniques and skills of leadership (running a meeting, conducting negotiations, being a picket captain, acting as a spokesman). Leadership is helped to move out from a single person to others, who, because of their know-how, will have to be brought into the decision-making process. If an organization lacks fuller participation only because there is little know-how, workshops can

be deliberately set up to begin the process of making the group more democratic.

The Audience and the Socio-Drama

Role-playing, or socio-drama (not to be confused with psychodrama, which is used primarily as a technique for mental health) requires an audience as well as participants, but the audience must be cautioned not to laugh out or react. They are the observers, and will be asked to evaluate and comment after the "scenario" is concluded. The socio-drama involves two or more persons spontaneously acting out roles in the context of real problems which the group faces. It can be used by anybody, for just about any human relations situation. Role-playing also requires the presence of a leader or director.

It is the job of the leader to

(a) define the problem;

(b) establish the situation, or scene ("scenario");

(c) cast the characters;

(d) brief and warm-up the actors and observers;

(e) commence the action;

(f) cut the action when he deems the point has been made;

(g) lead the discussion and analysis of the situation and the behavior of the participants by getting them and the audience to talk;

(h) make notes and plan future tests of the lessons learned from the scenario.

Being a leader is difficult, and good leadership requires experience. Beginning leaders should not be discouraged if a scenario fizzles. But note what went wrong, and learn from mistakes. There are a number of books now available on this technique (frequently used in industrial relations) and use should be made of them by those interested in specializing in this valuable leadership function. (Example: Corsini, Shaw, and Blake, Role-playing in Business and Industry, Free Press, 1961; and Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., How to Use Role Playing and Other Tools for Learning, 743 N. Wabash Ave. Chicago 11, Ill.)

It is wise to begin with simple situations, perhaps not even directly related to immediate problems (e.g.: an argument between two boys as to whether to rumble with the gang or go on the picket line) in order to "warm up" the group. Do not let the scenario go on too long -- cut it off when you think the group has seen enough to be able to analyze the problem, or when there is a natural ending, or when there is a dead end because of bad casting or inaccurate briefing or misunderstanding.

Also make sure if you are doing a series of scenarios that there is a good "mix" between talk and action. Have some scenarios which emphasize each. After the scenario is concluded, [during stage (g)] make sure you pin down what has been learned. Summarize for the group, then move on to the next

scenario. Some scenarios are worth repeating with a different cast of characters, bringing in lessons learned just before.

Phillips 66

An interesting, quick way to warm up an audience is "Phillips 66:" the audience is broken down into groups of six, each member of the group introduces himself (so you get acquainted); then the group appoints a spokesman. For six minutes the group makes quick comments or poses questions about a problem which the chairman of the meeting has assigned (What do you hope to get out of this workshop? What is the most urgent problem facing your group back home? Why are students apathetic to politics? Why nonviolence?). Then the spokesman from each group presents the comments or questions from the group to the whole audience. In this way the steering committee of the workshop or conference can quickly evaluate the quality and motivations of the participants, and can adjust the day's plans accordingly. The participants have been warmed up and introduced to each other at the same time.

It is important to get "feedback," not only in a workshop or conference, but in any organization. Feedback means finding out how the group is getting along. This can be done by making use of an observer who records what goes on, by post-meeting questionnaires, through buzz-groups (like Phillips 66) or by interviews.

SAMPLE SCENARIOS FOR ROLE-PLAYING

I - The Eviction

A group of civil rights demonstrators is blocking access to a tenement to prevent a constable from evicting a tenant who has been participating in a rent strike. The constable and several citizens urge the group to obey the law and move out of the way; then the constable and a police officer threaten the group with arrest if it does not move. (You may want to continue this scenario to the point of actual arrest and being taken to the wagon.)

Questions: How do the demonstrators respond to the other citizens and to the constable? How do they respond to the officer?

Cast: Three or four demonstrators, two or three citizens, a constable, one or more police officers.

II - The Congressman

Congressman Blank, a Negro representing a predominantly Negro district -- with a do-nothing record so far, and a reputation for being a "tool" of the local political machine -- is having a change of heart. He has even gone so far as to invite a group of civil rights people to his office in order to get their ideas. He has a group of his own advisers present. The Congressman, the civil rights people, and the Congressman's advisers, discuss the issue in a hard-headed, unsentimental way.

Questions: What will the relationship of the civil rights people be to the Congressman and his staff? How will the Congressman and his staff react to the ideas presented? What kind of information is needed in order to present a coherent case to the Congressman?

Cast: Congressman, two staff persons, three or four civil rights persons.

III - The Barber Shop

A Negro civil rights demonstrator is attempting to integrate a barber shop. All other participants in the situation are whites: a barber, an assistant, two clients in the chairs, one client waiting, one police officer. All the whites are segregationists, but one of the whites in the chair is particularly rabid. The action begins when the other white is finished and gets up. It is the Negro's turn, but the head barber calls "you're next" to the waiting white client.

Questions: What is the response of the Negro client? What kinds of actions and remarks raise and lower tensions? How does the segregationist really see the situation? What does he really feel? What are the real issues as far as he is concerned? As far as the civil rights demonstrator is concerned?

Cast: As listed above. You may add an additional onlooker (white) who sympathizes with the Negro and who intervenes at a later point in the action in order to show how this will affect the situation.

IV - MAGISTRATE'S COURT

A group of civil rights demonstrators has been arrested for "disturbing the peace" and "refusing to obey an officer" in a demonstration involving a school boycott. The action was peaceful picketing, but some of the demonstrators came in without training, and in fact did some calling out, jeering, and stepped onto school property. The officers had ordered them off the property, they had refused to get off, and had been arrested together with some of the "regulars" on the picket line. The scene is magistrate's court the next morning. The action begins when the magistrate asks, "Who is the complaining officer in this case?"

Questions: What is the relationship of the regular demonstrators to the undisciplined demonstrators? How should the defense be handled (assume that one of the "regulars" is an attorney)? What should the attitude of the group be towards the officer? Towards the magistrate? In case of conviction, what should the group's policy be? You may want to divide the scenario in half -- the court scene, and a discussion among the defendants as to policy.

Cast: Four "regular" demonstrators; two "undisciplined," newcomer demonstrators, a magistrate, a police officer, a court clerk or bailiff, several newsmen and other onlookers.

V - Sit-In

Six demonstrators, including one white boy and one white girl, sit at a lunch counter in a southern community in an effort to secure service. A white waitress does not serve them. Two white troublemakers come and harass the demonstrators. A policeman stands by but does not interfere. There are some other people at the counters. The action begins when the demonstrators take their seats.

Questions: What is the effect of refusal of service upon the demonstrators? What is the effect of heavy harassment? How do the demonstrators see the situation? What of the effects on the onlookers?

Cast: Six demonstrators, white waitress, troublemakers, police officer, two or three other customers, all white.

VI - The Cell

A white civil rights demonstrator has just been arrested in a southern civil rights demonstration. Since the jail is segregated, he is lodged in a cell with three other white men, all of whom are ardent segregationists. The segregationists are sitting on the two bottom bunks, and one has his feet on the only chair in the place. Action begins when a police officer, with appropriate remarks, pushes the demonstrator into the cell.

Questions: How do you communicate your ideas in a hostile environment, and still survive? What kinds of techniques might be developed to help in this situation?

Cast: Police officer, white demonstrator, three other white men.

VII - Committee Meeting

A meeting of a local civil rights organization's emergency executive committee is taking place to discuss what appears to have been the murder of a Negro citizen on the way to the police station in a police car. One member of the committee has been in touch with the local ACLU chapter and has an approximate idea of what happened, but the others have chiefly rumors. There is considerable community sentiment to take action. Another community civil rights group has already announced a march on city hall, and it is known that some of the marchers will be armed and that the march will be without any real discipline. One member of the committee is solidly in sympathy with this tactic already. The problem is to work out a tactic for the whole group.

Question: What should the group do about the other civil rights group, if anything? What should the group's attitude towards the potential for community violence be? What kinds of tactics can the group effectively undertake?

Cast: Five persons, integrated. One of these is informed on what actually happened. Another has already made up his mind on what tactic to follow. One person is chairman.

VIII - The Picket Line

Any group up to about 25 may participate in this. The instructor picks an issue and a situation, gives instructions for the group to walk an elongated circle, a few feet apart. It is helpful to have signs. Picket captains are assigned for each end of the line. An information officer is assigned, and a captain-in-charge is assigned. A variety of situations may be explored:

1. harassment by segregationists, including roughing up, taking signs away, name-calling
2. questions from passers-by
3. volunteer unknown to the group arrives to join the line
4. drunk passes the group and makes remarks
5. persons from other integrationist groups not committed to nonviolence arrive with their signs
6. harassment from police officers, including ordering the group across the street in violation of civil liberties
7. newspapermen attempt to question pickets
8. single picket becomes ill, or becomes violent. (Instructor may "plant" a person in the group.)

Questions: How are decisions made on-the-spot? How are decisions communicated to the group? How are public relations maintained?

IX - The March

This is a situation involving only four persons and demonstrating the problem of decision-making on-the-spot. One of the participants is told he is in charge of a mass march on City Hall; at a mass meeting the night before it was democratically decided, for various reasons, not to have any signs of any kind in the march. The march is about to "take off" when three persons appear, in succession, with signs. They are not connected to each other. The first person is privately instructed to be very stubborn and noncooperative about putting his sign away; the second is cooperative; the third is neutral. The first two were at the meeting the night before; the third was not. Action begins when the first person approaches the march marshall, and the marshall says, "Last night we agreed on no signs, right?" (He poses the same question to each of the others.) The instructor stops the action after the marshall has somehow come to grips with the stubborn individual, then the next person appears. In the course of the discussion with the third individual, the instructor calls out, "They're ready to go," referring to the march. It is important that the marshall not know in advance what the reaction of the three persons will be.

Questions: How do the marshall's feelings about the situation change as the pressure builds up? How much should the marshall try to placate the individuals, and how firm should he be? How does time affect the situation?

Cast: Marshall, three persons with signs.

Chapter 5: Direct Action Tactics

One catalogue of nonviolent action lists some 64 different methods which have been used historically. We are taking from this list* those which seem most significant for the current civil rights struggle.

Demonstrations

Demonstrations are primarily expressions of a point of view, and do not of themselves change the power structure as vigorously as non-cooperation and intervention might. Nevertheless, they do go beyond verbal protest and are considered sufficiently threatening by many authorities so that they take harsh reprisals.

1. Marches and parades

Technically, the difference between a march and a parade is that a march has a destination of symbolic

*Gene Sharp, Methods of Nonviolent Action, Institute for Social Research, Oslo, Norway.

or immediate importance to the cause, whereas a parade route is chosen for convenience. Both may be short or long. Mass marches and parades can express the solidarity of the campaigners and be an important morale-booster.

The common way of discrediting marches and parades is to describe them as disorderly and violent. You can take two steps to eliminate the validity of this charge:

a. Have either silence, or singing in unison. Both make a powerful impression of unity and dignity. Slogan-shouting and conversation build an impression of disunity and disorder.

b. Set up a system of leadership. Experience shows it is helpful to have a marshall and a number of line leaders who, once policy is set, follow the directions of the marshall. The leadership helps in two ways: keeping discipline, and building the morale of the marchers. In addition, more efficient decisions can be made in the event of police interference, etc. Leaders should be clearly marked, and should set an example for others to follow.

A long march is often called a walk. The best known civil rights walk is the one William Moore began through the South, and which others continued when he was killed. The Committee for Nonviolent Action has organized two walks for peace and freedom through the South which had to contend with cattle-prods and the like. The effect of a walk can be somewhat like that of the Freedom Rides -- to dramatize an issue

and give a morale boost to the movement in the towns through which the walkers go.

