

REPORT SUBMITTED BY: Task Force Workers: Bill Brown and Frank Glover
Field Secretary: chet duncan

CORE OPERATION AT THE COW PALACE

Saturday, July 11, 1964: In conjunction with the Convention Committee for Civil Rights (composed of Christians for Social Action, Catholic Inter-Racial Council, Conference on Religion and Race, Christians United for Racial Equality, etc.) CORE ran non-violent training sessions in the Good Samaritan Church, 25th and Potrero Streets, San Francisco.

Sunday, July 12, 1964: Co-sponsored massive civil rights rally and march, up Market Street to the City Hall Plaza. Over 50,000 people marched or attended the rally -- note press clippings attached. Other sponsors of the rally and march - ILWU, local branch NAACP, Bay Area Chapters of CORE, the above listed church groups. Picket captains and monitors held another non-violent training session at the Good Samaritan Church.

Monday, July 13, 1964: At 9:00 a.m. CORE and CCCR picket line began moving with approximately 75 people in an oval, rope-enclosed pre-designated area. The area was a parking lot in front of the Cow Palace about the size of a football field and enclosed by ropes and wooden horses. Two Volkswagon busses (one from CORE, one from CCCR) served as command post. Telephone calls were received and made through a locked phone provided by the San Mateo County Sheriff's Department. The Sheriff's Department had designated the area for us so that they could protect and observe the demonstrations. The picketers resented the roped-in area - ropes were removed at the request of chet duncan several times during the four day Convention and demonstration proceedings.

Chain of command began with chet duncan, Norman Hill, and later James Farmer as the top tactical representatives. chet coordinated with Rev Lyle Grossjean of CCCR. Second level consisted of Bill Brown and Frank Glover (both task force workers who coordinated and assisted in following first-level orders) and Cleveland Wallace who was in charge of the "line". In turn, each of the five captains controlled five monitors. This chain of command was too extensive and had frequent communication breakdowns between levels. Also, since the picketers came from many areas it was hard for them to work as one group and to be familiar with those in command.

At all times there were mobile television units surrounding the group as well as newspaper reporters. Frequently there was verbal heckling across the ropes from Goldwater supporters and some tried to join the line with anti-CORE signs. There was an understanding that the police would remove any heckler from the line if CORE was unable to cope with the person or persons. The police removed the Goldwater supporters on at least two occasions. The line marched in two's, three's and four's depending upon the size of the group. The hours between 6:00 and 9:00 p.m. since it was after working hours. By 9:00, people were frozen by the cold mist and fog. However, despite weather conditions, roped in area, morale remained HIGH AT ALL TIMES!

On Monday and Tuesday, picketers were urged to fill out power of attorney and general information sheets for information of the picketers and for possible civil disobedience action if the Convention accepted the totally unsatisfactory platform and if the segregationist delegations from the South were seated. At 9:00 p.m. the line was dismissed until 3:30 p.m. the next afternoon.

After the line was dismissed there was a meeting of CORE and CCCR executives to discuss problems that arose on Monday's line and plan Tuesday's operations.

TUESDAY JULY 14, 1964

Line began at 4:00 PM with approximately 80-100 picketers. The attendance gradually grew over the evening to around 400-500 people on the line. By prior arrangement with the police, the line was lead out of the enclosed area and marched through the parking lot in front of the Cow Palace several times and then back into the enclosed area.

In protest to the seating of the lily white delegations and the platform just adopted in toto by the convention, action was planned to coincide with adjournment. As the delegates began to come out of the Cow Palace a group of approximately 12 people lead by Chet Duncan broke from the picket line and sat down blocking the turnstile exit on the South side of the building. Another group of approximately 10 people followed task force worker Bill Brown to the main entrance. The police immediately locked this door and rerouted the delegates. The demonstrators then went to the turnstile at the North end of the building and sat down, blocking the flow of people from the building. This group of demonstrators were carried away by the police, returned, and carried away again.

On the third attempt to block the turnstile, six of the people were surrounded by the police. The six formed a circle with the police circle and began signing and chanting, when they asked if they were arrested the police told them they were not if they behaved themselves so they left the circle and joined the group sitting in front of the southern turnstile. They did not attempt to sit in the Northern turnstile again because of the lack of news media in that area and the amount of police made it impossible to return.

