

157-6-2-866
446 (1/63)

9-22-62

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

DEFERRED

TO SAC ATLANTA
FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/27/91 BY SP1 MAC/EC

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, ; RACIAL MATTER

REURTEL SEPTEMBER TWO ONE, ONE NINE SIX TWO.

IN VIEW OF CONTINUED MASS MEETINGS OF ALBANY MOVEMENT,
CONTINUE TO SUBMIT DAILY SUMMARY TELETYPE.

SUTEL TODAY RESULTS OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7D

7C
:jak
(4)

NOTE

Atlanta advised that due to the lack of activity of Albany movement, they
continuing daily summary teletype. Due to tense situation, Albany
having mass meetings, it is too early to discontinue daily summary

Am

REC-91 157-6-2-866

19 SEP 22 1962

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 22 1962
6 SEP TELETYPE

Handwritten signature

OM TELETYPE UNIT

PK 9/25/62
33

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 25 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP1MAC/CC

7C

URGENT 9-25-62 1-34AM EST JLM

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

Racial Matters

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA., RM.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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7D

NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS

REPORTED. ATLANTA FOLLOWING. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END ACK PLS

2-37 AM OK FBI WA HFL

TU DISC

H

REC-28
EX-106
SEP 27 1962

157-6-2-2686-PM

SEP 25 1962
FBI
REC.D-JEFF/ABE/MLL

7C

cc [REDACTED]

7C
Should be advised
9/22/62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 22 1962

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TELETYPE

DATE 9/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/GE

McGowan

URGENT 9-22-62 12-05AM EST JR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

7C

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA. RM.

REMYTEL SEPT. TWENTY ONE SIXTY TWO.

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

NO ACTIVITIES OF ALBANY MOVEMENT SCHEDULED PRIOR TO MASS
MEETING EIGHT PM, SEPT. TWENTY FOUR SIXTY TWO.

[REDACTED] ADVISED NO ACTIVITY
ALBANY MOVEMENT, SEPT. TWENTY ONE SIXTY TWO. NO ARRESTS AND
NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.

IN VIEW OF LIMITED ACTIVITY OF ALBANY MOVEMENT DAILY
SUMMARY TELETYPES BEING DISCONTINUED UACB. ALL PERTINENT
ACTIVITIES WILL BE IMMEDIATELY REPORTED TO BUREAU WITH
APPROPRIATE LETTERHEAD. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

1-08 AM OK FBI WA HFL

TU DISC

EX 113 REC-30 157-6-2-86-7
TTA at 9/22/62
JAK
6-PM

56 SEP 21 1962

[REDACTED]

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

7D

NO DEMONSTRATION AND NO INCIDENTS.

REPLY TO BUREAU AIRTEL SEPTEMBER FOURTH NINETEEN
SIXTYTWO BEING SUBMITTED.

[REDACTED] ADVISED NO ACTIVITY OF ALBANY MOVEMENT
SEPTEMBER TWENTYSECOND NINETEEN SIXTYTWO.

NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.

ATLANTA FOLLOWING.

LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END ACK PLS

4-17 AM OK FBI WA NH

TU DISC

7C
7D

SEP 19 1962

SEP 19 1962

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)

DATE: 9/25/62

FROM : *cre* SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-335) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS *ATLANTA*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *9/27/91* BY *SP7 MAC*
164

Reference: New York letter to Atlanta, dated 9/4/62,
and Boston airtel to Atlanta, dated 9/18/62,
both entitled as above.

*7C
7D*



The 5/7/62 edition of the "New York Times" contained an article entitled, "Students Protest Renting Bias in Rye", which set forth in part, "Ninety students from nineteen universities, colleges and high schools in New York and New England today picketed four Rye garden apartment developments that they said refused to rent to Negroes."

"About a third of the pickets were Negroes. The demonstration was organized by the Northern Student Movement, a coordinating body for thirty five campus civil rights groups.

It was organized at a conference sponsored by the New England Student Christian Movement at Yale University."

- ② - Bureau
- 2 - Atlanta (157-315)
- 1 - Boston (157-104)
- 2 - New Haven (1-157-335; 1-157-822)

REC-27 50 5 22 11:05
157-6-2-872

7C

*cc to Legat London
By A/S
7-6-67 ART/jan
info*

SEP 26 1962
[Signature]

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XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
 157-6-2-872

XXXXXX
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XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

No Action
9/26/62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 26 1962

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/27/81 BY SP7MAC/EC

URGENT 9-26-62 2 XXX12-48AM EST JR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ RACIAL MATTERS

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA. RM.

[Handwritten initials]
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[Redacted] ADVISED NO ACTIVITIES IN
ALBANY MOVEMENT SEPT. TWENTYFIVE, SIXTYTWO. NO ARRESTS AND NO
INCIDENTS REPORTED. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

HEARINGS OF OMNIBUS SUITS AND PETITIONS FOR INJUNCTIVE
RESTRAINT AGAINST ALBANY CITY OFFICIALS SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE
SEPT. TWENTYSEVEN, SIXTYTWO. *[Redacted]* LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END ACK AND HOLD PLS

1-50 AM OK FBI WA HFL

50 10/2 1962
CC - KAVIN

FBI
REC.D-IF/ELATE OMII

157-6-2-87
5 SEP 27 1962
[Handwritten signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2) Date: 9/26/62

FROM : *Cen/rew*
SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-335) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

Re: Atlanta airtel to Bureau, dated 8/31/62.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies, and two copies for Atlanta, of a letterhead memorandum concerning captioned matter.

[REDACTED]

5

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7D

Agency G-2, ONI, CSI, CRD
Date Forw. 10-4-62
How Forw. RS
By [REDACTED] /ccry unit

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/9/81 BY SP7MAC/6CC

7C

REC-38

876

2 - Bureau (Enc-8) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Enc-2) (157-315)
2 - New Haven
(1-157-335; 1-100-10554)
[REDACTED] /hss
(6)

5 SEP 27 1962

7C

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten initials]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Haven 10, Connecticut

September 26, 1962

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

Reference is made to the memorandum dated August 31, 1962, at Atlanta, Georgia, and entitled as above,

7D

[REDACTED] in connection with their activities on behalf of the Albany Movement.

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/1/83 BY SP-6/MSK/...

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For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
157-6-2-874, page 2

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

RE: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

MORTON SOBELL was convicted with JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG on March 29, 1951, in the Southern District of New York of conspiracy to commit espionage for the Soviets. On April 5, 1951, MORTON SOBELL was sentenced to a term of thirty years. All his appeals for reversal and new trials in the Court of Appeals, Second Circuit and applications to the Supreme Court for writs of certiorari, have been denied. There are no known applications for relief now pending in any court. SOBELL is currently incarcerated at the United States Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.

7C

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

7C

[REDACTED]

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The American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

7C

[REDACTED]

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For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
157-6-2-876, page 4

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

RE: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7C

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PH 157-617

b1 [REDACTED] c
[REDACTED] e
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] c

There is no indication that the Philadelphia Citizens Committee for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is a subversive organization and no investigation is contemplated by the Philadelphia Office.

xc [REDACTED]

Enclosed for the Bureau also are three sets of two each news clippings re this matter.

b1 [REDACTED] c

FROM BOSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1, b7c, b7d with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
157-6-2-879

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: RACIAL SITUATION,
ALBANY, GEORGIA

b1
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7D

c [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] c

b1

[REDACTED]

7D

[REDACTED]

7C

7D

The "Philadelphia Inquirer," September 17, 1962, page 7, Final City Edition, carries a news item describing the meeting at the Tindley Temple Methodist Church on September 16, 1962. The featured speaker was listed as Dr. WILLIAM G. ANDERSON, leader of the civil rights struggle in Albany, Ga. Dr. ANDERSON criticized Communism and stated that Communism was not the answer to the civil rights question. He stated the answer to the civil rights question is in the "frame work" of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: RACIAL SITUATION,
ALBANY, GA.

The news article estimated 2,500 people, Negro and white, in attendance and said that \$5,200 was collected at the meeting.

b1
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7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

* * *

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- 4 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

September 21, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

TITLE RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA

CHARACTER

REFERENCE memorandum, dated and captioned
 as above, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

157-6-2-879
ENCLOSURE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Rights Rally Collects \$5200

By ROBERT A. THOMAS Negroes and whites, listened to speeches and joined in singing "freedom songs" during the three-hour rally at the Tindley Temple Methodist Church, Broad and Fitzwater sts.

A freedom-loving throng of more than 2500 persons gathered in a South Philadelphia church Sunday afternoon and raised \$5200 for a student civil rights movement in Albany, Ga.

The crowd, composed of both

CONDUCT REGISTRATION

The funds will be used by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a student group currently conducting a voter registration campaign among southern Negroes.

Dr. William G. Anderson, an Albany physician, and leader of the civil rights struggle in that city, noted that three churches used by the students have been burned out and the canvassers have been intimidated and injured.

"But we're not afraid and there will be no turning back," he said, quoting from songs composed by the students while they were in jail.

PROUD OF TITLE

"I've been called an agitator," he declared. "But if agitation can clean the dirt of the South then I am proud of the title."

The 34-year-old physician emphasized that the "framework" of a government for all people exists in the U. S., as stated in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence.

He warned the answer to the civil rights issue was not to be found in Communism.

"There's nothing wrong with this country," Dr. Anderson said. "The framework is present. I'd rather die in the defense of democracy than to be lulled by the empty promises of Communism."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 7

The Philadelphia Inquirer
Phila., Pa.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/84 BY SP7MAC/6cc

Date: 9/17/62

Edition: Final City

Author:

Editor: WALTER H. ANNENBERG

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: PHILA.

157-6-2-879
ENCLOSURE

WIFE WAS ARRESTED

Dr. Anderson joined the Albany movement in December 1961, when his wife, Norma, was arrested in a sit-in demonstration. He said at that time he belonged to no organization and had no desire to be a leader of any.

But he said he "couldn't free her from jail and leave 264 other Negroes who had been arrested with her." Since then, he himself has been jailed for demonstrations also.

After his address, Dr. Anderson told a reporter that many whites in Albany, including members of the Chamber of Commerce, have contributed money toward rebuilding the burned-out churches. He said these persons were not necessarily integrationists but they were opposed to violence.

Isaiah W. Crippins, a Philadelphia attorney, presided at the

rally. Other participants included A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., president of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; City Councilman Marshall L. Shepard, and Louis M. Smith, local president of CORE, a civil rights organization.

Student members of SNCC also were present, including Prathez Hall, 22-year-old North Philadelphia girl who was the target of a shotgun blast in Albany on Sept. 5.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Temple Coed Tells of Georgia Terrorism

By HENRY BENJAMIN

A former Temple University student has returned here to describe her own introduction to Southern hospitality—a flesh wound from a ricocheting shotgun charge.

Frathia Hall, 22, member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which has been working to encourage voter registration by Negroes in the South, flew home to take part in fund-raising rallies to be held at churches here.

And if the Dawson, Ga., shooting incident had left her "all shook up," it wasn't

noticed yesterday as Miss Hall answered questions shot at her during a press conference at St. Paul's Baptist Church, 10th and Wallace Sts.

MISS HALL indicated what happened to her was nothing compared to the treatment Southern Negroes were receiving at the hands of Georgia police officials for trying to register to vote.

"The communities in some parts of Georgia and Mississippi are paralyzed with fear," she explained, "and since our campaign some of these people have been fired from their jobs, beaten, jailed and shot at."

She said very little help could be expected from FBI agents on regular assignment in southern cities. She said these men are with the townspeople. FBI agents sent in from other areas "could be depended upon for action," she said.

IN DESCRIBING the shooting incident involving herself and three other students, Miss Hall said they were in the home of a beautician friend about to sit down to lunch when they heard a car drive up outside.

"We heard a shot and everybody threw themselves on the floor," she said. "A second and third shot followed. I was hit on the hand but it was only a flesh wound."

"John Chatfield, a Trinity College student from Hart-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)
 Page 6
 Philadelphia Daily News
 Phila., Pa.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/BCU

Date: 9/14/62
 Edition: 8 Star Final
 Author:
 Editor: J. RAY HUNT
 Title:

Character:
 or
 Classification:
 Submitting Office: Phila.

157-612-879
 ENCLOSURE

ford, Conn., cried out he'd been hit," she continued, "and Christopher Allen, a student from Oxford (England) was also struck in the right arm."

Miss Hall said the wounded youths were treated by a doctor in Dawsor. Miss Hall said her wound was so slight she did not require medical attention.

MISS HALL was asked about her future plans with the Student Movement and if she'd return to Georgia.

Without hesitating, she said that after a visit with her mother, two sisters and brother here, she'd go back to Georgia in January.

The daughter of the late Rev. Berkley L. Hall, Miss Hall lives at 1331 W. Jefferson St. She plans to enter Conwell Theological School at Temple University in the near future.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Temple Coed Relates Midnight Attack on Georgia Rights Unit

A Temple University coed told Thursday how she and six other members of a student civil rights organization were the target for three shotgun blasts in Dawson, Ga., last week.

The shots, fired by unknown persons into a home where the group was meeting, wounded two of the students, but the coed, Pratheia Hall, 22, of 1331 W. Jefferson st., was not harmed.

RELATES DETAILS

Miss Hall, who expects to receive a degree in political science in February, related the details of the harrowing experience after returning here Wednesday from Georgia, where she has been working with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

The committee is composed of college and university students who have been engaged in civil rights activities in the south. It is now conducting a vote registration campaign in Georgia and Mississippi, where few Negroes are registered either out of intimidation or because of the inability to pass literacy tests.

Miss Hall will participate in a rally at 3 P. M. Sunday at Tindley Temple Methodist Church, Broad and Fitzwater sts., to raise funds for three Georgia churches believed to have been burned out by segregationists. Dr. William G. Anderson, president of the Albany (Ga.) Movement, will speak.

'HIT THE FLOOR'

Speaking of the shooting, Miss Hall said:

"We heard a car outside (around midnight last Wednesday) and seconds later the shotgun exploded. We hit the floor and waited for what was to come."

Then John Chatfield, a Trinity

Oxford, discovered they had been hit—both in the arm.

The two students are recovering from their wounds.

Marion Barry, Jr., who is one of the group's 25 field secretaries and presently assigned to Philadelphia, said the vote drive is being conducted in 20 counties in Mississippi and parts of Southwest, Georgia.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 3

The Philadelphia Inquirer
Phila., Pa.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MK/600

Date: 9/14/62

Edition: Final City

Author:

Editor: WALTER H. ANNENBERG

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: PHILA.

NIA
9-15-62
9-27-62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 27 1962

TELETYPE

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7MAC/6CL

McDonnell

URGENT 9-26-62 11-15 PM EST WJB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM *M. H. H.* SAC, ATLANTA 157-315

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA. RM.

REMYTEL SEPTEMBER TWENTYFIVE, LAST.

ON SEPTEMBER TWENTYSIX, SIXTYTWO, USDJ ROBERT ELLIOTT, MDGA, PROCEEDED TESTIMONY RE INJUNCTIVE SUITS FILED BY ALBANY MOVEMENT AND BY CITY OF ALBANY. ALSO OMNIBUS SUIT ASKING DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES, ALBANY. JUDGE ELLIOTT INSTRUCTED RECORD OF TESTIMONY CLOSED BUT ^{BRIEFS} GRIEFS AND ARGUMENTS WILL BE HEARD UNTIL OCTOBER TWENTY, NEXT. THEREAFTER HE WILL REVIEW AND RULE ON MATTER. UNLESS FURTHER ACTIVITY OF ^{RECENT} ALBANY MOVEMENT TODAY, NO FURTHER COMMUNICATION BEING SUBMITTED SEPTEMBER TWENTYSIX, SIXTYTWO. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

157-6-2-880

OCT 1 1962

END AND ACK AND HOLD
WA12-20 AM OK FBI WA RAC

50 OCT 4 1962

26 51 15 30 W. J. P.

FBI REC'D - 10/1/62

EX 102

cc

[Redacted]

7C

6-AM

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

9/18/62

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, ATLANTA (157-315)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-104)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/27/81 BY SP7 ANK/CC

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

OO: ATLANTA

Re Atlanta airtel to Bureau dated 8/31/62, and New York
letter to Atlanta, dated 9/4/62, no copy to New Haven.



Concerning [redacted] also mentioned re Atlanta airtel,
Boston indices contain no information in his name.

- 2- Atlanta (157-315) (Encl. 1)
- 1- Bureau (157-6-2) (Encl. 1)
- 2- New Haven (Encl. 1)
- 1- Boston (157-104) (Encl. 1)

(6) bar

2EB 50 10 35 WH .PT

157-6-2-881
NOT RECORDED
30 SEP 20 1962

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1962

57 OCT 4 1962

2EB 50 10 35 WH .PT

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[Handwritten signature]

157-104

The New York letter to Atlanta, Boston file 100-34459 concerns the Northern Student Movement and consists only of 2 clippings from the "Harvard Crimson" issues of 10/9/61 and 2/15/62. For info, the "Harvard Crimson" is the student undergraduate daily newspaper published at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Review of said clippings indicates the Northern Student Movement, also identified as Northern Student Movement Coordinating Committee, was found by New England campus leaders, who met at Yale University on the Saturday prior to 10/9/61 issue of the "Harvard Crimson" to plan coordination of stepped up student protests against racial discrimination in the North.

7C [REDACTED] Boston indices contain no other reference to [REDACTED] nor to the above named organization.

A copy of each of these articles is being enclosed for Atlanta, the Bureau, and New Haven.

7C Also enclosed for New Haven is copy of re New York letter, wherein on page 4 reference is made to the Northern Student Movement and [REDACTED]

See Serial 929C
7C New Haven is requested to check its indices concerning [REDACTED] and in accordance with re Atlanta airtel, furnish the results of said checks to the Bureau and Atlanta.

Collegians join sit-in demonstrations in Maryland

By RUSSELL E. ROBERTS

The Boston Co-ordinating Committee of the Northern Student Movement is urging students of Harvard, Radcliffe, and other colleges in the Boston vicinity to participate in sit-in demonstrations to be conducted in Maryland next week-end.

At Harvard, the Young Democrats, the Liberal Union, the Congregational Presbyterian Fellowship and the Republican Advance for Equal Opportunity have endorsed the project and anticipate participation by their members.

At a special meeting held last night, the YOCHE passed a resolution of support for the sit-ins but urged that no picketing be included, nor persons named. A spokesman for the organization noted that it was hoped that the demonstrations would be as peaceful and orderly as possible. Picketing, he said, could conceivably threaten such orderliness.

The February 24 sit-ins will be part of extensive anti-segregation demonstrations being conducted by the Baltimore Civil Interest Group in conjunction with the Northern Student Movement, the NAACP, the Congress On Racial Equal-

The city's largest Co-ordinating Committee has requested students interested in participating in the Maryland sit-ins to call FR 2-1441 or FR 2-1442 prior to midnight tonight in order to arrange transportation.

ty, and other racial organizations according to plans for the projected demonstrations, biracial groups will enter restaurants in the Eastern Shore area of Maryland and leave peacefully if requested to do so. Under Maryland law, however, a trespasser cannot be ordered off the premises of a business open to the public until the management has read the state trespass acts to him.

The Maryland demonstrations which were begun last November have apparently been successful in integrating restaurants in the Baltimore, Eastern Shore, and Washington areas.

Students from Wellesley, Simmons, Tufts, Boston College, Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, M.I.T., and Harvard will leave Boston by bus on the evening of February 23, will participate in the sit-ins during the week-end, and return Saturday night.

- BOSTON GLOBE, Boston, Mass.
- BOSTON HERALD, Boston, Mass.
- BOSTON TRAVELER, Boston, Mass.
- CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston, Mass.
- RECORD-AMERICAN, Boston, Mass.

The Herald Commission

Date: 2-16-62
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Class or Character:
Page:
Bufile: 84457-2
Submitting Office: Boston

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
FEB 20 1962
FBI - BOSTON
90

Civil Rights Groups To Plan Cooperation

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS
New England campus leaders, including several from the University, will meet at Yale Saturday to plan coordination of stepped-up student protests against racial discrimination in the North. They will also study methods of increasing support here for similar activities in the South.

Calling itself the Northern Student Movement Coordinating Committee, the group in addition will consider ways of informing both college and local communities about discriminatory practices in housing, employment, and education and other issues now receiving the attention of student civil rights organizations.

The Committee will perform the function in the North, its founders hope, that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee operating in Atlanta and other Southern cities performs.

Local Units Proposed

(Continued from page 10)
The idea was first discussed at the annual meeting of the New England Student Christian Movement in June. Delegates passed a resolution recommending establishment of the Committee, which was then done with the support of the Atlanta Committee, and several Yale chaplains.

The meeting Saturday will be the first attended by students outside the founding group. They will attempt to more closely define the purpose of the Committee, and set up a tentative organizational structure according to the plan of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta.

Boston American, Boston, Mass.
Boston Globe, Boston, Mass.
Boston Herald, Boston, Mass.
Boston Herald, Boston, Mass.
Christian Science Monitor, Boston, Mass.
Daily Record, Boston, Mass.
HARVARD CRIMSON
10/11/61
Author STEVEN V. ROBERTS
Editor
Title NORTHERN Student Movement
COORDINATING Committee
Class or Character
Submitting Office Boston

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 12 1961
FBI - BOSTON

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 27 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/600

URGENT 9-27-62 9-59PM EST JP
TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ /P/

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA. RM.
Matters

ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY MOVEMENT SEPTEMBER TWENTY-
SEVEN, SIXTYTWO. NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.
ATLANTA FOLLOWING. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.
REC-52 157-6-2-8

END AND ACK PLS
WA 11-00 PM OK FBI WA RAC FBI
REC.D-IFCE LABE NMIL

TU DISCO
54 OCT 4 1962

OCT 1 1962

157-315

7C
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W. J. ...

7C

6 PM
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cc

NA
11:47 pm 9-29-62
[Handwritten initials]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 29 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/BCU

URGENT 9-29-62 10-32PM EST JR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

7C

[Redacted area]

RACIAL SITUATION ALBANY, GA., RM.
MATTERS

ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY

MOVEMENT NINE TWENTYNINE SIXTYTWO.

[Redacted line]

ARRESTS, NO INCIDENTS. ATLANTA FOLLOWING. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

11-34 PM OK FBI WA HFL

TU DISC

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7D

EX-113

REC-51

157-6-2-884

OCT 2 1962

SEP 29 11 34 AM '62

FBI
REC. 0-1E

6- [Handwritten initials]

57 OCT 5 1962

[Redacted area]

7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 2 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/9/81 BY SP7 MAC/BC

URGENT 10/1/62 11-52PM EST LG

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA., RACIAL MATTERS.
MATTERS

[REDACTED]
ADVISED MEETING OF ALBANY MOVEMENT HELD NIGHT OF OCT. ONE,
SIXTY TWO AT MT. ZION BAPIST CHURCH APPROX. TWO HUNDRED
FIFTY PERSONS ATTENDED. NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.

OCT 2 1962

ATLANTA FOLLOWING.

END ACK

12-54 AM OK FBI WA RAC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/BC

AWL
235

W. [unclear]

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62
7D

[Handwritten signature]

7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 1 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/29/81 BY SP7 mac/602

URGENT 10-1-62 1-31AM EST JLM

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA. RM.

MATTERS

ADVISED NO ACTIVITIES SEPT. THIRTY SIXTYTWO, NO ARRESTS AND NO
INCIDENTS.

END ACK PLS

2-34 AM OK FBI WA HFL

TU DISC

50 OCT 4 1962
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EX 101

OCT 1 5 33 AM '62
OCT 2 1962

REC.D-1E1E XFF 114 1

cc - [redacted]

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2/27/62

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[redacted]

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[signature]

9/29/62
ajl

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 29 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/GCL

URGENT 9-28-62 11-46PM EST JR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ /P/

MATTERS
RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA. RM.

7C
[Redacted] [Signature]

7C
7D

[Redacted] ADVISED MEETING OF ALBANY
MOVEMENT HELD MT. ZION BAPTIST CHURCH SEPTEMBER TWENTYEIGHT. SMALL
CROWD IN ATTENDANCE. NO PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE
AT MEETING ENCOURAGED TO PARTICIPATE IN VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE.
NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED. ATLANTA FOLLOWING.
LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

12-48 AM OK FBI WA RAC

TU DISC

OCT 5 1962

REC-63

EX-102

23 58 15 20 PM '62

FBI
REC'D - LIFE TIME MAIL

157-6-2-887

OCT 2 1962

[Signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)

DATE: 10/3/62

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-617)(RUC)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: MATTERS
RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RM
(OO: Atlanta)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP7 MAC/606
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/2/82

Remyairtel to Bureau 9/21/62.

Enclosed find the original and eight copies of a
self-explanatory letterhead memorandum.

[REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (157-6-2)(Encl. 9)(RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (157-315)(Encl. 2)(RM)
- 6 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 157-617

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], emr

(10)

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:

 SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
 DATE 9/24/62

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI (CRD + IS)

Date Forw. 10/16/62

How Forw. R/S

By [REDACTED]
100 reg. unit

REC-39 157-629-889

DEPT. OF JUSTICE
OCT 11 10 10 AM '62

12 OCT 5 1962

ENCLOSURE

OCT 18 1962

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b1
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7c

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b1, b7c, b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
157-6-2-889

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

7D

[REDACTED]

(PR)

7D

[REDACTED]

LPA. D.C.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson
12/2
DWA



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT. 4 1962



- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

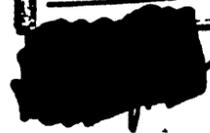
TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/29/91 BY SP7 MAC/GEU

m. [unclear]

URGENT 10/4/62 10-16PM EST LG
TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P
0
10/11/62
RACIAL SITUATION ALBANY, GA. RM.