2. Picketing and vigiling

The difference between picketing and a vigil is that a vigil is longer and held in a meditative spirit. Often a vigil is held around-the-clock for several days, or may be daily for weeks or even months. It is also customary for participants in a vigil to stand rather than walk, as in picketing. In a culture like ours where religion is held in high esteem, a vigil is sometimes more effective than picketing; however, it is slightly more wearying and requires more self- and group-discipline. The remarks about orderliness apply here, to both picketing and vigiling.

Sample Discipline

We will try to maintain an attitude of good will at all times, especially in face of provocation.

If violence occurs against us, we will not retaliate but will try to practice forgiveness and forbearance.

We agree that one person is in charge of specific actions and agree to abide by the decisions of the person in charge, even if at the time we do not fully agree with or understand the decision.

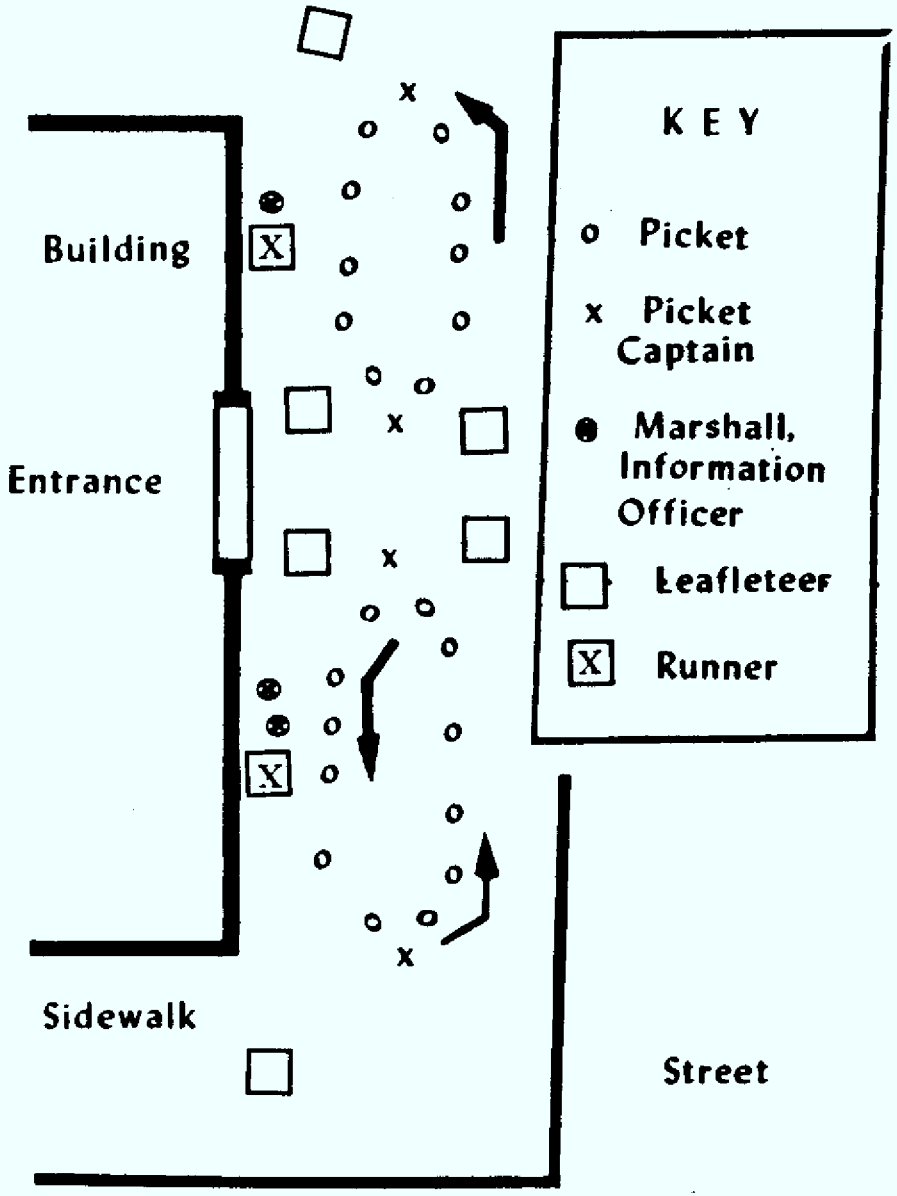
If in good conscience we cannot comply with this decision, we will not take contrary action but will withdraw from that phase.

In the event of arrest, we will submit with promptness and composure.

We will try to be prompt in our appointments and to carry out responsibly the tasks we have been assigned.

- slightly revised from Charles C. Walker, Organizing for Non-violent Direct Action

THE PICKET LINE



Here are some suggestions which will help you to organize an effective picket line.*

a. Assemble somewhere other than the place where the picket line will be, then go to the place in a group; this avoids confusion and gives the leader a chance to pass out printed copies of the discipline (see sample discipline in this chapter) as well as to conduct registration.

b. Ask participants to refer questioners, press, or police to the marshall or information officer.

c. Expect participants to walk erectly and not slouch, call out, laugh loudly, or use profanity; smoking may be ruled out in some situations.

d. Assign two leafleteers to each location, so leafleting can go on if one leafleteer gets involved with a questioner.

e. Instruct leafleteers on how to answer very briefly when asked "What is this all about?" or "Who's doing this?" or similar questions.

f. Ask leafleteers to pick up all discarded leaflets (to avoid legal entanglements and to show good will).

g. Keep leaflets in a plastic bag in rainy weather.

h. Avoid unnecessary scurrying about.

i. Give instructions in a clear and authoritative voice but avoid a domineering approach.

j. Remember that your example will be felt throughout.

*The following is largely from Charles C. Walker, Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action

3. Fraternization

This technique has been used in countries occupied by a foreign power, as well as in this country. The idea is to go out of the way to talk with the police or other opponents in a friendly way and to try to persuade them that one's cause is just. Where it has been tried it has on occasion been amazingly effective as some instances in Norway under the Nazi occupation testify, but it is not easy.

4. "Haunting"

is a means of reminding officials of the immorality of their behavior; volunteers follow them everywhere they go. In India during the Gandhian struggles arrests were made but the volunteers were replaced by others who "haunted" the authorities until officials were sick of it.

5. Leafleting

Leafleting can do several things for the cause: (a) provide the people with more accurate information than they get in the newspapers, (b) give more of the population more personal contact with the campaigners (in large communities many people never actually see demonstrators), (c) involve children and others who otherwise might not actively participate in the struggle.

6. Renouncing honors

There can be some symbolic impact when campaigners renounce honors given them in the past. For example, Negro veterans might send back medals of honor; a Negro "Woman of the Year" might refuse the award from an institution which is part of the power structure. Negro students might send back their American Legion School Awards.

Some of the techniques which come under the heading of demonstrations may become civil disobedience if the city declares them illegal. Injunctions may be issued by courts forbidding marches or picketing. Where the Constitution is in operation, however, these methods do not usually involve breaking the law.

Non-cooperation

This general category involves methods of direct action in which the campaigners withdraw their usual degree of cooperation with the opponent. The methods may be legal or illegal, depending on local laws.

1. Strike

The strike is one of the best known of all forms of direct action. It has not, however, been used very much in the civil rights struggle. It would be most potent in those areas where Negroes form a very large part of the population or of some economic concern which is important to the area. A form of the strike

which might be experimented with is the "token strike." In a token strike all those sympathetic to the cause go off the job for a brief time -- perhaps one day, or a few hours. This is a way of showing solidarity and seriousness.

2. Hartal

The Indians under Gandhi developed this extensively, but it was also used in Budapest at the beginning of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. A Hartal involves staying at home for a full day or more, leaving the streets and places of amusement empty. In addition to reducing the chances of "incidents," the stay-at-home may serve to demonstrate to the opponent the degree of unity and self-discipline among the people. In a campaign which stresses the religious aspects, the day can be seen as a time for meditation and purification.

3. Consumers' Boycott

From the Montgomery bus boycott on, the consumers' boycott has played an important role in the civil rights struggle. This method has roots in the American Revolution and even farther back in history, and has been used all over the world. Its effectiveness depends on how much the producer requires the campaigners' patronage for his survival.

Advantages of the boycott include: (a) it minimizes violence, (b) it promotes solidarity and sharing, (c) it

does not usually involve civil disobedience. On the other hand it usually requires a good deal of unity on the part of the protesting community.

4. Renters' boycott (rent-strike)

The refusal to pay rent because of grievances against a landlord may be for a short period (token boycott) or indefinitely. Irish peasants in 1879 were often evicted for refusing rents to rich English landlords. Whether or not eviction takes place depends partly on the number of persons participating, and on the nature of the local laws.

In the current civil rights struggle, workers go from house to house, apartment to apartment, talking with people about the injustice of their situation. They invite tenants to an area or house meeting, where the possibilities of united action are stressed. Those who will commit themselves at the meeting begin to strike right away -- there is little to be gained by setting a date in the future for the beginning of the action. The action of the few who first volunteer will usually start a wave of others joining the strike.

Guidelines for organization include: being realistic in explaining to the tenants what may happen (no one can guarantee major repairs); staying in close contact with the tenants to offset intimidation; and not allowing the tenants to keep the rent money (the temptation is too great to spend it in this situation). This

money should be put "in escrow," or special fund set aside for this purpose. The fund should be carefully accounted for.

Local regulations differ as to eviction possibilities. It is important to get legal counsel, for often constables themselves break the law in the process of eviction. In addition to countering eviction by legal action, picketing the constable and living on the sidewalk in front of the house are direct action tactics which may be tried.

5. School boycott

One of the advantages of the school boycott is that it involves the children in a struggle which will result in their eventual benefit, while still not involving them in a front-line confrontation with its accompanying dangers. The setting up of freedom schools for teaching the young can be a valuable exercise for those in the Negro community who are otherwise difficult to involve.

6. Tax refusal

This is a drastic tactic, yet it has often been used in struggles in the past in various parts of the world. It can be partial, such as withholding school taxes, or complete. The money which would otherwise go for taxes can be given to the civil rights organization for distribution to needy campaigners. Generally

opponents feel this tactic more deeply than almost any other, for if the Negro population is large it threatens the very survival of the government. Harsh repression may, therefore, be expected. Despite this, the strong moral appeal involved ("Why pay the police who are beating you?") and the strength of the tactic has made tax refusal effective in some campaigns.

Intervention

Direct nonviolent intervention consists of physical confrontation rather than withdrawal of cooperation or demonstrating. It carries the conflict into the opponent's camp, and often changes the status quo fairly abruptly.

1. Sit-in

The sit-in has been used in the U.S. mostly in restaurants and lunch counters. Generally campaigners progressively occupy a large number or all of the available seats and refuse to leave until the Negro members of the group are served or the restaurant closes, the group is arrested, or a certain fixed period of time has gone by. This method can also be used in other situations such as on buses and trains, as in the Freedom Rides. There have been sit-ins in the offices of notables such as mayors and business executives in order to obtain appointments or to symbolize the blocking of freedom in which the official is participating. Legislative halls can be used similarly.

Nonviolent Discipline of the 1960 Nashville Student Sit-In Movement

Don't strike back or curse if abused.

Don't laugh out.

Don't hold conversations with floor workers.

Don't leave your seats until your leader has given you instruction to do so.

Don't block entrances to the stores and the aisles.

Show yourself courteous and friendly at all times.

Sit straight and always face the counter.

Report all serious incidents to your leader.

Refer all information to your leader in a polite manner.

Remember love and nonviolence.

May God bless each of you.

Allied methods are the stand-in, where people line up for admission to a theater or similar place; the wade-in, in which campaigners attempt to swim at a segregated beach; and the kneel-in, in which Negroes try to worship at a church which excludes them.

