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Outline for Maureen Murphy

1963 will be a year of all-out effort to organize the Negro communities of Mississippi. Through the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) the national civil rights organizations and local voter registration groups will continue a series of programs in politics and community problems to achieve effective organization throughout the state of Negroes in this state. The long-range goal of organization is to put Negroes in a position to wield sufficient power to effect radical changes in the political and economic set-up of the state.

The first step in the COFO drive is a massive voter registration effort across the state from December 15, 1963 through February 29, 1964. The goal is 20,000 attempts to register despite maximum anticipated harassment and intimidation by local officials and whites.

There are several purposes to the voter drive.
as possible

1. To get as many Negroes/in a position to vote next November.
 2. It is our position that a large number of Negroes will not be permitted to register to vote in this state under present conditions. Negro applicants are subjects to both political and economic reprisals for trying to register. Therefore, the voter registration attempts will spotlight the inability of large numbers of Negroes to achieve the basic political right of voting.
 3. To set the stage for a FREEDOM REGISTRATION campaign because Negroes are not permitted to register. In this campaign COFO will establish its own set of registration standards and keep its own books to show that, if permitted, Negroes would register to vote in large enough numbers to seriously threaten the all-white complexion of the political face of Mississippi. The goal and standard of Negro voter registration is to register
 4. To get the Federal Government to further recognize the contrast between the desire of Negroes in Mississippi to register and the state-led interference with their efforts to do so. It is hoped that the Voter Drive and the Freedom Registration Drive will increase the pressure on the Federal Government to fulfill its responsibilities to guarantee the right to vote. It is already clear that it has the power if it wants to.
 5. To build solid local organization in communities across the state in preparation for the campaigns Negro candidates will run this summer for the five Congressional seats and the Senatorial seat of Senator John Stennis.

The second step in the ~~present~~ political program is will be to launch petition drives to qualify Negro candidates for the Democratic and Republican primaries in ~~June~~ June and ~~falling~~ running as independents for the general elections in November. ~~For~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~two~~ ~~months~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~year~~ ~~there~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~an~~ ~~effort~~ ~~to~~ ~~qualify~~ ~~Negro~~ ~~candidates~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~general~~ ~~elections~~ ~~in~~ ~~November~~. One thousand signatures of registered voters will be required to legally qualify as an ~~independent~~ independent candidate for Senator. ~~and~~ Five hundred signatures to qualify for Congressional office. But here again, Negroes will be on the spot. ~~They~~ ~~will~~ ~~have~~ ~~to~~ ~~go~~ ~~on~~ ~~a~~ ~~petition~~ ~~which~~ ~~will~~ ~~have~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~filed~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~Secretary~~ ~~of~~ ~~State~~ ~~of~~ ~~Mississippi~~. Further, with fewer Negroes permitted to register ~~than~~ ~~whites~~ ~~than~~ ~~whites~~ ~~than~~ ~~whites~~, it will be more difficult for prospective Negro candidates to obtain signatures than it would be for whites. This is especially true if several Negro want to file as ~~as~~ ~~independents~~. At present, there are approximately 20,000 Negroes eligible to vote in November.

that this year

It is reasonable to speculate ~~at~~ ~~this~~ ~~point~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~year~~ Negro candidates will not win. Then why the effort ~~against~~ ~~them~~ when the opposition is so great?

1. To break the monolithic ~~political~~ ~~power~~ ~~structure~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~state~~ politics which has a stranglehold on the Negro communities throughout Mississippi. ~~This~~ ~~is~~ ~~done~~ ~~by~~ ~~building~~ ~~solid~~ ~~bases~~ ~~of~~ ~~power~~ ~~throughout~~ ~~the~~ ~~state~~ ~~around~~ ~~the~~ ~~serious~~ ~~candidates~~ ~~for~~ ~~all~~ ~~local~~, ~~county~~, ~~state~~ ~~and~~ ~~national~~ ~~offices~~. Negroes must have a choice at the polls other the candidates provided by the

2. To show that if Negroes had the right to vote they white ~~would~~ ~~support~~ ~~candidates~~ ~~who~~ ~~stand~~ ~~monolith~~, for programs which would benefit all the people of Mississippi.