7C



ADVISED

NO MEETING ALBANY MOVEMENT OCTOBER FOUR SIXTYTWO.
NO ARRESTS, NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.
ATLANTA FOLLOWING. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

7C
7D

END ACK AND HOLD
11-16 PM OK FBI WA LVS
OCT 9 1962
REC'D - CIA 11/12

REC-60 157-6-2-890 6-10-62

EX-113

6 OCT 5 1962

[Handwritten initials]

7C

11A
157-6-2
1022

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 5 1962

TELETYPE

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Rosen *AK*
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/BCU

URGENT 10/3/62 8-23PM EST LG
TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P
RACIAL SITUATION. ALBANY, GA. RM.

*Racial matters
Atlanta*

m. et al.
7C

[REDACTED]
ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY MOVEMENT IN ALBANY, GA., OCTOBER
THREE INSTANT. NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.
MEETING OF VOTER REGISTRATION GROUP HELD AT SITE MT. OLIVE
BAPTIST CHURCH, SASSER, GA., NIGHT OCTOBER THREE INSTANT.
PERSONS PARTICIPATING IN ALBANY MOVEMENT KNOWN TO HAVE
ATTENDED. NO INCIDENTS REPORTED. ATLANTA FOLLOWING.
END ACK

21-CH12
REC'D - CIV
**7G
7D**

9-25 PM O K FBI WA G J J
TU DISCO

3/11/30
57 OCT 11 1962

EX 101

REC-60
157-6-2-891
OCT 5 1962

cc- [REDACTED] **7C**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 3 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/9/87 BY SP7MAC/CC

URGENT 10/2/62 11-30PM EST LG

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

Racial matters-

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA. RM.

[REDACTED]

ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY MOVEMENT OCT., TWO, SIXTYTWO.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ATLANTA FOLLOWING, LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS. B OCT 4 1962

END ACK

12-34 AM OK FBI WA HFI

TU DISCO

Handwritten notes:
Memo Rosen to Belmont
57 OCT 3 1962
cc [REDACTED]

REC-91

157-6-2

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b2
7D

OCT 3 1 15 PM '62

REC'D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____

TO : Mr. Belmont *bs*

DATE: October 3, 1962

FROM : A. Rosen *ARM*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS - *Atlanta*

DATE *9/9/81* BY *SP7MAC/CC*

There was no activity of the Albany Movement on
October 2, 1962, in Albany, Georgia.

7D
[REDACTED]

7D
[REDACTED]

ACTION:

The Department has been advised.

7C
[REDACTED] *whm*
(8)

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

ARM *JK* ✓

ARM 157-6-2-893X
~~157-6-1-27~~

REC-28

OCT 4 1962

OCT 3 3 00 PM '62
OCT 10 1962

MAR 29 1963 *pd*

NA 1130 PM
10-5-62
200

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT. 5 1962
TELETYPE

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

mz

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/SEL

ANC Blank
7C

Racial Matters

URGENT 10/5-62 9-32PM EST LG

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

RACIAL SITUATION ALBANY, GA., RM.

7C
7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY

MOVEMENT THIS DATE. NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED. ATLANTA
FOLLOWING.

END ACK AND HOLD

10-34 PM O K FBI WA G J J

157-6-2-894
OCT 8 1962

63 OCT 12 1962

EX-115

FBI
REC.D-TELETYPE UNIT

[REDACTED]

7C

FBI

Date: 10/5/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-137)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

OO: ATLANTA

7C [Redacted]

Re Atlanta airtel to Director 8/31/62, enclosing letterhead memorandum.

The files of the Chicago Division have been reviewed regarding individuals identified in referenced communication. No additional pertinent information regarding these individuals was located on the basis of additional descriptive data furnished.

GALE

- 3- Bureau (RM)
- 1- Atlanta (INFO)
- 1- Chicago

[Redacted] bap/kzh
(5)

7C

C. C. Wick

REC-1

157-6-2-895

OCT 8 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP2 MAC/SLC EX-114

[Handwritten signature]

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

54 OCT 11 1962

MA
11:40 AM
10/7/62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT. 7 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/SEL

URGENT 10-6-62 11-26PM EST JR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

RACIAL MATTERS
SITUATION ALBANY, GEORGIA. RM.

[REDACTED] ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY MOVE-
MENT TEN SIX SIXTYTWO. NO ARRESTS AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.

7C
7B
7D

NO INCIDENTS. ATLANTA 896

OCI FOLLOWING

END ACK

12-28 AM OK

TU DISC

50 OCT 16 1962

7C

cc to

[REDACTED]

NA
G...
12/27/62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 7 1962

TELETYPE

- Mr. Tolson _____
- Mr. Belmont _____
- Mr. Mohr _____
- Mr. Casper _____
- Mr. Callahan _____
- Mr. Conrad _____
- Mr. DeLoach _____
- Mr. Evans _____
- Mr. Malone _____
- Mr. Rosen _____
- Mr. Sullivan _____
- Mr. Tavel _____
- Mr. Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Miss Holmes _____
- Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/91 BY SP1 MAC/GCL

URGENT 10-7-62 10-45 PM EST WJB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA 157-315

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA. RM.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED NO ACTIVITY ALBANY MOVEMENT OCT., SEVEN,
NINETEEN SIXTYTWO. NO ARREST AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED. ATLANTA
FOLLOWING.

END AND ACK

WA 11-47 PM OK FBI WA 157-115 FBI 10 OCT 9 1962

TU DISC

CC [REDACTED] RADMAT 10-8-62

REC-22
OCT 8 11 50 AM '62
897
6-PM

SC
7D

mc...
72
[Signature]

If next radio contact missed, send by plain text, deferred teletype.

Code 10/8/62

RADIOGRAM

Deferred

7C
[Redacted]

TO SAC, ATLANTA (157-315)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI 157-0-2-897

REC-22

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA.

EX-115

DISCONTINUE DAILY SUMMARY TELETYPE. PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE BUREAU IN LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FORM SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. ANY UNUSUAL ACTIVITY HOWEVER SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY BROUGHT TO THE BUREAU'S ATTENTION BY TELEPHONE OR TELETYPE AND FOLLOW WITH A LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/89 BY SP7 MAC/col

NR.	08164
ENC.	[Signature]
CK.	RA
APPROVED BY	RA
TYPED BY	

7C [Redacted] :int
(3) int

NOTE:

The Atlanta Office has been submitting a daily summary teletype on the racial situation at Albany, Georgia. Developments have reached the stage now where a summary teletype is no longer necessary.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Malone _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____

VIA RADIOGRAM

OCT 8 1962

1:46 PM [Signature]

15 38 41 .25

CODING UNIT

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT
OCT 12 1962

10-10-62

CODED

1 - Mr. Sullivan

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SACS ATLANTA
NEW YORK
FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7MEL/SCC

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS.

RE ATLANTA TEL TEN NINE SIX TWO THAT ALBANY MOVEMENT HAD
SCHEDULED MASS MEETING FOR TEN TEN AND TEN ELEVEN SIX TWO AT
ALBANY, GEORGIA, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

: caccac
(4)

REC-91 157-6-2 = 899

19 OCT 11 1962

01-73

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Malone _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

VIA TELETYPE
OCT 10 1962
8:35 PM per RL.

NR. 102255
ENC. CTF
CK. [initials]
APPROVED BY [signature]
TYPED BY [signature]

54 OCT 15 1962 TELETYPE UNIT

WIK

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 9 1962

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 mac/bee

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 10/9/62 7-27PM EST LG
TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

RACIAL MATTERS SITUATION, ALBANY, GA. RM.

MASS MEETING, ALBANY MOVEMENT, HELD NIGHT OF OCT.
EIGHT, SIXTYTWO, AT FIRST MOUNT OLIVE BAPTIST CHURCH,
ALBANY, GA. NO ARRESTS NO INCIDENTS REPORTED.

[REDACTED]

ATLANTA FOLLOWING. LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END ACK
8-30 PM OK FBI WA BH
TUD ISCO

53 OCT 18 1962

John Murphy
Adams
REC-52
OCT 11 1962

157-62900
12
OCT 11 1962

cc [REDACTED] 7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Malone
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. Belmont *ad*

DATE: October 10, 1962

FROM : A. Rosen *AR*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE *1/2/81* BY *SP7 MRP/fo*

The Atlanta Office has advised that mass meetings are scheduled for October 10 and 11 in Albany, Georgia, to raise funds for a negro voter registration drive.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7D
7C
7D

ACTION

The Department has been advised.

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REC-63 *157-6-27-901*

OCT 16 1962

EX-100

imt
(10)

7C

[REDACTED]

6-AR

147
53 OCT 19 1962

FBI

Date: 10/11/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) (P)
SUBJECT: MATTERS
RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MRC/bcl

Enclosed are eight copies of a letterhead memo
suitable for dissemination.

Information in attached letterhead memo was
furnished to SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7C

30

@

EX 113

3-Bureau (Enc 8) (RM)
1-Atlanta
ghb
(4)

Agency G-2. ONL CSI CRD

Date Forw. 10/16/62 REC-52 157-315-2 904

How Forw. P/S

By [REDACTED]

OCT 15 1962

C. Q. WICK

ice org. unit
2 cc's destroyed

Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

54 OCT 22 1962

7C

7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 11, 1962

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED] advised that on the evening of October 8, 1962, a mass meeting of the Albany Movement was held at First Mount Olive Baptist Church, Albany, Georgia. No incidents occurred as a result of this meeting.

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

4D

[REDACTED]

7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/1006 - 9001

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)

DATE: 10/18/62

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RM

9/19/61
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP7 MAC/SCC
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 10/18/82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are the original and seven copies of letterhead memorandum in above-captioned matter relating to four Negro ministers from New Jersey area and folk singer PETER SEEGER holding meetings and concerts in Albany, Ga., on October 10, and 11, 1962.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b1 m

A copy of the letterhead memorandum is also enclosed for the information of the New York Office.

1cc each
Agency G-2, O.H., OSI, CRD + LS.

Date Forw. OCT 30 1962

How Forw. R-5

By [REDACTED]:cmj

1cc ea Orig Unit

2cc ea destroyed

② - Bureau (enc. 8) (RM)

1 - New York (157-736) (Info) (enc. 1) (RM)

1 - Atlanta

[REDACTED]:sbb

(4)

5 OCT 1 1962

7C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF
DATE 9/24/81
REC-30

157-6-12-22-905

EX-100
OCT 22 1962

FIVE
INFO

7C

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 18, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

DATE 9/4/81 BY SP7 MAC/SCA

Four unidentified ministers, all Negro, arrived Albany, Georgia, from New Jersey area, October 10, 1962, to participate in Albany Movement meetings. Mass meetings of Albany Movement were held night of October 10, 1962, at Shiloh Baptist Church and Union Baptist Church. PETER SEEGER, folk singer, staged concert at Shiloh Baptist Church. Ministers delivered religious-type addresses at Union Baptist Church.

Mr. WILLIAM G. ANDERSON, President, Albany Movement, and CHARLES SHERROD, Field Secretary, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, addressed group at Shiloh Baptist Church, encouraging more donations for use in voters registration activities and denounced lack of attendance at Albany Movement meetings. Approximately 75 persons attended the concert conducted by PETER SEEGER. Approximately 175 persons attended the meeting at Union Baptist Church.

On the night of October 11, 1962, like meetings were held at the same two churches. PETER SEEGER appeared at the Union Baptist Church and the ministers appeared at the Shiloh Baptist Church. Approximately 60 people attended the meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church and approximately 45 persons attended the meeting at the Union Baptist Church.

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

ENCLOSURE

157-6-2-905

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was originally scheduled to appear at the above meeting, however, he failed to appear at either meeting.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
October 18, 1962

Title	RACIAL SITUATION ALBANY, GEORGIA
Character	
Reference	Memorandum dated October 18, 1962, at Atlanta, Georgia, in above-captioned matter.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

157-6-2-705
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)

DATE: October 19, 1962

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-137)(RUC)

SUBJECT: MATTERS
RACIAL SITUATION ATLANTA
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

OO: ATLANTA

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 10/5/62.

No additional information has been developed concerning captioned matter in the Chicago Division since date of referenced communication. Since inquiry within the Chicago Division has been completed, this matter is being placed in a closed status at Chicago.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MRP/ECU

157-6-2-906

REC-53

10 OCT 24 1962

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

OCT 28 11 38 AM '62

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (157-315) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

:Plb
(4)

70

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
NOV 1 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*NA
11/1/62
[initials]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/601

Mc Sullivan
Racial Matters

URGENT 11/1/62 7-54PM EST LG

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

[REDACTED]

*7C
7D
h*

157-315-907

NOV 2 1962

LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS.

END ACK

7-57 PM LK FBI WA WS

5 21 NOV 7 1962
3/9

cc [redacted]
6-BM

FBI

Date: 11/2/62

Transmit the following in AIRTEL (Type in plain text or code)

~~REC-35~~

Via AIR MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) P.

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RM
OO: AT

7C

Re Atlanta tel, 11/1/62.

Enclosed herewith is original and seven copies of letterhead memo suitable for dissemination. The information in enclosed letterhead was furnished to SA [redacted] on 11/1/62.

7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/21/81 BY SP2MJC/CC

7C

3 Bureau (Enc. 8) RM

2-Atlanta

[redacted] cjb

(5)

7C

AGENCY ORIGINATING OFFICE

EX-120

Date Forw. 11/6/62 **REC-35**

How Forw. h/s

157-6-2-910

By [redacted]

20 NOV 3 1962

NOV 2 1962

7C 1 cc leg. unit
2 cc's destroyed

AM

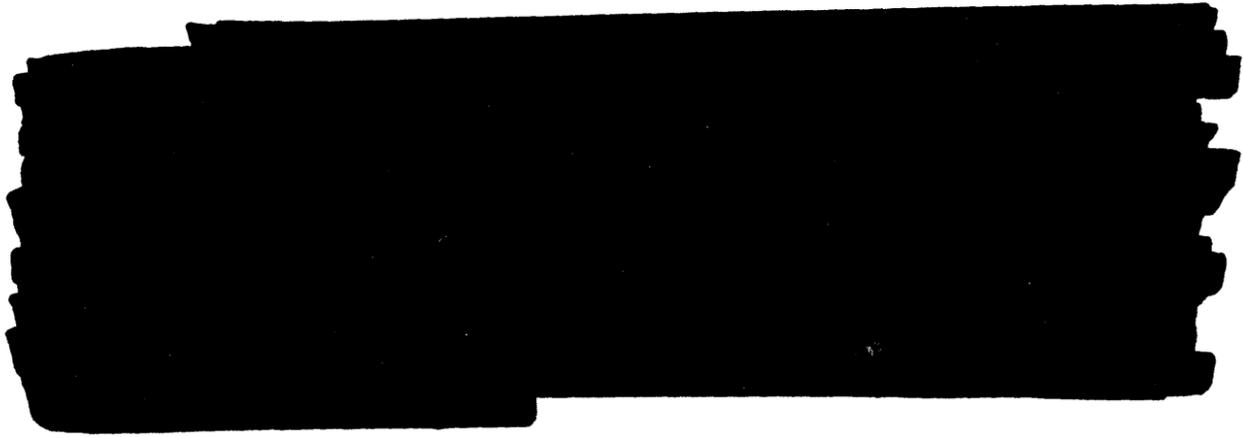


UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
November 2, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA



7C
7D

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR
CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND
IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE
DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/29/81 BY SP7MAC/600

Auth

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
NOV 13 1962
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

URGENT 11-13-62 6-04PM JDR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ /P/

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA., RACIAL MATTERS.

[REDACTED] ADVISED MEETING OF ALBANY
MOVEMENT HELD NIGHT NOV. TWELVE, SIXTYTWO, AT SHILOH BAPTIST
CHURCH, ALBANY. SPEAKERS ENCOURAGED CONTINUED BOYCOTTING OF
DOWNTOWN MERCHANTS. MEETINGS TO BE HELD EACH NIGHT THROUGH
NOV. SIXTEEN, SIXTYTWO, WHEN [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, AND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SCHEDULED TO APPEAR. NO DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED.

[REDACTED]

LETTERHEAD FOLLOWS. ATLANTA FOLLOWING AND WILL REPORT ANY
PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END AND ACK PLS

EX - 120

REC-37

25 NOV 14 1962

CORR LINE LWXXX42 12 WORD 3 SHOULD BE [REDACTED]

6-08 PM OK FBI WA WS

TU DISV
6 NOV 16 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/1/81 BY SP7 MJK/SL

TC
7D

157-6-2-911
cc [REDACTED] YC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Rosen *[Signature]*

FROM : C. L. McGowan *[Signature]*

DATE: 11/15/62

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION - 471
ALBANY, GEORGIA

Supervisor  of the Atlanta Office telephonically advised that there was an article in the "Atlanta Constitution" on 11/15/62 which was somewhat critical of the FBI and the Department of Justice in connection with "inactivity" on the part of the Federal Government in the Albany, Georgia, situation during the past year. The article was critical of the Federal Government, The Albany, Georgia, Administration and Chief of Police Pritchett of Albany.

7C
7C
7D



ACTION:

 was instructed to immediately submit a teletype summary to the Bureau setting forth the exact statements made concerning the Bureau. He was also instructed to furnish the Bureau with  and to set forth the recommendations of the Atlanta Office in handling this matter.

7C

CLM:cag
(5)

REC-21

157-6-2-912

25 NOV 16 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/KAL

59 NOV 20 1962

[Handwritten signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/14/62

John
FROM :

SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

RM
Racial Matters

REC-15
advised

Enclosed are the original and seven copies of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

The information in the enclosed letterhead was furnished to SA [REDACTED]

7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE 9/27/81 BY SP1 MRS/col

Photo encl - State (cy fecs/AA)
CC TO: State (cy fecs/AA)
REQ. REC'D. 4/17/64
APR 16 1964
ANS. BY: *Al. J. [unclear]*

7C

[REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
2 - Atlanta

aab
(4)

7C

REC-51

157-6-2-913

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

6 NOV 16 1962

NOV 15 1962

RECEIVED

Agency G-2, ONL, OSI, OPS

Date Forw. 11/21/62

How Forw. *R/S*

By *ab*

51 NOV 29 1962

7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 Atlanta, Georgia
 November 14, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
 File No.

RACIAL SITUATION
 ALBANY, GEORGIA

7C
7D
 [REDACTED]
 advised meeting of Albany Movement was held night of November 12, 1962, at Shiloh Baptist Church, Albany, Georgia. Speakers encouraged continued boycotting of downtown merchants. These meetings are to be held each night through November 16, 1962, when

[REDACTED] Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., are scheduled to appear. No demonstrations are scheduled.

7C
7D
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] advised a meeting of the Albany Movement was held night of November 13, 1962, at the Union Baptist Church, Albany. Speakers, including Dr. W. G. Anderson, President of the Albany Movement, encouraged continued boycott of downtown Albany merchants. Anderson announced plans to picket downtown merchants, pickets to be under the direction of [REDACTED], Field Worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/84 BY SP1 MAC/ECJ 157-6-2-713

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
NOV 17 1962
TELETYPE

DATE 9/20/81 BY SP7MAD/dec
URGENT 11-17-62 3-05 PM EST GB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P
RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Tele. Room	
Mr. Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

[REDACTED]

MEETING OF
ALBANY MOVEMENT HELD NIGHT NOVEMBER SIXTEEN AT THIRDD
KIOKEE CHURCH, ALBANY, GA., DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
ADDRESSED MEETING ENCOURAGING ALBANY MOVEMENT MEMBERS
TO STEP UP BOYCOTT LOCAL ALBANY MERCHANTS AND ENCOURAGED
LARGER DONATION FOR EXPENSE OF INTEGRATION EFFORTS.
JUVENILE MEMBERS OF ALBANY MOVEMENT IN LARGE NUMBERS
WALKED DOWNTOWN AREA OF ALBANY PAST STORES ON NOVEMBER
FIFTEEN AND NOVEMBER SIXTEEN WEARING SHIRTS WITH PRINTING
STATING ~~QUOTE~~ "DONT BUY FROM DOWNTOWN OR MIDTOWN STORES"

~~UNQUOTE.~~

EX - 120

REC-10 157-6-2-914

MIDTOWN IS SHOPPING CENTER LOCATED OUT OF DOWNTOWN
AREA. NO INCIDENTS AND NO ARRESTS REPORTED.

13 NOV 19 1962

END AND ACK
3-10 PM OK FBI WA WS

TU DIS

7D

7C

M. G. Sullivan

pmu

10-TH

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
NOV 15 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

RA

URGENT 11-15-62 11-51 AM EST JWC

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

0 RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

Matters
THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE ATLANTA

CONSTITUTION MORNING OF NOVEMBER FIFTEEN INSTANT BASED ON A
STUDY CALLED QUOTE ALBANY, A STUDY OF NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY
UNQUOTE WRITTEN BY DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY PROFESSOR,
SPELMAN COLLEGE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, PUBLISHED BY SOUTHERN
REGIONAL COUNCIL, AN INTERRACIAL GROUP FORMED TO ADVANCE
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL THE SOUTH-S PEOPLE. THE FOLLOWING
ARTICLE ENTITLED QUOTE U.S. LAXITY AT ALBANY IS CHARGED, QUOTE IS
VERBATIM.

QUOTE A STUDY OF ALBANY-S RACIAL STRUGGLES RELEASED
WEDNESDAY CHARGES THAT THE SINGLE QUOTE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
HAS FAILED TO PROTECT THE LIBERTIES OF ITS CITIZENS IN THE
CITY OF ALBANY, SINGLE QUOTE.
QUOTE CRITICISM CAME FROM DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY
PROFESSOR AT SPELMAN COLLEGE, A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PRIVATE
SCHOOL IN ATLANTA.
QUOTE ALBANY NEGROES, SAID ZINN, WHO IS WHITE, TEND
TO DISTRUST LOCAL MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.
THE SPELMAN HISTORIAN URGES THE CREATION OF A SPECIAL FEDERAL

RECORDED
INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MJK/601

157-6-2-9156-12
11 NOV 19 1962

PAGE TWO

CORPS OF AGENTS TO INVESTIGATE CIVIL RIGHTS CASES.

~~QUOTE SINGLE~~ QUOTE WITH ALL VIOLATIONS BY
LOCAL POLICE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, ~~SINGLE QUOTE~~ SAID ZINN,
SINGLE QUOTE, 'THE FBI HAS NOT MADE A SINGLE ARREST ON BEHALF
OF NEGRO CITIZENS' ~~SINGLE QUOTE~~.

QUOTE ZINN-S STUDY, CALLED SINGLE QUOTE ALBANY, A
STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY SINGLE QUOTE WAS PUBLISHED
BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, AN INTERRACIAL GROUP FORMED
IN NINETEEN FORTYFOUR TO ADVANCE SINGLE QUOTE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
FOR ALL THE SOUTH-S PEOPLE SINGLE QUOTE.

QUOTE ZINN-S STUDY AIMED ITS CHIEF CRITICISM AT THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, POINTING OUT THAT BOTH ALBANY NEGROES AND
WHITE CITIZENS ACTED IN ACCORD WITH THEIR EXPRESSED CONVICTIONS.

QUOTE THE FORTY YEAR OLD PROFESSOR SAID THE GOVERNMENT
REACTED QUOTE SLOWLY AND AWKWARDLY SINGLE QUOTE TO THE RACIAL
TROUBLES WHICH BEGAN IN ALBANY IN DECEMBER OF NINETEEN SIXTY
ONE, DURING WHICH NEARLY TWELVE HUNDRED ARRESTS WERE MADE,
CHIEFLY OF NEGROES.

QUOTE ZINN WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE SINGLE QUOTE
FAILURE OF THE CITY-S WHITE LEADERSHIP SINGLE QUOTE IN ALBANY,
CORR LINE 2 SHD READ
QUOTE SINGLE QUOTE WITH ALL THE CLEAR VIOLATIONS BY

REC'D - TELETYPE UNIT
F B I

NOV 12 15 00 PM '65

PAGE THREE

SUGGESTING THAT THE WHITE POPULATION OF THE CITY WOULD
SINGLE QUOTE RESPOND TO A LEADERSHIP WHICH MODERATELY AND
QUIETLY ARRANGED FOR COMPROMISE AGREEMENTS WITH THE NEGRO
POPULATION SINGLE QUOTE.

QUOTE HE ALSO CRITICIZED THE MANNER IN WHICH POLICE
CHIEF LAURIE PRITCHETT HANDLED THE DISTURBANCES QUOTE.

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

[REDACTED] NO ACTION BE TAKEN. [REDACTED]

WILL BE SUBMITTED SEPARATELY.

END AND ACK

12-01 OK FBI WA MET

TU DISC

cc: [REDACTED]

7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *ad*
FROM : A. Rosen *R.R.*
SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 11-15-62

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED ✓
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7.MCB/CL

7C
7D

The Atlanta Office has advised that an article appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution" on 11-15-62 based on a study called "Albany, A Study of Racial Responsibility." The study was written by Dr. Howard Zinn, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The study by Zinn criticizes the FBI, the Federal Government, and the administration of the City of Albany, Georgia.

Zinn is a history professor at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, and the study was published by the Southern Regional Council, a group formed to advance equal opportunity for all the South's people.

The full context of the article is attached.

The article in one section states:

"Albany Negroes, said Zinn, who is white, tend to distrust local members of the FBI. The Spelman historian urges the creation of a special corps of Agents to investigate civil rights cases.

"With all the clear violations by local police of Constitutional rights," said Zinn, "the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens."

The Atlanta Office completely covered the activities at Albany Georgia, and detailed memoranda were submitted to the Department daily. The Department did not request the arrest of any persons in connection with the racial situation. 157-6-2-716

Enclosure
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
CAC
(8) CAC

REC-26

11 NOV 19 1962

7C

601 X
23 X

19m
10 NOV 20 1962

7C
[REDACTED]

"ALBANY, A STUDY OF NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY"

"A study of Albany's racial struggles released Wednesday charges that the 'national Government has failed to protect the liberties of its citizens in the City of Albany.'

"Criticism came from Dr. Howard Zinn, history professor at Spelman College, a predominantly Negro private school in Atlanta.