2. The fast

The fast was used as a method of psychological intervention by, among others, Danilo Dolci when he led 1000 unemployed fishermen in a 24 hour mass fast on a beach in Sicily. The fast can be of heightened effectiveness when undertaken by persons of high status, such as ministers. Gandhi, the best-known faster, considered this the most difficult of all techniques and emphasized that it should be thought through carefully. This is especially true of the fast unto death. Experience with the fast in Albany, Georgia, by peace walkers indicates that clarity of purpose and realistic time periods are important. Efforts must be made to overcome the misunderstanding which comes in a society where "good living" is prized and self-denial is looked down on.

Gandhi believed that fasting is most effective when there is a close relationship between the faster and the opponent.

3. Reverse strike

This method has been found effective in various situations. Agricultural workers have done more work

and worked longer hours than they were paid to do, in support of their demand for pay increases. The unemployed in Sicily in 1956 voluntarily repaired a public road that was badly in need of repair in order to call attention to the severe unemployment in the area and the government's failure to deal with it. Although this method looks harmless enough at first glance, it has in practice been regarded as a sufficient threat so that reverse-strikers have been arrested, imprisoned, and even in some cases shot by police attempting to stop them from working!

4. Nonviolent interjection and obstruction

This involves placing one's body between another person and the objective of his work. Civil rights workers in this country have used it at school and other construction sites, to protest the building of a structure or discrimination in hiring the construction workers. Striking hosiery workers in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1957 lay down on the sidewalks at the factory gates making it necessary for non-strikers to walk over them to get into the factory, or to stay away from their jobs. In early 1964 at a Cleveland construction site several actionists lay down in front of a bulldozer; a minister, seeing that the operator might reverse direction, lay down behind the bulldozer and was killed. We should remember that in a confus-

ing situation the operator might not look in both directions before moving his machine.

There is more danger of injury or death when one or a few persons engage in interjection than when a great many participate. An example of the latter case, called obstruction, occurred in Japan in 1956 when 10,000 people physically occupied a site intended for a U.S. air base. After several days of obstruction the plans for building the air base were abandoned.

Even while this manual is being prepared some individual or group is probably devising still other forms of nonviolent direct action. One of the elements of nonviolence is the creativity which it stimulates, and the reader will probably want to experiment with new forms of nonviolent struggle. Not all of them will be really effective, and some will collapse as did the World's Fair "stall-in," in April, 1964. In evaluating a new tactic before trying it out, the thoughtful civil rights worker will ask:

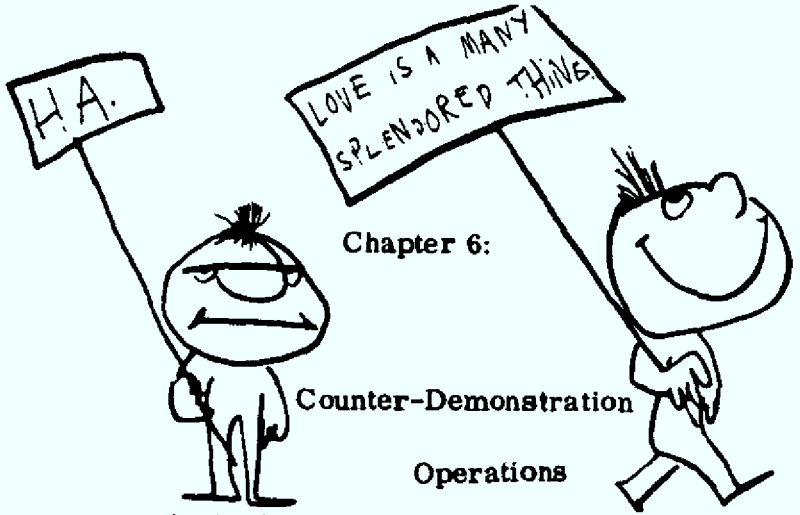
1. Is it clearly related to the issue?

2. Are the people it will inconvenience really the people heavily involved in the injustice?

3. Is there chance of direct confrontation between the campaigners and the opponent?

4. Does the tactic put a major part of the suffering which is inevitable in social change upon our shoulders, rather than upon innocent bystanders?

If the answer to these questions is "yes," the tactic may be worth trying.



Chapter 6:

Counter-Demonstration Operations

The authors have had only limited experience with some of the more serious types of counter-demonstration operations (police and mob violence against public demonstrations), hence it would be foolish of us to give a lot of "advice." A number of experts have suggested that in any case one should not become too preoccupied with trying to cope with police tactics because such efforts keep you from the basic objectives of nonviolent demonstrations. They bog you down in trying to outguess the police, and you lose sight of the basic goals -- to promote a society of justice. There are, however, some ideas which can increase the effectiveness of civil rights workers when faced with police and mob violence, or at least cut the physical risks, while maintaining the basic integrity of the demonstration and its participants.

Remember that the opponent would like, if possible, to provoke your group into wild statements, inaccurate

or exaggerated accusations which cannot be proven, name-calling, undignified behavior, confusion and disorderly behavior, in-fighting among the leaders, desertion from the ranks, and outright violent retaliation. In trying to avoid being provoked into these actions, some elementary rules will help:

1. Improve the educational and organizational tools by which violence can be contained and prevented. These include work-shops and other training, discipline, and loyalty to the group and what it stands for.

2. In a demonstration, remember to act only upon instructions from assigned leaders. Do not break ranks except to help an injured person.

3. If you are the victim of an attack, and are not too severely disabled, you can still take nonviolent initiatives. For instance, in a calm voice you might say, "Sir, may I ask you a question?" If someone else is being attacked, you might go to the attacker and divert him from his victim in a similar way.

4. Remember that you must be more than calm and restrained. You must also be creative, and look for new ways to take nonviolent initiatives in the spirit of the goals and ideals of the movement. A group might, for instance, spontaneously start singing a hymn together if an attack occurs.

5. It is the authors' opinion that demonstrators should not appeal to the police for help. If police do not of their own accord protect the civil liberties of demonstrators, they likely will not help anyhow. They may intervene only to stop the demonstration -- something that should be your decision, not theirs. If we are to build a society of justice and brotherhood we must

learn to do our own "policing," and not depend upon the police of the local power structure.

(The above is based partly on Walker, Organizing for Nonviolent Direct Action.)

Police policy varies rather widely from state to state, within states from city to city, and even within cities from time to time. It varies from states in which conferences of police officials hear representatives of civil rights and peace groups explain their policies, to states where there is no communication, much less understanding, between demonstrators and police officials.

By police we include here police operations engaged in by units of the State and National Guard. Federal troops have been used in only a few cases, notably Little Rock and the University of Mississippi. Civil rights workers will want to remember that in the latter case Negro troops were systematically excluded from duty at the University, resulting in considerable unrest and, according to a confidential informant, a near mutiny at one point. As individuals, Federal troops generally will tend to be friendly to the civil rights movement partly because of the nature of their duty, partly because of their racial composition, and partly because they resent local hostility which is aimed at

them by segregationists. On the other hand, there is little reason to hope that the simple presence of Federal troops will necessarily change the local situation; more likely the situation will only be "frozen" at its present point, and all demonstrations (including by civil rights groups) banned. Local resentment at Federal "occupation" may in fact be turned against local movements once Federal protection is removed.

Alabama and Mississippi

"Tough" policing of civil rights generally falls into two types: the "Alabama System" and the "Mississippi System." The former involves the lack of police protection for legitimate demonstrations -- it permits the formation of mobs, as in the case of the Freedom Riders in 1961. The latter system forbids the formation of mobs, and uses police authority to crush civil rights demonstrations. This has the advantage of being not only more efficient, but also proceeding under the protection of "law and order." While Northern police do not use the "Alabama System," it should not be thought that they never use the Mississippi System. There are at least two variations upon this system -- the straight-forward, "hard" line: disperse, or else. Period. The other variation appears soft on the surface and attempts to disarm, psychologically, the leadership and rank-and-file by being polite first, and only later pulling off the soft gloves. For example the

police command may appear to side with the demonstrators, asking them to sing a few songs or lead the group in prayer (this happened on the part of the Maryland State Guard in Cambridge in May, 1964), before asking them politely to disperse. This can be coupled with veiled threats to have leading demonstrators committed for observation to mental institutions, which also happened in Cambridge -- this threat seems to be more severe than simple prison. But the objective is the same: to disperse demonstrators at all costs.

Given the basic objective of the civil rights movement in a demonstration, namely to publicize a wrong, confront the community with the facts, and sometimes create dislocation in order to secure action, police tactics are only half of the picture. The leadership ability, perspectives, and organization of the civil rights demonstrators are also important. The best possible combination is to have a well-organized, well-educated movement, combined with generally accepted and legal police tactics. The worst is to have neither. Most demonstrations fall somewhere in between. But even under the worst kind of police repression, if the movement is well-disciplined the basic objective need not be lost. Basic objectives can be lost in a host of charges and counter-charges if the movement is disorganized, no matter how enlightened the police may be.

Discipline which maximizes the basic objectives of a demonstration involves a well-organized demonstration with clear lines of command and communication, and with a clear understanding by the participants of what they are to do in a variety of circumstances. Communicating, or at least trying to communicate, the objectives of the demonstration not only to the general public but also to the police command in advance is considered an important part of organization. A dignified bearing at all times is also important, particularly when making physical contact with police units. Calling a demonstration off at a particular point, or retreating in the face of police or mob violence is perfectly okay; but it should be done by pre-arranged plan, and in as orderly a manner as is possible under the circumstances. This points up the "image" of the movement, and makes it more difficult to charge the civil rights group with being nothing but a "rabble" commanded by "irresponsible agitators." Dignity also has a very definite effect upon police and onlookers, and tends to break down their prejudiced notions about the movement. Non-violent tactics are an essential part of a dignified demonstration, and even of an orderly retreat.

Police Tactics

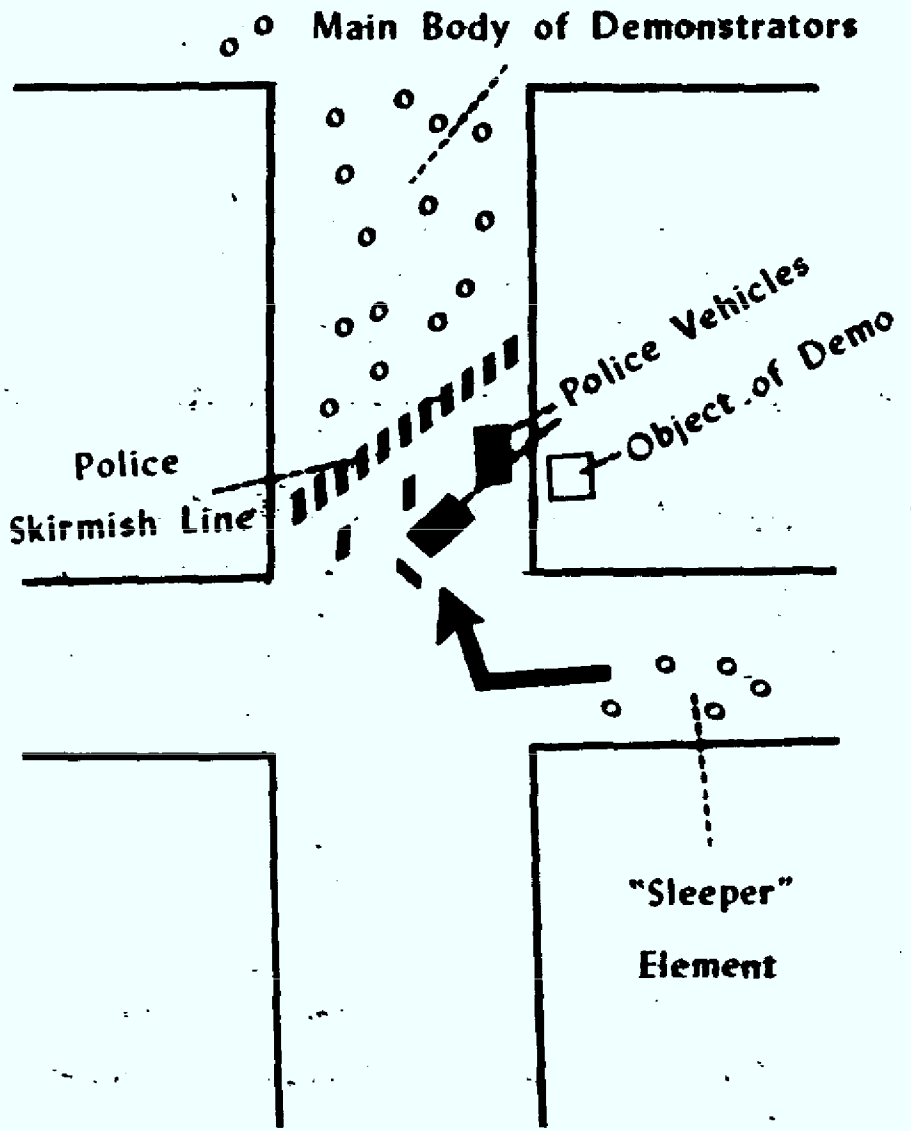
Here are some comments on "Counter-Demonstration Operations" in terms of specific tactics used by police, so that you will have some idea of the kinds of things you may expect.