The sit-in at the southern turnstile eventually involved 22 people some of whom had their bodies wedged in the turnstile spokes. This action was surrounded massively by news media, police, delegates and spectators. The police at first attempted to remove those sitting down but it was unsuccessful due to the mass of the people pushing around those sitting down. At one point, there was a tussle between newsmen and police who were trying to form a ring around the demonstrators. The sit-in continued for about 45 minutes with the people singing and during this time a supporting picket line formed near those sitting down. A portion of the support line passed by the fence where delegates were rerouted from the turnstiles. At this point, the same individual who had been removed from the line the day before for an inappropriate sign slammed his body against two reporters, pinning them against the fence. He was stopped immediately by task force worker, Frank Glover.

The police continued to surround the sitting demonstrators until delegates had left, then the police also left. Demonstrators sang and were photographed by the news media until they stood, joined hands, and walked to the supporting picket line. In a large circle, the whole group joined hands and sang "We Shall Over-Come", then disbanded for the evening.

After leaving the Cow Palace, the executive personnel again met to discuss the day's action and to plan the line for Wednesday, civil disobedience inside the Cow Palace by CORE demonstrators who had gained passes through the Scranton demonstration and possible civil disobedience on the outside of the Cow Palace. This meeting ended at 4:45 am.

WEDNESDAY JULY 15, 1964

The line commenced at 4:00 PM with approximately 300 people. The chanting and singing was increased as was the unrest of the group and the number of marches outside of the barrier. A group of the Berkeley Campus CORE had previously signed up to be part of the Scranton demonstration on the floor of the Cow Palace Wednesday afternoon. These demonstrators had been provided with two 7 ft banners and smaller 1 yd square cloth banners with "CORE", "BAD PLATFORM", AND JUSTICE painted on them. There were approximately 100 or more who got in the Cow Palace but only 30-50 who gained entrance to the floor of the demonstrations. Scranton demonstrators were not all allowed on the floor and unfortunately this also meant most of the CORE members who had infiltrated this group. One of the CORE banners was unfurled on the floor and focused on by the television cameras, while 4 of the group went limp and were carried from the Cow Palace. (See attached statements by 3 of the 4 individuals).

Following Goldwater's nomination the entire line (now about 1000) sat in front of the Cow Palace entrance where they were addressed by Norman Hill and Dick Gregory (see attached press release) all of which was televised. The line then circled outside of the enclosed area in front of the Cow Palace entrance. Before going back inside the ropes, a casket bearing the placard REPUBLICAN PARTY BORN 1856, DIED 1964 was placed in the middle of the circle and the CCCR started a

Prayer Vigil in front of the main gate. When it was definite by the delegation votes that Goldwater was the nominee, the picket line silently marched to the front of the Cow Palace and sat en masse in front of the entrance. Next to the picketers, a group of CCCR stood in a circle facing the casket and with heads bowed, continued the prayer vigil holding signs of civil rights martyrs such as Medgar Evers. The picketers softly sang "We Shall Overcome" then again formed a line following the casket slowly, marched thru the parking lot. At this time people were pouring out of the Cow Palace and were bumping into and yelling at the marchers. Word was passed thru the group that civil disobedience would be taking place and that all arrestables should go to Geneva Street Intersection which is the main exit from the Cow Palace. Approximately 12 people left the line and went to the intersection.

Line wound from prayer vigil through parking lot to the stairs where it circled and sang. From the stairs on there was no leadership. One monitor was singing, another monitor was shouting obscenities at Goldwater people. Spectators were crowding and pushing and some demonstrators did lock arms to block them. Completely without warning the police who had not left for Geneva Street intersection pushed a wedge through demonstrators. There apparently wasn't any police leadership for the action.

The demonstrators, completely reorganized by Chet Duncan, moved from the stairs to Geneva Street where gate was open. Policemen and Goldwater people attempted to shut gate, two monitors and demonstrators attempted to open it and a tug of war ensued. The demonstrators moved back in a group when again without warning approximately 30 policemen threw another wedge roughly through the group. This was when Diane was hurt.

Policemen had formed a ring around the people sitting down and pushed the crowd back for more room with the chain system. One policeman moved out of the chain and elbowed a man in the crowd. And the man elbowed the policeman back. The policeman grabbed the man by the back of the neck and two policemen grabbed him.