"Albany negroes, said Zinn, who is white, tend to distrust local members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Spelman historian urges the creation of a special Federal corps of agents to investigate civil rights cases.

"'With all the clear violations by local police of Constitutional rights,' said Zinn, 'the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens.'

"Zinn's study, called 'Albany, A Study in National Responsibility,' was published by the Southern Regional Council, an interracial group formed in 1944 to advance 'equal opportunity for all the South's people.'

"Zinn's study aimed its chief criticism at the Federal Government, pointing out that both Albany Negroes and white citizens acted in accord with their expressed convictions.

"The 40-year-old professor said the Government reacted 'slowly and awkwardly' to the racial troubles which began in Albany in December of 1961, during which nearly 1,200 arrests were made, chiefly of Negroes.

"Zinn was also critical of the 'failure of the city's white leadership' in Albany, suggesting that the white population of the city would 'respond to a leadership which moderately and quietly arranged for compromise agreements with the Negro population.'

"He also criticized the manner in which Police Chief Laurie Fritchett handled the disturbances."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/21/01 BY [redacted]

FBI

Date: 11/19/62

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) P.
SUBJECT: ^{NOTTERS} RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7MCE/601

Remytels 11/15/62 and 11/19/62.

Enclosed herewith is a special report for the Southern Regional Council by HOWARD ZINN as mentioned in referenced tel, 11/15/62.

Enclosed also are two clippings from the Atlanta Constitution, 11/19/62 from Page 18, entitled "King Says FBI Lags At Albany."

CC - Wick
ENCLO. BEHIND FILE
ENCLOSURE
3-Bureau (Enc. 3) (AM)
2-Atlanta
cjb
(5)
EX 109

157-6-2-917

15 NOV 20 1962

REC-3

SIX

Printed for SAC AT
11/21/62
7C

11/21/62

EX 10

Airtel

To: SAC, Atlanta (157-315)

From REC-3 Director, FBI (157-6-2) - 917

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7MAC/60

Reurairtel 11/19/62, which furnished a copy of your report on "Albany," written by Howard Zinn and published by the Southern Regional Council.

This does not appear to be the report released by the Southern Regional Council mentioned in the Atlanta Constitution article of 11/19/62. The report you furnished was published January 8, 1962, and a copy of it has previously been furnished the Bureau. The quotes mentioned in the Atlanta Constitution article attributed to Howard Zinn do not appear in the January 8, 1962, report.

The report issued on January 8, 1962, is captioned simply "Albany." The report mentioned in the Atlanta Constitution article is captioned "Albany, A Study in National Responsibility."

Your office should attempt to obtain a copy of the report of the Southern Regional Council issued in November, 1962.

7c

rrf
(4)

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

MAILED 8
NOV 21 1962

212

1962

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 11/19/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-315) P.
SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA
RM NOTICE

Re Atlanta tel 11/17/62.

Enclosed herewith is original and seven copies of a letterhead memo suitable for dissemination. Information in enclosed letterhead was furnished to SA [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/81 BY SP7 MAC/GO

C C Wick

3-Bureau (Enc. 8) (AM)
1-Atlanta
[REDACTED]:cjb
(4)

7C

7C

EX 109

7C

7C

REC-14

157-6-2-918

15 NOV 20 1962

Agency G-2, ONI, CSI, CRD

Date Forw. 11/21/62

How Forw. R/S

By [REDACTED] pp
cc org. unit
cc [REDACTED]

SDX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
November 19, 1962

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

He stated a meeting of the Albany Movement was held on the night of November 16, 1962, at The Third Kiokee Church, Albany, Georgia, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. addressed meeting encouraging the Albany Movement members to step up boycott activities of local Albany merchants and encouraged larger donations for expense of integration efforts.

[REDACTED] stated juvenile members of Albany Movement in large numbers walked to downtown area of Albany past stores on November 15 and 16, 1962, wearing shirts with printing stating "Don't Buy From Downtown or Midtown Stores." [REDACTED] stated midtown is a shopping center located out of the downtown area. He stated no arrests or incidents were reported.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/27/89 BY SP7 MAC/604

1-2-6-2-918

7C
7D

7C
7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/27/89 BY SP1 MAC/PC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
NOV 19 1962
TELETYPE

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

URGENT 11-19-62 9-40 AM EST JP

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RM.

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE NOVEMBER FIFTEEN LAST CONCERNING
REPORT OF DR. HOWARD ZINN, HISTORY PROFESSOR, SPELMAN COLLEGE.

AN ARTICLE APPEARING ON PAGE EIGHTEEN OF THE ATLANTA
CONSTITUTION MORNING OF NOVEMBER NINETEEN SIXTYTWO, TAKEN
FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES QUOTED REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
IN WHICH HE SAID HE AGREED WITH THE REPORT ISSUED NOVEMBER
FOURTEEN LAST IN ATLANTA BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
THAT THE FBI HAD NOT BEEN VIGOROUS IN LOOKING INTO DENIALS
OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN ALBANY AND THE SURROUNDING AREAS. STATED
QUOTE "AGENTS OF THE FBI IN ALBANY, GA. SIDED WITH SEGREGATIONISTS."
UNQUOTE. QUOTE "ONE OF THE GREAT PROBLEMS WE FACE WITH THE
FBI IN THE SOUTH," UNQUOTE HE SAID, QUOTE "IS THAT THE AGENTS ARE
WHITE SOUTHERNERS WHO HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE MORES OF
THEIR COMMUNITY. TO MAINTAIN THEIR STATUS, THEY HAVE TO BE
FRIENDLY WITH THE LOCAL POLICE AND PEOPLE WHO ARE PROMOTING
SEGREGATION. EVERY TIME I SAW FBI MEN IN ALBANY, THEY WERE WITH
THE LOCAL POLICE FORCE," UNQUOTE.

AS THE BUREAU IS AWARE. THE ALBANY BA IS MADE UP OF

REC-16 157-6-2-919

PAGE TWO

FIVE AGENTS, ONE FROM INDIANA, ONE FROM BOSTON, ONE FROM KINGSTON,
N. Y., ONE FROM MINNEAPOLIS AND ONE FROM GA. CLIPPING BEING
FORWARDED SPECIAL TODAY. RECOMMEND NO FURTHER ACTION IN THIS
MATTER.

END AND ACK PLS

WASSSS

9-45 AM OK FBI WA TAT

TU DISC

CC-MR. ROSEN

12/3/62

CODE

RADIOGRAM

URGENT

TO SAC ATLANTA (157-315)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (157-6-2)

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS
REBUAIRTEL ELEVEN TWENTY-ONE SIXTYTWO INSTRUCTING YOUR
OFFICE TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THE REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL
COUNCIL BY HOWARD ZINN, CAPTIONED QUOTE ALBANY, A STUDY IN
NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY END QUOTE. SUTEL RESULTS OF YOUR
EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THIS REPORT.

7C

(3) bjs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9/3/89 BY SP7MAC/CC

Send by deferred plain text
teletype if next radio contact
missed.

157-6-2-920

REC-3 19 DEC 4 1962

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Ingram _____

60 DEC 11 1962

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Handwritten signatures and initials:
JK
JW
ML
PWL
JA

*NP
6 49
10/13/62
PMM*

DECODED COPY

- Tele. Room _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gandy _____
- Holmes _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____

Radio

Teletype

*M. [unclear]
7C*

URGENT 12-3-62

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC ATLANTA 032107

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA. RM. *Racial matters*

S

REBUTEL DECEMBER 3, 1962.

[REDACTED]

*7C
7D*

RECEIVED: 4:47 PM RA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EX-116
DATE *8/31/81* BY *SP7 MAC/BJL*

*157-6-2-923
6 DEC 4 1962
6-PM*

gob
55 DEC 7 1962

*DEC 3 2 23 PM '62
RECEIVED*

7C

cc - [REDACTED]

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS* DATE: 11-27-62

FROM : Mr. D. J. Brennan

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
 ALBANY, GEORGIA
 RACIAL MATTER *Atlanta*

Memorandum Rosen to Belmont dated 11-20-62 in captioned matter discusses a speech of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., wherein he stated among other things that "Agents of the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sided with segregationists." Referenced memorandum instructed Liaison to bring King's comments to the attention of _____ of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and to point out to _____ that there is no basis, in fact, for King's remarks and, in addition, that four of the five Resident Agents assigned at Albany, Georgia, are from northern states.

On 11-26-62 the Liaison Agent discussed this matter with _____ was particularly interested in the fact that four of the five Agents in Albany, Georgia, are from northern states. He indicated this is definitely contrary to what King said in his speech.

ACTION:

For information.

REC-38

157-6-2-955

DEC 5 1962

S. Cregar

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Civil Rights Section
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Cregar

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE *8/21/81* BY *SP1MAC/GOL*

REC. REC. UNIT

FBI

Date: 12/4/62

Transmit the following in AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

REC-20

EX-109

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-2)
FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (157-315)
SUBJECT : RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GA.
RM

ReBuairtel to Atlanta, 11/21/62.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the report released by the Southern Regional Council entitled "Albany, A Study in National Responsibility". The author of this report is HOWARD ZINN.

[Redacted area]

This report of ZINN's is dated merely "1962" but it was released by the Southern Regional Council in November 1962.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/81 BY SP11MC/602

- 3 - Bureau (1 Encl.) AMSD
- 1 - Atlanta

REC-26

157-6-2-926

5 DEC 5 1962

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

EX 109

C.C. Wick

5 (D) Approved: 12/7/1962 [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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H O W A R D Z I N N

Albany

A STUDY
IN
NATIONAL
RESPONSIBILITY

by

HOWARD ZINN
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
SPELMAN COLLEGE

1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

INTRODUCTION

THE wreckage of Oxford may have caused some Southerners, and more of their fellow-countrymen, to wonder if the South is a region capable of self-government. Oxford was unprecedented in drama and in its threat to constitutional government. It was, however, but the foreordained outcome of the ideology of "massive resistance," taught and applied since 1954 by chieftains of politics from Virginia to Texas. All but a few areas of the South have by now got well from this intellectual and political sickness. But Mississippi would not have acted as it did this autumn if the legislatures, governors, and Congressmen of the other southern states had not acted as they did earlier.

The power of state or local law enforcement was first used to thwart federal authority in Mansfield (Texas) in 1956. This happened again, with immense consequences, in Little Rock in 1957. There can be no confidence, even after Oxford, that there will not be other similar rebellions.

Howard Zinn's report is about another kind of southern response to social and legal change. He writes about Albany, Georgia, where since November 1961 Negroes have worked hard and suffered much to have their humanity recognized. If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords, it needs to be prepared for the likelihood—almost the certainty—of other Albanys.

Albany has also been a scene of mass disorder. The notorious riots in the South over desegregation have been of several types. Some have been more or less spontaneous, as were, for example, the Chattanooga riots during the sit-ins of 1960, these have not been, however, the deep-wounding variety. Some have been deliberately incited by conspirators, as were the Clinton (Tennessee) riots over school desegregation in 1956, there is at least persuasive evidence that the University of Georgia riot of early 1961 was also the handiwork of an organized few. Of much greater importance have been those mob actions tacitly but knowingly invited by public officials and permitted by the police: the mobs of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery during the 1961 Freedom Ride were of this kind, and so too was that of Oxford. It is worth noting that there has been only one important instance when a white mob formed, knowing that the police would probably be uncooperative, and deliberately challenged the police. That was in Little Rock in 1959, and the mob was easily dispersed.

The disorders of Albany have been basically different. They have been like those of others since early 1960, in Orangeburg (S. C.), Tallahassee (Fla.), McComb (Miss.), Baton Rouge (La.), Lebanon

(Tenn.), Talladega (Ala.), and elsewhere. They have been caused by Negro demonstrations, not by a white mob.

Professor Zinn describes the Albany history with clarity. He shows how there has interacted in that city forces, institutions, ideas, and personalities in unique patterns of profound seriousness. The Southern Regional Council publishes his study because we believe the country urgently requires an understanding of what is and has been at issue. We think that, for two reasons, Albany has a crucial importance for the national interest.

First, as the civil rights movement penetrates the Deep South, and into smaller cities and rural areas, there will be other localities, and perhaps many, where a similar pattern of events will occur. As Albany has had its predecessors, so it will have its successors. This will be so because the twin forces which have produced the Albany crisis also exist in hundreds of places in the South. These are, on the one hand, Negro determination and willingness to act; and, on the other, the willful or inert resistance of white persons and their institutions. Furthermore, the methods used are likely to be the same: peaceful though firm Negro protest, and firm, relatively quiet, police suppression.

Second, in a sense that the turmoil at the University of Mississippi was not, Albany was a national responsibility. Oxford was a result of southern history. Given that history, there is no sure ground for believing that the crisis could have been prevented by any policy or action of the federal government. The whole nation is implicated in Albany. It is the price of eight years of inaction by Congress, of hesitancy by Presidents, of timidity by southern moderates in making good the promise of the decision of 1954. The Negro demonstrations, in the streets of Albany and Talladega and Orangeburg and dozens of other places, are the direct result of disillusion over the good faith and intentions of national and regional leadership.

• • • • •

There have been three principal actors in the Albany struggle: the municipal government, including its police; the federal government; and the Negro populace. A brief look at the policies of each, which Professor Zinn examines in detail, may be instructive:

(1) In Albany, both Negro protests and white reactions have been characterized by non-violence. Not only has the police force refrained from violence, but it has prevented white mobsters from gaining even momentary control. In these respects, the police methods used in Jackson (Miss.) for Freedom Riders have been copied. Because of their temporary success in both cities, their use will likely spread to other localities where Negro demonstrations may occur.

Good police practice means more than the prevention of violence. It also means, the protection of rights. There are legitimate grounds for saying that in Albany sophisticated police work has done the traditional—almost legendary—job of the mob, i.e., the suppression of Negro dissent and assertion of rights. The city government of

Albany is still a white man's government, and the police is its instrument.

(2) The federal government, represented solely by the Department of Justice, has hovered about Albany from the beginning. Incredibly, in this whole time, it has not acted. As we said some months ago:

The Department [of Justice] apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing power in Albany; it confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation. . . .

The Department can be extraordinarily helpful in resolving issues when it can, and intends to, act. When it does not intend to, as in Albany, its "presence" adds little, except possibly confusion. Where it has little authority to act . . . there is still a role for the federal government to play. One can question, however, whether the Department of Justice is the best to carry it out, for it is a role of persuasion. By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman and representative in the South. The Administration would do better by applying at congressional and state capital levels the influence which it possesses, and to insist in those quarters that southern officialdom give respect to Constitutional rights and ordinary decency.

The Department of Justice during the past two years has, with vigor and skill, brought voting suits under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. It has been equally decisive and even more successful in defending the integrity of federal courts in several situations, such as that of New Orleans during 1960 and 1961, in combatting bus and train terminal segregation, and in responding to utter breakdowns of law and order, as in Alabama during the Freedom Ride and in Oxford. It seemingly has not known what to do in an Albany-type situation.

We do not necessarily endorse all of Howard Zinn's analysis of federal powers or his recommendations for their use.** We do point out that the record of the federal government in Albany says as clearly as would a public announcement that the federal government will not act unless there is uncontrolled violence. There has been no acknowledgment of a federal duty to protect federal rights, the rights of speech and peaceable assembly and equal protection of the laws.

Is the South helpless to handle its own problems? No. In fact, the overlooked but primary responsibility for the deterioration in Albany rests on the state of Georgia, and the federal government should always give a state the opportunity to act. (The federal government, through its months of discussions with Albany officials and relatively scant intercourse with state authorities, has done little to encourage the state to see its responsibilities.) But federal rights of individual citizens must be protected, and, when local and state governments fail, that is a federal obligation.

*Executive Support of Civil Rights, March 13, 1962, page 18.

**See pages 28-36, below.

(3) This is not the time to ask whether Negroes are wise and justified in carrying on public demonstrations, as in Albany. The time for that question will be *after* the first important racial reform *anywhere* by the white South without Negro pressure.

In a recent telecast, the director of the Citizens Council of Mississippi said, with admirable candor, that he and his organization oppose Negro equality because of their "vested interest" in a system of inequality. There is as much, if not more, truth to this than to the usual belief that Southerners are more racially prejudiced than other Americans. In areas such as Albany all the institutions of government and society are organized to defend segregation, and on the premise that Negroes are not entitled to the full and free use of community benefits. Against these entrenched systems, Negro resort to unconventional pressures can hardly be condemned.

• • • • •

The South is still engaged grimly in internal social and political combat, but the present is a time of optimism as well as of anxiety. In most of the South's large cities, and in some other areas as well, there now exists an unbreakable momentum behind the extension of civil rights. Indeed, the very fact that the civil rights movement has finally reached into the Black Belt, producing the eruptions of Albany and Oxford, is the surest mark of the progress made in the South. At the same time, it means that the civil rights movement is approaching its climax, and that the days ahead may well be the severest yet.

The South is, as traditionalists often say, being subjected to a second Reconstruction. There is no reason for friends of civil rights to deny that this is so. What is different, however, is that the leadership in this Reconstruction comes from the South itself—from the millions of Negro Southerners who have supplied the initiative and the will for this change. By their effort, they have made the South a better place to live, freer than it has ever been of emotional torments and political leadstones.

But the need now is for initiative to pass out of Negro hands. Racial relations in the United States is not merely the Negroes' problem, is not merely a Negro problem. It is a problem of the health of our democracy, the strength of our economy, and the integrity of our minds. What the country critically requires is governmental assumption, at both the state and national levels, of responsibility and initiative for the reform of racial relations, and for the uplifting of the economic and educational levels of the bottom tenth of our population.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

VIII

Albany, Georgia

Many Georgians call it All-benny. . . . This was slave plantation country, and Albany was its trading center, incorporated in 1841 to become the seat of Dougherty County. . . . At the turn of the century, blacks outnumbered whites . . . and Albany was a placid little town, slavery gone and segregation firmly in its place. Today the city is a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta, past scraggly cotton, clusters of Black Angus cattle, and beautiful fields of pecan trees . . . it is wide-avenued and clean, a commercial center for southwest Georgia, trading corn, cattle, and pecans, attracting tourists, new industry, and travelers heading towards Florida. "Tenth fastest booming city in the USA," the man at the Chamber of Commerce said proudly. "There's the rating—in black and white."

ALBANY has always rated higher for whites than for blacks. Negroes make up 40 per cent of its population (23,000 out of 56,000), and zero per cent of its political officials. The entire machinery of justice in the city and county is capable of instantaneous conversion into a machinery for repression where Negroes are involved—for the judges, juries, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs, deputies, city police are all white.

Negro businessmen and professionals must confine their talents to the Negro community. Albany State College, for Negroes, the one institution of higher education in town, is a source of employment, and the several military bases in the area offer some opportunities. But for most Negroes, regardless of ability, there are only menial jobs: porters, maids, handymen, laborers, laundry workers. Higher paid positions are for whites.

A Negro teen-ager, standing outside a church late one night as a voter registration meeting was coming to a close, said: "I'm getting out of this town as soon as I can. No one I know wants to stay here. I sure don't intend to die in Albany." Other youngsters standing nearby agreed vigorously. For a young Negro with education and ambition, Albany, Georgia is a bleak and depressing place to live.

Note: Quoted material heading the various sections of this report is drawn from the author's first "Special Report" on Albany, published by the Southern Regional Council January 8, 1962.

An Albany Negro is born in a segregated hospital, grows up in a segregated neighborhood, goes to a segregated school, is buried in a segregated cemetery. Restaurants, hotels, parks, public libraries, playgrounds, taxicabs, theaters, filling-station restrooms, water fountains—all possible aspects of daily life—are designated according to the color of one's ancestors. No Negro in Albany can grasp a door-handle or cross a threshold without first thinking of his color.

Even after the supposedly ironbound Interstate Commerce Commission order went into effect November 1, 1961, Negroes were being arrested in Albany for using "white" terminal facilities. Today, after more than a 1000 arrests in the city, it is said that the Trailways Bus Terminal on Broad Street is finally desegregated, but observance of the ruling by city police has been so fitful that a Negro walking into that restaurant today is still not completely sure he will not be arrested.

"Progress" in Negro living conditions in Albany—new schools, a library, a playground—has been kept completely inside the system of segregation. White people both North and South are only beginning to understand that such "progress" is not sufficient for Negroes who are imbued with twentieth century visions of racial equality.

Prevented by segregation barriers and a hostile local newspaper from communicating their old hurt and their new expectations to Albany whites, ignored by the city's Board of Commissioners, Albany's Negroes began to express their feelings dramatically, powerfully, in the mass demonstrations of December 1961. The truce which ended those demonstrations was followed by six months of intermittent skirmishing. Then, in the summer of 1962, the city erupted again. Demonstrations resumed, and once more Albany, Georgia became the focus of national and international attention.

This time, violence appeared: a pregnant Negro woman was knocked unconscious by county officers; a Negro lawyer was clubbed by the sheriff; a white sympathizer had his jaw broken by a prison trusty; Negroes hurled rocks at patrolmen. Albany's police chief "kept the peace" by applying the same technique he had used in the December demonstrations: he put into prison, by the hundreds, Negro men, women, and children who in one way or another were protesting segregation. As Labor Day approached, the number arrested since December totalled over 1,100.

To all of this, the national government in Washington reacted slowly and awkwardly, showing embarrassment rather than compassion, and timidity instead of vigorous leadership. A powerful nation appeared by turns clumsy or impotent in enforcing its own constitution in a tiny segment of the country. In Albany, on moral issues of national importance, the authority of the president of the United States was distant and feeble, the power of the local chief of police immediate and absolute.

The December Demonstrations

In a market where social goods are unevenly distributed, peace must always be paid for. The price, paid in the South by blacks, and received by whites, has begun in recent years to seem not quite right. . . . The white South has been notably unequipped with the kind of social seismograph that would detect the first faint tremors of unrest. In Albany, deep in the Black Belt, the shock of the pre-Christmas protest was particularly great. Slowly developing anger and publicized dignified protest by Negro adults—a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention—and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

EARLY in 1961, the century-long quiescence of Albany Negroes began to break, perhaps shaken by the sit-ins, freedom rides, and boycotts which had been successful elsewhere in the Deep South, perhaps vaguely stirred by the rise of colored peoples in Africa and Asia, or, more likely, by a combination of factors too complex for easy categorization. At Albany State College students began to speak out. A group of adult Negro leaders presented a petition to the city commissioners requesting desegregation of certain city facilities. In October, a decisive event occurred: the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee sent two of its field workers, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, both youthful veterans of southern prisons, to set up a voter registration office in Albany. They were joined by Charles Jones, who had also been jailed many times for student demonstrations, and the three, working from a rundown little building two blocks from the Shiloh Baptist Church, fired the already aroused Albany Negro Community to an enthusiasm never before seen in the Black Belt City.

On November 1, 1961, the day the ICC ruling prohibiting terminal segregation went into effect, SNCC (known as SNICK) planned a test of the Trailways Terminal in Albany, and a white college girl from Memphis named Salynn McCollum served as witness when a group of Negro students walked into the white waiting room and were ordered out by the police. On November 22, five Albany State students tried to use the restaurant in the Trailways Terminal and were arrested by Albany Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett. Five days earlier, on November 17, the Albany Movement

had been formed, by a coalition of the colored ministerial alliance, SNCC, the NAACP, and other Negro organizations. Local osteopath, Dr. W. G. Anderson was named president; Slater King, a real-estate man, vice-president; and retired railroad man Marion Page, secretary. "The kids were going to do it anyway," one of the founders of the Movement said later. "We didn't want them to have to do it alone."

On Sunday, December 10, the ICC ruling failed of enforcement in Albany for the third time in a row. That day, an integrated SNCC group of eight rode from Atlanta to Albany, sitting together in the "white" car. Entering the white waiting room at the Union Railway Terminal in Albany, they were ordered out by Chief Pritchett, and then arrested as they were getting into automobiles. They were charged with obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer (a list of offenses which became the standard charge against demonstrators in Albany). A. C. Searles, editor of the Negro weekly *Southwest Georgian*, watched the scene and reported: "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief."

The newly-formed Albany Movement now responded. During the next seven days, a series of huge meetings in Negro churches and marches downtown by more than 100 Albany Negroes, singing and praying and asking freedom for the arrested students, ended in mass arrests ordered by Chief Pritchett. It was on the fifth day that Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, invited by the Albany Movement, arrived from Atlanta to speak to a mass meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church. They led another march downtown, which ended in the arrest of hundreds more. The total arrested now stood at 737, and Chief Pritchett, representing the city, began negotiations with Negro leaders: attorney Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, local attorney C. B. King, and Marion Page. Verbal agreements were reached on calling off demonstrations, the release of jailed demonstrators on the signing of simple property bonds, and a hearing for Negro demands at an early business meeting of the new city commission.

Negro men, women, and youngsters, pouring out of the jails in nearby counties where they had been sent—"Bad Baker" County, "Terrible Terrell," and others—told stories ranging from mere miserable discomfort ("We were 88 in one room with 20 steel bunks and no mattresses") to worse ("I don't want to hear nothing about freedom," Sheriff Mathews of Terrell County told Charles Sherrod as he struck him in the face). It was not the wretchedness of jail conditions that rankled the insides of those Negroes who were arrested, but the reason for it all. "I didn't expect to go to jail for kneeling and praying at City Hall," a young mother said.

With people out of jail on bond and the promise of a hearing before the city commission, the first mass demonstrations ended, just before Christmas, 1961, and an uneasy truce settled over Albany.

The Truce Falls Apart

... no long-term assessment of the Albany actions can be based on what was or was not conceded at the moment of settlement. This is a Deep South city, with a hundred-year history of Negro silence and white complacency which has now been shattered for all time. Anyone who sat in the Shiloh Baptist Church at the prayer meeting following the settlement knows that expectations have been raised which will not be stilled without a change in the social patterns of the city. "Albany will never be the same," attorney Hollowell told the crowd that night, and he was right.