3. To raise the issues with the people of Mississippi which will not be raised by the regular Democratic and Republican candidates, nor by the news media ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~state~~ ~~and~~ ~~nation~~ ~~for~~ ~~them~~ throughout most of the state. Last November Gubernatorial candidate Aaron Henry, state President of the NAACP stumped the state on four issues: the right to vote, police brutality and discrimination in the courts, ~~and~~ ~~education~~ ~~and~~ ~~employment~~.

4. And to use the campaigns as ~~means~~ a means of organizing Negro communities around their most important problems. ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~campaigns~~ ~~COFO's~~ ~~other~~ ~~programs~~ ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~explained~~, such as the community center and library projects, ~~and~~ ~~food~~ ~~and~~ ~~welfare~~ ~~program~~, or consumer boycotts to support voter registration and employment demands.

5. Through the campaigns a general interest in political affairs will be aroused. An interest long dormant because of the monolithic ~~monumentalism~~ nature of Mississippi politics. Where there is interest, education is also possible. And therefore, it will be possible ~~to~~ through these campaigns to inform the Negroes and whites throughout the state about what is in their interest to support.

The ~~fourth~~ will be the actual conduct of the campaigns. Using the TV and radio ~~casts~~ the newspapers and the wire services, leafleting and posters

The third step will be the actual conduct of the campaigns for Congress and the Senate. Every effort will be made to by the cand. bring the campaign to the people. District and state-wide stumping, will be supported by leaflets, and posters, and TV, ~~newspaper~~ Radio and Newspaper advertising, and extensive public relations work, ~~and~~
~~newspapers~~
The most important feature of the campaigning will be the TV and radio appearances that the candidates and their supporters can make. For Mississippi this represents an important breakthrough in mass communication to both Negroes and whites, and a radical change in the image the whites have of Negroes, and ~~the~~ that many Negroes have of Mississippi politics. It is imperative that Negroes begin to feel they can participate in politics, ~~through~~ Running candidates is not enough; the campaigns must be brought to the people. And it must not be forgotten; whites throughout the state will have the opportunity to see Negroes ~~speaking~~ speaking about the world ~~without~~ without the stereotype heretofore always presented by all sources of information in their lives.

The fourth step, which runs concurrently with the third, consists of Freedom Vote ~~and~~ or unofficial elections for the Congressional and Senatorial posts. In these elections, aw with the Freedom Vote for Governor campaign, staff workers will conduct the elections throughout the state in freedom polls at churches, places of business and from voter mobiles. All those who are registered, ~~that~~ is, registered in the ~~books~~ under COFO standards in the Freedom registration books, will be eligible to vote in the Freedom Vote elections. One of the procedures under consideration is for ~~each~~ the Freedom registered person to be given a ~~card~~ ~~an~~ official card to show at the freedom poll when he votes. ~~In~~ In this manner all votes can be accounted for, and possibility of voting more than once eliminated. (That is, when he comes to vote, his card is punched so that he can't present the card elsewhere and vote again.)

The purpose of the campaign is will be to gain a total vote for the Freedom candidates which will exceed the winning total in the official election. That is, the freedom candidate will actually get more votes than the white winner in the official general election.

Then the seating of the winner in Congress can be challenged on the basis that people in his constituency were systematically denied the right to vote; that if they had been given the right to vote, they not only would have voted, but that his opponent would have received more votes and been declared the victor. Remember, the Freedom Vote candidate will be on the official ballot in the general election, too. But because Negroes are denied the right to become eligible to vote, he will not be able to garner a total vote to match that of the regular Democratic or Republican candidates, both of whom will be white segregationists.

The Freedom Registration books and the voting books will be presented to the Justice Department and the Congress in Washington as part of the evidence to support the demands that Mississippi elections be investigated and challenged.