At Geneva intersection it became apparent that the arrestable group, originally 26 people, had been separated and only 12 were there. These 12 sat down blocking the gate from the Cow Palace parking lot (see diagram) at which time the line had reached the gate and people began sitting down. The picket line apparently of its own initiative began filling this exit so the arrestables moved into two Geneva Street crosswalks (see diagrams) and the main line continued to fill a third crosswalk. There were approximately 4-500 involved in this action that had previously been planned for a small group of CORE members. There were a few scattered incidents of brutality on the part of the policemen as individuals, not as a planned action. Also, due to the mass involved there were some incidents of unCORElike action on the part of the picketers. As the police began to move those sitting there was heightened tension and resentment in the group due to some rough tactics used to move the sit-inners. As soon as these people were removed they returned to the streets and sat down again. The police quit carrying the people out of the streets and directed their attention to the snarled traffic. Most rough handling was on the part of the San Francisco police, not the San Mateo Sheriff's department.

It had been a confused scene with cars honking, thousands of people milling around, masses of press, spectators, and picketers. Some shouted at the police... some were singing and chanting ... police were dragging and lifting people from the pavement ... ambulances came to pick up the two people who were hurt. (Only one person actually went in an ambulance -- a young girl with a heart murmur).

The police redirected the traffic solidly blocked by demonstrators. The police finally halted all other traffic, pedestrians except for press, and cleared

a place for only the metropolitan buses to get through. As the police attempted to remove all those who blocked the gates by the exit, sit-inners moved from the intersection and joined those by the gates. Among this group of about 400 were only 50 who were prepared to be arrested. Project leaders again established control and cleared those not willing to be arrested or not on a jail-no-bail basis.

The various actions went on for over 1 hour with the group alternately singing and chanting while being extensively photographed by the news media. Though long suspected, the police finally made it clear that they would not arrest anyone ... and since all the people and traffic had long since left the area, the group was instructed to rise and join in a circle singing "We Shall Overcome" and then disband.

The Executive group met again far into the night to plan for the next days' action, particularly for that inside the Cow Palace.

ADD: Personal Statements on Wednesday's Inside Action:

"Among the 450-500 Scranton supporters who hoped to participate in the Scranton floor demonstration were 30-50 CORE members. The manager of the Scranton demonstration made clear in some of his remarks to the group that he was not totally unaware of our presence, and there was not attempt to exclude any of us (he had no way of knowing for sure which of us were from CORE, of course). He told the group that he had 150 demonstrator tickets, but that a deal had been made with the floor managers to let the entire group inside on condition that everyone would leave the floor after the demonstration for Scranton. He also asked us to link arms four abreast to get past door guards "in case they hadn't received the word." (!!) After some difficulty everyone got inside the building to the breezeway underneath the stands. The difficulty was ostensibly that the Goldwater-controlled outside door guards didn't want to let Negroes through because they were "probably CORE demonstrators." The Scranton manager accused them of discriminatory behavior and he also gave tickets to most of the Negroes in the group. This, along with determination on the part of the demonstrators, got us all into the breezeway area.

"At the end of the nominating speech for Scranton, the doors were opened to the convention floor. Incompetence on the part of the Scranton managers allowed Goldwater people to control the doors at this point, and only 50-100 demonstrators were allowed in and then the doors were closed, leaving the majority of the demonstrators outside. CORE members were spread throughout the group, so some CORE people got inside and most left outside.

"Tom Miller was one of those who was let in and he (along with the Attorney General of Pennsylvania) organized a group of demonstrators to charge the doors in order to open them up to the rest of the Scranton demonstrators. This effort was continued unsuccessfully during most of the ensuing time.

"After about ten minutes of waiting outside, a few people (mostly CORE members) decided to try to gain the floor by way of the galleries. Joyce Brown gained the floor, but was stopped by three uniformed policemen. Becky George leaped from the gallery into the arms of Jon Miller on the floor. I jumped to the floor and was immediately nailed by a floorman. I had lost my Scranton hat and sign, but a demonstrator passing by with a sign gave it to me, and I demanded that the floorman let me go, since I was a Scranton demonstrator. He insisted that I leave, so I had to drag him with me all the way to the front of the hall before one of his superiors told him to let me go.