ON Friday, January 12, 1962, an 18-year-old Negro girl named Ola Mae Quarterman, a former student at Albany State College, sat down in a front seat of an Albany city bus. The driver left his seat, put his finger near her face, and the conversation went something like this: He said: "Don't you know where you're supposed to sit?" Her reply: "I paid my damn 20 cents, and I can sit where I want." He called a policeman, she was arrested and jailed for using "vulgar language."

"I used the word 'damn' in regard to my 20 cents, not to the driver," Miss Quarterman later told a federal court hearing. The city attorney at that hearing tried to establish that she was arrested for using vulgar language rather than for sitting in front of the bus. It was all part of an elaborate judicial game now being played in southern courtrooms, in which everyone pretends that the *race* of the arrested person was the farthest thing from the policeman's mind, and tries to invent interesting new charges for the arrest. But Ola Mae Quarterman did not want to play. "You weren't tried for sitting where you were sitting, were you?" the city attorney asked her. "That's what they said," she replied quietly, and then repeated more loudly for the benefit of the court, "That's what they said."

Miss Quarterman was found guilty in city court of using "obscene" language, and a boycott by Negroes of the city bus system, already under way, was intensified. In less than three weeks the company, dependent for much of its revenue on Negro customers, halted operations. White businessmen, fearful of the effect of this on their trade, met with representatives of the Albany Movement and with people from the bus company to get the buses back into operation, and reached what was probably the first important de-

segregation agreement in Albany history: that the buses would resume on an integrated basis and would accept applications from Negroes seeking jobs as bus drivers.

But obstinacy on both sides got in the way. The city commission, with Mayor Asa D. Kelley the lone dissenter among its seven members, refused written assurance that it would not interfere with bus integration (there is a municipal ordinance requiring bus segregation). And then the Albany Movement decided not to accept an agreement on the buses without some sort of assurance on other requests. The bus company tried to run again, but finally closed up shop for good and disposed of its equipment. The city has been without bus transportation since March.

Two days before the Ola Mae Quarterman incident, several groups of Negro students trying to get cards at the white Carnegie Library had been turned away, directed to the Negro library, and questioned by police. One week after the arrest of Miss Quarterman, SNCC workers Charles Jones and Charles Sherrod, sitting in the Trailways lunchroom, were arrested by city policemen for "loitering." Again, the color of their skin was neatly avoided. "We don't allow people to go in there and just make it their home," Chief Pritchett said.

Everybody had been waiting for Tuesday, January 23, when, by the verbal agreement of December, the city commission would hear spokesmen for the Albany Movement. That evening Anderson and Page presented to the commission a petition with requests for the desegregation of various city facilities, and were told to await a reply. One week later the commission issued a statement denying all the requests of the petition, saying: "The demand for privileges will scarcely be heard, wherever and whenever voiced, unless . . . arrogance, lawlessness, and irresponsibility subside." Negro leaders could "earn acceptance for their people," the statement said, "by encouraging the improvement of their moral and ethical standards."

Mayor Kelley, supported by Mayor pro-tem Bufford Collins, dissented from the commission response approved by the other five members, saying that it evaded the basic issue. "In my judgment the city of Albany has got to recognize that it has a problem and cannot solve that problem by sticking its head in the sand and ignoring that problem. No solution can be reached unless there are lines of communication."

A month later, with little left now of the December truce agreement, city officials decided to begin trials for the more than 700 people arrested during the pre-Christmas demonstrations and, oddly enough, in view of the often expressed desire to keep Martin Luther King, Jr. out of Albany, they decided to begin with Dr. King himself. On February 27, a three hour trial took place in Recorder's Court (the city court of Albany) with King, Ralph Abernathy, and two

Albany Negroes who had been involved in the mass march of December 18 toward City Hall. They were charged with parading without a permit, obstructing the sidewalk, and disorderly conduct.

The defense said the arrests were based on the desire to maintain segregation, and that they violated First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and assembly, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection of the laws. The city denied that race had been an issue in the arrests, and said it was merely enforcing a statute requiring a permit for parades. When defense attorney Donald L. Hollowell asked Chief Pritchett how a "parade" was defined, the chief answered that there was no definition. "Then it's anything you want to make it?" Hollowell asked. "In my opinion, yes," was the reply.

A month later, with decision in the King-Abernathy trial still pending, the beginning of a similar trial in Albany Superior Court (the county court) was disrupted by official violence. The SNCC group of young white and Negro people, who had come down on the train from Atlanta December 10, 1961, and been arrested outside the terminal, were being charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic, and refusal to obey an officer. As the trial began Monday, March 26, SNCC worker Charles Sherrod walked toward the front of the courtroom, traditionally reserved for whites, to take a seat. Chief Deputy Lamar Stewart knocked him to the floor and dragged him to the rear. When defendants Bob Zellner, a SNCC field secretary, Tom Hayden, a writer, Sandra Hayden, his wife, and Per Laursen, a Danish Journalist—all white—sat down with Sherrod in the rear, they were dragged by deputies out of the courtroom and through a revolving door. One deputy pulled Mrs. Hayden over a row of seats and then pushed her through the door. The only comment of the presiding judge, watching all of this, was: "The officers were enforcing a rule of the court."

In April, more trouble took place. Dr. Anderson, Slater King, Emanuel Jackson, and Elijah Harris, four leaders of the Albany Movement, were found guilty of "disorderly conduct." They had been picketing a downtown store as part of the general Negro boycott of stores which did not hire Negro employees. Also, Charles Jones, Cordell Reagan, and two teen-age Negroes were sentenced to 60 days on public works gangs for refusing to leave a drugstore lunch-counter where they sat requesting service. And 26 more people were arrested in lunch-counter sit-ins.

About the same time, a Negro in Albany named Walter Harris was shot to death by a policeman who claimed the man attacked him with a knife while resisting arrest. Perhaps there was a need to make up for the silence that had followed previous slayings of Negroes by police officers for "resisting arrest." Perhaps there was a recollection of the killing in late 1961 of a Negro man by a sheriff

in Baker County under similar circumstances. Or perhaps the Negro community was still conscious of the imprisonment since July 1960 of Charles Ware, who was shot twice through the neck by officers of Baker County for "resisting arrest." At any rate, 29 adults and teen-agers appeared in front of City Hall on April 21 to protest what they considered the needless death of Harris. Refusing to disperse, they were arrested, and when some youngsters lay down on the sidewalk they were picked up and carried into police headquarters.

In May, the first and only arrest of segregationist whites in the entire period occurred when four boys were arrested and convicted for throwing eggs and tomatoes in the Negro section. In June, nine more young Negroes were arrested for picketing stores downtown. A police captain admitted to a reporter that there was no evidence of violence, but said the youths had "talked to" older people. Atlanta *Journal* writer Walter Rugaber noted: "The anti-buying campaign started five months ago and was sharply effective for a time. But police considered two picketing efforts a danger, and broke them up with disorderly conduct arrests."

The Long Hot Summer

The Negro porter on the steps of an Albany church said, "No, we're just beginning. Just beginning." And a woman on the Executive Committee of the Albany Movement declared, "... anybody who thinks this town is going to settle back and be the same as it was, has got to be deaf, blind, and dumb."

WHEN King and Abernathy were found guilty and sentenced by Recorders Court in Albany on July 10, 1962, to 45 days or \$178 for leading the December 16 demonstrations, defense attorney Hollowell asked Judge Durden for legal citations on which his decision was based. The judge said he did not have any, that it was based on "general research of the law."

The defendants chose to go to jail. Excitement rose to a high pitch not only in Albany but throughout the nation. Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania told the Senate that the convictions were evidence "that there are still, unfortunately, areas of our country in which the Constitution of the United States, as represented by the Fourteenth Amendment, is not in effect." That evening, when police cars showed up near the two Negro churches where mass rallies were taking place, bricks and rocks were thrown at them, and Chief Pritchett put his whole force on a standby alert.

The following day, Wednesday, 12 men, nine women, and 11 teen-agers—32 Negroes in all—began walking downtown. They were led by Dr. C. K. Steele, a Tallahassee minister who had headed desegregation battles there, and the Rev. Robert Alfred, an Albany minister. Two blocks away from the downtown area they were stopped by Chief Pritchett and arrested. They marched to the city jail, two squads of police behind them, singing "We Shall Overcome" while curious whites watched quietly. That night, with hundreds of Negroes gathered outside the Shiloh Baptist church, bricks and bottles were thrown at police across the street.

The jailing of King, as no other event in the history of Albany troubles, sent Washington officialdom into a flurry of activity. President Kennedy asked Attorney General Kennedy for a report on the Albany situation. Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, made a number of phone calls to Albany. Marshall phoned Mrs. King in Atlanta and said that the Department of Justice (according to the *New York Times*) "would use whatever influence it could to obtain his release."

The next morning, King and Abernathy were released. How this happened has never been clear. According to Chief Pritchett's report, an unidentified, well-dressed Negro man showed up at City Hall, paid the fines, and the two ministers, who were anxious to stay in jail as a sign of the sacrifice required of those in the struggle, reluctantly left. Dr. Abernathy told a mass meeting that night, "I've been thrown out of lots of places in my day, but never before have I been thrown out of jail."

Dr. King attempted to open negotiations with the city commission. Personal conferences with the police chief had been fruitless, and a wire was sent on Sunday, July 15, asking for an audience. The commission, in a closed meeting on Monday, said that it refused to deal with "law violators." On Tuesday, the Albany Movement sent a wire to the city commission urging that it reconsider its refusal to meet. In a page and a half "position paper" it outlined its grievances, requested the right of peaceful protest under the First Amendment, and asked that a bi-racial commission be established to set a timetable on the desegregation of lunch-counters, library, schools, parks, swimming pools, and other facilities. Again the commission refused.

Now, with a battery of high-power legal minds in Albany discussing judicial action against segregation—William Kunstler, Clarence Jones, and Constance Motley from New York, Donald Hollowell of Atlanta, and C. B. King of Albany—the Albany Movement began a series of moves to lay the ground work for court cases. On Tuesday, July 17, 25 Negro students showed up at the Carnegie Library to ask for library cards and books, and were turned away. The next day, 40 teenagers staged sit-ins, in teams of eight, at five different lunch-counters downtown, which were immediately closed. Reporter Fred Powledge noted in the *Atlanta Journal* that in at least two cases the students were asked to leave not by managers, but by police. At the Trailways Bus Station, a 15-year-old Negro boy tried to enter the restaurant and was refused. "I asked him why," the boy related. "He said it was because we were Negro—he didn't say Negro though. He said nigger . . . you know."

That Wednesday afternoon, 80 young Negroes tried to use the athletic facilities of Tift Park and were ordered to leave by Detective Captain Ed Friend, and a group of other officers. On Thursday, seven Negro youngsters were jailed in a lunch-counter sit-in, and 50 others were turned away from the white picnic area of Tift Park. On Friday, more groups were turned away at lunch-counters and ordered away from a swimming pool by the assistant chief of police.

With a mass prayer scheduled by the Albany Movement for City Hall on Saturday afternoon, Albany's city attorney Henry Rawls and Mayor Kelley flew to Atlanta to confer with Governor Vandiver's legal staff, then to Columbus to see federal District Judge J. Robert Elliott. Elliott, longtime associate of the Talmadges in Georgia politics

and a public supporter of segregation, had just been appointed to his post by President Kennedy. At midnight on Friday, July 20, Elliott issued an omnibus injunction, barring "unlawful picketing, congregating or marching in the streets . . . participating in any boycott in restraint of trade" and, in fact, "any act designed to provoke breaches of the peace." The injunction was to be in effect until July 30 when a hearing on a similar permanent order would take place.

With the temporary restraining order in effect, the planned Saturday afternoon demonstration did not take place, but in the evening a group of 160 persons, young and old, began walking from Shiloh Church toward City Hall, and were arrested under orders of Chief Pritchett. The Trailways lunchroom was also closed that day when Negroes tried to enter. But the *Atlanta Journal* reported: "The same attendant was seen admitting white people to the lunchroom."

More than 100 of the Saturday marchers were under 18, many of them 13 and 14 years old, and they were sent to Camilla in nearby Mitchell County. "They call it a juvenile detention place," one youngster said. "But it's just an old jailhouse." Sixty-four were put in a cell designed for 12 children, 52 others in a cell designed for eight.

On Monday, July 23, about 5:30 p.m., Mrs. Slater King, wife of the Albany Movement's vice-president, and in her sixth month of pregnancy, drove to Camilla with a group of other Negro women to take food to the daughter of a friend. She had her three children along, and was carrying one of them, a three year old. Two deputies ordered the group away from the outer fence around the jail. "All you niggers get away from the fence," one of them demanded. The women began to move away, Mrs. King walking slowly toward her car. One of the deputies pointed her out, cursed her, and said if she did not hurry, she would be arrested. She turned and said, "If you want to arrest, go ahead." The next thing she knew she was kicked and knocked to the ground. An officer hit her twice on the side of her head and she lost consciousness. She revived in about ten minutes, and since no one else in her car could drive, managed to drive back to Albany.

Monday evening, after a rally at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, a group of seven led by Mennonite minister Vincent Harding, a Negro, and troubled by the beating of Mrs. Slater King, stopped in front of City Hall to pray. When they refused to obey Chief Pritchett's order to move on, they were arrested. The next night, when 40 more were arrested in a march toward City Hall, what had started as a non-violent parade (reported *Atlanta Constitution* correspondent Bill Shipp) "degenerated into an angry, cat-calling crowd" and an estimated 2,000 Negro youngsters gathered at the edge of the Negro area. Dozens of rocks and pop bottles flew out of the crowd at the police, injuring one state trooper.

Earlier the same day, Tuesday, July 24, Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, had set aside Judge Elliott's temporary restraining order. He pointed to a fatal flaw in its constitutional argument: the Fourteenth Amendment provision on "equal protection of the laws" was not designed to protect the state against individuals, as the temporary injunction suggested, but was intended to protect individuals against state action. In other legal moves that day, the lawyers for the Albany Movement—Donald Hollowell, William Kunstler, Constance Motley, C. B. King, Clarence Jones—filed two suits against the city of Albany: one to desegregate the city's public facilities; the other to prevent the police from interfering with peaceful demonstrations.

That evening, in the face of a request by Negro leaders to appear at its regular Tuesday meeting, the city commission postponed the meeting. A newspaperman pointed out: "The City Commission steadfastly refused to confer with any Negro leaders about racial problems during a seven month intermission in mass racial demonstrations."

Wednesday was quiet, having been declared a "day of penance" by Dr. King and Dr. Anderson for the violence of the previous evening. Thursday was uneventful, too, but on Friday at 2:15 p.m., King and Abernathy led a group of ten to City Hall to try once again to talk with the city commission. Chief Pritchett asked them to leave, pointed to a nearby group of newspapermen and photographers and said, "You can see you're causing a disturbance." As Abernathy began to pray, Pritchett ordered the group arrested. Two hours later, a group of 18 youngsters left Shiloh Church for City Hall. They knelt on the sidewalk to pray, refused to move when the chief ordered them to do so, and were arrested.

One of the young people arrested was a white SNCC field worker from Cincinnati named William Hansen, who was promptly put into the white section of Dougherty County jail. As Hansen sat on the cell floor reading a newspaper, a prison trusty attacked him and beat him into unconsciousness. His jaw was broken, his lip was split, and a number of ribs were broken. He was then transferred to the city jail. Hansen said later that a deputy sheriff putting him into the cell, had told the trusty: "This is one of those guys who came down here to straighten us out," and the trusty replied, "Well, I'll straighten him out."

The very next day, Saturday, July 28, a 36-year-old attorney, C. B. King, the first and only Negro to practice law in the city of Albany, and the legal backbone of the Albany Movement from its inception, visited Sheriff Cull Campbell of Dougherty County. He wanted to check on the condition of William Hansen, who at that moment was sitting 100 yards away behind the barbed wire fence and steel mesh windows that enclose the county jail. A few minutes later King came staggering out of Sheriff Campbell's office, blood streaming from a wound in his head and splattering his clothing.

The Rev. James C. Harris, whom King had asked to meet him at the sheriff's office, later reported: "When I entered the sheriff's office at about 4:45 p.m., Mr. King was standing and two men, presumably deputies, were seated. As I walked in, the Sheriff, Mr. Cull Campbell, walked in and said to Mr. King: 'Nigger, haven't I told you to wait out there?' or words to that effect. As Mr. King was about to reply, Mr. Campbell picked a walking stick out of a basket containing several, and hit Mr. King viciously over the head, breaking the cane. Mr. King escaped from the office, and I did as well."

New York Times reporter Claude Sitton quoted Campbell as saying, "He didn't get out so Goddammit, I put him out." Police Chief Pritchett, across the street in his office had King taken to a hospital. Sitton noted in his story that: "Chief Pritchett had more than 160 city, county and state law enforcement officers standing by to prevent violence." Pritchett who had just arrested 28 Negroes for praying and singing for 15 minutes in front of City Hall, called the beating of King "very regrettable."

Sheriff Campbell told me in his office a month later: "Yeh, I knocked hell out of him, and I'll do it again. I let him know he's a damn nigger. I'm a white man and he's a damn nigger."

During the first week in August, 30 persons, including one white woman from New York, were arrested as they prayed in front of City Hall. An integrated group of five was arrested trying to get service at the Holiday Inn restaurant. The total of arrests since the start of the December demonstrations now passed 1,100.

All that week and into the middle of the next, the city and the Albany Movement argued before Judge Elliott in federal District Court on the city's petition for a permanent restraining order on demonstrations. At the hearing, Police Chief Pritchett, to support the request for such an order, testified that (according to a UPI dispatch in the Washington Post) "racial tensions have reached a boiling point." Two days before that testimony, he had said as reported in the Atlanta Constitution, "People go about their normal business. This city is nowhere close to an explosive point."

At the close of the hearing, Tuesday, August 7, the Justice Department, which had received dozens of telegrams, and a number of delegations, all asking action on behalf of Albany Negroes, filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the Albany Movement's request to deny the injunction against demonstrations, noting that the city, because of its failure to desegregate public facilities, did not come into court "with clean hands." Judge Elliott reserved decision in the case. At a press conference on August 1, President Kennedy, responding to a question on Albany, said that he found it "wholly inexplicable why the city council of Albany will not sit down with the citizens of Albany, who may be Negroes, and attempt to secure them, in a peaceful way, their rights."

King, Abernathy, Anderson, and Slater King were released, after two weeks in jail, on Friday, August 10. Meanwhile the Albany Movement was waiting for Judge Elliott's decision on the city request for an injunction, and for him to set hearing dates on its own suits asking desegregation and the right of peaceful protest. But it did not let up its other forms of activity. It stepped up its registration campaign, hoping to effect the election of two new city commissioners in the fall.

On Saturday, individuals tried to enter the library and parks, which were immediately padlocked. Negroes also tried to attend services at white churches on Sunday, August 12, and were admitted to a Catholic and an Episcopal church, but turned away from a Baptist and a Methodist church. On Tuesday, two persons were arrested for picketing a Negro theater whose white owner refused to admit two white persons, other Negroes were turned away from the snack bar at Phoebe Putney Hospital, and a white couple and six Negroes were arrested attempting to use a bowling alley.

Among the youngsters at the bowling alley was 16-year-old Shirley Gaines, who had spent time in jail in Camilla back in April when she protested the killing by police of Walter Harris. Arrested at the bowling alley, she sat on the steps waiting for the paddy wagon to park nearby. As she waited, she later told me, two policemen threw her dress over her head, held her by the legs, dragged her down the stone steps to the bottom, and left her lying there. A man came along and kicked her in the side, and when she cried out a policeman standing nearby said, "Nigger, you can holler louder than that," then dragged her into the paddy wagon. With her back hurt, she lay on the floor inside City Hall. A man kept opening a swinging door near her, hitting her head each time. As she kept crying out, a policeman dashed water in her face to quiet her, and another called, "Holler, nigger."

A policeman then carried her, meanwhile kicking her with his knee, into the paddy wagon again, pushed her on the floor, and took her to Putney Hospital. But when she wouldn't rise, her back still hurting, she was taken to a city doctor. The doctor shone a light on her back, announced he found no injury, and said: "There ain't nothing wrong with that nigger. She got a good kickin'." She spent a day in city jail, then was examined by Dr. Anderson, who found her back bruised and scarred.

On Wednesday, August 15, the city commission finally met a Negro committee face to face. Secretary Page of the Albany Movement read a petition asking four questions of the city: 1) would it abide by the ICC ruling on bus and train terminals; 2) would it refund cash bonds on those arrested and accept tax receipts; 3) would it refrain from interfering with desegregation in city buses if they would operate again; and 4) would it desist from interfering with peaceful protest? Mayor Kelley responded by saying that these

matters were under consideration in federal court, that the decision of the court would be obeyed, and the meeting adjourned.

After the meeting, the mayor told newsmen (according to a dispatch in the *Atlanta Journal*) that "he did not believe the city would take any action on the Negro requests." A mass meeting of 1000 Negroes that evening heard Martin Luther King, Jr. and Page denounce the commission's refusal to negotiate, and Anderson told the crowd voter registration and the downtown boycott would continue, as well as other activities designed to budge the rigid stance of the city officials.

With Labor Day coming, 75 Protestant ministers, Catholic laymen, and Jewish rabbis drove down to Albany from the North to register their support for Albany Negroes. Praying in front of City Hall, they were arrested by Chief Pritchett, and sent off to various county jails, where they stayed for periods of two days to a week, a number of them fasting the whole period. Before arresting them, Pritchett said, "You have come to aid and abet the law violators of this city and county. If you come as law violators, you will be treated as such. Go back to your homes. Clear your own cities of sin and lawlessness."

Another activity which received increased attention was the boycott against white businesses downtown. Indications were that the boycott was not as tight as Negro leaders claimed, but more effective than white merchants were willing to admit. In early October, for example, eight Negro youths were picked up, questioned, and subsequently released by local police after they appeared on downtown streets wearing T-shirts with large lettering that urged shoppers not to buy from Albany merchants.

In federal court, Judge Elliott began hearings on three cases which he ruled were to be consolidated: the city request for an injunction against demonstrations; the Movement's request for the desegregation of city facilities; and the Movement's petition for non-interference with peaceful protests. The trial was completed in late September, and the principals awaited Elliott's decision.

Meanwhile, the Albany Movement had turned from mass demonstrations to an increased emphasis on voter registration. Some indication of the Movement's success in its voter registration drive came in late October when the first Albany Negro to run for city commissioner in modern times finished second in a three-man race for the office. The Negro, Thomas C. Chatmon, 39-year-old owner of a beauty and barber supply firm, received 3,030 votes in the election and was slated to face former commissioner B. C. Gable in a runoff for the office. The date for the runoff was still undetermined as this report went to press.

Black and White in Albany

There is a basic hurt to being an American Negro—both North and South—which cannot be conveyed by any cold list of specific grievances. In Albany there has been no way for fair minded white people to know these things. There has been contact, but it has been superficial. There has been exchange of words, but not of feelings . . . Modern science . . . radio . . . television . . . air travel . . . national newspapers and magazines . . . Air Force or Marine Corps units in the area . . . college. . . All of these influences have acted on Albany Negroes and created expectations far beyond the crawling progress and kindly tolerance which Albany's white leaders thought—and think—sufficient. The white community somehow has not faced the idea that Albany cannot escape the general upheaval shaking the South today. Something was necessary to shake the white community into the first pang of such awareness. So . . . the Albany Movement was born.

DESPITE the customary romanticization of the past—both by leading whites and a few Negroes—there has never been real communication between whites and Negroes in Albany. The demonstrations of the past year have been an attempt to vault the old barriers and shock the white community into listening.

The first reaction to this unsettling intrusion was resentment and hardening of the lines. Albany's city commission has behaved as if its job were to represent only that 60 per cent of the population which is white. Its consistent refusal to negotiate grievances with the Negro community has been opposed on several occasions by one of its members—Mayor Kelley—but so far the commission shows no signs of relenting.

A simple mythology supporting the idea that Albany can remain untouched and unchanged is perpetuated by the city's only daily newspaper, the *Albany Herald*. The *Herald's* publisher, James D. Gray, a transplanted New Englander,* was (until September 1962) chairman of the State Democratic Committee, and a power in Georgia politics. Mild and affable in person, he is a fierce segregationist in print. The news coverage and editorial writing in the *Herald* are the main sources of fact and opinion for Albany's white citizens, and the newspaper scrupulously attempts to shield its readers from those

*But as the Rev. Abernathy has said: "In America there is no such thing as an 'outsider'."

realities of the contemporary world which journalists like Ralph McGill and Eugene Patterson of the *Atlanta Constitution* have put before the residents of Georgia's capital city.

On July 31, 1962, in its Peoples Forum section, the *Herald* printed three letters, each representative of that mutual magnification of hate which has long taken place between the Albany newspaper and its readers. The three letters took up the entire space of the section. The first, a long one, said among other things: "For a century, the white race has lent considerations and provided assistance to the Negroes in overcoming the savage and uncivilized background from which they so recently emerged." The second spoke of the "pistol-toting, razor-toting, and ice-pick-toting and liquor drinking Negro." The third began: "Mr. Gray, thank God for you. . . . Don't we all know a Negro is a Negro even if they do try to grease their hair straight and bleach their skin white so as to mix with the white?" When the Georgia Council on Human Relations tried to place an ad in the *Herald* suggesting that the city should negotiate with the Albany Movement, the paper refused to print it.

The failure of the city's white leadership is crucial in the Albany situation, because there is evidence that the white population would respond to a leadership which moderately and quietly arranged for compromise agreements with the Negro population. Through all the mass demonstrations and national publicity which have upset the city since last December, whites have shown no signs of rash or violent action. In the many dozens of Negro actions, white citizens have shown curiosity, even antagonism, but no desire to throw the city into turmoil.