In addition, COFO intends to send delegations to both the Democratic and Republican national nominating conventions to challenge the seating of the all-white delegations from Mississippi. In this state Negroes are not permitted to participate in the national politics of either party, although Negroes comprise more than 40 per cent of the population of the state.

literacy, work study, food and welfare, community centers, federal programs.

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COFO ~~now~~ conducts several programs aside from its political work. Among these are the literacy project at Tougaloo College, the Work-Study Project in Jackson~~x~~^{xx}, the Community Centers program in Canton and Greenwood and centers in eight more cities before the end of the year, the food and welfare program based in Greenwood and Clarksdale, and the ~~several~~ utilization project at present based in Jackson.

1. LITERACY PROJECT--The Literacy Project at Tougaloo College in Jackson is a pilot project effort in developing program materials for teaching basic reading and writing to adults in the state. The staff of four, directed by a former university professor, is conducting experiments with various methods of teaching basic reading and writing to the community. Experiments are being conducted with various literacy materials and methods in various parts of the state.

1. Literacy Project--The Literacy Project at Tougaloo College in Jackson is a pilot effort in developing literacy materials which are related to the cultural environment. The project has received contributions expected from the experimental effort to stimulate understanding of the problems of illiteracy among Negroes from the existing foundations which have been making grants to Tougaloo College in the amount of \$10,000. The staff four person staff of the project, directed by a former university professor, expects to test the whether relating materials to economic and social problems facilitates teaching functional illiterates to read and write. The Literacy Project is financed through an anonymous donation. The grant was given to Tougaloo College and is administered by //

2. Work-Study Project.—The work study project ~~now~~ presents a ~~revolutionary~~ concept in education. ~~Now~~ Through this project in the future it is expected to widen academic institutions ~~now~~ knowledge among Negroes.

Through a foundation grant a college student agrees to ~~now~~ spend one-year doing voter registration work in Mississippi ~~now~~ in exchange for a ~~now~~ an all-expense paid scholarship to Tougaloo College for the following year. The premise of this program is that the year of experience in the field gives the student ~~now~~ important an opportunity to gain a different outlook on the importance of his studies. Further, he brings to the campus situation ~~now~~ the wealth of his experience in the field. As this program expands ~~now~~ through more students and schools participating in the program, ~~now~~ it is hoped important changes ~~now~~ will begin to take effect on "Negro campuses."

3. The food and welfare program-- The food and welfare program was established to give aid to Negro families ~~which~~ minimum which could not get work. Food and clothing is brought from the North to be distributed to the members of these families. For instance, shoes to children who need them in order to be able to go to school. Or food to those families which do not have enough money to afford to buy the ~~basic~~ necessities to cook even a meal a day for any member of the family. Special emphasis is given to those who have met reprisals because of voter registration efforts or for participation in any phase of the COFO program. ~~We do this~~ ~~mainly~~ because COFO is unable to give aid to all the people of the state who are in need--so much more is needed to do that! ~~especially~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Delta~~ ~~area~~ ~~where~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ ~~no~~ ~~work~~ This program was organized in ~~the~~ the winter of 1962 ~~as~~ ~~and~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~now~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~face~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~annual~~ ~~bitter~~ ~~winter~~ ~~frost~~ which covers the Delta region. After the fall chopping and picking season on the plantations most Negro families are out of work until the following springtime. Food and clothing are scarce. Help is was needed.

4. Federal Programs--Congress had designed ~~several~~ several programs specifically to meet the needs of impoverished families in rural areas. These program have not been taken advantage of by the people for whom they have been designed because it ~~is~~ has been left up to local authorities to be responsible for initiating or putting into effect ~~the~~ ~~necessary~~ machinery. Also, the Federal Government has not adequately informed the rural people of these programs or how they can take advantage of them. The purpose of this program is conduct this effort: to inform the rural families of their rights under Federal legislation and help them take advantage of it. These programs include the ~~Rural~~ Farm Home Administration programs (there are several of these); program which can be set up under authority given by the Manpower Development Training Act; Area ~~xxxx~~ Redevelopment Administration programs (there are several ways in which these can be utilized); the Health, Education and Welfare Department has several hundred programs which can adapted for use in rural areas. The Extension Service, ~~but~~ though it has been designed for all farmers, does not serve low-income farmers. We intend to fill this gap by visiting the homes of the ~~the~~ low-income farm families, doing the farm extension ~~agricultural~~ and home economist's agents' work for them.