(1) Police and troops, once they have been given their orders, do not care about the objective of a demonstration. They look only at the behavior of the demonstrators: is this a crowd, or a mob, or a riot? Intelligent officers have learned that to break up a crowd an officer does well to pick random citizens off the edge and arrest them, rather than attempting to move into the center to arrest, say, a street speaker. A crowd in motion, usually because of a leader, or because of the appearance of a hated individual, or symbol, is a mob. A riot is a disturbance by three or more persons who want to overcome any opposition to their action by lawful or unlawful means.

(2) Accepted American police practices include having a plan, and acting with all the force necessary to carry out the plan. Intelligent officers do not bluff. They make their intention clear to the crowd or the demonstration, allow time to clear out, and leave avenues of escape (unlike a recent Peruvian sports stadium tragedy in which gas panicked a crowd against barred doors).

(3) A crowd is usually attacked opposite the direction in which police want to drive it. A skirmish line, wedge, or diagonal line is formed across the street, and State, National Guard and Federal troops usually fix bayonets. The effort will be to drive the crowd or demonstration away from sensitive areas, street crossings, objectives of demonstrations such as stores, and to break the crowd up into its individual units by the use of gas, horses, dogs, fire-hoses, etc. Individuals can more easily be controlled and sent home than larger groups. Civil rights workers, under such circumstances, may want to consider the use of "sleeper" elements to divert an attacking police unit by demonstrating in its rear, thereby keeping

the demonstration going a while longer and taking the pressure off the group under immediate attack. (See diagram)



(4) Tear Gas: Chloracetophenone (CN) or Diphenylamine (DM or Adamsite) are termed "harassing agents" and are usually used in grenade form to demoralize, panic and disperse crowds, mobs and demonstrations. The effects of these gases extend beyond their visible cloud, and include a severe burning sensation in the eyes, choking, sneezing, headaches, and sometimes vomiting. There is no defense against a gas attack except masks or leaving the area. The chief immediate reaction is to panic and run. This should be avoided at all costs. It may help you to know that harassing gases cannot cause permanent injury or death by themselves. Grasp hands of demonstrators near you, and avoid running into the street (and risking getting run over since your visibility is impaired). Retreat in an orderly fashion from the scene. An assembly area should be picked beforehand and demonstrators should reassemble for further orders out of range of the gas. Clothing permeated with fumes should be changed. Persons affected by gas attack should face into the wind (assuming there is no further gas) and/or wash eyes and face in water (stick your head in a bucketful, if possible).

(5) Horses, dogs: The chief purpose of using cavalry and dogs is also psychological, even though it may not seem that way to you. Some dogs are trained only to hold, not to bite, but don't count on it. There are a number of methods which have been used against dogs and horses, but the violence involved is such that we don't recommend trying them. As in the case of gas, the best system is to hold out as long as you can and retreat in an orderly way, and in as dignified a manner as possible under the circumstances. The same thing is true when cattle prods are used. This can be extremely painful, and you should not feel it is disgraceful to retreat. Let your opponents make contact with you, hold out as long as you think wise or possible, and retreat in an orderly fashion.

Do not sit or lie down in front of horses unless you are prepared for severe, crippling injuries.

(6) Fire hoses: This is similar, except that if you hold on in a human chain you may be able to withstand the pressure and not have to leave. Hosing is usually followed by other counter-demonstration operations, however.

(7) White participants: The white participant is singled out for special treatment by local opponents of the civil rights movement. As a white he is seen as a traitor, which is worse than being a Negro. His presence in the struggle serves to undermine the delicate structure of thinking and excuses which most white Southerners have created for themselves to account for segregation and discrimination. His presence by itself tells them their system is a lie. It is a shock. Therefore, it infuriates. It has to be accounted for: the white participant is seen as an outside agitator, a Communist, perhaps a light-skinned Negro, and, if a woman, a prostitute. For no real white person (read: no-one from "our way of life") could walk with a sign, could "want a Negro to marry his sister." Violence, if it errupts, tends therefore to focus on the white picket. In prison, white inmates will tend to gang up on, and will sometimes try to beat up white integrationist prisoners.

(8) Photographers: Police frequently try to intimidate or harass demonstrators by photographing them. In our opinion there can be no legitimate reason for this since demonstrating as such is legal under the Constitution. You will recognize police (or F.B.I.) photographers because they take photographs of individual demonstrators rather than of the entire action. Regular newsmen are not interested in individuals, and will generally be glad to identify themselves with press cards or union cards. In the long run

there is not much point in evading having your picture taken (by keeping signs in front of your face, etc.), and you should not let the demonstration degenerate into a contest between you and the police photographer. On the other hand, you should not allow group pictures to be taken by unidentified photographers. As for individual pictures, you will have to make a *decision*: shall evasive action be taken as a way of making a protest against an invasion of privacy? Or will you demonstrate the fact that you cannot be intimidated by openly, and with good will, permitting the police to "mug" you? This is a policy decision which you should discuss prior to a demonstration.

Chapter 7: Arrest and the Courts

If You Are Arrested (adapted from a leaflet published by the American Civil Liberties Union).

Arrest is taking a person into custody for some official purpose, generally so that he may be held to answer for a crime. If you are arrested, you have rights which protect you from unfair pressure, whether or not you are *innocent*. What are your rights? Immediately, you have the right to ask the policeman why he is arresting you.

There are three kinds of crimes for which you might be arrested in most states: Felony is the name of the most serious kind. Less serious violations are called misdemeanors and the least serious are summary offenses. A policeman does not need a warrant to arrest you for a felony if he sees you commit it, or try to commit it, or if he has reason to believe that a felony has been committed and has reason to think you did it. A policeman does not need a warrant to arrest you if he sees you commit

a misdemeanor or summary offense. In many states he must have a warrant to arrest you for a misdemeanor or summary offense he did not see you commit.

A warrant is an order signed by a justice of the peace or a magistrate (as they are called in some states) or judge. It is made on a complaint by someone. An arrest warrant charges that you committed a crime. The warrant must list the charge against you. It must also direct the policeman to make the arrest and to bring you before a justice of the peace, magistrate, or a judge. If you refuse to admit an officer, he may break open a door or a window to serve a warrant.

Generally a pdiceman must have a search warrant before he can search your home. The search warrant must describe the premises to be searched and the thing to be searched for. But of course if you consent to a search without warrant, it is legal.

Even if you think you are not guilty, it is a crime to resist an officer who arrests you legally. If you resist a lawful arrest, a policeman can use all necessary force to arrest you. If you think your rights have been violated by the police, you should consult a lawyer about legal remedies.

At the Station House

After you are arrested you will be taken to a police station, where a record of your arrest and the charge against you must be reported without unnecessary delay in the "arrest book." Before questioning you, the police must tell you the charge. In many places police have the right to fingerprint and photograph you.

You have the right to telephone your family, or a friend, or an attorney soon after you arrive in the station house and have been booked. In some places police must let you speak over the police phone if you have no money to use a pay phone. (You should always have some dimes and several telephone numbers with you in case some of those you try to call are not in.) You must be given an itemized receipt for all money and property taken from you when booked.

It is your right, under the Constitution, to refuse to say anything that may be used against you later. After giving the police your name, you may not be forced to answer any questions or sign any paper about a crime. Neither a uniformed policeman, a plainclothesman nor anyone else may force you to do this. If any force or threats are used against you, you should report it to your organization or attorney. You may not be forced to take a lie detector test, and you

should not ask to take one without having consulted with your attorney.

After arrest and booking you must be taken before a magistrate or judge without unnecessary delay -- usually within a day. If you are charged with a felony or a misdemeanor such as larceny, conspiracy to incite a riot, etc., the magistrate or justice of the peace does not decide whether you are guilty or innocent. He only decides whether there is a reasonable basis for believing you committed the crime. If he thinks that there is a reasonable basis, he will hold you for court. If you are charged with a summary offense, such as disorderly conduct or disturbing the peace, the justice of the peace or judge himself will decide the case. He will either discharge you, or find you guilty.

In any kind of case before a magistrate or justice of the peace, you have the right (1) to be represented by a lawyer, (2) to be told exactly what the charge against you is, (3) to hear witnesses in support of the charge, and (4) to refuse to speak at all.

In summary offense cases, which the justice of the peace himself decides, you have additional rights. (1) the J. P. must ask you whether you plead guilty or innocent. (2) You may tell your side of the story if you wish. (3) You may have your own witnesses. (4) If the J. P. finds you guilty he must tell you exactly what

you have been found guilty of, and exactly what the penalty is. If you are denied any of these rights and are fined or imprisoned, you have grounds for having the conviction reversed.

Applying for Bail

If the J. P. holds you for court (for a more serious offense), you have the right to be allowed to apply promptly for bail. Bail permits you to be released from jail if an amount of money or other security is deposited with the proper official to make sure you will appear in court. The magistrate will fix the amount of bail you must put up. The amount must be reasonable. If it is excessive, your lawyer may ask a higher court to reduce the bail. On very serious felonies, such as murder, robbery, etc., the J. P. is frequently not permitted to set bail, but a higher judge may do so. Bondsmen are often used when you or your family, or the organization, cannot put up the bail.

It is a good idea to have a lawyer with you when you are taken before a magistrate or a J. P. if only to minimize the risks to you, and to raise objections which may be the basis of future appeals. You should ask for a postponement of the hearing if a lawyer satisfactory to you has not been obtained.

The Realities

The above rights are obviously hypothetical. First of all, rights vary widely from state to state. Secondly, your rights are only as good as the willingness of the authorities in any situation to permit you to have them. Law enforcement agencies, particularly (though not exclusively by any means) in the South need constantly to be reminded that such rights exist, and that they exist for everybody, regardless of race, social class, or sex. Therefore the above outline should not be taken as "legal advice," but rather as a guideline to what should happen in a general way when you are arrested.

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has regularly detailed instance after instance of the deprivation of persons' constitutional rights, as well as the failure of police to protect persons asserting their constitutional rights. (See its reports for 1959, 1961, and 1963.) In addition, many local ordinances and state laws have been passed especially to control civil rights demonstrations (some have been overturned on appeal to the federal courts). A realistic view would therefore be that constitutional rights are an extremely relative matter, and that in many instances involving civil rights activity, the civil rights worker may as well forget they exist. As the U. S. Civil Rights Commission concluded in 1961 (and certainly there is little evidence to suggest improvement since), "police brutality in the United States today is a serious and continuing problem in many parts of the country... Negroes feel the brunt of official brutality proportionally more than any other group... approximately two out of every three complaints (received by the Department of Justice) originated in the 17 Southern States and the District of Columbia..." Nevertheless, persons arrested should go through the formality of trying to obtain their rights for appeals purposes.