A number of businessmen have shown a willingness to negotiate differences (and were censured by a majority of city commissioners for the attempt). White ministers have met with Negroes and attempted to lay the basis for continued bi-racial discussion on an even wider basis. When three Negroes were arrested trying to attend services at the First Baptist Church on Sunday, August 19, the church's pastor, the Rev. Brooks Ramsey, said: "This is Christ's church and I can't build any walls around it that Christ did not build. And Christ did not build any racial walls." His Board of Deacons unanimously upheld his right to hold his own views.

The Rev. Ramsey's retention by his deacons is not evidence of a strong liberal sentiment among whites in Albany, but it does indicate that it is possible for a bold man of stature in the community to differ with prevailing opinion without suffering immediate reprisal. This may seem like very little, but in the Albany context it is important in suggesting that if a group of respected persons in the white community were to take at least a moderate stand in the racial crisis, they would stand a good chance of being sustained by their fellow citizens.

That risk is involved, and courage required for such leadership is shown by another happening of last summer. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, decided on a novel move: she sent 10,000 letters to the white community of Albany, one for virtually every family in the city (with an equal number distributed among Albany Negroes), pointing out that other Georgia communities had solved similar problems by reasonable negotiation and that this course should be urged upon city officials by Albany citizens. Of the 250 responses received from the white community, all but two were critical of the letter, and some were filled with obscene denunciation.

On the positive side are several other developments. There was the birth of a small but earnest chapter of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, with ten or so white citizens meeting with a similar group of Negroes to discuss betterment of the Albany situation. And in the September primary elections for governor, Dougherty County, of which Albany is the seat, was the only county in that part of Georgia to vote for the moderate, Carl Sanders, in his landslide victory over the racist candidate Marvin Griffin.

Despite the cries about "outsiders" which have beset the Albany Movement from its inception, the facts are quite clear: a movement of protest was started by Albany's citizens even before SNCC workers arrived; it has received mass support by thousands of people in the Negro community, with perhaps the greatest active participation seen in any Negro community in the South in recent years; Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy came to Albany last December to lead demonstrations only after the mass action was underway; in the furor of this past summer, it was the city of Albany which brought King there to stand trial—he did not come of his own volition.

There has been no consistent, clear-cut plan of action for the Albany Movement, despite a number of assertions in the press about how Albany was "selected" as a point of concentration. Like so many other developments in the Deep South in recent years, certain specific streams of action were deliberate, but the confluence of these streams was a matter of chance. The original "Freedom Riders," whose arrest on December 10, 1961, at the Albany railroad station provoked a whole series of mass demonstrations, did not plan to be arrested. Martin Luther King, Jr. did not plan to go to trial in the summer of 1962. Today, the movement continues with a kind of haphazard organization sustained only by that flood of common resolve which has marked the Negro militants.

While there are advantages to such fluidity, there are also drawbacks. Sometimes there has been a tendency simply to repeat old actions under new circumstances. The movement delayed legal action, for instance, which might have been initiated last winter, and continued to depend mainly on demonstrations, instead of link-

ing the two. There has been a failure to create and handle skillfully a set of differentiated tactics for different situations. The problem of desegregating Albany facilities involves various parties: some situations call for action by the city commission; some for decision by the federal courts; some for agreement with private businessmen. Moreover, there are advantages to singling out a particular goal and concentrating on it. This is an approach not only tactically sound for Negro protest but also creates a climate favorable to a negotiated solution. The community is presented with a specific, concrete demand rather than a quilt of grievances and demands which smothers the always limited ability of societies to think rationally about their faults.

Such a possibility existed, for instance, in the desegregation of Albany buses, which was on the verge of accomplishment, after a successful boycott; some leaders of the Albany Movement felt, however, that such a victory would not be meaningful if other concessions were not won with it. A massive and undifferentiated assault is powerful, but if continued too long it creates a massive and undifferentiated opposition.

It is, of course, easy for observers to criticize the tactics of the Albany Movement. There was a rush of unanticipated events, and if the response was not one of perfectly coordinated tactical efficiency, it was one of courage, passion, and sacrifice, and it brought forth on American soil—too often hard and cold in recent years—some of the noblest qualities that human beings have shown anywhere.

The Chief of Police

... the pattern of all these arrests is quite clear: the police kept a peace which had not been broken and with no signs that it was about to be broken by putting into prison over 700 men, women, and children who were exercising basic American rights to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

THE pattern started on November 1, 1961—the day that the ICC order against discrimination in terminals took effect—when the Albany police ordered two Negroes out of the bus station in a situation where there was no crowd, no threat, no indication of either violence or tension. Three weeks later, November 22, 1961, again with no sign of disturbance, three Negroes were sitting quietly in the Trailways Terminal restaurant waiting to get the food they had ordered, when the police ordered them out and arrested them on their return. The same afternoon, two more students were arrested for using the white waiting room. On December 10, the eight Freedom Riders were arrested—again no signs of imminent trouble, as they were entering automobiles about to leave the scene. The mass demonstrations that followed resulted in the arrest of more than 700 people for walking downtown to the vicinity of City Hall, singing and praying, with whites standing nearby doing nothing but staring in curiosity. In the midst of the marches, an Associated Press newspaperman reported from Albany: "White residents of this city have shown little close-range interest in the incidents."

Here is how the pattern continued through the first eight months of 1962:

Students asking for library cards: questioned by police.
Girl sitting in front of the bus: arrested.
Two young men in the Trailways restaurant: arrested.
Four men picketing a store downtown: arrested.
Thirty young people trying to get service at lunch-counters: arrested.
Twenty-nine people praying in front of City Hall: arrested.
Ten people picketing stores: arrested.
Five people picketing: arrested.
Thirty-two people on way to City Hall: arrested.
One white and two Negroes in front of City Hall: arrested.

Group trying to use Tift park: ordered out by police.
Students trying to get service at drug stores: ordered out by police.
Seven sitting at lunch counter: arrested.
Eight students trying to use swimming pool: ordered away.
One hundred and fifty people on way to City Hall: arrested.
Seven people praying in front of City Hall: arrested.
Ten people praying at City Hall: arrested.
Eighteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Sixteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Fourteen praying at Carnegie library: arrested.
Six singing at City Hall: arrested.
Nineteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Five asking service at Holiday Inn restaurant: arrested.
Eight trying to use bowling alley: arrested.
Two students picketing theater: arrested.
Three Negroes seeking to attend church service: arrested.
Seventy-five ministers praying at City Hall: arrested.

Even accepting a restrictive view of the right of free speech and assembly, there needs to be a balancing between those rights and the police powers of the state. There was no balancing in Albany. There was no consideration of imminent disturbance, or impending violence, no concern with what is the prevailing judicial rule for determining the limits of free speech—the existence of a "clear and present danger." Police Chief Pritchett has earned the plaudits of newspapers throughout the nation for what the executive director of the Georgia Municipal Association has called "the number one job of law enforcement in recent Georgia history." He has done this by simply putting into prison every man, woman, or child who dared protest in any way the infringement of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

The standards for freedom in the United States have been pushed to the ground when a police force meets its requirements merely by not torturing or blackjacking its citizens. (But it should be noted that Chief Pritchett, who has arrested more than 1000 people for praying, singing, marching, or picketing, did not make a single move toward arrest when Sheriff Campbell, just across the street, bludgeoned C. B. King and the attorney staggered, still bleeding, into Pritchett's office.) Pritchett has run the city of Albany in the silent, sure manner of an efficient police state.

A report on the Georgia Council on Human Relations noted: "The City Commission of Albany has officially given to the Chief of Police the power to be its spokesman in dealing with the Negroes. The Judge constantly refers to 'The Chief.' The Chief and I de-

cided'. . . The Chief told me'. . . The Chief will set the date.' So not only does the influence of 'The Chief' extend over the City Fathers, but it also permeates the Court itself. As long as this condition remains, there can be no healthy, democratic government in Albany. There may be no large-scale violence, but there is little chance for the growth of justice and truth."

Police brutality is evil. Chief Pritchett should be commended for not engaging in it, and also for acting as he has, forthrightly and effectively, to prevent white mobsters from gaining any degree of control. But it is also an evil thing for a policeman to deprive an entire community of human beings of their liberties. In an incident reported last summer by New York Post columnist Murray Kempton, a tiny boy showed up in the line of Negroes being booked at Albany's City Hall after a protest parade. "How old are you?" Chief Pritchett asked.

"Nine," the boy replied.

"What is your name?" the chief queried.

"Freedom, freedom," was the response.

The chief patted him on the head and said: "Go home, freedom."

Terrible Terrell

"This is a feudalistic system. But I don't know if, or how it will be changed," James Griggs Raines, former Mayor of Dawson in Terrell County, once told a Commission on Civil Rights investigator.

Surrounding Dougherty County, in which Albany is situated, lie several old Black Belt counties where the smell of slavery still lingers. Just to the north are Terrell County ("Terrible Terrell"), of which Dawson is the county seat, and Lee County, of which Leesburg is the seat. To the south are Baker ("Bad Baker") and Mitchell Counties. It was in Bad Baker, in 1943, that a young Negro mechanic named Bobby Hall was beaten to death with a metal blackjack while handcuffed, by Sheriff Claude M. Screws and two other officers. Federal prosecution of Screws (which would have resulted in one year in jail) failed on a point of law. In 1958 Screws was elected to the General Assembly of Georgia.

Terrell County has a long history of brutality against Negroes. In 1958, a Negro named James Brazier was beaten to death by local police under circumstances described in the Commission on Civil Rights' 1961 volume, *Justice*. A local grand jury failed to indict. A year after this incident, Brazier's widow was told by Terrell County's Sheriff Zeke T. Mathews: "I ought to slap your damn brains out. A nigger like you I feel like slapping them out. . . . I'm gonna carry the South's orders out like it oughta be done." Former Mayor James Griggs Raines of Dawson told Commission on Civil Rights investigators: "In my opinion the Sheriff, Mathews, is unfit and has violated the Civil Rights Acts. I've seen him beat a pregnant Negro woman. He's unfit to hold office. You can quote me." Mathews himself has observed to a Washington Post reporter: "You know, Cap, . . . there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line."

Sheriff Mathews is still sheriff of Terrell County; he was the law officer who struck SNCC worker Charles Sherrod when Sherrod was jailed in the December 1961 Albany demonstrations. And he was the one who told his prisoners: "There'll be no damn singin' and no damn prayin' in my jail."

Negroes comprise a majority of the population of Terrell County, but for a Negro to vote has always involved an act of supreme courage. As of 1960, out of a population of 8,209 Negroes, 51 were registered voters, while of 4,533 whites, 2,894 were registered. The first suit filed by the Justice Department under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was against the Board of Registrars in Terrell County charging systematic discrimination. This resulted in a 1960 injunc

tion forbidding discrimination. When this proved ineffective, the stronger Civil Rights Act of 1960 was expected to help. But the most powerful factors operating against Negro registration still exist in Terrell County: the threat of economic reprisals, an atmosphere of intimidation and repression, a history of brutality. These keep the Negro from even entering the registration office where, according to the Civil Rights Act, he is entitled to equal treatment.

In November 1961, just before the first wave of demonstrations in Albany, SNCC workers Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan began a campaign to register Negro voters in Terrell County. They stayed at the home of Mrs. Carolyn Daniel, a young Negro woman who operates a beauty parlor in Dawson. Early in January 1962, police cars began prowling around the Daniel home. The following month, Sherrod, visiting another SNCC worker who had been jailed on a traffic violation, was put into jail for "disorderly conduct." In March, Sherrod sent out a news release from the SNCC office in Atlanta criticizing "the slow progress of the U.S. Justice Department in following through on complaints of brutality, intimidation, and harassment aimed at Terrell County Negroes." In April, Sherrod again pointed to intimidation in Terrell County, asking action from the Department of Justice.

At the start of the summer, the tiny SNCC group registering voters in Terrell County was joined by Ralph Allen, a white student from Trinity College, Connecticut. On July 4, he and Joseph Pitts, an Albany student, reported that they were attacked by a white man while talking to Dawson Negroes about voter registration. The man had struck Pitts on the head with a cane and slapped Allen. Complaining to the sheriff, they were referred to Chief of Police W. B. Cherry of Dawson, who was himself involved in the Brazier killing. Cherry referred them to the sheriff. Wanting to swear out a warrant against their assailant to prevent future attacks, they went to the home of Justice of the Peace Daniel English, who ran out and shouted to Pitts: "Get off my porch, nigger." The Atlanta SNCC office again asked the Justice Department to act.

On Saturday, July 21, Ralph Allen was walking down Railroad Street in Dawson when a truck tried to run him down. The driver jumped out and said: "You came here to show our niggers how to vote. I should kill you." Allen put his hands behind his back in the customary SNCC posture of non-violent response. The man hit him on the side of the head. He put his hands behind his back again. The man knocked him to the ground and began kicking him. Two others came along, one putting his foot on Allen's throat, the other kicking him in the side. One drew a knife and said: "Should we kill him now?" They finally let him go. The F.B.I. in Albany was notified of the incident.

The following Wednesday, July 25, a remarkable voter registration meeting took place at the Mount Olive Baptist Church in Sasser,

a rural hamlet on the road between Albany and Dawson, in Terrell County. The meeting was reported vividly to the nation by Claude Sitton of the *New York Times*, Pat Watters of the *Atlanta Journal*, and Bill Shipp of the *Atlanta Constitution*. The 40 persons at the meeting consisted mostly of Negroes from the area. Also attending were SNCC workers Charles Sherrod, Charles Jones, Ralph Allen, and Penelope Patch, a 19-year-old Swarthmore college student. As Sherrod was reading from the scriptures, 13 white men, led by Sheriff Mathews and including the sheriff of nearby Sumter County, entered the church. Sheriff Mathews began questioning people, took names, warned Allen to leave the county, told the group it would not be to their interest to continue the meeting, and said to reporters: "We are a little fed up with this voter registration business . . . we want our colored people to live like they've been living for the last hundred years—peaceful and happy." When the meeting was over, a deputy sheriff said to one Negro leaving the church: "I know you. We're going to get some of you." Before going to the Sasser meeting, one of the newsmen had invited the F.B.I. along, but the invitation was declined.

On Sunday, July 29, Ralph Allen and Charles Sherrod were arrested by Sheriff Zeke Mathews while accompanying Negroes to the voter registration office. They spent five days in jail before being released on bond. When Allen asked what was the charge against them he was told: "Investigation, vagrancy, and all that crap." Reporter Bill Shipp of the *Atlanta Constitution* wrote: "Terrell County Sheriff Zeke T. Mathews refused to let reporters see the warrant on which Sherrod and Allen were arrested. He also refused to show them the docket where the cases had been booked."

Perhaps spurred by the July 25 incident at Sasser, the Justice Department, on August 13, asked the U.S. District Court to prohibit law enforcement officials from intimidating prospective voters in Terrell County and to halt prosecution of Sherrod and Allen for their recent arrest. Judge Elliott refused to grant an immediate temporary injunction, saying there was no evidence of immediate danger to the civil rights of those involved.

Two days later, a church used as a voter registration center in neighboring Lee County burned to the ground*. Two weeks later, the homes of four Negro families active in voter registration were riddled by bullets, which narrowly missed taking the lives of sleeping children. On September 5, a SNCC registration worker was wounded by a shotgun blast in Dawson. And on Sunday, September 9, the same Mount Olive Church in Sasser which had been the scene of Sheriff Mathews' invasion in July was burned to the ground. As of the writing of this report, Judge Elliott has still not issued an injunction.

*On October 3, the F.B.I. arrested two men, charged with setting the fire.

Where Was the Federal Government?

Over 700 Negroes in Albany, and a few sympathetic whites, spent time in prison in December of 1961, as a mass substitute for federal action to compel recognition of a legal right.

OF all the forces involved in Albany, the national government is the only one whose actions do not match its expressed convictions. The Negroes of Albany have strained to the limits of their capacity to endure pain and rebuff. The white community has behaved in accord with the customs of the majority of southern whites in resisting attempts to change the status quo. The chief of police has acted like a chief of police. But the federal government has not operated according to its pretensions.

The national government has failed to protect the liberties of its citizens in the city of Albany. From the feebleness of its actions, a detached observer might conclude that the federal government is still operating under the Constitution of the United States as once expounded by Chief Justice Taft.

The First Amendment of the constitution of the United States says: "Congress shall make no law . . . 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." Supreme Court decisions in the early part of this century made it clear beyond question that these rights of free speech, petition, and assembly, are also guaranteed against state or local action by the words of the Fourteenth Amendment, that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, with due process of law." In Albany, hundreds of Negroes were locked up in some of the most miserable jails in the country for peacefully attempting to petition the government for a redress of grievances. Is the national government powerless to protect the right of petition?

Section 242 of the U.S. Criminal Code, which comes from the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Enforcement Act of 1870, creates a legal basis for federal prosecution of: "Whoever, under color of any law . . . wilfully subjects . . . any inhabitant of any State . . . to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States. . . ." Three times in succession in November and December 1961, the

police of the city of Albany, by arresting Negroes and whites in connection with their use of the terminal facilities in that city, violated a right which has been made clear beyond a shadow of a doubt in the courts, and nailed down tight by a ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yet, the federal government took no action.

When a sheriff, in the presence of witnesses, slapped a young Negro for asking the right to sing and pray in prison, the federal government was silent. Throughout the December troubles, there were phone calls from the Justice Department to Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley, conversations between the Department and leaders of the Albany Movement. The F.B.I. dutifully sat in its office in Albany and took dozens upon dozens of affidavits from Negro citizens complaining that their constitutional rights had been violated by city and county officials. But eight months later, there was not a sign of action on these charges.

In the spring and summer of 1962, hundreds of Negroes, and some whites, were again deprived of their constitutional rights by city and county officials. They were put into jail again and again for taking actions supposedly protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. A pregnant woman was beaten, a lawyer was caned, a white youth had his jaw and ribs broken, three young people were forcibly dragged from a courtroom under the eyes of a county judge. Still no action. Eighteen-year-old Cordell Reagan, a veteran SNCC worker, emerged from Dougherty County jail in late August, after 16 days of confinement for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" (which, translated, meant that Reagan had been sitting on the fender of a nearby car while two students were picketing a theater) made this comment to me about the Department of Justice and local police: "They're letting them get away with murder."

In December 1961, in the midst of hundreds of jailings in the Albany demonstrations, the *New York Times* reported from Albany: "The Justice Department was watching developments here closely." In September 1962, after shotgun blasts ripped into a home in Terrell County where Negro and white registration workers were staying, a Justice Department spokesman said in Washington: "We are watching the situation very, very closely."

In June 1962, six months after several flagrant violations of the ICC ruling, the *Atlanta Journal's* Washington correspondent reported: "The U.S. Justice Department has launched an investigation of alleged bus station segregation in Albany." In July, several Justice Department lawyers were sent to Albany. On the 26th of that month, according to an *Atlanta Constitution* report, Albany's Mayor Kelley conferred in Washington with Attorney General Kennedy. The *Constitution* said: "Kelley said he told Kennedy that Albany's racial problems are dealt with by local people. Kelley said Kennedy agreed with him."

Atlanta *Journal* Washington correspondent Douglas Kiker reported in July: "Justice Department officials described the Albany trouble Monday as 'a tense situation' but added that Mayor Asa Kelley and Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett 'have certainly indicated a strong desire to maintain order.' They said they had received no evidence that Albany police are not furnishing adequate law protection." This was immediately after attorney C. B. King, with more than 100 city and county police nearby, had received his bloody beating at the hands of the Dougherty County sheriff. Kiker disclosed that the Department of Justice was "investigating" the beating of King. But if there was ever a case where one hour of investigation would be sufficient to establish grounds for federal action, this was it.

Near the end of the summer, after receiving dozens of angry telegrams, after the picketing of the White House by citizens from both North and South, and after face-to-face pleas from Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and William Kunstler of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Justice Department made two legal moves: 1) it entered a friend-of-the-court brief to support the Albany Movement's request that an injunction against further demonstrations be denied, and 2) it asked for an injunction (after a violation of voting rights in Terrell County so outrageous that usually calm reporters on the scene were upset) to prevent certain officials in southeast Georgia from interfering with registration activities.

The available administrative machinery for enforcing federal law should be outlined: the Department of Justice has the duty to enforce laws passed by Congress and provisions of the U.S. Constitution. In the Department there is a Civil Rights Division, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, which handles the bulk of the legal work of the Department dealing with civil rights cases. The Division depends for its information on another branch of the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has offices in cities

all over the country. F.B.I. agents undertake investigations on orders from the Department, to determine if federal law has been violated. The F.B.I. can make arrests, usually on orders from the Department, sometimes on its own in situations of urgency. After investigation, in civil rights cases, it is up to the Civil Rights Division to decide whether prosecution should be initiated. If so, this is usually done through the United States Attorney in that judicial district, who prosecutes the case in federal District Court, after indictment by a grand jury or the filing of an information. Also upon the Department's advice or order, the U.S. Attorney may file civil suits (although this may be done by a Civil Rights Division lawyer from Washington) asking that the federal court issue injunctions forbidding certain parties to engage in specified practices which may deprive individuals of their rights under the Constitution. Attached to the federal district court are U.S. marshals, who serve subpoenas, give notice of injunctive action, and otherwise carry out the orders of the court or the Attorney General. From District Court, there is

the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals, and then, in certain cases, to the United States Supreme Court.

The Department of Justice has on occasion defended its restraint in the Albany situation and in other crises by the following arguments, which deserve examination and reply:

1. Argument: Prosecutions in the Deep South stand little chance of succeeding, since juries are white and prejudiced.

Reply: Even if acquittal results, prosecution may act as a deterrent. Right now, southern police officers, knowing the government's reluctance to prosecute, feel free to do as they wish with Negro citizens, and Albany has demonstrated this. If nothing else, a series of prosecutions would exert a powerful educational and moral force in a situation where Negroes feel deserted by the national government and southern whites are not clear where the government stands.

2. Argument: The Supreme Court decision in the *Screws* case of 1945 interpreted section 242 in such a way as to make convictions difficult, because of the need to show "intent" on the part of the accused, with "intent" interpreted very narrowly.

Reply: The only way to get new interpretations of the law is to bring new cases before the courts.

3. Argument: The Department of Justice needs specific legislative authorization from Congress—as it has in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 regarding voting—to take injunctive action against local officials in other situations involving civil rights and civil liberties.

Reply: In the *Debs* case of 1895 there was no specific legislative basis for an injunction; yet the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could get one, saying: "Every government . . . has a right to apply to its own courts" in matters which the constitution has entrusted to the care of the national government. The Court said: "The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

The government may choose to interpret its own powers narrowly, or it may interpret

them broadly. The degree of its compassion may dictate the choice. When you combine the present reluctance of the Department of Justice with the unhesitant exercise of power by local police, the result is to blind the First and Fourteenth Amendments with the first flash of a police officer's badge.

Moreover, Albany has implications for American freedom beyond the question of equal rights for Negroes. Can American citizens, anywhere in the land, have freedom of speech and assembly in the face of a determined police force and an uncertain national government?

4. Argument: Our federal arrangement requires that the national government should interfere as little as possible with "local" situations.

Reply: It was precisely the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment to take the enforcement of racial equality out of the hands of local governments, which had proved the most flagrant violators, and put ultimate authority in the hands of the national government. Local governments may do anything they want in the field of ordinary crime. They may punish people for disorderly conduct, for blocking sidewalks, for disobeying police officers. But the moment such offenses are applied to one race in a way that they are not applied to another, the Fourteenth Amendment is violated, and the federal government, with all the power at its command, has proper constitutional jurisdiction. To take the view that the arrests of Negro citizens, for reasons obviously connected with their race, are purely "local" matters, is to take a pre-Civil War view of the American federal system.

5. Argument: There is no need for federal interference so long as large-scale violence does not break out, so long as local police maintain order.

Reply: If the government's only requirement is the maintenance of "order," even without the existence of freedom, then we have moved close to the ideology of the totalitarian state.

Something needs to be said about the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and then about the influence of the President of the United States.

There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "They're a bunch of racists," a young Negro told me bitterly. Whether true or not, this is the feeling of many Negroes who have had contact with the F.B.I., and, even if distorted, it is a general reflection of the efficacy of the F.B.I.'s role in the area of civil rights. F.B.I. men appear to Albany Negroes as vaguely-interested observers of injustice, who diffidently write down complaints and do no more. With all the clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the F.B.I. has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens. The one arrest made by the F.B.I. in connection with the Albany situation came in early September, and this when an F.B.I. man himself was attacked by a white man near the site of a burned church.

In its 1961 volume, *Justice*, the Commission on Civil Rights implied that the F.B.I. may be fundamentally incapable of enforcing the civil rights of American citizens. This is because of its natural attachments to local police on whom it is dependent for the solution of ordinary crimes, and because it is these same local police who are the most frequent violators of the rights of Negroes in the South. The Commission suggested the possibility of "a new administrative arrangement within the Department of Justice to ease the problem of F.B.I. agents having to investigate police officers with whom they work daily on other cases."

One solution might be the creation of a special corps of federal agents—similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Department—for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country where they are consistently violated. Such agents need not be "outsiders," for there is a whole new generation of young Southerners—Negro and white—who are intelligent, courageous, capable, and genuinely concerned about civil rights, and from whom such agents could be selected. The F.B.I. is most effective as an agency for the solution of ordinary crimes, and perhaps it should stick to that.

As for the President of the United States, he could play, but so far has not played, a key role in crises such as Albany. The Commission on Civil Rights last year called for "the exertion of leadership by the President and others in the National Government. . . . These recommendations are based on the belief that the Presidency, and indeed the whole Federal establishment, is preeminently a place for moral leadership. The Commission has been impressed with the influence which those in responsible positions can exert on the civil rights climate of the Nation. By using the instruments for education and persuasion which are available to them they can stir the conscience of the country."

President Kennedy's first substantive public statement came after eight months of trouble in Albany when, responding to a question

at his August 1, 1961, press conference, he called the situation "unsatisfactory," declared he could not understand why Albany city officials would not negotiate with Negroes, and said: "We are going to attempt as we have in the past to try to provide a satisfactory solution for the protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and we will continue to do so." The trouble with this latter statement was that "in the past" the national government had done extremely little, and if its future attempts were to be of the same magnitude, this was a puny promise indeed.