"When I arrived at the point below the speaker's rostrum, I found about half a dozen CORE members attempting to hold their ground against the onslaughts of floor managers attempting to remove them (they were not yet identified as CORE people -- the floor managers thought they were strong-arming Scranton people).

"At this time one CORE demonstrator was grabbed by a policeman, and a rolled up sign fell out of his coat. This apparently startled the policeman, who thought that the sign must be a concealed weapon, so the demonstrator was hauled off the floor by four uniformed police. After 20 minutes or so of questioning, this demonstrator was released by the police. As this man was led off the floor, it became clear that the floor-managers and police were going to get serious about clearing the aisles, so the few CORE people who had managed to get together here beneath the speaker's rostrum unfurled a huge CORE sign. When this happened the floor managers really got rough, and began indiscriminately pushing and grabbing at the demonstrators. A couple of them grabbed me and started pushing me away, so I laid down on the floor. I was immediately cordoned off by a ring of policemen, and was asked by one of them to walk out of the convention area. I refused to do so, and was carried out by four uniformed policemen to the sheriff's office in the rear of the building. I was held for questioning for about fifteen minutes, and was told that I was not being charged with any crime, so I stopped demanding to see Alex Hoffman, my lawyer, and had a friendly little chat with the police officer,

and with a Chronicle reporter and another reporter who came into the police van where I had been taken for questioning.

"Hilbert Coleman (also a member of Berkeley Campus CORE) went limp and was carried out immediately after I was removed, but he was not held for questioning.

"The only violent aggressiveness I saw was on the part of the Goldwater people controlling the floor. The uniformed policemen were relatively gentle and reasonable (although obviously unhappy about their stevedoring duties). The Scranton managers were not only unaggressive, but were totally incompetent. Without the CORE members in the group, they would not have gotten half as many people onto the floor as they did."

/s/ Tom Roland, 2214 Russell, Berkeley

Paul Gilbert: "While moving toward podium a man tried to direct him down another aisle. When he pulled back his coat fell open and the banner showed. The man asked what else Paul had and searched him. Paul was taken to first aid station and then to the police van where he was interrogated. Reporters also questioned him at this time -- then he was sent back outside."

Ira Rosenberg: "Toward the end of the Scranton action after the CORE banner was held up, Hilbert and Ira went limp almost at the same time. Then Ira was taken out but not questioned."

Who Was In Cow Palace And Outside In Street Afterward. Reaccount (Partial List):

On Floor:

Paul Gilbert -- 1704 Walnut, Berkeley, 849-2997 (had rolled up banner)
Robert Crane -- 2537 Ridge Rd., Berkeley (here two more weeks)
Larry Hamlin -- 1607 Scenic Ave., Berkeley (through Gretchen)
Hilbert Coleman -- 808 44th Ave., Oakland (phone Gretchen)
Tom Miller -- 2422 Grant, Berkeley (saw everyone carried out)
Bob Hollander -- 2314 Dwight Way, #4, Berkeley, 841-3439
Michael Friedman -- 2335 Prince St., Berkeley, 949-0557
Gretchen Kittredge -- 2422 Grant St., Apt. F, Berkeley, 941-8460
William Owens -- 2741 College, #11, Berkeley, 949-5316
Tom Roland
Ira Rosenberg

Bottom of stairs that lead to Geneva action; also at gate:

Sharon Damron -- 28924 Cherry, Berkeley 5, phone through Owens
Hamlin (see above)
Betty Petras -- 2158 Blake St., Berkeley, TH 5-1550
Tom Roland -- 2214 Russell, Berkeley, 843-8591
Bernie and Diane Callahan -- 96 Oak Road Fairfax
Ira Rosenberg

THURSDAY, JULY 16

3 p.m. - Picket Captains and Monitors meeting.

3:30 p.m. - Picketers arrived at the Cow Palace and marched through the rest of the Convention period without incident ... usually in the enclosed area and occasionally circling the parking lot area. As a parting gesture all of the demonstrators sat-down (several hundred) in front of the main entrances as the Convention closed and the delegates and visitors departed. The police simply diverted the people around the sit-inners, actually forming a human wall to protect those participating in the action.