Most violations charged to civil rights workers will be settled within a State Court system. The procedure outlined above applies to State criminal court structures. The federal or U.S. system is different and separate. Unless you violate a law passed by Congress you will rarely find yourself in federal court. Civil rights matters that wind up in federal courts are usually matters involving violations of injunctions granted by a federal district court (there are 86 districts), or appeals from state supreme courts to the U.S. Supreme Court. There are a variety of federal laws which support civil rights (see Appendix B) but it must be remembered that Federal District Court judges are appointed by the U.S. President on generally political grounds, and that both judges and juries in federal cases reflect local prejudices more often than not. In addition the F.B.I. has been notoriously lax in stepping in to

help civil rights demonstrators, even when brutality against demonstrators was proceeding right in front of the agents. (For further details on the structure of court systems, different types of law, and the relationship of the judiciary to the legislative and executive branches of state and federal government, consult any standard Political Science 1 textbook.)

Law Enforcement (see also Chapters 6 and 8)

The first thing to remember is that the enforcement of law in this country is extremely inconsistent. Consistency begins to develop only as state and federal authorities step into a local situation. What are some of the inconsistencies which must be kept in mind?

Injunctions by local, state, and federal authorities may be applied against the movement. An injunction is a court order which forbids a certain type of activity (a boycott, picketing, interfering with school integration) or orders a certain type of activity (to obey the law, to register a voter, to maintain the peace). Violations of injunctions result, generally, in quicker punishment because they involve a "contempt of court" proceeding which can be handled quite fast. Hence leaders can quickly be imprisoned and gotten out of the way.

Local enforcement policy sometimes shifts erratically. In many Southern and some Northern communities

police policy is to stay pretty much out of the Negro community altogether, giving the impression of a lack of enforcement; but when violations take place by Negroes outside their community (civil rights demonstrations, for example), there is a crack-down out of all proportion to the danger of the activity. In many Northern communities, on the other hand, police will often protect demonstrators and pickets, but sometimes, without apparent reason, they will take extreme measures against demonstrators, almost as if the police had panicked. This may be because a larger demonstration has brought police into the picture who have no training in "human relations," or who resent this type of duty, or who have become frightened by what they see as a possible danger to them. Police officers, after all, also reflect local prejudices rather closely.

Do not assume that because an officer is a Negro he is also a sympathizer. Some Negro police officers "lean over backwards" to be tough.

Arrest

Nowadays there is no excuse for civil rights "leaders" to call a demonstration without carefully planning the consequences. There is no excuse for shrugging off questions from potential participants, saying "don't worry about it, if it happens, it happens." Leaders owe to participants, and followers have the right to demand from leaders,

the following kinds of information:

1. Why are we demonstrating? What are our specific demands? Is our demonstration communicating our demands, and putting pressure primarily on those who are responsible for our troubles?

2. At what point will it be right to complete or call off demonstration? Do we demonstrate for the sake of blowing off steam, or do we demonstrate to have an effect?

3. Are we likely to be arrested? If so, what measures have been taken to make sure some leadership remains outside? What measures have been taken to make sure some leadership goes inside to lead activities inside jail?

4. Will we accept bail? What are the pros and cons of accepting bail? If we accept bail, what arrangements have been made for the posting of cash, property, or other security? If we do not accept bail, what point are we making? Some demonstrations almost inevitably, by their "civil disobedience" nature will result in arrest. It is sometimes fruitful to fill the jails in order to make the point that the cause of the arrest is unjust. Is this one of those occasions?

5. If arrest and bail are decided on, what shall be the priority of being released? (Students taking exams, and workers whose incomes are needed to support families, first).

6. How much cooperation are we to extend to the police? What are the pros and cons of going limp? Shall we sacrifice our dignified appearance (which has public relations value, and also maintains a certain personal worth) in order to refuse cooperation with an unjust situation?

7. Have you announced your intention of breaking the law in advance (where that is appropriate, e.g. in Northern communities where arrest is more likely to come only upon the breaking of a definite law, and after warning)? A prior announcement helps to clarify to the community your honesty of purpose and seriousness of intent. In some situations such an announcement will warn the police and they will try to prevent you access to the place of the demonstration (e.g. a building). "Sneaking in" has some handicaps, and you might still be able to confront the authorities outside (possibly sitting down there). On the other hand sometimes the demonstration, to make its point, must be at the particular place; have you discussed the relative merits of this issue?

8. The question of paying fines at the magistrate's court, justice of the peace court or higher court hearings should also be discussed in advance of any action likely to lead to arrest. The alternative to paying fines is imprisonment for a specified length of time ("Thirty days or $100"). Bail is security for your appearance later in court, hence is in a sense only a loan to the power structure, which must be paid back. But a fine is lost to you and the movement forever, and furthermore helps to pay the power structure's expenses in running a police force, a prison system, segregated schools, etc. Should you contribute to this by paying fines? This must be weighed against even greater losses in wages for some people, if they stay in jail. Again, we do not want to answer this question for you, but only advocate that it be intelligently discussed in advance. Obviously, in a "jail-in," that is, a concentrated attempt to communicate the evil of of a law by having masses of people break it and undergo unmerited suffering, it would be foolish to accept bail, or, later, pay fines. The suffering is what communicates, not the paying.

9. Will you take legal action against officials who rough you up or otherwise molest you in the course of a demonstration? An attorney should clarify to the group what is involved in such a decision; but the final decision should be yours, not his. Some have said that personal actions against officers who, after all, only reflect a generally evil situation, do not help. On the other hand, it should be made clear to officials that you will not tolerate the illegal enforcement of law. In many cases of brutality it will become necessary for you to document the charges by making out a paper called an "affidavit." You should therefore be clear as to exactly what happened, to whom, and by whom. This should include police officers' badge numbers, what kind of police (sheriffs or county, local police, state police, etc.), physical descriptions. You should try to write down what happened as soon as possible, because people's memories, especially under pressure, play tricks.

10. Your attitude towards the police can contribute to creating a new and better situation. Politeness is often disarming. The polite but firm use of "sir" helps convince the police that you have a regard for them as human beings; it also tells them you will not be bullied.

While we do not seek, here, to give final answers on these many points, we do want to make the point that answers should be arrived at before the demonstration begins. First, it will create a higher sense of morale because participants will know better what to expect, and will feel that the leadership is being responsible and responsive to them. Second, it educates participants as to the principles and purposes of a demonstration. Any participant may find himself a spokesman, if not in a public situation such as a trial, then later at home in the community. Educated participants are agents for the growth of the movement. Participants who simply follow the leader are sheep to be misled by every orator who comes down the street.

Chapter 8: Jail

In any demonstration likely to lead to violence and/or arrest, some precautions can be taken which will make life easier. Wear loose clothing in order not to be choked when dragged. Wear decent,tough clothing, but not your best. If you expect to be jailed, wear two sets of underclothes so that you can wear one set while washing the other. This is also helpful padding if you are dragged about by police. An extra pair of socks also helps. Wear a sweater or trenchcoat--cells get cold, and the coat will help cover your legs or serve as a pillow. Take a bunch of kleenex or toilet paper in case that commodity is not available right away. You will probably not be permitted to keep a razor anyhow, but a toothbrush, deodorant, soap, cigarettes, pencil stubs, notepaper, ballpoint pen refills (not as bulky as the pen itself) and small books are sometimes permitted, or can be successfully retained, especially during

arrests involving a lot of people at a time. Don't forget to ask for a receipt if anything is taken from you.

Do not wear loafers or other loose shoes which you may lose if you are dragged. Girls should not wear high heels. Sharp objects (such as sharpened pencils, pins, brooches) should not be taken along.

Make sure you have been to the toilet shortly before the beginning of any demonstration. Make sure you have several dimes and telephone numbers with you, and that someone on the outside knows you may be going to jail.

For those who wear eyeglasses: carry a hard case to protect your glasses when trouble appears imminent. If you absolutely must wear glasses, carry adhesive tape, and fix three strips vertically across your glasses, one in front of each ear, and one down your forehead, across the bridge of your glasses, and down your nose.

Varieties of jails

It is hard to generalize about where actionists are put--city and county jails, open stockades, and garages are used. The county jail often has 4 grades of accommodations: dormitories (minimum security), unlocked cells opening on a common area or cell block (medim security), locked cells (maximum security), and cells for "solitary," generally without windows, often called "the hole." Wherever you are put you will usually find a rather dull routine, starting early in the morning until early in the evening. In spite of the idleness, there is a good deal of tension where people are locked

in, and this tension can be the greatest hardship of a jail period.

Inmates

The inmates already there for other offenses are often curious about you and can be your allies in conflicts with prison officials. In one county prison the other inmates, white and Negro, conducted a sit-down strike to back up the demands of the demonstrators that their cell doors be unlocked during the day.

"I remember one night at the jail, a voice called up from the cell block beneath us, where other Negro prisoners were housed. 'Upstairs!' the anonymous prisoner shouted. We replied, 'Downstairs!' 'Upstairs!' replied the voice, 'Sing your freedom song.' And the Freedom Riders sang. We sang old folk songs and gospel songs to which new words had been written, telling of the Freedom Ride and it purpose. Then the downstairs prisoners, whom the jailers had said were our enemies, sang for us."

James Farmer, quoted in Guy and Candie Carawan, We Shall Overcome! (Oak, 1963)

Keeping up morale

Sometimes exhausted civil rights workers look forward to jail as a place where they can catch up on their sleep. This is one important use of jail, but in general other methods have to be found to lick the great enemy of morale--idleness. There are a number of things which bolster morale and use up the time, such as singing. Many freedom songs were born in prison, and anyone can make up new verses to the songs you know. Singing brings a sense of solidarity and hope, and also helps to relieve tension.

An extremely important thing you can do is teaching: prisoners often devise home-made lectures, do role-playing, and have discussions of nonviolence and direct action. Nearly everyone knows something the others do not--prison can be a time for sharing and learning. George Bernard Shaw is supposed to have said, "I'd rather go to jail than to school." Make sure to put any teachers or professors who may be with you to full use.

You may be able to think up projects which contribute to prison life, such as producing a prison newspaper. Some SNCC workers were publicized in newspapers and radio broadcasts when they had a project of painting their jail cell. In addition to fighting restlessness and providing short-term goals to shoot for, such projects can demonstrate the basically constructive attitude which the freedom movement is building.

Guards

It may be hard for you to think of some guards as people, but it may be hard for them to think of you that way, too. Keep in mind that they are there to do a job, and protests should be reserved for situations when guards are harsh, rather than when they are simply carrying out duties.

"Our matron, a formidable looking woman from Alabama, was at first very rough with the girls. She rarely spoke, and although we thought she was sympathetic to us as prisoners, we were sure she hated us as Freedom Riders. But some of the girls, in the true nonviolent spirit, saw her as a human being and not as a symbol of authority and oppression. Little by little they began to speak to her. At first it was just 'good morning' or 'thank you,' and then we began to joke with her and have longer and longer conversations. Before I left Parchman she was singing for us on our make-believe radio programs and was often heard humming our freedom songs."

Marilyn Eisenberg, in We Shall Overcome

Agitation inside the jail

Many persons when they go to jail take the attitude of Gandhi, which is that jail is not a grim necessity so much as an honorable service for the cause. If Gandhi broke the law, even an unjust law, he willingly accepted the punishment. This is why it is called civil disobedience rather than criminal disobedience.

However, Gandhi felt that if the prisoner's dignity was being trampled on and his rights as a prisoner being violated, resistance inside prison became a duty. In India prisoners sometimes refused to cooperate with the guards as a means of correcting wrongs.

One of the common ways civil rights actionists demonstrate inside the prison is by noise-making. Spoons are hit against the bars, there is yelling, and shoes are pounded on the walls until the authorities make the concession. While noise-making is sometimes effective, it is not well-suited to maintaining a nonviolent discipline and can get out of control and become a riot with windows being smashed and prisoners and guards getting hurt.