In another press conference on Thursday, September 14, 1962, again in response to a question, President Kennedy strongly denounced the burning of the Negro churches in Lee and Terrell Counties, calling the actions "cowardly as well as outrageous." This was commendable. But it also indicates the level of tolerance at which our national leaders—and perhaps most white Americans—operate. They will be aroused by open violence, particularly against places of worship (Governor Vandiver of Georgia, hardly a friend of the Albany Movement, offered a \$250 reward for the apprehension of the arsonists). But they will not be made sufficiently indignant by mass jailings, by the deprivation of free speech and assembly, by beatings and intimidation, by the perpetuation of segregation. The nation as a whole—not only the President—needs to expand its capacity for outrage.

Only once in the Albany troubles did the national administration show a real burst of energy; that was when Martin Luther King, Jr. was jailed on July 10. The President asked for a report, the Attorney General got busy, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights made phone calls, and the next day King was out of jail. But there was no such deep concern for the hundreds of ordinary citizens in Albany who went to jail about the same time for basically the same reason. Special favors to distinguished individuals are too easy a substitute for genuine assistance to troubled groups. Jackie Robinson, who last summer received elaborate greetings from the President on the occasion of his election to the Baseball Hall of Fame, noted the Albany situation and wrote: "I'd rather have freedom than flowers."

The President's general silence, (except for the two instances noted above) and the feebleness with which the Justice Department has acted are often attributed to the practical realities of national politics, which require, it is said, that the President woo the support of Southerners in Congress for other laudable national goals. But there are some means so morally hurtful that they corrupt the ends. Besides, there is serious reason to doubt that the Administration gains substantial advantage from such tactics. The Senators from the state of Georgia had an opportunity, in 1961, to vote on 12 key issues important to the Administration: they both voted with the Administration in only two of the 12 instances, and these were farm bills that they probably would have supported in any event. In a

third case, on the housing bill, Talmadge supported the President and Russell did not.

Finally, it can be argued that the President's concern for civil rights and his concern for political advantage are both demonstrated by his choice of federal judges, knowing clearly that those appointed in the South will have tremendous authority over the progress of race relations, and will have it for many years. Certain judicial appointments of this Administration have appalled Southern liberals.

The federal government, if it wants to, can take the following actions in Albany:

1. Begin immediate prosecution under Section 242 of local officials who have deprived Negroes of their constitutional rights in the Albany area. Such trials, since they involve misdemeanors, do not even require grand jury indictments, but may be initiated on the presentation of an information by the Department of Justice, and the Commission on Civil Rights has urged this procedure "in appropriate cases." The F.B.I. has in its hands piles of affidavits from Albany citizens—accumulated over a period of nine months—testifying to violations of federal law; but the Justice Department has not acted.

2. Station in the area a substantial number of federal agents to protect citizens from intimidation, beating, and false arrest. Such agents should not confine themselves to standing by and taking notes, which the F.B.I. has been doing on occasion in the Deep South in the midst of scenes of brutality, but should have the authority to make arrests on the spot.

3. Go into federal court and ask for injunctions to prevent local officials from a) enforcing segregation statutes, and b) interfering with peaceful assembly, picketing and speech. Violations of such injunctions would then be subject to judicial punishment without trial. Both such legal actions have been initiated by the Albany Movement, but they could have been started by the federal government last December, and should now be backed by it. The government, after prodding, did enter a friend-of-the-court brief in a defensive action against the city's attempt to make demonstrations punishable, but has not taken any steps to make peaceful assembly a positive right.

4. The President should address himself directly to the people of Albany, white and Negro, speaking forthrightly about racial discrimination, making it plain to Albany whites that they are entitled to express their views and hold their private beliefs, but that public law now entitles Negroes to equal use of all public facilities, and that the entire power of the federal government will stand behind this. The Southern Regional Council, in its report *The Federal Executive and Civil Rights*, said: "The South should be informed where the President stands. . . . The millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to break loose from enfeebling customs, would respond with gratitude to Presidential leadership."

5. There is a procedure outlined in the U.S. Attorney's Manual, Title 10, Civil Rights Division, which says that where there is insufficient evidence for federal prosecution but "repetitive civil rights violations" exist, the U.S. Attorney may initiate a mediative conference "with responsible local officials." The manual says: "Situations in which such a conference may be useful include those involving enforced racial segregation and illegal police practices. . . ." It says further: "Such a conference should serve the purpose of putting the officials on notice regarding the applicable federal laws and giving them an opportunity to remedy the situation. . . ." It would be difficult indeed to think of a situation more badly in need of such a procedure than Albany this past year, but there is no indication that the Department of Justice has used it, choosing instead to rely on informal and ineffectual-efforts at mediation.

6. The President should refuse to appoint segregationist federal judges. Judgeships left vacant are preferable to those filled for life by men who, on their public record, are opponents of racial equality.

7. The Commission on Civil Rights might well investigate the Albany situation and make appropriate recommendations. There are a hundred potential Albanys in the Deep South.

These proposed actions require boldness, imagination, vigorous initiative—precisely those qualities that were promised by Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency. As yet, however, no New Frontiers have been carved out in the social wilderness which surrounds Albany. They will probably be established, as elsewhere in the Deep South, by determined Negroes and farsighted whites, compelled by court rulings and smoothed by compromises, but with that intermittent conflict, and suffering, which accompany progress. What the government can do is help ease the pain.

Postscript

This report, based on time spent in Albany during the crises of December 1961 and the summer of 1962, owes a great deal to the excellent reporting of newspapermen, particularly: Claude Sitton of the *New York Times*; Pat Watters of the *Atlanta Journal*; Walter Rugaber of the *Atlanta Journal*; Fred Powledge of the *Atlanta Journal*; and Bill Shipp of the *Atlanta Constitution*. It owes much also to the many people, white and Negro, who spoke to me in Albany.

Perhaps there is a quality of harshness in the report. If so, it may come from some of the things I heard and saw in the Albany area. I recall particularly driving from dirt road onto dirt road deep into the cotton and peanut land of Lee County to talk to James Mays, a teacher and farmer. He showed me the damage done by 30 bullets which, hours before, in the middle of the night, had been fired through doors and windows and crashed into the walls around the heads of 19 sleeping persons, most of them children. With the coming of dawn he had quickly lettered a sign of protest and stood with it out on the main road to Leesburg in front of a Negro school. It was clear that, although he was a member of a nation whose power stretched around the globe and into space, James Mays was on his own.

12/7/62

CODE

RADIOGRAM

URGENT

TO SAC ATLANTA (157-315)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (157-6-2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7MAC/6a

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS. BUDED:
DECEMBER NINE NEXT.

REURTEL DECEMBER SEVEN SIXTY TWO.

DEPARTMENT DESIRES TO KNOW FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

THE SIZE OF THE CROWD WHEN SEVEN PERSONS WERE ARRESTED
ON DECEMBER SIX LAST AND COMPLETE DETAILS OF ARREST.

INTERVIEW ALL SEVEN PERSONS ARRESTED AND OBTAIN DETAILS,
ESPECIALLY THE WORDING OF THE SIGN EACH PERSON WAS CARRYING.

SIGNED STATEMENTS ARE TO BE TAKEN FROM THESE PERSONS IF
POSSIBLE.

DEPARTMENT IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN SIGNS RELATING
TO VOTING.

BUTEL RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION TO REACH BUREAU BY
DECEMBER NINE NEXT.

EX-111 REC-9 157-6-2-927

cag
(3)

If next radio contact missed, send
by deferred tel, plain text.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
369

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 7 1962

TELETYPE

L ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NOTE:

Seven persons; three juveniles and four adults, were arrested while picketing in Albany, Georgia, on 12/6/62. They were carrying signs stating "Do not shop downtown or midtown" and other signs urging Negroes to register in order to vote.

The above requests were made orally by Departmental Attorney Jerome Heilbron by SA [REDACTED] on 12/7/62.

7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 7 1962

TELETYPE

*6/8
mce*

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

DEC 7 1962
TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7MAC/BJL

URGENT 12-7-62 1-50 PM EST JWC

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/
MATTERS - Atlanta
RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA.

ON DECEMBER SEVEN SIXTYTWO, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ALBANY GEORGIA PD ADVISED THE FOLLOWING LISTED
THREE JUVENILES AND FOUR ADULTS, ALL NEGRO MALES, WERE ARRESTED
[REDACTED] ABOUT FOUR COLON THIRTYFIVE
DECEMBER SIX SIXTYTWO WHILE PICKETING AND CARRYING SIGNS
READING QUOTE DO NOT SHOP DOWNTOWN OR MIDTOWN END QUOTE,
AND URGING NEGROES TO REGISTER IN ORDER TO VOTE.
ALL WERE CHARGED WITH CREATING A DISTURBANCE WHILE A
CROWD WAS GATHERED AND FAILURE TO OBEY AN OFFICER AFTER BEING
ASKED TO LEAVE AND REFUSING.

JUVENILES HAVE BEEN TURNED OVER TO JUVENILE OFFICER,
DOUGHERTY COUNTY, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE
DEC 17 1962

Rowe & Belmont memo
CAG 12/7/62

7C
7D

RECEIVED
FBI
DEC 11 1962

REC-36 157-6-2-928

DEC 12 1962

6-11-1

PAGE TWO

7C
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7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALL ADULTS REMAINING IN JAIL IN LIEU OF
TWENTYSEVEN DOLLAR BOND.

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7D

[REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

CORR LINE ELEVEN WDS FOUR AND FIVE SHD BE " ONE ONE "

1

PAGE THREE

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

CIC ADVISED AND LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

21-57 PM OK FBI WA DA

TU DIS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *at*

DATE: 12/7/62

FROM : A. Rosen *RWB*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS - Atlanta

DATE 12/15/81 BY SP7 MAC/CLC *MD*

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

The Atlanta Office has furnished information

to the effect that 3 juveniles and 4 adults, all Negro males, were arrested by the Albany, Georgia, Police Department on 12/6/62 while picketing and carrying signs stating "Do Not Shop Downtown or Midtown," and other signs urging Negroes to register in order to vote.

All persons were charged with creating a disturbance while a crowd was gathered and failing to obey an officer after being requested to leave and refusing.

The juveniles, who were turned over to a juvenile officer of Dougherty County,

The 4 adults arrested are remaining in jail in lieu of a \$27 bond each.

It should be noted that at a meeting of the Albany Movement, the Negro group seeking desegregation in Albany, Georgia, on 11/15/62, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., addressed the meeting, encouraging those present to step up boycott activities of local Albany merchants and encouraging larger donations for expenses of integration efforts.

It is possible that the above arrests could touch off a new round of Negro demonstrations in Albany, Georgia.

ACTION: The Department is being advised.

DEC 10 3 55 PM '62
157-6-2

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

cag

7C
7D

7C
7D

7C

REC-36 157-6-2-929

DEC 12 1962

Handwritten signatures and initials: CUM, HIM, JES, RWB, Q, 6/12

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 8 1962

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED **TELETYPE**
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4/31/81 BY SP7 MAC/GO

URGENT 12-8-62 6-09 PM EST RHR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 3P

0 racial situation. ALBANY, GA. RM.

ATLANTA JOURNAL - CONSTITUTION, SUNDAY EDITION FOR
 DECEMBER NINE NEXT, ON PAGE FORTY EIGHT, CARRIES ARTICLE
 ENTITLED, QUOTE "ALBANY NEGROES TO CARRY RIGHTS COMPLAINT
 TO CAPITOL" UNQUOTE, IN WHICH THEY STATE A LONG STANDING
 COMPLAINT OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN ALBANY IS TO BE CARRIED
 TO THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE THIS WEEK. IT INVOLVES
 THE PART PLAYED BY FBI IN ALBANY CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.
 MARION PAGE, SECRETARY, ALBANY MOVEMENT, ANNOUNCED HE WILL
 TRAVEL TO WASHINGTON WITH NEGRO ATTORNEY C. B. KING AND
 DR. W. G. ANDERSON FOR CONFERENCE WITH JUSTICE DEPARTMENT-S
 BURKE MARSHALL. STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT-S INACTIVITY OR
 ITS RELUCTANCE TO ACT IN THE CONTROVERSIAL CIVIL RIGHTS
 STRUGGLE IN ALBANY, WHERE MORE THAN TWELVE HUNDRED NEGROES
 HAVE BEEN ARRESTED PAST YEAR. DR. ANDERSON SAID NEGRO
 GRIEVANCE STEMS FROM QUOTE "APPARENT FRUITLESS AND ENDLESS
 INVESTIGATION OF LOCAL FBI AGENTS IN QUOTE 'CASE AFTER CASE'
 UNQUOTE INVOLVING CIVIL RIGHTS HERE" UNQUOTE. CRITICISM

END PAGE ONE

53 DEC 17 1962

*Refer to Belmont memo 12/10/62
letter a a s Marshall 12/10/62*

EX 109 REC 58 157-6-2 930

DEC 12 1962

L

6-AM

12/8/62

Mc [redacted] 7C

PAGE TWO

OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN ALBANY SITUATION POINTED OUT THE ONLY ARREST MADE BY GOVERNMENT DURING YEAR LONG CONTROVERSY CAME WHEN WHITE MAN ATTACKED FBI AGENT. THE REACTION OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS TO THESE CRITICISMS USUALLY HAS BEEN SILENT BUT WHEN A WASHINGTON OFFICIAL OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WAS ASKED BY A REPORTER WHAT HE PRIVATELY THOUGHT OF THE ZINN REPORT, HE REPLIED QUOTE, "THEY JUST DON-T KNOW WHAT WE-VE BEEN DOING DOWN THERE UNQUOTE. THE ABOVE CRITICISM APPEARS TO BE SIMILAR WITH ARTICLES SUBMITTED BY ATLANTA ON NOVEMBER FIFTEEN AND NINETEEN LAST. ALTHOUGH THE ARTICLE MAKES COMPLAINT AGAINST FBI, IT REALLY, IN SUBSTANCE, CRITICIZES THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT.

CLIPPINGS WILL BE FORWARDED TO BUREAU EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE.

ABOVE FOR INFO BUREAU.

THE BUREAU MIGHT DESIRE TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE DEPARTMENT ATLANTA AIRTEL TO THE BUREAU DATED OCTOBER SIXTEEN, SIXTYTWO, ENTITLED [REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

7C

PAGE THREE

BURNING OF MT. OLIVE AND MT. MARY CHURCHES, SEPT. NINE, SIXTYTWO,
ETC., WHEREIN OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN RECENT CIVIL RIGHTS AND
ELECTION LAW INVESTIGATIONS IN THE ALBANY AREA WERE SET OUT.

END AND ACK PLS

6-16 PM OK FBI WA BH

TU DISC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: December 10, 1962

FROM : A. Rosen

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE 8/31/81 BY SP1MAC/ka ✓
Atlanta

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

Departmental Attorney Jerome K. Heilbron on 12/7/62 advised that a delegation from the Albany Movement, a group active in attempts to bring about desegregation in Albany, Georgia, were coming to Washington, D. C., on Monday, 12/10/62, to see Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. Mr. Heilbron stated the reason for the group coming was probably the arrests of seven Negroes in Albany on 12/6/62. He desired these persons to be interviewed and the full facts of the arrests ascertained. This has been done.

The "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Sunday edition for 12/9/62 carried an article "Albany Negroes to Carry Rights Complaint to Capitol." According to the article, the Negroes, consisting of Marion Page, Secretary of the Albany Movement; Dr. W. G. Anderson; and attorney C. B. King, are bringing a long-standing complaint of the Negro community in Albany which involves the part played by the FBI in Albany civil rights movement. The article sets forth that the Federal Government has been inactive or reluctant to act in the controversial civil rights struggle where more than 1,200 Negroes have been arrested in the past year.

Dr. Anderson is quoted as stating that Negro grievances stem from "apparent fruitless and endless investigation of local FBI Agents in case after case involving civil rights here." The article sets forth that the only arrest made during the year came when a white man attacked an FBI Agent.

The article mentions that the reaction of Justice Department officials to these criticisms has been silence and when asked by a reporter what he privately thought of the (Howard) Zinn report, the official replied, "They just don't know what we've been doing down here."

The Zinn report was published by the Southern Regional Council and in it Zinn, a history professor at Spelman College, Atlanta, alleges that Albany Negroes mistrust local FBI Agents.

Enclosure

157-6-2

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans

cag
(9)

REC-3

10 DEC 12 1962

REC. M.C. UNIT

N.Y. 377C

157-6-2-931

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

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[REDACTED]

The Atlanta Office has submitted information concerning the arrests of the 7 Negroes on 12/6/62 to the effect that crowds estimated to be from 200 to 300 white persons were gathered at two locations in Albany, Georgia, and police reported the situation as considerably tense. The seven picketers were instructed to disperse and failed to do so. They were charged with "failure to obey an officer." One of the 7 arrested refused to discuss the matter with Bureau Agents without consulting his attorney.

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

All 7 arrested were carrying identical signs which read:

"Close your account with segregation! Open an account with freedom!"

"Don't buy downtown or midtown."

"Your freedom and the freedom of your children depends on how wisely you spend your dollar. Every dollar spent in downtown or midtown is a dollar spent to finance segregation and discrimination."

"Protect your rights, register to vote now."

"The Albany Movement."

The above information concerning the arrests and the article in the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution" was orally furnished to Departmental Attorney Heilbron on 12/9/62.

It should be noted that the Department during the height of the racial situation in Albany was kept advised of developments on a daily basis by a memorandum to the Attorney General. All aspects of alleged civil rights violations have been promptly furnished to the Department and any requested investigation has been promptly and thoroughly completed with results furnished to the Department.

ACTION:

That the attached letter to Assistant Attorney General Marshall concerning the arrests of the 7 Negroes at Albany on 12/6/62 be sent.

1/2 *ch* *R* *JRM* *ja* *✓* *Sentz*
Bz

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *abw*

DATE: 12/3/62

FROM : A. Rosen *R*

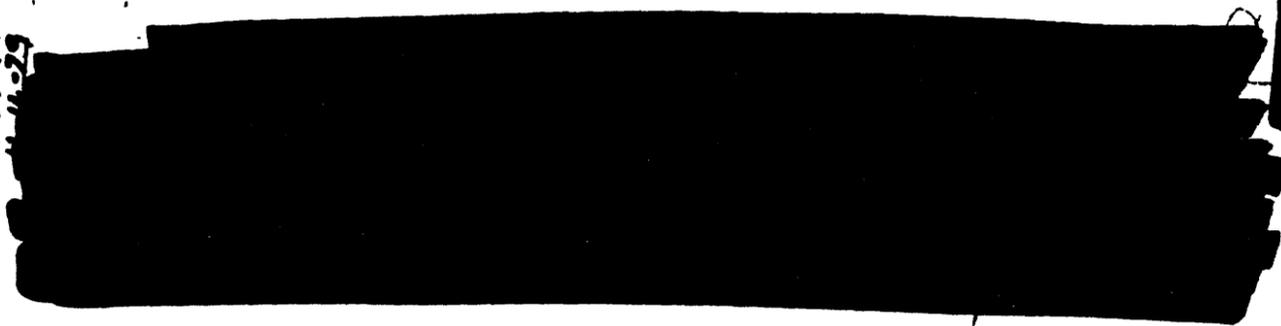
SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7 MAC/BA

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

"The Worker" of Sunday, 12/2/62, carries a two-page spread captioned, "The Southern Mobsters and their Federal Friends." Memoranda have been written concerning the report written by Howard Zinn, a professor of history and social science at Spelman College, (A Negro institution) in Atlanta, Georgia. "The Worker" has taken various excerpts from the report which, in general, is critical of the Bureau, the President, the Justice Department and the Albany, Georgia, city administration.

The article is a typically biased article which could be expected from "The Worker." The article sets forth that there is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the FBI. According to Zinn, a young Negro told him, "They're a bunch of racists." Zinn states, "Whether true or not, this is the feeling of many Negroes who have had contact with the FBI and, even if distorted, it is a general reflection of the efficacy of the FBI's role in the area of civil rights." The full comments concerning the FBI mentioned in "The Worker" are attached hereto.



The above report by Zinn, which was published by the Southern Regional Council, has also been commented upon by Reverend Martin Luther King. King went along with the general

- Enclosure
157-6-2
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
 - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
 - 1 - Mr. Evans
 - 1 - Mr. Sullivan

53 DEC 17 1962
REC-3
157-6-2-932
DEC 11 1962
6-BWTC

2076

5/10/62

70

Handwritten signatures and initials

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

theme of the article and stated, among other things, "one of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South is that the Agents are white southerners who have been influenced by the mores of their community. To maintain their status they have to be friendly with the local police and people who are promoting segregation. Every time I saw FBI men in Albany, they were with the local police force." In this connection, it should be noted that of the five Agents assigned to the Albany, Georgia, Resident Agency, four are from northern states and only one is a native of Georgia.

In this connection, it should be noted that Assistant Directors Sullivan and DeLoach have made an attempt to contact Reverend Mr. King to straighten him out concerning the work of this Bureau and they are following the matter closely until such an interview can be conducted.

In all instances where allegations of civil rights violations were brought to the attention of this Bureau, appropriate investigation was conducted and the information was furnished to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. "The Worker" mentions that one arrest was made and this resulted when an FBI man was attacked near the site of a burned church. "The Worker" does not mention the arrests which followed the solving of the burning of two Negro churches in the Albany, Georgia, area.

ACTION:

For information.

Chu
R

JAM

JD

Q

✓

THE FBI

Something needs to be said about the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and then about the influence of the President of the United States.

There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "They're a bunch of racists," a young Negro told me bitterly. Whether true or not, this is the feeling of many Negroes who have had contact with the FBI, and, even if distorted, it is a general reflection of the efficacy of the FBI's role in the area of civil rights. FBI men appear to Albany Negroes as vaguely-interested observers of injustice, who diffidently write down complaints and do no more. With all the clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens. The one arrest made by the FBI in connection with the Albany situation came in early September, and this when an FBI man himself was attacked by a white man near the site of a burned church.

In its 1961 volume, Justice, the Commission on Civil Rights implied that the FBI may be fundamentally incapable of enforcing the civil rights of American citizens. This is because of its natural attachments to local police of whom it is dependent for the solution of ordinary crimes, and because it is these same police who are the most frequent violators of the rights of Negroes in the South. The Commission suggested the possibility of "a new administrative arrangement within the Department of Justice to ease the problem of FBI agents having to investigate police officers with whom they work daily on other cases."

One solution might be the creation of a special corps of federal agents -- similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Department -- for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country where they are consistently violated. Such agents need not be "out-siders," for there is a whole new generation of young Southerners -- Negro and white -- who are intelligent, courageous, capable, and genuinely concerned about civil rights, and from whom such agents could be selected. The FBI is most effective as an agency for the solution of ordinary crimes, and perhaps it should stick to that.

157-6-2-93

J. J. [unclear]
DEC 11 1961

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 12/11/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/7 - 9/62
TITLE OF CASE <i>51</i> RACIAL SITUATION ALBANY, GEORGIA <i>MATTERS</i>		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY EVG AAB
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM 7C	[REDACTED]

REFERENCE

Atlanta teletype to Bureau, 12/7/62.
Bureau teletype to Atlanta, 12/7/62.

- P -

LEADS

ATLANTA

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

AT ALBANY, GEORGIA

Will follow and report activities of the Albany
Movement.

AT MACON, GEORGIA

Will maintain contact with the Office of the U. S.
Attorney relative to this matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/31/81 BY SP1/MLD/bdc

APPROVED *Jenn* *CSM* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE
5-Bureau (157-6-2)

1-USA, Macon, Ga.

2-Atlanta (157-3185) DEPT OF JUSTICE
E. B. I.

DEC 11 1962
DEC 51 15 27 611, DT

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

157-6-2-933 REC-24

DEC 13 1962

DEPT OF JUSTICE
E. B. I.

EX-118

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY	<i>H-2, [unclear], [unclear], C. H. V.</i>
REQUEST RECD	
DATE FWD	<i>12/13/62</i>
HOW FWD	
BY	<i>51 [unclear] 12/14/62</i>

NOTATIONS
DEC 18 11 58 AM '62
FBI SECT.

AT 157-315

ADMINISTRATIVE

All persons interviewed in connection with this investigation were advised the investigation was conducted at the specific request of the Attorney General of the United States.

- B* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1-USA, Macon, Ga.