Inside Action: Several CORE members had gained admittance to the Convention arena with legitimate tickets. 3 CORE members managed to get in the lower section immediately behind the press platform and at the conclusion of Goldwater's acceptance address unfurled a seven foot banner with the words "Bad Platform." After some hassle and confusion, all went limp. Frank Glover was carried out of the area, during which time he suffered some minor shoulder injury. The other two (girls) managed to hold out and were interviewed by the press at the close of the convention. Because of the position, the whole episode was carried live on television.

The Convention program ended for CORE as the final statements were made at an outside press conference by Norman Hill and Chet Duncan.

ADD: Personal Statement on Thursday Inside Action:

Statement of Franklin W. Glover:

"I entered the Cow Palace during Goldwater's acceptance speech Thursday night in company with two other CORE members, Le Faucette of San Fernando Chapter and Sue Ackerson of Los Angeles CORE. Le was carrying a seven-foot cloth banner with the letters CORE on it, as well as a smaller cloth sign with the words "bad platform."

After gaining entrance to the convention hall, we proceeded to a position behind the press section. This was not on the main floor, but just one level up. Nevertheless, it was apparently part of the delegates seating. We stood for fifteen or twenty minutes while Goldwater spoke and then near the end of his speech we unfurled the large banner and held it in view of the convention. Almost immediately one of the ushers rushed up, seized the top portion of the banner and attempted to pull it out of my hands. I resisted this effort successfully, but very shortly I was grabbed from behind by one or two people. I am not sure whether these individuals were police or other. Upon being grabbed I went limp and stretched out on my back across the aisle. I remained there between five to ten minutes. During this time both Sue and Le also went limp beside me.

In a few moments two policemen approached me through the crowd and one grabbed my shoulders and the other my belt and lifted me to a position where they could hold my arms. One of them twisted my left arm around behind my back and upward. The two policemen proceeded to half carry, half drag me from the convention arena across the main hallway just adjacent to the floor. There was considerable confusion and the two policemen appeared to be somewhat harassed. Before they got me across this wide hallway, I felt a pressure against either my chest or stomach. The next thing I knew I was lying on a rug on the floor of some office and people were saying, "Yes, but he can't stay here."

At this time I felt quite dizzy and somewhat disoriented. After several people had taken my pulse and asked my name, I was carried to a first aid station. There my coat, shirt, and tie were removed and I was examined by a doctor. About this time Under-Sheriff Pomeroy and a captain from the Daly City police entered. They both expressed considerable concern about my personal welfare and asked if I thought the officers had been unduly rough. I told them that I did not think that this was the case, but that in my opinion the two officers who should have had assistance in removing me without undue strain had done the best that they could under the circumstances.

There were two or three reporters and photographers who entered the first aid station and questioned me as to my identity, home address, and my purpose in being there. I identified myself and stated that I was a member of a CORE team who had entered the Cow Palace to demonstrate against the actions of the Republican Party at this convention.

About this time Sue Kovner of San Fernando CORE entered the aid station and asked about my condition. I reassured her that I thought my shoulder and arm were just wrenched and sore and cautioned her not to spread the word at the picket line that I had been a victim of police brutality. Sue then left. I was given a couple of drinks of water but remained quite dizzy and disoriented. The doctor felt that my shoulder should be X-rayed and fitted my arm into a sling. He suggested that the sling should be worn for the next five days. At this time I was feeling somewhat better and the officers who were still there offered to drive me to a hospital. I declined this offer, stating that I would prefer to be taken by "my own people." I was then assisted from the Cow Palace by an officer of the San Mateo sheriff's office who asked if I minded his assisting me. I said "no" and thanked him. We left the Cow Palace (being photographed several times on the way) and walked across the parking lot to the CORE command vehicle. I was placed on my back inside the VW bus and driven to an emergency hospital by Lois Rogers. Prior to entering the vehicle I was approached by Norman Hill who expressed concern about my condition. I reassured him that I felt everything would be o.k. I reiterated that I was quite sure that this was not a case of malicious behavior on the part of the police.