Another method of demonstrating is to conduct sit-downs when outside the cell or when moving from one place to another. An important precaution here is that you should relax your body as much as possible, for tissue can be damaged and torn when you are lifted or dragged if your muscles are tensed.

A third method is that of the hunger strike. Generally prisoners engaging in a hunger strike drink water; not to do so is fatal in 10 to 15 days unless there is intraveneous injection or force-feeding. Some fasts taking only water have lasted two months or more. Fasting in jail can be a powerful means of protesting prison evils such as segregation. Officials do not like to have deaths occur in their institutions.

* * *

Suggested Rules for Prison (Based on "Handbook for Freedom Army Recruits," Southern Christian Leadership Conference):

1. A Freedom Army recruit should be a model prisoner.
2. Accept jail discipline and its hardships. It's supposed to be rough. It's not supposed to be a picnic.
3. Always act and speak with honesty.
4. Cooperate with prison officials and don't break prison rules unless they are against dignity and self-respect or our principles.
5. You may protest and refuse food served insultingly or uncleanly.
6. Do all jobs to the best of your ability.
7. Do not hesitate to ask for essential spiritual and physical needs, but do not be irritated if you do not get them.
8. Don't take part in improper joking with prison officials.
9. Don't bother trustees and guards with unnecessary errands and asking special privileges and favors.
10. Make no distinction between demonstrators and ordinary prisoners.

11. Ask no favors and claim no privileges which ordinary prisoners do not get and which you do not need except for maintaining health.

12. Remember that guards are human beings and try to treat them as such. Have regard for fellow prisoners and do not be selfish.

13. Do nothing to demoralize your fellow prisoners. Take responsibility for keeping everyone in good spirits. Do not take part in teasing or conversation that might hurt feelings or start a fight.

Chapter 9:

Nonviolence and Armed Defense

In recent years a sense of desperation has grown in the Negro community. This desperation is rooted in the failure of the civil rights movement to achieve, and of the white power structure to surrender, enough to satisfy. This has resulted in a significant growth of organizations such as, on the one extreme, the Muslims (Black Separatism), and on the other extreme more traditional integrationist groupings which are non-affiliated, tend to be emotional in their tone, and seem reluctant or unable to discuss, advocate, or train followers in nonviolence. The result has been an increase in attacks on the concepts and tactics of nonviolence, and an increasing interest in the tactics of armed defense.

Healthy debate between these two important tendencies in direct action (nonviolence versus armed defense) has been rare. Respected leaders of nonviolent groups have been reluctant to publicize the opposition, and the advocates of armed defense generally do not care about white public

opinion, hence have limited their propaganda work to Negro circles. But healthy debate is essential if we are to understand the two tendencies, and if we are to have an accurate perspective on civil rights in the next few years.

Advocates of various brands of Black Nationalism and armed defense (they overlap, but are not synonymous) criticize nonviolence on these general grounds:

Argument 1: Nonviolence does not look out for the safety and life of individuals. Leaders of nonviolent movements talk in terms of spilling "our" blood, rather than spilling "theirs." This is nonsense. Why should the innocents be made to suffer? Who are these leaders, to be willing to sacrifice their followers to racist madmen? It is important to safeguard our lives, and the lives of our families. Nonviolence cannot do this because it does nothing to deter violence on the part of mobs, police authorities, etc. In order to avoid many kinds of direct violence against innocent Negroes, and in order to avoid violent reprisals against civil rights demonstrators, it is necessary to make sure potential attackers understand that the price of attack will be high. In many instances, notably in Monroe, N.C., "deterrence theory" has paid off. Knowledge that Negroes are armed and will defend themselves deters aggression.

Rebuttal:

In any direct action campaign where the opponents are determined, campaigners will suffer. This is the experience of history, whether

the strategy is violent or nonviolent. The cost of social change is often high and the brunt of it is always taken by those who have most to gain.

The real question is not, "How can the suffering be avoided?" The question is, "How can it be minimized?" In case after case the violent strategy has brought more suffering on the heads of the innocents than the nonviolent strategy. This is even true on a national level -- compare the freedom struggles of India and Kenya, against the same British power. The nonviolent Indians lost fewer lives and had fewer injured than the Mao Mao movement of Kenya, despite the fact that the Indian movement was larger and lasted longer.

Violence does not deter violence in the long run and often not even in the short run. Again and again in the civil rights struggle police have been itching to shoot into demonstrations but have not because they could not find the excuse of "self-defense" or "rioting." Sometimes in nonviolent struggles the rulers have sent spies into the movement to start violence so they would have an excuse to mow the campaigners down.

The argument for violence in self-defense assumes that the opponents are more afraid of violence than of nonviolence. This may be true of individual policemen, but it is not true of their bosses. Violence is what police and armies know how to deal with - they are experienced in this. What baffles them is the use of disciplined nonviolence -- they actually do not know what to do with it. Imagine 1000 Negroes in Birmingham setting up barricades and shooting it out

after extreme provocation -- this is simply war, and the government has won bigger wars than this! 1000 Negroes, however, have demonstrated in Birmingham for several months without being put down. Nonviolence is simply harder to handle, and if your job is to preserve the status quo, you will be more afraid of it.

In Hungary in 1956 the revolution began with nonviolent tactics, and as long as this stage lasted real gains were made. When Hungarian soldiers joined the movement and it became violent, however, the Russians knew what to do, and the revolution was brutally crushed. We do not know of any Hungarians who felt "protected" during the second stage.

In short, then, nonviolent action deters brutality better than violence does. If however, you are looking for a 100% guaranteed safe way of action, then you do not belong in a dynamic struggle for social change. Freedom is not free.

Argument 2: Nonviolence drains the potential militancy of the Negro community by giving a theory of struggle which is an illusion. Nonviolence may be "nice," and can win the approval of parts of the white power structure, but it can never mount the kind of attack on the power structure that will be necessary to win. The moment that kind of attack is mounted, reprisals will be fierce, and the Negroes, unused to defending themselves, will become disillusioned, apathetic, or will be killed

Rebuttal:

The answer to this lies in the history of the last ten years. It was nonviolent leadership which taught Montgomery Negroes in 1956 that they must struggle for their freedom, that no one could give it to them. The significant militant movements in terms of mass support and gains have been nonviolent. It is strange reasoning which sees the thousands of Negroes now involved in the civil rights struggle who were not involved before as an example of "drained militancy."

Argument 3: Nonviolence does not make sense in this country, and particularly in the Negro community. This nation is based on a tradition of armed struggle against oppression: Lexington and Concord, the Slave Uprisings, the Raid on Harper's Ferry, were all in the American tradition. Nonviolence is foreign to this nation's ways of doing things. Furthermore, the heart of the Negro community itself (especially the urban slum ghetto) is used to violence. Negroes have for centuries been the victims of violence, and this has become a part of their way of life. Nonviolence is a tactic of the white middle-class intellectual, not of the Negro working-class. Ultimately, it violates the "survival common sense" of the Negro urban masses.

Rebuttal:

If this statement were true it would not be very important, for any way of life must have new elements introduced constantly in order to remain vigorous and alive. But in fact, it is not true.

The roots of nonviolent action in America go back to Puritan Massachusetts, and to colonial Pennsylvania. The nonviolent technique of the boycott was used during the American Revolution and before. The history of the labor movement in this country is full of the use of nonviolent tactics, sometimes alongside violence but often not.

Our way of life includes standards which go better with nonviolence than with violence. We believe in respecting the dignity of the human personality, we believe in the Golden Rule, we believe in brotherhood. The Christian ethic, certainly a part of the American heritage (and that of the Negro working-class), tells us to overcome evil with good. All of these elements make nonviolence fit into our "way of life" so well that more and more people are adopting it as an ethic for themselves.

Argument 4: Racism is a disease, a product of diseased minds. The violence of racism cannot be dealt with by the rational thought-processes and procedures (intended to "convert" the racist) of nonviolence. It is far less important to "convert" the racist enemy than it is to remove his opposition to our struggle, and eliminate his threat to our homes and families. This can be done by restraining him physically, for while armed defense may not convert him, he is still rational enough to understand that action on his part will result in instantaneous punishment. Would the church in Birmingham have been bombed if it had been well-understood that ten prominent racists would suffer assassination as punishment for anything of this sort?

Rebuttal:

Nonviolent action does not work primarily on the rational level. If discussion and reasoning were enough to convert segregationists, nonviolent action would not be necessary. It is because the power of logic is not enough that nonviolent action was devised, for nonviolence brings three more kinds of power: economic power, political power, psychological power.

Economic power - This has already been discussed under strategy and tactics. Using arms in self-defense adds nothing to this power.

Political power - This involves making it difficult for the politicians to rule without making concessions. Mass demonstrations are powerful on this level : they make it appear that the politicians are not in control. This is why demonstrations are often attacked even though they do not seem to be threatening anything.

Using arms in self-defense does not add anything to this power, since it only relieves the authorities of some of their difficulties in repressing the demonstrations.

Psychological power - There are racists who have been converted, and many moderates who have moved closer to the civil rights struggle as a result of this power. Using violence would detract seriously from this power. Would the Christian Church be involved as much as it is in the struggle for change if the movement had been violent?

A final point on the question of racism and diseased minds: psychiatrists in progressive mental hospitals now use nonviolence rather than violence with the mentally ill because they find it heals better. For further explanation of how this psychological power works, see George Lakey, NVA: How It Works (Pendle Hill Pamphlets, Wallingford, Pa.)

Argument 5: Finally, when push comes to shove, the power structure will be ruthless in defending its privileges. Nonviolence is all very well when there is not much at stake--a cup of coffee, a few votes between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, a handful of jobs. But when it comes to votes in areas where Negroes form large proportions of the population (hence by their nature as workers and poor farmers could create a social revolution by the ballot box), when it comes to real numbers of jobs, housing, schools, when the Negro movement begins to march upon the real citadels of the power elite, then no mercy will be shown, and we will be crushed despite all the protestations of Christian love. Only arms will save us.

Rebuttal:

In this argument means that the only way 170,000,000 whites will give up their key privileges is for 20,000,000 Negroes to defeat them with arms, then there is no hope. Obviously, Negroes with .22 rifles and dynamite are not going to defeat tanks, planes and overwhelming numbers. Trying this guerilla-type terrorist activity will

bring only terror, hardship, and death, and most of that to Negroes.

Fortunately we have seen this argument before and know something of its validity. Workers in this country were once told that only violent revolution will accomplish real gains, that the ruling class in America would not willingly give up enough to allow for a decent wage and decent working conditions. As we know, this was false, for the workers found a means of struggle which enabled them to apply pressure and still attract allies in church and government. The labor movement would be in better state today if it had been more principled in its devotion to brotherhood and nonviolence, but even so workers accomplished a lot of what believers in violence said was impossible.

More important than the reasons for the impracticality of armed defense, though, is the way a man looks at himself. Does he want to bring into a moral revolution the use of immoral means? Does he want personally to fall into the trap of saying "That man is not my brother, is not even a human being, is worthy of my contempt and my bullet"? The surest way of encouraging evil to spread is to let it engulf your own heart.

Appendix A: Bibliographical Notes

The Negro in America has undergone centuries of oppression. He has been robbed of his manhood, and he has also been robbed of his history. It is important, in order to restore the self-worth of an individual, that he have some sense of who he is, and of his past. Continuing ignorance of Negro history on the high school and college level contributes to maintaining prejudiced views of Negroes by whites, and undermines the Negro's self-esteem. As the anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits points out in his excellent The Myth of the Negro Past (Beacon, 1958), "the American Negro, in discovering that he has a past, has added assurance that he will have a future." Workers therefore owe it to themselves to become familiar with Negro history, and to transmit what they learn to both whites and Negroes. The purpose of this appendix is to suggest some good sources on this neglected subject.