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 12/11/62

Office: Atlanta, Georgia

Field Office File No.: AT 157-315

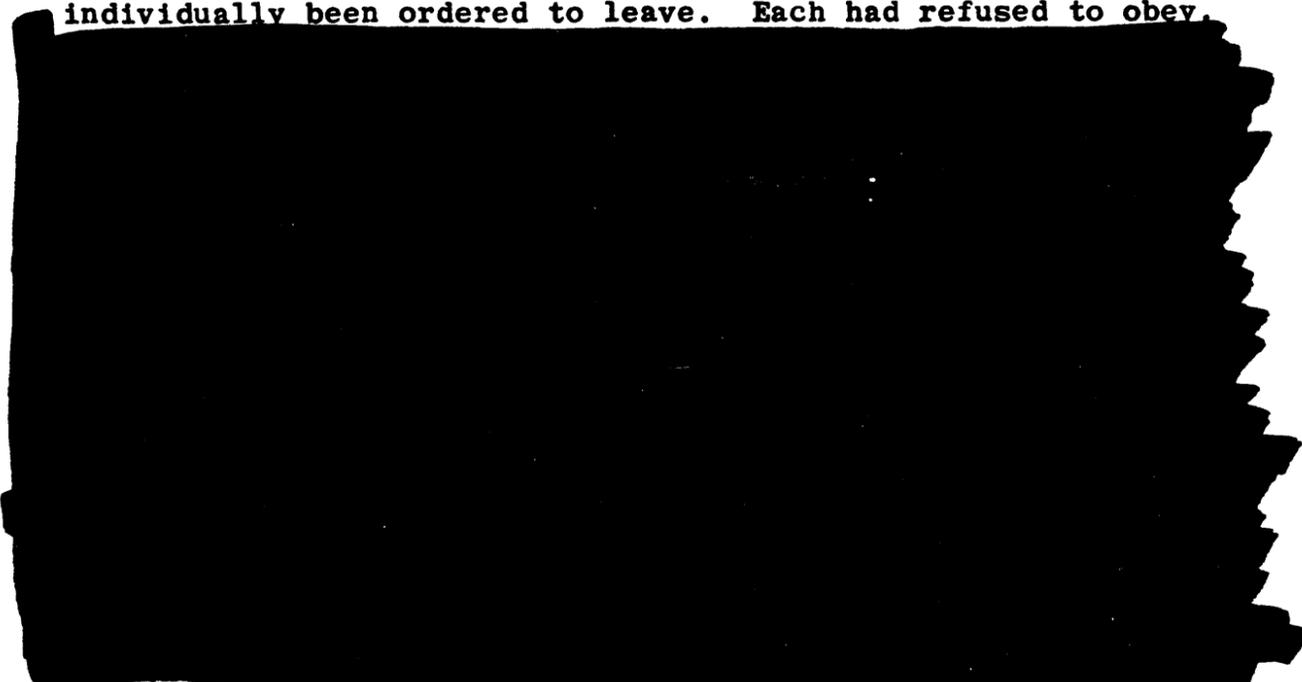
Bureau File No.: 157-6-2

Title: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/31/81 BY SP7 MCL/GCL

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: Seven Negro males, three of whom are juveniles under Georgia law, arrested Albany, Georgia, by Albany PD, 12/6/62, while picketing, charged with failure to obey an officer. Juveniles released to Juvenile Officer, Dougherty County, Georgia. Adults held Albany City Jail in lieu of \$27 bond each. Arresting officers state crowd was beginning to gather at time of arrests and each of those arrested had individually been ordered to leave. Each had refused to obey.



7C
TD

433

AT 157-315

7C
9D

[REDACTED]

None of the seven arrested allege any mistreatment whatsoever at the hands of Albany PD. All seven of those arrested were carrying identical signs. Each carried his sign on his chest and on his back. Signs were tied together with string and are being held at the Albany PD. The signs are on white cardboard with red letters and measure 14" by 22". Each sign reads as follows: "Close your account with segregation! Open an account with freedom! Don't buy downtown or midtown. Your freedom and the freedom of your children depends on how wisely you spend your dollar. Every dollar spent in downtown or midtown Albany is a dollar spent to finance segregation and discrimination. Protect your rights. Register to vote now. The Albany Movement."

- P -

DETAILS:

- 2 -

Date December 11, 1962

1

[REDACTED]

The following listed three juveniles and four adults, all Negro males, were arrested [REDACTED] at 4:35 p.m., December 6, 1962, while picketing and carrying signs in the downtown area of Albany, Georgia. These signs urged not to shop in downtown and midtown and urged voter registration.

All seven of these individuals were charged with failure to obey an officer. The details of each complaint allege that each of them was carrying a sign, gives the location where he was when arrested, and states that each was creating a general disturbance while a crowd was gathering. The complaint alleges that each was asked to leave by officers and refused to do so.

The three juveniles have been turned over to the Dougherty County Juvenile Officer. [REDACTED]

7c
7D

[REDACTED]

The four adults are being held in the Albany City Jail in lieu of \$27 bond each. [REDACTED]

The records reflect the following data concerning these arrests:

- 3 -

On 12/7/62 at Albany, Georgia File # Atlanta 157-315

by SA [REDACTED] 7c :evg Date dictated 12/9/62

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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157-6-2-953, page 4-6

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XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Date December 11, 19621

[REDACTED]

He was advised of the nature of this investigation and that the investigation was being conducted at the specific request of the Attorney General of the United States.

[REDACTED] advised the following:

The signs which the seven pickets were carrying when they were arrested are being maintained in the custody of the Albany Police Department.

[REDACTED] has custody of these signs.

7C
7D

[REDACTED] was informed by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] that at the time of the arrest of these seven individuals, a large crowd in the neighborhood of 200 people was gathering at each site of arrest. Several white people had complained to the arresting officers that photographs had been taken of the pickets and that they were photographed along with the pickets. These individuals objected to this. [REDACTED] was informed that considerable tension was mounting in the area of each of the arrest sites.

The three juveniles were released on December 6, 1962, to Dougherty County Juvenile Officers [REDACTED]

The other four individuals remain in the Albany City Jail in lieu of \$27 bond each.

- 7 -

On 12/8/62 at Albany, Georgia File # Atlanta 157-315
by SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] :AVG Date dictated 12/9/62

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

For your information: _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
157-6-2-933, pages 8-27

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302s ?

hm

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Belmont *AK*

DATE: 12/5/62

FROM : A. ROSEN *RA*

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

The 11/26/62 issue of the "I. F. Stone's Weekly" contains an article on page two captioned "President Criticized for Failing to Give Moral Leadership in the South." A shorter headline above this caption is "Report on Albany, Ga., Proposes New Civil Rights Federal Police Agents to Replace FBI." A copy of "I. F. Stone's Weekly" is attached.

The issue comments on the report published by the Southern Regional Council which was prepared by Howard Zinn, history professor at Spelman College, Atlanta. This is the report which has been commented upon favorably by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. The Southern Regional Council report by Zinn alleges "There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the FBI."

I. F. Stone, a resident of Washington, D. C., edits and publishes "I. F. Stone's Weekly," which he describes as a newsletter of political uninhibited commentary.

This same report of Zinn's has been commented upon favorably by "The Worker," an East Coast communist newspaper.

This is ^{but} another instance of the CP or one of its adherents taking the opportunity to criticize the FBI.

ACTION:

DEC 19 1962

REC-56

DEC 13 1962

Enclosure
157-6-2

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. DeLoach

cag co 9

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7D
7C
7D

7C

7C

7C

137

R

JK
JRM
G

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

Disarmament "Ambush" on Capitol Hill, P. 3

Supplementary: From the Southern Regional Council Report Criticizing The President and the FBI, Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. X, NO. 43

NOVEMBER 26, 1962

WASHINGTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/31/11 BY SP1MAC/GCC

A New Proposal for Ensuring Peace

The narrow straits between Soviet Siberia and the American Aleutians are no more distant, and if anything less desolate, than the Himalayan frontiers between India and China. But in all these years of Soviet-American tension, the border between them has never been the scene of fighting. It is only non-nuclear powers like India and China which indulge in such clashes. The nuclear powers are more careful.

At the United Nations a Brazilian proposal for a denuclearized Latin America has just been withdrawn; it had been hoped that it might bridge the way to a Cuban settlement. Would it not be better—judging by the behavior of the nuclear powers—to try nuclearizing those areas of the world still rendered unstable by the possession of conventional weapons only? China will soon be making atom bombs anyway; India is talking of total war and calling for massive aid. Why risk waiting while their conventional war escalates? Why not a Russo-American agreement to outfit both sides as rapidly as possible with thermonuclear weapons? With them in hand, Mao might become as sober as Khrushchev, Nehru as cautious as Kennedy.

As The Bible Predicted

There are, of course, complications. Pakistan would demand nuclear arms, too, if we gave them to India. If we gave them to the Pakistanis, the Russians would have to give them to the Afghans. This would bring nuclear weapons to the gates of the Middle East, where Moscow and Washington would race to see who could give them first to the Arabs while Israel was left to make its own. Eventually everybody would sit peacefully, as the Bible predicted, beneath his own fig tree, with a missile snugly beside him.

Difficulties would still arise. In nuclearizing Latin America, trouble might be encountered in persuading the Russians to take those missiles back to Cuba. The peaceful settlement of disputes among thermonuclear powers also presents problems. The Americans and the Russians solve theirs—as the recent Cuban crisis showed—by a simple rule. Whenever one side gets exasperated enough to reach for the button that may mean extinction, the other side backs down.

This, however, cannot be done too often; it makes some people nervous. Yet disputes requiring peaceful settlement arise all the time. For instance, only a few weeks ago we forced the Russians by this peaceful means to withdraw their missiles. But now a new dispute has arisen over the 11-28 bombers. Everybody admits these are obsolete. But "it is felt here," i.e. in Washington, as Chalmers Roberts reported in the *Washington Post* (Nov. 20) that while the bombers

With Three Hand Grenades

"If the FBI had failed to smash a Cuban plot geared to spreading death, terror and destruction in the Metropolitan Area, Government sources said the three arrested saboteurs planned to:

"Destroy national defense materials, sites and utilities in New York City. . . . Blow up gasoline and oil refineries. . . . The expected result . . . \$100,000,000 worth of damage. . . . Plant incendiary bombs in . . . New York City's . . . largest department stores. . . . Train 10 other pro-Castroites in the art of sabotage. These 10 were already undergoing training clandestinely. . . . The expected result: a stepped up program of sabotage that in time might completely paralyze the city. The blowing up of bridges and subway facilities, for example, might have been part of the plot for the future.

"In order to accomplish these acts the saboteurs had the following arsenal:

"Six French delayed action incendiary devices; 12 acid type fuses; three US Army hand grenades; two pistols, three loaded pistol clips; instructions in French and English [not Spanish?]. . . .

—*New York Journal-American, Nov. 18.*

are not "of major military importance" if they are not removed "the U.S. will seem to have accepted a diplomatic backdown." Should we threaten again to press the button?

A way could be found to prevent too frequent resort to the button. An international regulatory commission could be set up, presided over by some respected savant of thermonuclear war. (Who better than Herman Kahn?). This commission would establish a rationing, or time limit, system. Thus it might decide that no nation could lawfully threaten extinction more than once in any six month period.

Footnote on Two Prickly Satellites: The U.S. first supported and then shelved the Brazilian resolution at the UN for a nuclear free Latin America after Castro moved to include Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone in it. Castro's inclusion of Puerto Rico was demagoguery, not diplomacy. It follows from the Castroite line that Puerto Rico must be "liberated." The Brazilians, who have been trying hard to help Castro, must have been exasperated. It is as if he were trying to make settlement impossible, though the next step—an oil blockade—would bring the collapse of the Cuban economy. One of the beneficiaries of Fidel's obduracy was Adenauer. In the House of Commons Nov. 12 Labor Party leaders were already citing the Brazilian resolution as precedent for something like the Rapacki Plan to denuclearize Central Europe. This would end Germany's chances of getting nuclear weapons. Adenauer fears detente anywhere until that aim is achieved. The tougher

1576-20

Report on Albany, Ga. Propose New Civil Rights Federal Police Agents to Replace FBI

President Criticized for Failing to Give Moral Leadership in the South

The deepening Mississippi crisis, and the prospect of worse to come in Alabama, gives special interest to the moving report just released by the respected Southern Regional Council (5 Forsyth St., W., Atlanta 3, Ga.) on the militant struggle of the Negroes in Albany, Ga., for their rights. It was written by Howard Zinn, professor of history and social science at Spelman College and its concluding observations on the weaknesses of the FBI and the President apply everywhere in the South:

"There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the FBI. 'They're a bunch of racists,' a young Negro told me bitterly. FBI men appear to Albany Negroes as vaguely-interested observers of injustice, who diffidently write down complaints and do no more. With all the clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens. The one arrest made by the FBI in connection with the Albany situation came in early September [1962], and this when an FBI man himself was attacked by a white man near the site of a burned church.

FBI and Cops Too Close

"In its 1961 volume, *Justice*, the Commission on Civil Rights implied that the FBI may be fundamentally incapable of enforcing the civil rights of American citizens, and suggested the possibility of 'a new administrative arrangement within the Dept. of Justice to ease the problem of FBI agents having to investigate police officers with whom they work daily on other cases.'

"One solution might be the creation of a special corps of federal agents—similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Dept.—for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country.

"As for the President, he could play, but so far has not played, a key role in crises such as Albany. The Commission of Civil Rights last year called for 'the exertion of leadership by the President.'

"President Kennedy's first substantive public statement came after eight months of trouble in Albany when, responding to a question at his Aug. 1, 1962, press conference, he called the situation 'unsatisfactory', declared he could not understand why Albany city officials would not negotiate with Negroes and said: 'We are going to attempt as we have in the past to try to provide a satisfactory solution for the protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and we will continue to do so.' The trouble with this latter statement was that 'in the past' the national government had

Just One of the World's Most Powerful People

"Perhaps there is a quality of harshness in the report. If so, it may come from some of the things I heard and saw. I recall particularly driving from dirt road onto dirt road deep into the cotton and peanut land of Lee County to talk to James Mays, a teacher and farmer. He showed me the damage done by 30 bullets which, hours before, in the middle of the night, had been fired through doors and windows and crashed into the walls around the heads of 19 sleeping persons, most of them children. With the coming of dawn he had quickly lettered a sign of protest and stood with it out on the main road to Leesburg in front of a Negro school. It was clear that although he was a member of a nation whose power stretched around the globe and into space, James Mays was on his own."

—Howard Zinn's postscript to his report on Albany.

done extremely little, and if its future attempts were to be of the same magnitude, this was a puny promise indeed.

"In another press conference on Sept. 14, 1962, again in response to a question, President Kennedy strongly denounced the burning of the Negro churches in Lee and Terrell Counties. This was commendable. But it also indicates the level of tolerance at which our leaders—and perhaps most white Americans—operate. They will be aroused by open violence, particularly against places of worship (Governor Vandiver of Georgia offered a \$250 reward for the apprehension of the arsonists). But they will not be made sufficiently indignant by mass jailings, by the deprivation of free speech and assembly, by beatings and intimidation, by the perpetuation of segregation. The nation as a whole—not only the President—needs to expand its capacity for outrage.

"Only once in the Albany troubles did the national administration show a real burst of energy; that was when Martin Luther King was jailed on July 10. The President asked for a report, the Attorney General got busy, and the next day King was out of jail. But there was no such deep concern for the hundreds of ordinary citizens in Albany who went to jail for basically the same reason. Special favors to distinguished individuals are too easy a substitute for genuine assistance to troubled groups. Jackie Robinson, who last summer received elaborate greetings from the President on the occasion of his election to the Baseball Hall of Fame, noted the Albany situation and wrote, 'I'd rather have freedom than flowers!'"

What the Federal Government Could Do To End Police State Practices in Albany

"1. Begin immediate prosecution under Section 242 of local officials who have deprived Negroes of their constitutional rights. Such trials, since they involve misdemeanors, do not even require grand jury indictments. . . . The FBI has in its hands piles of affidavits from Albany citizens—accumulated over a period of nine months—testifying to violations of Federal laws. . . .

"2. Station in the area a substantial number of Federal agents to protect citizens from intimidation, beating and false arrest. Such agents should not confine themselves to standing by and taking notes . . . but should have the authority to make arrests on the spot.

"3. Go into Federal court and ask for injunctions to prevent local officers from a) enforcing segregation, and b) interfering with peaceful assembly, picketing and speech. . . .

"4. The President should address himself directly to the people of Albany, white and Negro, speaking forthrightly. . . .

"5. There is a procedure outlined in the U.S. Attorney's

Manual, Title 10, Civil Rights Division, which says that where there is insufficient evidence for Federal prosecution but 'repetitive civil rights violations' exist, the U.S. Attorney may initiate a mediative conference 'with responsible local officials. . . .'

"6. The President should refuse to appoint segregationist Federal judges. Judgeships left vacant are preferable to those filled for life by men who, on their public records, are opponents of racial equality.

"7. The Commission on Civil Rights might well investigate the Albany situation and make appropriate recommendations. There are a hundred potential Albanys in the Deep South.

"These proposed actions require boldness, imagination, vigorous initiative—precisely those qualities that were promised by Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency. As yet, however, no new Frontiers have been carved out in the social wilderness which surrounds Albany."

—From the Conclusions to the Zinn Report on Albany.

Goldwater and Thurmond Join Hands With Symington and Jackson in Hearings

A New Sounding Board for Military-Industrial Complex Against Disarmament

Too little attention was paid the disarmament hearings just released by the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. These were held behind closed doors in September. Their significance is that this subcommittee, a frequent sounding board for the military-industrial complex, is moving into the field of disarmament, and can do a great deal of damage just when hopes of agreement are beginning to rise again. Chairman Stennis announced that these were the first of a series, and claimed jurisdiction because Military Affairs is responsible "for matters affecting the size, composition and equipage of the Armed Forces." He said the committee wanted to know whether technology had advanced to the point where "rigid and foolproof" inspection was possible. "We cannot afford a reckless gamble," he said, "with our national security and survival." The hearings opened with Senators Goldwater and Thurmond as invited guests and with Senators Symington and Jackson on the panel. The course of questioning showed the two rightists and the two Democratic "liberals", both mouthpieces of the aviation lobby, were making common cause against disarmament.

Humphrey's Subcommittee Moribund

Pressure is needed to reactivate Humphrey's disarmament subcommittee. For three years, from 1955 to 1958, it was a special subcommittee, with membership drawn from the committees on Foreign Relations, Military Affairs and Atomic Energy. Fulbright was hostile, wanted disarmament kept within his Foreign Relations committee. In 1958, he won his fight to make disarmament a subcommittee of Foreign Relations. In that new status, it soon lost its separate offices and separate staff. It has now become pretty much moribund. Humphrey is still chairman and uses it occasionally as a sounding board. But between Humphrey's duties as whip and the indifference of Fulbright and the Foreign Relations staff, the disarmament subcommittee has become a stepchild. If the Stennis subcommittee is allowed to take over, we will have an anti, rather than a pro, disarmament subcommittee in the field.

It is indicative that at the very beginning of the first day's questioning, Senator Goldwater (an Air Force Reserve Brigadier General as Thurmond is an Army Reserve Major General) wanted to know whether the Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, was consulted on that portion of the U.S. disarmament plan which calls for reduction of strategic weapons delivery systems. "I believe he was, sir," was the reply of Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Goldwater was not satisfied with the reply, and there were signs that in future hearings this subcommittee would try to air military, particularly Air Force, dissatisfaction with Kennedy disarmament proposals.

Symington's questions showed the earmarks of Tellerite inspiration. He seemed to think the American people were too worried about fallout. "One of the great experts in this field" told him "that damage from all the fallout to date to human beings would be less than if a family took a vacation in the high Rockies of Colorado." He also came prepared

Why Should Moscow Agree If It's Behind?

Sen. THURMOND (D. S.C.): Do you really feel deep down in your heart, Mr. Secretary, that the Communists are going to agree to stop testing until they feel they are ahead or they feel testing can be done through some other Communist nation so that they feel they can get ahead or stay ahead?

Secretary of State RUSK: I am sure that they understand beyond any doubt whatever that they could not use any other nation to test in their place because the treaty would be immediately dissolved if any other nation tested. I think there may come a point where the Soviets would consider that it is in their interest to stop testing. They are concerned, I suspect, about how to do everything that they want to try to do with the resources they have available. When you look out ahead as to what the next steps are in this nuclear field and missile field, there are steps that already tax the capacity of the mind of man, and they involve enormous resources, new resources, additional resources committed to the anti-missile missile; the missile that can penetrate the anti-missile missile, and on and on, a qualitative race that means many tens of billions of dollars of investment of a rather precious and chancy result in terms of what may come out of it. Yet if the arms race goes on, we will have to do it, and they will have to do it.

—Newly released Senate Military Affairs testimony.

with an anonymous memorandum on how easily underground tests could be hidden in the soil called alluvium.

Last year the Tellerites were explaining how easily tests could be hidden in salt or granite. Now that it has turned out that these mediums magnify instead of muffling underground shots, they are talking of alluvium. Wm. C. Foster, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, explained that when shots are set off in alluvium "there develops a tremendous depression which is visible from the surface quite readily." In addition a memorandum from the ACDA put into the record at pages 49-51 said a seismic station in Canada with only one seismometer, had been able 2700 miles away to detect "several nuclear explosions of the order of 5 kilotons in Nevada alluvium."

When Symington brought up Teller's "big hole" theory of concealment, Foster said preparation of such a hole is expensive and difficult "as is evidenced by the fact that we have been trying for 3 years to get one to prove the theory." Thurmond and Jackson's questions indicated they placed their hope of blocking a nuclear test ban agreement in Chinese Communist recalcitrance. Nitze, Foster, his scientific assistant Franklin Long, and Secretary Rusk did an excellent job of advocacy at these first hearings. They were the only witnesses. But watch for trouble when the military and the Teller crowd have their inning.

Why The U.S. Has Most to Gain From A Final End of All Nuclear Testing

Wm. C. FOSTER (Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency): Even though any test ban would entail some risk of cheating by the Soviet Union, we believe that risk is outweighed by the dangers to our security resulting from a continuation of unlimited testing.

Paul H. NITZE (Ass't Sec'y of Defense for International Security Affairs): If testing continues by both sides, there would be further increases in efficiency of the higher yield warheads. The U.S. advantage in small weight-high yield

weapons will undoubtedly diminish. . . . Overall, the trend, with unlimited testing, will be toward equality in major nuclear forces between the U.S. and the USSR. . . . More important, both sides might develop the pure fusion weapon which could be very much cheaper in nuclear material than present weapons and free the USSR from her dependence on fissionable materials for weapons. . . .

—Disarmament Hearings Before Senate Armed Services held in September and released in censored form Nov. 16.

Mystery: How Did Department Stores, Wall Street and Oil Refineries Get Into the Cuban Plot?

New York Press (Except for The Times) Whoops Up Sabotage Story

The New York Times in its news columns treated the Cuban sabotage arrests with astringency and restraint. But the other Sunday (Nov. 18) papers outdid themselves in melodrama. The New York Herald-Tribune pulled out the stops in its description of what the saboteurs were going to do, "Set a fast-speeding fire into Wall St. . . . burn and kill and maim, strike in the daylight and the dark. It sounds like Middle Europe, or a bad novel. . . ." It did indeed. The New York Journal-American, as can be seen from our front page box, whacked itself over the head with a resounding anti-climax; how were the notoriously inefficient Cubans going to accomplish so much with six bombs and three hand grenades? Next day it carried an eight column picture of "N.J. Refineries . . . Target of Saboteurs" across page one. But its story, after asking dramatically, "Could Cuban saboteurs wreck one of those big oil refineries?" had to answer, "they probably would not succeed." It sounded regretful.

J. Edgar Identifies Them

The press handling was juiced up by the Department of Justice. The very wording seemed to reflect an inner office tussle among the publicity-conscious prima donnas. The first paragraph said "Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has announced that FBI agents. . . ." The second paragraph said "J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, identified the arrested persons as. . . ." He was in a hospital with a minor operation. About all he could identify was the man who wrote the press release. The Federal complaint said that the arrested men conspired to gather information concerning U.S. military installations but for some reason espionage was not charged. Perhaps it was too commonplace.

The charge was conspiracy to obtain "incendiary devices . . . for the purpose of injuring and destroying national defense materials." * Somehow this, too, wasn't dramatic enough for the papers. Somehow department stores got into the picture, perhaps because our CIA was once accused of throwing incendiary bombs into Havana department stores, or because

* Just to make sure to get them on something if the wilder charges don't stick they were also charged with being un-registered foreign agents.

Why Bother Waiting For Trial?

"... in typical Communist fashion, the Castro forces have started to export terror."
—New York Times editorial, Nov. 19.

"On the basis of the evidence so far, this was no crack-brained or isolated scheme. . . . The plot was not aimed exclusively against military or naval installations. . . . It was, instead, designed to strike directly at the populace, by setting off a grenade in a department store, starting a fire in Wall St., or blowing up an oil refinery on the Jersey shore in full view of horrified Manhattanites."
—New York Herald-Tribune editorial, Nov. 19.

"The extent of the monstrous terror which Castro planned to unloose on the 16,000,000 people of the metropolitan area shocks the imagination."
—New York Journal-American editorial, Nov. 19.

"The Castro government is fantastically ill-advised if it believes such tactics can help. . . . Disclosure of the arson and sabotage plans of that regime can only silence the voices of restraint."
—New York Post editorial, Nov. 19.

it just sounded nice and gory. The oil refinery angle was pure gravy, unplanned, the result according to Milton Bracker's follow-up story in the New York Times Nov. 19 of a telephone call to the big Esso Bayway Refinery, "Either the caller or the receiver of the call or both, had misinterpreted the announcement of the arrests." In all other papers the refineries continued to be endangered.

It is not difficult to imagine how all this looked to a UN delegate from another country: The TV thriller handling of the story, the anxiety of the secret police chief to get in on the act, the roughing up of a diplomat, the denial of immunity though he travelled here on a diplomatic visa we had issued, the fomenting of hysteria about Cuban refugees.

No one, of course, dared comment that when our CIA does such things in other countries, we glorify them in slick magazine stories. And of course no one questioned the charges, or suggested waiting until the evidence was in. They're Castroites, aren't they? Isn't that crime enough?

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I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
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NEWSPAPER



7C

12/20/62

CODE

RADIOGRAM

DEFERRED
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7 MCK/CL

TO SAC ATLANTA (157-315)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS.

REURTEL DECEMBER NINETEEN LAST CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SUMTER COUNTY GRAND JURY, YOU SHOULD TAKE
ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO INSURE THAT THE RECORD IS MADE CLEAR
IN THIS MATTER.

IMMEDIATELY SUBMIT A DETAILED LETTERHEAD MEMO SETTING
FORTH DETAILS OF THE RESOLUTION AND INFORMATION INDICATING
IT HAD NO BASIS IN FACT.

If next radio contact missed, send
by deferred teletype, plain text.

7C [redacted] : cag/coj
(3)

REC-13 157-6-2-937
19 DEC 21 1962

EX-114

NOTE:

Following November, 1962, term, Superior Court
Grand Jury, Sumter County, Georgia, passed resolution condemning
alleged flagrant violations of good law enforcement and unethical
practices of FBI Agents. Resolution believed aimed at FBI
investigations of church burnings and shootings into Negro
homes in Georgia.