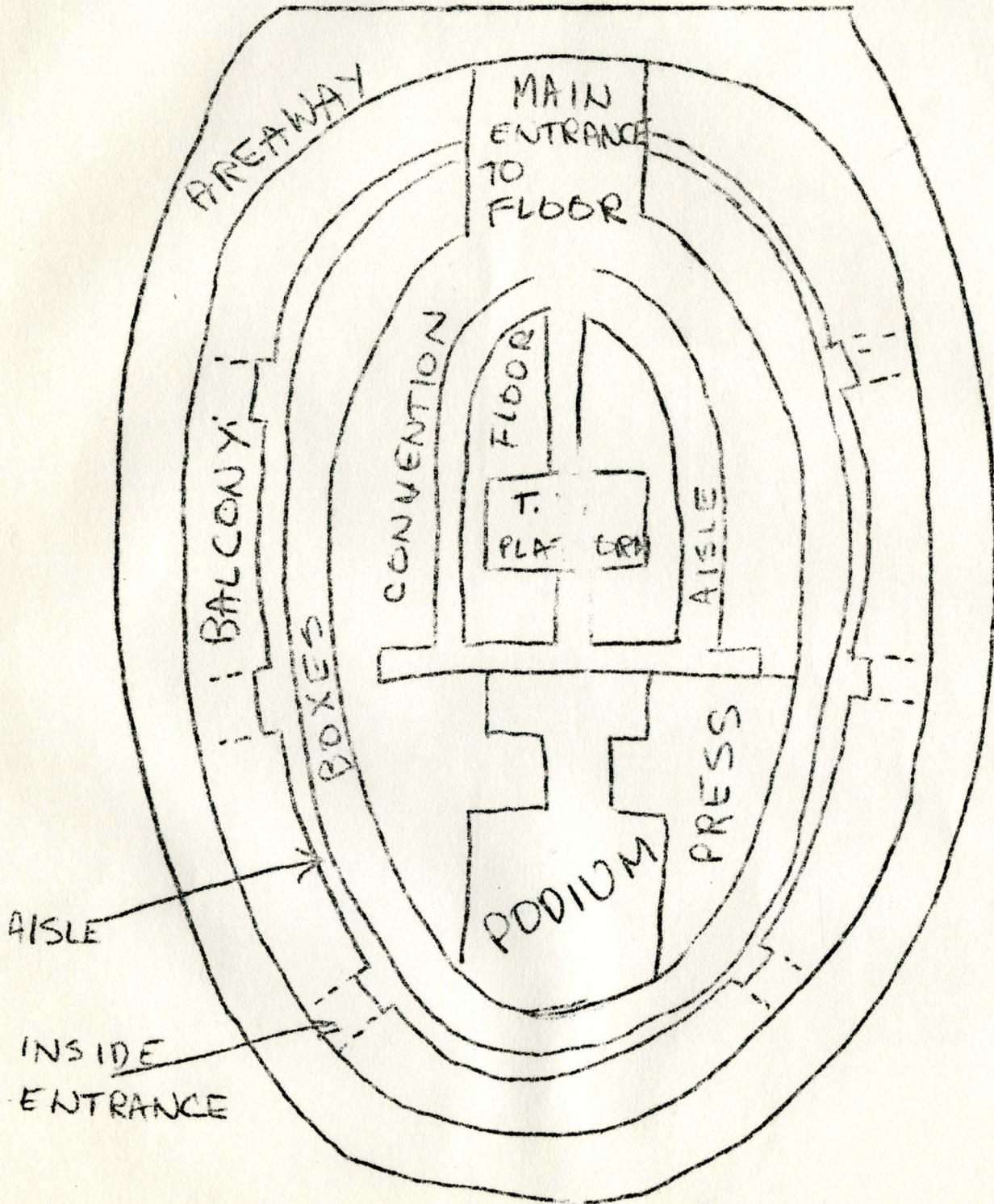
Upon arriving at the emergency hospital the people with me were told that there was no x-ray equipment at this hospital. Lois then drove me to the Kaiser Hospital in South San Francisco, where my shoulder and arm were x-rayed. We then left for the Kaiser Hospital in the City proper, where we were to pick up Sue Ackerson whose foot had been damaged at the Cow Palace. After picking up Sue, Lois proceeded to take me to 3167 Sacramento where I was residing while in San Francisco. My shoulder and arm were sore for several days, during which time I wore the sling given me at the aid station. My arm and shoulder got progressively better and at the present time, there is only an occasional soreness and minor pain at the elbow and wrist.