The history of Negro protest is old. On the West African slave ship, West Indies and pre-civil war South period, see Herskovits (cited above) and Herbert Aptheker's Negro Slave

Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860 (International Publishers, 1939). On the Reconstruction Period and the era of the agrarian discontent (roughly, to 1896) a handy and well-written work is C. Vann Woodward's The Strange Career of Jim Crow (Oxford U. Press, 1955), or see his longer, more scholarly Origins of the New South (L.S.U. Press, 1951). Following the collapse of Populism disillusionment and apathy characterized Negro political and social life. The non-political nature of the period was symbolized by the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. Rayford W. Logan analyses this epoch in The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901. (Dial Press, 1954). This era was quickly followed by the Niagara Movement and the founding of the N.A.A.C.P., by W.E.B. Dubois and others--see his Dusk of Dawn (Harcourt, Brace 1940) or the biography by Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis (Stanford U. Press, 1959).

The turn of the century marked the beginnings of large-scale migration of Southern Negroes into Northern cities. Good background material is to be found in the superb volume by W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (Knopf, 1941). The development of the urban political machine is discussed in Drake and Cayton's Black Metropolis (Harcourt, Brace, Brace, 1945) and in Harold F. Gosnell's Negro Politicians (U. of Chicago Press, 1935)-- both are about Chicago. A different view which casts an interesting light on Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's career is his Marching Blacks (Dial Press, 1945). A superb analysis of the Negro's potential political power, as well as much essential information about Southern politics in general, is V.O. Key's Southern Politics in State and Nation (Knopf, 1950).

With urbanization came trade unionization. A. Philip Randolph's early years are mapped out in Brailsford Brazeal's The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (Harper, 1946) and a more general survey is Herbert R. Northrup's Organized Labor and the Negro (Harper, 1944), a bit out-dated now.

The disappointments of World War I resulted in a backlash of Negro separatism--the Garvey movement, possibly the largest movement of Negroes in this country to date. Edward D. Cronon's Black Moses (U. of Wisconsin, 1962) discusses this, and of course the more up-to-date version of this movement is covered by C. Eric Lincoln's The Black Muslims in America (Beacon, 1961) and E. U. Essien-Udom's Black Nationalism (Dell, 1962). The Communist Party, too, advocated a separate state for Negroes, and various turns of Party policy can be traced in Wilson Record's The Negro and the Communist Party (U. of N. C. Press, 1951).

The Negro's cultural contribution to this country should not be neglected in such a historical survey. Of particular interest are the works of Alain Locke, a short survey by Margaret Butcher, The Negro in American Culture (Mentor, 1957), the interesting memoir by Roi Ottley, New World A-Coming (Houghton-Mifflin, 1943), and the somewhat more specialized The Negro Novel in America (Yale U. Press, 1958) by Robert Bone. Essential to an understanding of Negro life is a reading of the works of Richard Wright, especially his Native Son, Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man, and the essays and novels of James Baldwin, particularly Go Tell It On The Mountain. Also see Michael Harrington's important The Other America (Penguin, 1963).

The recent period of protest probably began in 1941 with the March On Washington Movement, carefully described by Herbert Garfinkel in When Negroes March (Free Press, 1959). The Bible of the movement remains Martin Luther King's description of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Stride Toward Freedom (Harper, 1958). Two other recent surveys of the current protest are Dan Wakefield's Revolt in the South (Evergreen, 1960) which covers the early sit-in period and its background, and Louis Lomax' The Negro Revolt (Harper, 1962), which is more up-to-date. An alternative course of action (armed defense) is suggested in Robert F. Williams' Negroes With Guns (Marzani and Munsell, 1962).

For those interested in a closer look at problems of community structure, Floyd Hunter's Community, Power and Structure (Anchor, 1953) remains standard. Negro community life is examined in Drake and Cayton (cited above); John Dollard's Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Anchor, 1949) is also still good. On the psychological level Gordon W. Allport's The Nature of Prejudice (Anchor, 1958) still leads the field, and for powerful insights into Negro psychology Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey's The Mark of Oppression (Meridian, 1962) is tops. Negro family life is discussed in the standard Negro Family in the U.S. (Dryden, 1948) by the Negro scholar E. Franklin Frazier, and also in his well-known Black Bourgeoisie (Collier, 1962). A good general text on Negro history is John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (Knopf, 1957). Arnold Rose's condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's The American Dilemma (still the top work in the field), entitled

The Negro in America (Beacon, 1957) is a good, handy reference work.

Not much has yet been written on nonviolence, but Mulford Sibley's anthology The Quiet Battle (Anchor, 1963) is valuable, as is Martin Luther King (cited above). Leo Kuper's Passive Resistance in South Africa (Yale, 1957) is very good, and Richard B. Gregg's The Power of Nonviolence (Fellowship, 1959 ed) is the best general discussion of the concept and its ramifications.

Hadley Cantril's The Psychology of Social Movements (Wiley, 1941) has very good material in it on mob behavior, and Killian and Grigg's Racial Crisis in America (Prentice-Hall, 1964) has a solid section on bi-racial committees and other current matters. Negotiation is covered in Dean and Rosen's A Manual of Intergroup Relations (U. of Chicago Press, 1955). Musically speaking, Guy and Candie Carawan's We Shall Overcome! (Oak, 1963) is the comprehensive work.

Appendix B: Some Important Legal Documents Involving Civil Rights

1. The Bill of Rights (first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution).

Article 1: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article 2: A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article 3: No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article 4: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

Article 5: No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be

subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article 6: In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have previously been ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

...

Article 8: Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

...

2. The Post-Civil War Amendments:

Article 13: (Section 1) --Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

(Section2) --Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article 14: (Section 1) -- All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

(Section 2) --Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male (Article 19 now includes female--authors) inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in

the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the number of male (and female) citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

...

(Section 5) --The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Article 15: (Section 1) --The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

(Section 2) --The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation

3. U.S. Criminal and Civil Code Sections: (Caution: do not attempt to interpret the wordings without the aid of an attorney. For further assistance, see Vol. 5, "Justice," of the 1960 U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report.) (All Sections only in part)

U. S. Criminal Code Section 241: "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same;

"If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured--

"They shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both."

Section 242: "Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States. . . shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

Section 243: "No citizen possessing all other qualifications which are or may be prescribed by law shall be disqualified for service as grand or petit juror in any court of the United States, or

of any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and whoever, being an officer or other person charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors excludes or fails to summon any citizen for such cause, shall be fined not more than $5,000."

Federal Civil Statute Section 1983: "Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, or any State or Territory subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and law, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress."

Section 1985 (3): "If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire. . . for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws, or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the law. . .

". . . if one or more persons engaged therein do, or cause to be done, any act in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, whereby another is injured in his person or property, or deprived of having and exercising any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, the party so injured or deprived may have an action for the

recovery of damages, occasioned by such injury or deprivation, against any one or more of the conspirators."

Section 1986: "Every person who, having knowledge that any of the wrongs conspired to be done, and mentioned in section 1985 of this title, are about to be committed, and having power to prevent or aid in preventing the commission of the same, neglects or refuses so to do, if such wrongful act be committed, shall be liable to the party injured ...for all damages caused by such a wrongful act..."

NOTES

Appendix "C" to "Manual for Direct Action," by Oppenheimer and Lakey

(Security Notes for Deep South Work, adapted from COFO suggestions)

TRAVEL (a) When persons leave their project they must call the home project person-to-person on arrival at their destination in person. If they are reported missing, personnel will notify central hq. A system of daily reports will note all changes in personnel, transfers, etc. Phones should be used only when there is no time to use mail. Care should be taken to avoid using full names of persons over the phone. Checklists to keep track of all personnel at all times should be maintained.

(b) Doors of cars should be locked at all times. At night, windows should be rolled up as much as possible. Gas tanks should have locks and be kept locked. Hoods should also be locked.

(c) No one should go anywhere alone, especially not in an automobile, or at night. Travel at night should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

(d) Remove all objects from your car which could be construed as weapons: hammers, files, iron rules, etc. No liquor bottles, beer cans, etc. should be inside your car. Do not travel with names and addresses of local contacts.

(e) Know all roads in and out of town. Study the county map. Know locations of safe homes and contacts in the county.

(f) When getting out of a car at night, turn car's inside lights off first.

(g) Note any cars which circle offices of Freedom Houses. Take license numbers of all suspicious cars. Note make, model and year. Cars without license plates should be reported at once to project office.

DOMICILE (a) If it can be avoided, try not to sleep near open windows. Sleep at the back of houses, that is, the part farthest from the road or street.

(b) Do not stand in doorways at night with lights on behind you. Draw shades if you sit in lighted rooms. Do not congregate in front of the house. Make sure doors to houses have locks and are kept locked.

(c) Keep records of all suspicious events, e.g. cars circling around the house or office. If an incident occurs, or seems about to occur, call the project, and also notify local FPI and police.

(d) Under some circumstances it may be advisable for new personnel to make themselves known to local police, introduce themselves, and tell them their reason for being in the area.

(e) A telephone should be installed. If a private phone is used, put a lock on it; otherwise, install a pay phone.

PERSONAL (a) Carry identification at all times. Men should carry draft cards.

(b) All drivers should have in their possession drivers licenses, registration papers, and bills of sale. The information should also be on record with the project director. If you are carrying supplies, it is well to have a letter authorizing the supplies from a particular individual, in order to avoid charges of carrying stolen goods.

(c) Mississippi is a "dry" state, but though liquor is ostensibly outlawed, it is available readily. You must not drink in offices or Freedom Houses. This is especially important for persons under 21.

(d) Avoid bizarre or provocative clothing, and beards. Be neat.

(e) Make sure that medicines prescribed for you by a physician are clearly marked with your name and the doctor's name, etc.

POLICE Under no circumstances should you give the address of the local person with whom you are living, his or her name, or the names of any local persons who are associated with you. When police ask where you live, give your local project or Freedom House address, or if necessary your out-of-state home address.

VISITORS Find out who strangers are. If persons come into project offices to "look around," try to find out who they are and what exactly they want to know. All offers of help should be cleared through the project director.

RECORDS Any written record of any importance should have at least four copies. Keep original and send copies to (in case of Mississippi COFO project) Jackson, Greenwood, and Atlanta. Bear in mind that offices may be raided at any time. Keep a record of interference with phone lines, and of calls to the FBI. This information should go to hq.

GENERAL (a) People who do not adhere to disciplinary requirements will be asked to leave the project.

(b) Security is a matter of group responsibility. Each individual should take an interest in every other individual"s safety, well-being, and discipline.

(c) At all times you should be aware of dangers to local inhabitants. White volunteers must be especially aware of this point.

June, 1964

TELEPHONE NUMBERS

MARTIN OPPENHEIMER is Assistant Director of the Studies Program, American Friends Service Committee, and will be Assistant Professor of Sociology at Haverford College during the 1964-65 school year. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on the Sit-In Movement and has had practical experience in direct action training with Philadelphia CORE.

GEORGE LAKEY is Executive Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee, and is the author of Nonviolent Action: How It Works (Pendle Hill, 1963). He wrote his Master's thesis in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania on the subject of nonviolence. Arrested during the Chester civil rights demonstration in April, 1964, he spent some time at Broadmeadows Prison.

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A WORD FROM BAYARD RUSTIN

At long last here is a much-needed practical training manual for nonviolent direct action. I am deeply grateful that these two young sociologist-activists have taken the time to produce this volume, particularly in this year when nonviolence is more and more under attack. The manual may not be perfect, but it will probably be the pioneering endeavor in this field for some years to come. It should be carefully studied by every activist in civil rights and related causes.

The volume should also be read by everyone interested in the real meaning of the current civil rights struggle. Here one can see unfolding within the context of training for action, the relationship of democracy and nonviolence to a truly human perspective for American society.