5. Community Centers--This is another program designed to meet needs of Negro families which are

5. Community Centers--The Community Centers will be a building or set of buildings, including a library and set of classrooms, where efforts will be made to meet the fundamental needs of the people in their respective communities. They will be educational centers where both the youth and the adults can come to acquire some skill in reading, writing, and domestic training, such as sewing, home repair, etc.) They will serve as training centers where people can learn such skills as upholstering, mechanical and clerical training, TV and radio repair, and training for home industry development. The Centers will provide recreation for the youth through films, reading clubs and drama clubs, libraries, etc. The Centers will also provide an opportunity for education of the community in the other COFO programs, such as voter registration, political education, etc. A concerted effort will be made to help the community breathe democracy into the political processes of the state.

Why are these centers needed? First, to combat the White Citizens' Council Five-Year Plan to run one-half the Negroes in the Delta out of the state. At present, Negroes comprise about two-thirds of the population of the white cotton-rich Delta counties. Therefore, if Negroes obtain the right to vote in these counties they would represent a threat to the white plantation owners who now have over the sharecroppers and their families. Through mechanization and physical intimidation, plantation owners have been forcing Negroes off the farms fast at the rate of tens of thousands per year. Unable to get jobs elsewhere in the state because of white-only hiring policies, the Negroes forced off their farms, must seek employment outside the state.

The Community Centers program is an effort to find ways to find and provide ways in which Negro families can remain in their home state through new economic bases.

Second, the Negro community is unlike the white community. If there is a movie theater in the Negro community at all, it is old, run-down and shows mostly third-rate Hollywood productions. In most cases there are no library facilities at all.

There are no child care centers or health clinics, no training centers or employment services for Negroes in most in communities.
entire

And in the Delta, there are no accredited Negro high schools! In fact, in the entire state, with a population Negro population of more than 900,000, there are only 10 Negro high schools. That means the teachers are unaccredited, the facilities unaccredited, the curriculum unaccredited. It means that the pupils have unaccredited diplomas, if they graduate, and ~~want~~ if they choose one of the more desirable Negro jobs, i.e., teaching, they become an unaccredited teacher. And therefore, must teach in an unaccredited school.

And ,too, there are likely to be no guidance facilities for Negro pupils,or their parents.

introduce to Mississippi
The Community Center will try to provide a new conception of how to tackle the problems of the community.

Structure--The COFO staff is divided into the five Congressional districts. Each District has a leader who is a representative on the Staff Executive Committee, along with the Program and Asst. Program Director appointed by the a vote of the entire staff.

, including the central office in Jackson, The monthly budget for the staff/(see enclosed Budget for Operating Expenses) totals \$5,118.92. It is hoped that by the summer there will be sufficient finances to double the size of the staff. At present, there are approximately 55 full-time staff members. The expense per staff member, including telephone bills, transportation, rent, food and clothing, petty cash, the operation of the central office, and the expenses of the volunteer workers, is roughly \$23 per week, or 93 dollars per month. roughly \$23

or the five off. In addition, we would like to expand the communications department budget, which at present is included in the freed. in the monthly budget statement presented directly above. In order to conduct the political campaigns as designed above, and to keep our govt and the nation informed daily of events within the state, especially the incidents of intimidation and harassment, an independent budget of roughly \$3500 per month is needed. That would include TV and Radio time, newspaper advertising, phone bills, leaflet and poster production and distribution costs, transportation, postage, supplies and funds to enable staff building the department's staff.