I discovered the next day that my shirt and tie were missing and called Under-Sheriff Pomeroy, who again expressed concern about my condition. After reassuring him, I asked if he might be able to find my shirt and tie. He later called the regional CORE office to inform me that he had located the shirt and tie; after securing my address, he said he would be happy to mail the two articles to me.

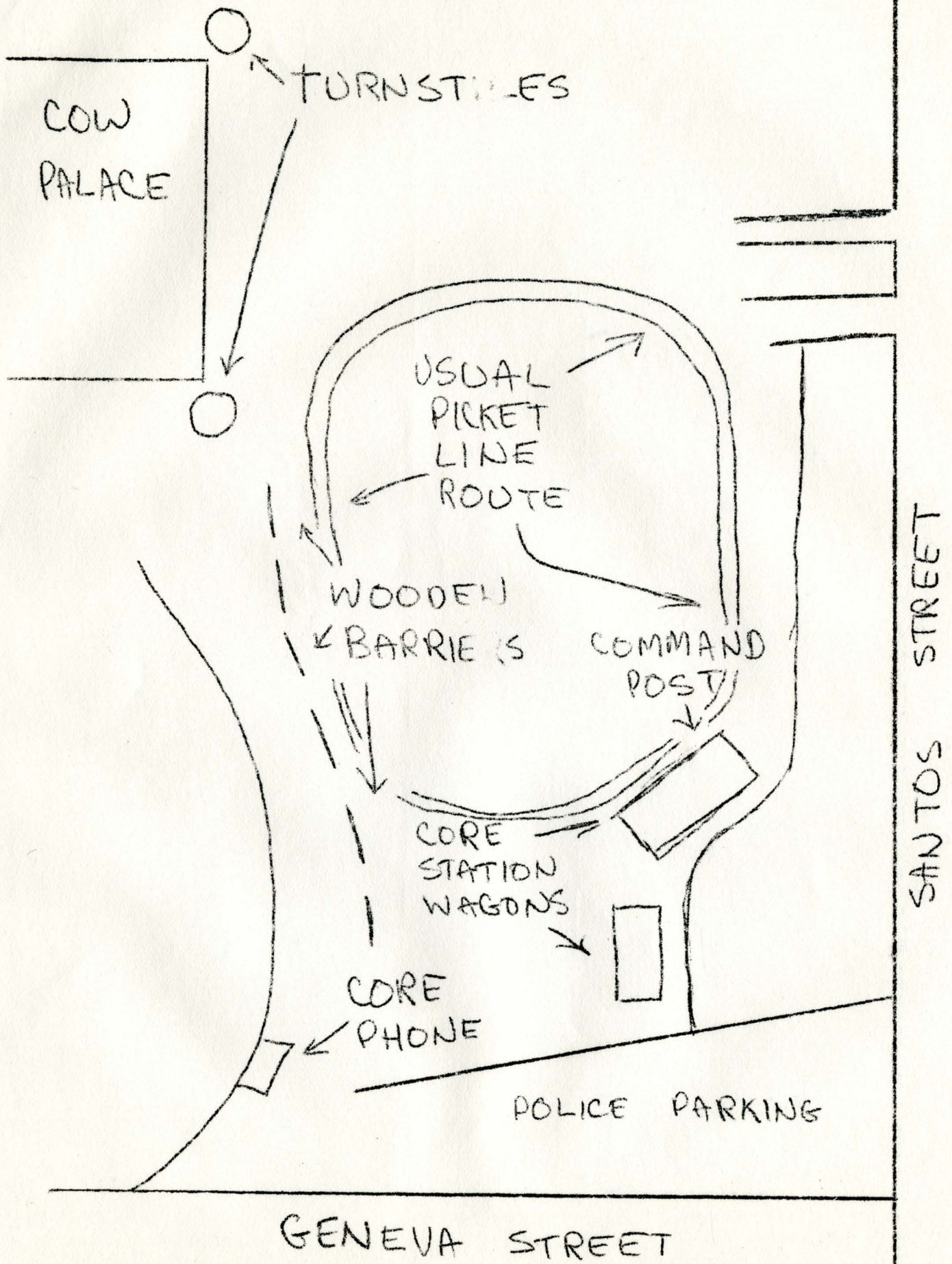
/s/ Franklin W. Glover

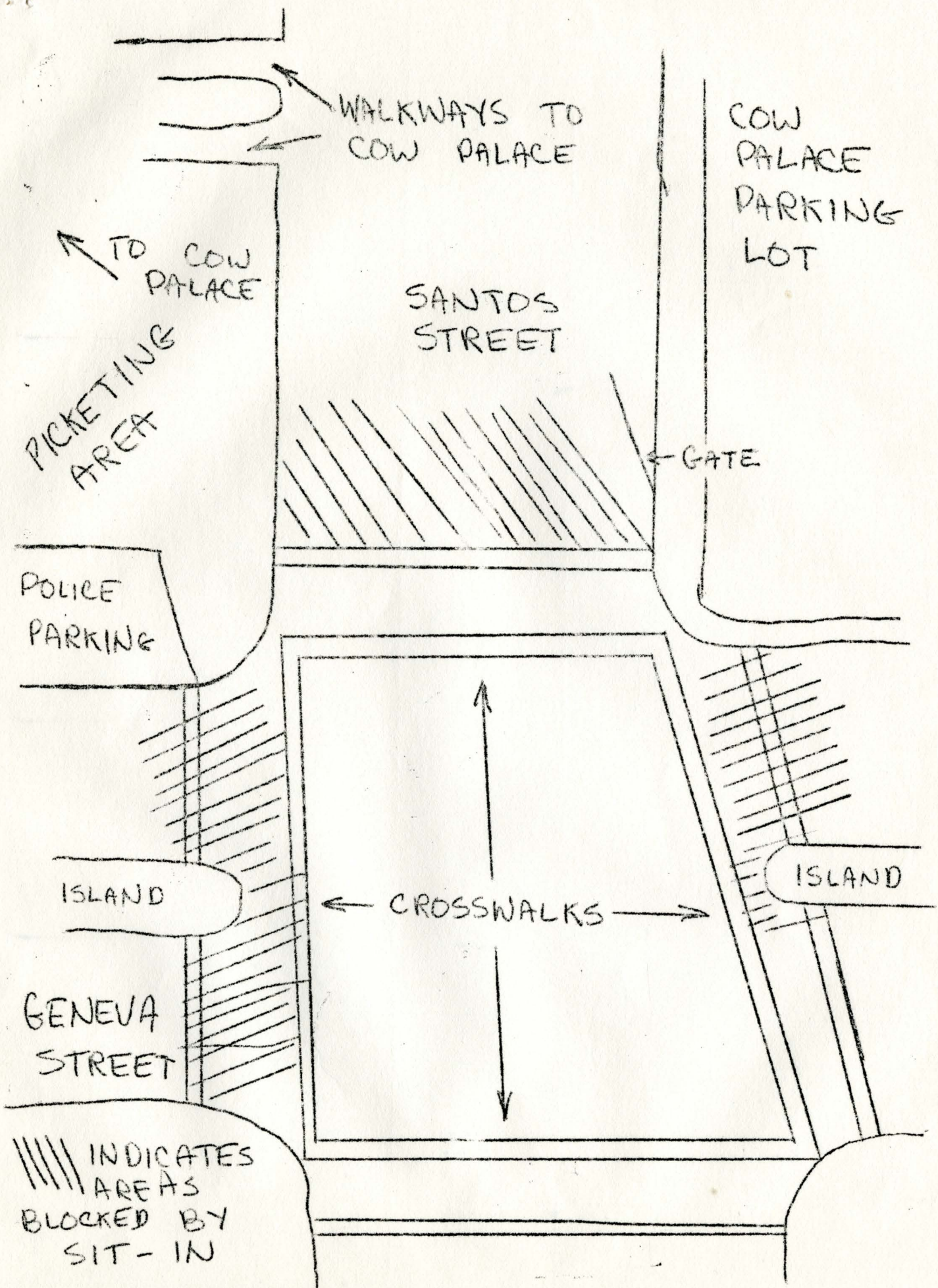
COW PALACE }
INTERIOR } TURNSTILES

PICKETING AREA



PICKETING AREA





WALKWAYS TO
COW PALACE

COW
PALACE
PARKING
LOT

TO COW
PALACE

SANTOS
STREET

PICKETING
AREA

GATE

POLICE
PARKING

ISLAND

ISLAND

CROSSWALKS

GENEVA
STREET

INDICATES
AREAS
BLOCKED BY
SIT-IN