— Bayard Rustin

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
August 7, 1964

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6, 1964, by American Friends Service Committee and Other Pacifist Groups

On August 6, 1964, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed pacifist demonstrations held at Times Square and Washington Square, New York City, and a following "Memorial Walk" from Washington Square to the United Nations Plaza, 43rd Street and 1st Avenue, New York City.

The demonstration at Times Square, New York City, was an anti-war "vigil" in which 25 individuals participated from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. They displayed placards reading "End War in Vietnam", "No More Hiroshimas", and "A World Without War". There were no incidents or disturbances at this demonstration.

A leaflet which had been passed out at the above demonstration revealed that the following demonstration at Washington Square was sponsored by the following organizations:

American Friends Service Committee
2 West 20th Street, New York City

The Catholic Worker
175 Chrystie Street, New York City, N.Y.

Committee for Non-Violent Action
325 Lafayette Street, New York City, N.Y.

New York Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy
17 East 45th Street, New York City, N.Y.

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ENCLOSURE

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6, 1964, by American Friends Service Committee and Other Pacifist Groups

New York Fellowship of Reconciliation
5 Beekman Street, New York City

Greenwich Village Peace Center
224 West Fourth Street, New York City

Student Peace Union
5 Beekman Street, New York City

War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street, New York City

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
37 Washington Square, New York City

Women Strike for Peace
154 East 50th Street, New York City

The following demonstration, which was held at Thompson Street and Washington Square South, New York City, was attended by approximately 500 individuals, and lasted from 5:30 p.m. to 6:45 p.m. There were no disturbances or incidents at this demonstration. Speakers at this demonstration were Bayard Rustin, I.F. Stone, Norman Thomas, Miyoko Matsubara, and Stephanie May, who was the Chairwoman.

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, column 1, contains an article captioned "Thurmond Assails A Leader of March." The article stated that, in answer to charges by Senator Strom Thurmond, Bayard Rustin admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. Rustin also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6, 1964, by American Friends Service Committee and Other Pacifist Groups

The "Daily Worker", an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958, in its issue of February 25, 1957, page 1, column 1, contained an article which stated that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was one of eight non-Communist observers at the Communist Party National Convention in 1957.

Norman Thomas spoke concerning the United States policy in South Vietnam. He stated that the conflict in this country is a civil war and urged that the United States withdraw from this area. He stated that there is no democracy in South Vietnam, and that since recent history has proven that Communism usually follows .. in nations that have been in war, the anti-Communists should be anxious to get the United States out of this conflict so as to avoid a major war.

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6, 1964, by American Friends Service Committee and Other Pacifist Groups

Bayard Rustin also urged that the United States remove its forces from South Vietnam, and stated that this is a civil war. He likened the problems of the people of Vietnam to those in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, and stated that the problem in Vietnam is that the people will no longer tolerate being without dignity and being poor. He also made references to brutality of the New York City police in the Negro situation and that their show of force in certain situations could easily cause a riot. He stated that on the date of the bombing of Hiroshima he was serving a prison sentence of three years at Lewisburg for refusing to participate in action such as this bombing. He urged those in the crowd to refuse to participate in future actions such as the bombing of Hiroshima.

Miyoko Matsubara, who was badly burned by the 1945 bomb explosion at Hiroshima, spoke in Japanese which was immediately translated, concerning some of her experiences in relation to the explosion.

During the demonstration a statement of Senator Wayne Morse which had been written for this demonstration was read. It stated in part that the present rulers of South Vietnam could not long continue the civil war unless the war were expanded.

The crowd was urged to send telegrams to Senator Morse thanking him for his opinions which he sent to this demonstration, and also telegrams were urged to be sent to other congressmen urging the United States withdraw from Vietnam.

Some of the signs observed at the above demonstrations had the following messages:

"Hiroshima Memorial 1964" - Student Peace Union

Demonstrations, New York City, August 6, 1964, by American Friends Service Committee and Other Pacifist Groups

"Morse For President
Rustin For Vice-President"

"No More Hiroshima-End The War in Vietnam"

"Our Fight is Mississippi Not Vietnam"

"We Do Not Own Asia"

"Defend Freedom With Nonviolent Resistance"

After the above demonstration, The Student Peace Union in cooperation with the War Resisters League, Committee for Non-Violent Action, and The Catholic Worker had a "Memorial Walk", concerning which they urged others to attend, from Washington Square to the United Nations Plaza. The purpose was to help bring the message of Hiroshima to more New Yorkers. Approximately 100 individuals participated in this event. This group assembled at West 4th Street immediately at the end of the above demonstration and after a few prayers and songs proceeded to the United Nations Plaza where they arrived at 9:15 p.m. At the United Nations Plaza they again said a few prayers and sang some songs and adjourned at 9:30 p.m. No incidents or disturbances occurred at this walk.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

OCT 5 1964

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

[redacted] the American Friends Service Committee - Middle Atlantic Region (AFSC-MAR), Philadelphia, Pa., has announced that a series of Saturday Opinion Forums beginning Saturday, October 10, 1964, and described as "swinging new programs for high school students in the Philadelphia area," will be held from 9 a.m. to 5:15 p.m. at the Friends Select School, 17th and Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa., at a cost of $1.50 each.

The following programs were listed:

October 10, 1964:

Subject: Vietnam: Case Study of U. S. Foreign Policy

Speakers: NORMAN THOMAS - Six-times Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Party
HAROLD SANDSTROM - Lecturer, St. Joseph College; Research Assistant, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania
DAVID ARNOLD - Director, Center for International Studies, Ohio University; Returns from month in Vietnam October 6, 1964. Resigned from U.S.I.A. in Vietnam protesting U. S. policies

[redacted]

100-11 - 2

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

November 21, 1964

Subject: Communism: Principle and Practice
Speakers: ARNOLD JOHNSON - Staff member, Communist Party of America, New York Headquarters
THOMAS WOOD, JR. - Board of Directors, Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System; lecturer on the challenges of Communism to Democracy
MARTIN OPPENHEIMER - Assistant Professor of Sociology, Haverford College. Former Assistant Director, AFSC Peace Studies Program

January 30, 1965

Subject: Information Analysis: Propaganda, The Press and You
Speakers: JAMES HIGGINS - Editor, "The Gazette and Daily," a "radical" paper out of York, Pa.
Other speakers representing various viewpoints will be announced

February 20, 1965

Subject: Latin America: Dynamite on our Doorstep
Speakers: HERBERT SEIN - Mexican citizen. Has worked with International Labor Organization in Geneve and the AFSC in Latin America and the United Nations
Dr. ARTHUR P. WHITAKER - Professor, Latin American History, University of Pennsylvania. Former head, Latin American Unit, Division of Political Studies, of State Department
Other speakers to be announced.

March 13, 1965

Subject: Nonviolence in Today's World
Speakers: DR. NOEL BROWN - Political Affairs Officer, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, United Nations.
Other speakers, related to civil rights movement, will be announced.

(1)

[redacted]

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960 edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba", placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963 a second source advised that Vincent "Ted" Lee, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that Lee believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. Lee did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

The November 23, 1963 edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had called FPCC "the chief public relations instrument of the Castro network in the United States." It is to be noted that Senator Dodd was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

(2)

[redacted]

The December 27, 1963 edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-Castro FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-Castro street rallies and mass picket lines, and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-Castro American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by Castro's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin Lee H. Oswald.

On April 13, 1964 a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

[redacted]

(1)

[redacted]

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

On October 26, 1956, a confidential source advised that the Young Socialist League (YSL) had recently formed a branch of the National YSL in Philadelphia, which branch held its first meeting in Philadelphia on October 7, 1956. On June 25, 1958 this source advised that the YSL still maintains a branch in Philadelphia.

This source on October 8, 1958 advised that the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL in September, 1958, had disbanded and merged with the Philadelphia Branch of the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL). The YPSL is publicly known as the Youth Affiliate of the Socialist Party, Socialist Democratic Federation.

[redacted]

SOCIALIST PARTY - SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (SP-SDF) and its affiliated youth group, Young People's Socialist League (YPSL)

The Independent Socialist League (ISL), formerly designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450, and the Young Socialist League (YSL), dissolved and disbanded in 1958.

The Philadelphia Branch of the ISL and the Philadelphia Branch of the YSL also disbanded in December 1958.

Many persons who formerly had been members of the ISL and the YSL joined the SP-SDF and its affiliated youth group, the YPSL.

The SP-SDF and the YPSL have not been designated by the Attorney General of the United States and are not known to be controlled or dominated by any subversive organization.

The ISL and YSL are characterized separately.

(1)

[redacted]

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR TRAVEL TO CUBA

"The Columbia Owl", weekly student newspaper of Columbia University, New York City, December 12, 1962 issue, page one, contained an article entitled, "Students to Visit Cuba During Holidays." This article stated in part that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was formed October 14, 1962 by a group of students from New York City universities, the University of Wisconsin, Oberlin College and the University of North Carolina, who stated that as students they would like a chance to see and evaluate the situation in Cuba for themselves and had received an offer of transportation and two weeks stay in Cuba from the Federation of University Students in Havana, as guests of the Federation. The Committee accepted the offer and applied to the United States State Department for passport validation which was refused; however, over fifty students planned to defy the State Department ban and go to Cuba.

A source advised on December 6, 1962 that during December, 1962, it was learned that the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba had recently been formed by the Progressive Labor Group.

A second source advised on September 13, 1963 that a group of 59 individuals who had assembled in New York City, departed New York City by air on June 25, 1963 and traveled to Paris, France; Prague, Czechoslovakia; and then to Havana, Cuba. The group remained in Cuba until August 24, 1963, at which time they departed by air for New York City via Madrid, Spain. The group arrived in New York City on August 29, 1963.

The same source advised that the leaders of the group were members of Progressive Labor and the trip was planned and organized by Progressive Labor members.

"The Columbia Owl", March 11, 1964 issue, page one, carried an article captioned, "Another Visit to Cuba Students Will Defy Student Travel Ban This Summer." This article sets forth in part that three members of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba spoke at an assembly sponsored by the Progressive Labor Club of Columbia University. At this assembly VICKI ORTIZ, Student Committee for Travel to Cuba campus representative, stated that the Federation of University Students in Havana had extended another invitation for 500 students to visit Cuba in 1964. Miss ORTIZ stated that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was, therefore, planning another trip to Cuba in July, 1964.

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A third source advised on February 6, 1964 that he had received information that the name of the Ad Hoc Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was changed to the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, in February, 1963. After the group arrived back in the United States from Cuba, in the latter part of August, 1963, the name of the organization was changed to the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

A fourth source advised on October 9, 1963 that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was utilizing Post Office Box 2178, New York 1, New York, as its mailing address.

[redacted]

[redacted]

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YSL)

The March 1, 1954, issue of the "Young Socialist Challenge," published as page three of "Labor Action," an official publication of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), contained an article concerning the creation of the YSL, which pointed out that at a unity conference occurring February 12-14, 1954, at Labor Action Hall, New York, New York, a merger occurred between the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) and the Socialist Youth League (SYL). The new organization was named the YSL.

On April 9, 1956, another confidential informant advised as follows:

The YSL has frequently worked in close sympathetic cooperation with the ISL toward similar objectives, although each major issue given mutual consideration is decided upon by these organizations individually. The YSL serves as an apprenticeship for the ISL, but ISL selection of members from YSL ranks is made on an individual and personal basis. In many instances YSL members are also members of the ISL.

The YSL and ISL utilize the same printing house in New York City and the YSL publication is printed as an insert in "Labor Action." Frequently, lecturers before the YSL are ISL members.

[redacted]

[redacted]

The September 22, 1958, issue of "Young Socialist Challenge," which appeared as page five of "Labor Action," contained an undated statement from the National Action Committee of the YSL which indicated that the YSL had been dissolved. The statement appeared under the caption "Join the Young Peoples Socialist League."

The YPSL is publicly known as the youth affiliate of the Socialist Party - Socialist Democratic Federation.

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