Atlanta has ascertained from interviews of
appropriate officials that there was absolutely no basis
for the resolution.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

DEC 31 1962
53

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 20 1962

TELETYPE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

930m mt

PAGE THREE

CARBINES WITH PROPERLY EXECUTED WAIVER.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WAS INFORMED THAT HE COULD TELEPHONICALLY
CONTACT RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, AS
COULD ANY CITIZEN. AFTER BUREAU-S POSITION WAS EXPLAINED TO [REDACTED]
HE STATED HE DID NOT KNOW THE SOURCE OF ANY OF THE RUMORS AS THEY
WERE MERELY GENERAL TALK IN THE COMMUNITY.

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

CORR PAGE THREE LINE 6 FIRST WORD SHULD READ /COOXXXX-/CONTACT/
END PAGE THREE

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) b7C, b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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For your information: _____

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157-6-2-938

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

PAGE FIVE

ALL PERSONS INTERVIEWED DURING THIS INQUIRY AS REPORTED
HEREIN AND IN ATLANTA TEL OF DEC. SEVENTEEN, LAST, WERE
SPECIFICALLY INFORMED AT THE OUTSET THEY DID NOT HAVE TO FURNISH
ANY INFORMATION AND ANYTHING THEY DID FURNISH SHOULD BE VOLUNTARY
ON THEIR PART.

END AND ACK

5 8

~~THIS IS JUST 5 PGS INSTEAD OF 15 AS IT SAYS AT TOP OF PG 1 RITE~~
SORRY WA 5 PAGE CORRECT

RITE TU

6-53 PM OK FBI WA RL

TU DISC

COMM. ROSEN + *W.C. Sullivan*

DEC 18 6 53 PM '63

FBI

Date: 12/21/62

Transmit the following in AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Handwritten: 12/21/62
2
4

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (157-315)
SUBJECT : RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GA.
RM *O RACIAL MATTERS*
Re Bureau teletype 12/20/62.

Enclosed are eight copies of letterhead memo suitable for dissemination.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, every effort will be made to have the record cleared in this matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/30/81 BY SP7 WML/BA

Handwritten: Hester
REQ. REC'D 9-21-66
CCT 3 1 1966
ANS. BY: YRL GMS

- 3 Bureau (Encls. 8)
- 1 - Atlanta
- Handwritten:* mel
- (4)

REC-13

157-6-2-939

DEC 26 1962

Handwritten: 12/24/62

Handwritten: C. C. Wick

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

55 JAN 7 1963

Handwritten: ENCL 77

Handwritten: EX 109

Handwritten: [Signature]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
December 21, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RACIAL SITUATION
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

7D

[REDACTED]

7C

[REDACTED]

7C

[REDACTED] had nothing to do with this resolution, which criticized the FBI.

7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that he had no specific information concerning basis for the resolution.

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7 NMO/gcl ENCLOSURE

157-62-937

RE: RACIAL SITUATION,
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

61
[REDACTED] stated he was aware that two Special Agents of the FBI were present in the Sumter County Courthouse on November 30, 1962, when the grand jury was considering this resolution.

[REDACTED]

9C
7D
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on December 17, 1962, that all of her associations with FBI Agents have been most cordial, and pleasant. She added that she has the highest regard for the FBI, and could make no complaint whatsoever concerning any FBI employee, and added that there has never been any incident where an FBI employee was rude to her.

[REDACTED] advised on December 17, 1962, that he was amazed at the resolution passed by the Sumter County Grand Jury, and he considered it improper. He added, however, that he has no control over grand jury action, and was not in a position to counteract this resolution since it may be interpreted as judicial interference with grand jury activity. [REDACTED] stated he has the highest regard for the FBI, and did not approve of this resolution.

RE: RACIAL SITUATION,
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was informed of the general nature of the Civil Rights and Election Law Statutes, and FBI and Departmental jurisdiction was explained to him.

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was informed that FBI Agents did not at any time search any automobiles, and one residence was searched for guns after the owner executed a Consent to Search.

[REDACTED] added that he did not know the source of any of the rumors, adding that they were merely talk in the community.

[REDACTED]

RE: RACIAL SITUATION,
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

70
70

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was informed of the jurisdiction of the
Department of Justice and the FBI in these matters, and the
general nature of the Civil Rights and Election Law Statutes.
[REDACTED]

RE: RACIAL SITUATION,
ALBANY, GEORGIA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated he realizes the grand jury was in error, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was informed that it would be proper for him to take all possible action to correct the record. He stated he would do everything in his power to accomplish this.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

7C
7D

URGENT 12-13-62 1-42PM EST JEW
TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/
RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, AREA.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7MPC/BAJ

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

70
70

[Redacted] ADVISED TODAY THAT FOLLOWING RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE
NOVEMBER TERM OF SUPERIOR COURT GRAND JURY, SUMTER COUNTY,
GEORGIA.

QUOTE WE, THE MEMBERS OF THIS GRAND JURY, AFTER BEING
DULY SWORN AND CHARGED, AND HEARING TESTIMONY REGARDING THE
FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF GOOD LAW ENFORCEMENT AND UNETHICAL
PRACTICES OF CERTAIN AGENTS OF THE FBI IN AND AROUND SUMTER
COUNTY DURING THE YEAR NINETEEN SIXTYTWO, DO HEREBY CONDEMN AND
ABHOR SUCH PRACTICES. SUCH PRACTICES WE FEEL ARE UNJUST TO THE
PEOPLE OF OUR AREA AND UNNECESSARY IN THE HONEST AND DILIGENT
ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS OF THIS STATE AND OF THE UNITED STATES.
WE HEREBY DIRECT THAT A COPY OF THIS PROTEST BE FURNISHED TO
THE DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER. WE REQUEST THAT
THE SOLICITOR OF THIS COURT DIRECT THE GEORGIA BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
TO PREPARE A REPORT OF DETAILED VIOLATIONS FOR
SUBMITTAL TO THE UNITED STATES.

END PAGE ONE

59 JAN 8 1963

116

REC-3

157-315-946
REC-3
145 JAN 2 1963

[Redacted]

70

S

[Handwritten initials]

PAGE TWO

7C
7D

[REDACTED] STATES GBI HAS NO DETAILED VIOLATIONS AS RESOLUTION CHARGES AND THAT NO ACTION CONTEMPLATED BY HIS AGENCY. RESOLUTION PRESUMABLY REFERS TO ELECTION LAW, RACIAL AND CHURCH BURNING INVESTIGATIONS CONDUCTED AMERICUS AND ALBANY AREAS, CONCERNING WHICH BUREAU AWARE. ALL ACTIONS AND INVESTIGATIONS BY AGENTS IN THIS MATTER WERE UNDER PERSONAL SUPERVISION OF SAC OR FIELD SUPERVISOR AND ALL CONDUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU STANDARDS.

EFFORTS BEING MADE FOR SAC TO HAVE PERSONAL INTERVIEW WITH [REDACTED]

7C

AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME TO DETERMINE COMPLETE DETAILS OF ALLEGATIONS AGAINST BUREAU. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END AND ACK PLS

1-48 PM OK FBI WA MSL

TU DISC

[Handwritten signature]

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 12-14-62 10-39 AM EST JNC

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/
 RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA., R.

REMYTEL 0.1 FOUR TWO PM, DEC. THIRTEEN, SIXTY TWO.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7C

2228
 71
 8
 5

YOU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.
 END AND ACK 10-39 AM '62
 10-42 AM OK FBI WZ WA MLL
 TU DIBC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7MAC/bcc

771

JAN 1 1963 EX - 116

REC-3

NOT RECORDED
 145 JAN 2 1963 941

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 14 1962
TELETYPE

DEFERRED 12-14-62 3-50 PM MSL

TO SAC ATLANTA

FROM DIRECTOR, /157-6-21-44 P

911 - RACIAL SITUATION ALBANY GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS.

REURTELS DECEMBER THIRTEEN AND FOURTEEN, ONE NINE SIX TWO.

FOLLOWING INTERVIEW OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SUBMIT TELETYPE SUMMARY OF RESULTS
OF CONTACT. IF ANY ALLEGATIONS MADE AGAINST BUREAU PERSONNEL
IMMEDIATELY FOLLOW WITH DETAILED AIRTEL SETTING FORTH EACH
SPECIFIC ALLEGATION AND THE ACTUAL FACTS INVOLVED IN
SITUATION. IF SPECIFIC PERSONNEL INVOLVED OBTAIN COMMENTS
AND FURNISH YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ANY ADMINISTRATIVE
ACTION WARRANTED. WHERE NECESSARY, OBTAIN AFFIDAVITS FROM
APPROPRIATE PERSONNEL.

END PLS ACK

3-53 PM EST OK FBI AT JP

TU DISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7 MAC/600

JAN 2 1963

7C
advised
3:30 12/9/62 mel

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 11 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/31/87 BY SP7MEL/BJC

7C
[Redacted]

TELETYPE
URGENT 12/9/62 2-20PM EST RMR
TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/
FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 5P

RACIAL SITUATION. ALBANY, GA. RM.

RE TELETYPE FROM DIRECTOR TO ATLANTA DECEMBER SEVEN SIXTYTWO.

ALL SEVEN PERSONS ARRESTED ON DECEMBER SIX, SIXTYTWO, INTERVIEWED.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] STATES THAT THERE WERE
AROUND TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE GATHERED AROUND IN THE BLOCK OF WASHINGTON
BETWEEN BROAD AND PINE WHEN THE FOUR WERE ARRESTED IN THAT BLOCK
AND THAT THERE WERE AROUND THREE HUNDRED PEOPLE GATHERED AROUND
IN THE BLOCK OF BROAD BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND JACKSON AT THE TIME
THE THREE WERE ARRESTED IN THAT BLOCK. [Redacted]

[Redacted] ESTIMATES THE SIZE OF THE CROWD IN
EACH AREA OF ARREST AT ABOUT TWO HUNDRED. MOST OF THESE PEOPLE
WERE WHITE. THESE TWO BLOCKS CONSTITUTE THE PRIMARY SHOPPING
AREAS OF DOWNTOWN ALBANY AND THE CHRISTMAS SEASON BRINGS MANY
MORE SHOPPERS TO THIS AREA THAN NORMAL.

END PAGE ONE

7C
Rose to Belmont 12/10/62
Letter to [Redacted] 12/10/62
CAG

7C
7D

6-10

7C
7D

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE CHARGE
WAS QUOTE "FAILURE TO OBEY AN OFFICER" UNQUOTE. THE DETAILS OF
EACH COMPLAINT ALLEGES THAT EACH OF THEM WAS CARRYING A SIGN,
GIVES THE LOCATION, AND STATES THAT EACH WAS CREATING A GENERAL
DISTURBANCE WHILE A CROWD WAS GATHERING. THE COMPLAINTS ALLEGE
THAT EACH WAS ASKED TO LEAVE BY OFFICERS AND REFUSED TO DO SO.

[REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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For your information: _____

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 157-6-2-943

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XXXXXX

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

7C
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PAGE FOUR

[REDACTED]

NONE OF THE SEVEN ARRESTED ALLEGE ANY MISTREATMENT WHATSOEVER AT THE HANDS OF THE ALBANY POLICE DEPARTMENT.

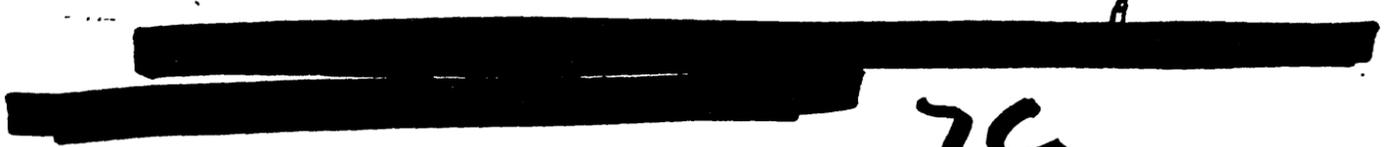
ALL SEVEN OF THOSE ARRESTED WERE CARRYING IDENTICAL SIGNS. EACH CARRIED A SIGN ON HIS CHEST AND ON HIS BACK. THE SIGNS WERE TIED TOGETHER WITH STRING AND ARE BEING HELD AT THE ALBANY POLICE DEPARTMENT. THE SIGNS ARE ON WHITE CARDBOARD WITH RED LETTERS AND MEASURE FOURTEEN BY TWENTYTWO INCHES.

EACH SIGN READS AS FOLLOWS QUOTE CLOSE YOUR ACCOUNT WITH SEGREGATION, EXCLAMATION MARK OPEN AN ACCOUNT WITH FREEDOM, EXCLAMATION MARK DON-T BUY DOWNTOWN OR MIDTOWN, THERE IS A LINE DRAWN UNDER THAT, THE SIGN CONTINUES QUOTE YOUR FREEDOM AND THE FREEDOM OF CORR LINE 2 WRD 7 /HE/

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

YOUR CHILDREN DEPENDS ON HOW WISELY YOU SPEND YOUR DOLLAR," THERE IS A LINE DRAWN UNDER THAT, THE SIGN CONTINUES QUOTE "EVERY DOLLAR SPENT IN DOWNTOWN OR MIDTOWN ALBANY IS A DOLLAR SPENT TO FINANCE SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION," THERE IS A LINE DRAWN UNDER THAT, THE SIGN CONTINUES QUOTE "PROTECT YOUR RIGHTS, REGISTER TO VOTE NOW," THERE IS A LINE DRAWN UNDER THAT, THE SIGN CONTINUES QUOTE "THE ALBANY MOVEMENT," THERE IS A LINE DRAWN UNDER THAT. THIS CONCLUDES THE WORDING OF THE SIGN.


REPORT FOLLOWS.

END ACK

2-39 PM OK FBI WA ELR

TU DIY

7C
7D

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
157-6-2-943
Director, FBI

December 10, 1962

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans

REC-38

EX 109

RACIAL SITUATION - Atlanta
ALBANY, GEORGIA
RACIAL MATTERS

7C

This will confirm information furnished to Mr. Jerome K. Heilbron of your Division on December 9, 1962. Mr. Heilbron on December 7, 1962, had requested that the details concerning the arrests of seven Negroes in Albany, Georgia, on December 6, 1962, be ascertained and that the Negroes themselves be interviewed.

All seven persons arrested on December 6, 1962, were interviewed.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated there were approximately 200 people gathered in the block of Washington between Broad and Pine Streets when four persons were arrested in that block and there were around 300 people gathered in the block of Broad Street between Washington and Jackson at the time three were arrested in that block.

[REDACTED] estimated the size of the crowd in each area of arrest at about 200 persons. Most of these people were white. These two blocks constitute the primary shopping areas of downtown Albany.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated there was considerable tension.

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

53 DEC 17 1962
157-6-2

(11)

SEE MEMO ROSEN TO BELMONT, ABOVE CAPTION & DATE, [REDACTED] ag.

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

DEC 11 2 54 PM '62

DATE 1/1/63 BY [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

7C
7D

MAILED 8
DEC 11 1962
COMM-FBI

DEC 13 5 58 PM '62

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

Mr. Burke Marshall

[REDACTED]

The charge was "failure to obey an officer."

The details of each complaint allege that each of the persons arrested was carrying a sign. The complaint gives the location and states that each was creating a general disturbance while a crowd was gathering. The complaints allege that each was asked to leave by officers and refused to do so.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

7C
7D

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

The seven persons arrested advised that they were not mistreated in the hands of the Albany Police Department.

All seven of those arrested were carrying identical signs. Each carried a sign on his chest and on his back. The signs are on white cardboard with red letters and measure fourteen by twenty-two inches. The signs are being held at the Albany Police Department. The signs read as follows:

"Close your account with segregation!
Open an account with freedom!"

"Don't buy downtown or midtown."

"Your freedom and the freedom of your children depends on how wisely you spend your dollar. Every dollar spent in downtown or midtown is a dollar spent to finance segregation and discrimination."

"Protect your rights, register to vote now."

"The Albany Movement."

Our Atlanta Office has advised that the Sunday edition of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution" for December 8, 1962, carried an article entitled, "Albany Negroes to Carry Rights Complaint to Capitol" in which it is stated that a long-standing complaint of the Negro community in Albany is to be carried to the U. S. Department of Justice this week. The complaint involves the part played by this

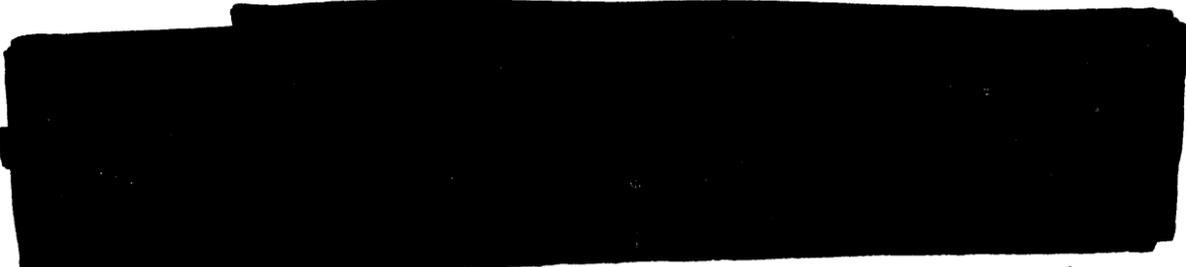
Mr. Burke Marshall

Bureau in the Albany civil rights movement. The Negroes identified in the article as coming to Washington are Marion Page, Secretary of the Albany Movement, Negro attorney C. B. King and Dr. W. S. Anderson. The article indicates they are coming to Washington for a conference with Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. Dr. Anderson is quoted as saying that Negro grievances stem from "apparent fruitless and endless investigation of local FBI Agents in 'case after case' involving civil rights here." The article points out that the only arrests made by the Government during the year came when a white man attacked an FBI Agent.

The article sets forth that the Federal Government has been inactive or reluctant to act in the controversial civil rights trouble where more than 1,200 Negroes have been arrested in the past year.

The article mentions that the reaction of Justice Department officials to these criticisms has been silence, and when asked by a reporter what he privately thought of the (Howard) Einn report, a Departmental official replied, "They just don't know what we've been doing down here." The Einn report, "Albany, A Study in National Responsibility," was published by the Southern Regional Council and in it Einn, a history professor at Spelman College, Atlanta, alleges that Albany Negroes mistrust local FBI Agents.

7C
7D



As you are aware, complete details concerning all developments in relation to racial demonstrations and racial issues in connection with Albany and its environs were furnished to the Department on a daily basis during the height of the demonstrations from July until September, 1962.

Mr. Burke Marshall

All investigation requested by the Department in connection with these matters has been promptly and vigorously completed and the results furnished to the Department.

Additional developments pertaining to the situation at Albany, Georgia, will be brought to your attention as they are received.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
DEC 19 1962
TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/21/81 BY SP7 MCK/CL

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

URGENT 12-19-62 4-39 PM EST MB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC ATLANTA 157-315

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA. RACIAL MATTERS

RE ATLANTA TELS TO BUREAU DECEMBER SEVENTEEN AND
EIGHTEEN LAST.

REC-145 824-2229 14

[REDACTED]

HE IMMEDIATELY VOLUNTEERED HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN ADMIRER
AND SUPPORTER OF THE DIRECTOR AND THE FBI AND SINCE
TALKING TO [REDACTED] HE IS OF THE OPINION THE GRAND
JURY DID THE FBI AN INJUSTICE IN PASSING THE RESOLUTION.

[REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE
60 JAN 9 1963

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

REC-42
RECORDED
145 JAN 4 1963
PC 6-2-944

ORIGINAL FILED IN 171

A

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7D

A

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE PROVISIONS OF
THE CIVIL RIGHTS, ELECTION LAWS STATUTES AND FBI
JURISDICTION IN THESE MATTERS WERE GENERALLY EXPLAINED

7C
7D

[REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

PAGE FIVE

EMPLOYEE, BUT RATHER A RESULT OF GENERAL FEELING OF THE
WHITE CITIZENS OF SW GA. WHO ARE OPPOSED TO ANY TYPE
OF CONTROVERSIAL INVESTIGATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS OR RACIAL
MATTERS WHERE IT AFFECTS AN ESTABLISHED QUOTE WAY OF LIFE
UNQUOTE.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, NO FURTHER INQUIRY BEING
MADE INTO THIS MATTER UACB. AN AIRTEL SUMMARY OF
THIS INVESTIGATION NOT BEING SUBMITTED IN VIEW OF NO
ALLEGATIONS MADE AGAINST BUREAU PERSONNEL AND BECAUSE
ALL PERTINENT DETAILS HAVE BEEN SET FORTH IN DAILY TEL
SUBMITTED.

END ANA ACK PLS

4-54 PM OK FBI WA MET

TU O

cc: T. J. Rosen

1/8/63

6688 PT

RADIOGRAM TT

DEFERRED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/21/81 BY SP7MAC/6CC

TO SAC ATLANTA (157-315)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (157-6-2)

RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS.

REURAIKTEL DECEMBER TWENTY FIRST, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO WITH
ACCOMPANYING LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM. ADVISE WHAT STEPS HAVE BEEN
TAKEN TO CLEAR THE RECORD CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION OF THE SUMTER
COUNTY GRAND JURY CONDEMNING ALLEGED FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF GOOD
LAW ENFORCEMENT AND UNETHICAL PRACTICES OF FBI.

7C
:ers:cjs
(3)

(If next radio contact missed, send
by Deferred Teletype, Plain Text.)

NOTE: Following November, 1962, term, Superior Court Grand Jury,
Sumter County, Georgia, passed resolution condemning alleged flagrant
violations of good law enforcement and unethical practices of FBI
Agents. Resolution believed aimed at FBI investigations of church
burnings and shootings into Negro homes in Georgia.

Atlanta has ascertained from interviews of appropriate
officials that there was absolutely no basis for the resolution.

Atlanta indicated that every effort would be made to have
the record cleared in this matter.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 8 1963

TELETYPE

JAN 10 1963

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

15-7-6-2-45
19 JAN 9 1963

CODING UNIT

RECEIVED
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JAN 9 1963

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

118 5130
118/678

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 8 1963

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/31/81 BY SP7MKB/BJ

McDonnell
RECEIVED
7C

URGENT 1/8/63 7-39PM EST LG

TO DIRECTOR, FBI /157-6-2/

FROM SAC, ATLANTA /157-315/ 1P

MATTERS
RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GA., RM.

REBUTEL TODAY.

USA FLOYD BUFORD, MDGA, ADVISED HE IS AWARE
OF SUMTER COUNTY GRAND JURY RESOLUTION AND STATED HE WOULD
BE IN AMERICUS, GA. ON JAN. TWENTYONE NEXT IN CONNECTION WITH
FEDERAL GRAND JURY CONVENING THERE AT THAT TIME. HE STATED
HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO ASSIST IN ANY WAY HE COULD TO CLEAR THE
RECORD.

INASMUCH AS NO CORRECTIVE ACTION HAS
APPARENTLY BEEN TAKEN BY GRAND JURY TO DATE, SAC AND USA
WILL CONFER ON JAN. TWENTYONE NEXT AS TO BEST COURSE OF
ACTION TO TAKE IN EFFORT TO CLEAR RECORD UACB.

END ACK

7-42 PM OK FBI WA WS

TU DISC

911
REC-2
157-6-2-946
JAN 14 1963
7C
ec

January 9, 1963

CODE
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
RADIOGRAM HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED URGENT

DATE 8/31/81 BY SP1 MAC/SCC

TO SAC ATLANTA (157-315)
FROM DIRECTOR FBI (157-6-2) - 946

REC-8
LA-116
RACIAL SITUATION, ALBANY, GEORGIA, RACIAL MATTERS.

REURTEL JANUARY EIGHTH, NINETEEN SIXTY-THREE. THE
MATTER OF CLEARING THE RECORD CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SUMTER COUNTY GRAND JURY IS NOT BEING
AGGRESSIVELY HANDLED BY YOUR OFFICE. YOU SHOULD TAKE THE
FOLLOWING STEPS IMMEDIATELY.

[REDACTED]

YOU SHOULD ISSUE
THAT SOME PUBLIC STATEMENT BE ISSUED TO THE EFFECT THAT THE
RESOLUTION WAS OUT OF ORDER, THAT NO BASIS IN FACT EXISTS FOR
THE RESOLUTION,

[REDACTED]

- Tolson _____
- Belmont _____
- Mohr _____
- Casper _____
- Callahan _____
- Conrad _____
- DeLoach _____
- Evans _____
- Gale _____
- Rosen _____
- Sullivan _____
- Tavel _____
- Trotter _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holmes _____
- Gandy _____

If next radio contact missed, send by plain text deferred teletype.

VIA RADIOGRAM
INITIALED
2:05 PM
DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO.

TELETYPE UNIT MAIL ROOM

7C
7C

REC'D - READING ROOM
FBI

REC'D - READING ROOM
FBI

REC'D - READING ROOM
FBI

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RAD TO SAC ATLANTA

[REDACTED] **TO TAKE WHATEVER STEPS ARE IN HIS POWER TO HAVE THIS RESOLUTION ANNULLED.**

ADVISE THE BUREAU IF THE RESOLUTION BY THE GRAND JURY HAS RECEIVED ANY PUBLIC DISSEMINATION IN NEWS MEDIA.

7C
7D
[REDACTED] **IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT [REDACTED] HAVE ADMITTED THERE WAS NO BASIS IN FACT FOR SUCH A RESOLUTION.** [REDACTED]

SOME OFFICIAL ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN TO REPUDIATE THE RESOLUTION OF THE GRAND JURY. [REDACTED]

NOTE: Following November, 1962, term, Superior Court Grand Jury, Sumter County, Georgia, passed resolution condemning alleged flagrant violations of good law enforcement and unethical practices of FBI Agents. Resolution believed aimed at FBI investigations of church burnings and shootings into Negro homes in Georgia. Atlanta has ascertained from interviews of appropriate officials that there was absolutely no basis for the resolution. Atlanta indicated that every effort would be made to have the record cleared in this matter.