

New SNCC Leaders Outline Their Plans



H. RAP BROWN



STANLEY WISE



RALPH FEATHERSTONE
(Photos by Bob Fletcher)

(By Staff Correspondent)
ATLANTA, Ga.—Early in May the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) elected three movement veterans — H. Rap Brown, Stanley Wise and Ralph Featherstone—to head the organization for the coming year.

Brown, who succeeds Stokely Carmichael as chairman, has been in charge of SNCC's work in Alabama for the last year. Before that, he worked in Greene County, Ala. He dropped out of Southern University in Baton Rouge in 1964 to join SNCC. He is 25.

Wise, 24, has been active in SNCC since 1961, while he was still at Howard University. Much of his work has been with students; he was one of SNCC's first campus travellers. He served as organizational secretary until he was elected executive secretary in May.

Featherstone, the new program director, was a teacher in Washington before he became active in '64. Most of his work since has been in Mississippi: Holly Springs, McCumb, most recently West Point. He is 27.

When the new slate was named, reporters speculated that SNCC was planning a return to its "old style" of working without publicity, in the field. Brown points out that SNCC has never asked for publicity; the press made its own decision to sensationalize Carmichael last year.

SNCC's program next year will include building black opposition to the draft, work on black campuses, increasing black consciousness and building "freedom organizations" across the country.

They plan to bring between two and three hundred students from black colleges to

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In Strong Klan County

Mill Workers Unite

"The bosses been using that old trick too long. They know if they can keep us fighting the colored workers, we won't ever be strong enough to fight for a decent contract. But we know what they're doing and we aren't falling for it."
"That's one thing about the union—it really unites the colored people. I reckon the union people figure once we get jobs we won't risk coming out because if they strike, I can't get no hard getting in in the first place. But I figure if anyone else can strike, I can."

These are the words of two textile workers employed at the Cone Mills in North Carolina, where a new kind of labor drive is bringing black and white workers together.

The campaign is based on rights—workers' rights—rather than more traditional union issues. And the tactics are borrowed from the civil-rights movement.

A few months ago, more than 300 people marched down the main street of Greensboro carrying union signs. It was an integrated demonstration: there were black and white workers, and students from nearby white and Negro colleges. At the head of the line was the former leader of a local klavern.

In a way, the march summed up everything that is new about this movement: the civil-rights style, student involvement, and the way workers' unity is overcoming racism that has been built up for generations here, in strong klan country.

Strike

In May 75 per cent of the workers (they are employed at seven Cone plants in and around Greensboro which have been organized by the Textile Workers' Union of America (TWUA)) stayed out for a week, in a show of strength. Now many of them feel ready for a prolonged strike. Yet until last fall they had been

"paper locals" for 15 years. For almost two years they have been unable to get the company to sign a contract.

It's not hard to understand why they "think we can do better".

"The Cone plants don't hire workers; they keep slaves," a recent union leaflet charged. "Some of the men are made to work seven days a week to keep their jobs. They must eat on their jobs in rooms blizzard thick with lint or in filthy restrooms."

"In the last ten years, stretch-out has loaded them with as much as four times more work, with no increase in pay or change in machinery. A man who used to work 25 machines now finds himself working 99 of them. If they're injured on the job, they get a sick pay of \$20 a week after the first week — nothing after the fifth week."

What do these people have to look forward to after they retire?

"I started to work at the White Oak plant when I was 12 years old," says Lacy Wright. "I worked there for 44 years — 33 years continuously before I retired. From my retirement pay of \$16.40 a week I must pay \$5 for \$1,000 worth of life insurance. The money I have left barely pays my electric bill."

But it's not hard, either, to

understand why they have been reluctant to stand up to the company in the past.

For years the Cone family owned the towns in which its plants were located. There were company stores, company churches, company police and company courts. Greensboro workers had to work at the plant they happened to live closest to.

Check-off

If it hadn't been for World War II and the establishment of the government's War Labor Board, workers at the Cone Mills might never have gained the right to have dues deducted automatically from their pay checks, which is at the basis of any strong union. Without check-off, a union couldn't possibly collect enough dues to fight a rich company like Cone—especially in an area where the people are as underpaid as Cone workers.

(The average industrial worker in the United States makes \$2.75 an hour. The North Carolina textile worker earns 92 cents less. More than 45 per cent of all Southern textile workers earn the \$1.50 "poverty wage" or less.)

Workers at the seven plants lost the right to check-off in 1962 and have never been able to regain it, because the company knows it would give the workers the strength they need.

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Jackson: Death of a Movement Soldier

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

*We are soldiers
In the army
We have to fight Lord
Though we have to die.
We have to hold up
The blood-stained banner
We have to hold it up
Until we die.*
—SNCC freedom song

JACKSON, Miss.—Ben Brown was one of those restless black youths who would not accept, in any way, the role a racist society had assigned to him.

His mother, Mrs. Ollie Mae Brown, said "the children always knew how we was brought up and Benjamin said he was tired of the way we old folks keep saying 'yasair' and 'yas, mam'. He wanted the same rights as anyone else."

Early Involvement

In 1963, at the age of 17, he began attending civil-rights meetings. During that time, he helped organize a boycott against downtown stores at Lanier High School, where he was a student.

Soon he acquired a reputation with the police and during the next four years he was arrested seven times for movement ac-

tivity. Police harassment was constant.

His brother Amhurst, 25, told about an incident which occurred when he and Ben were walking home one night: "The police stopped us and started bugging Ben. He had a goatee and one of the cops told him to get rid of it. 'Hell, boy,' they said, 'you don't get rid of that goatee we going to burn it off!'"

His mother feared for his life. On one occasion, she went with her pastor down to police headquarters to lodge a complaint and ask them to stop harassing her son. She even tried to get him to live with an aunt in Chicago and flee Mississippi. But he refused.

He was beaten once by a Negro policeman, for it is no secret that such police are used by whites to keep recalcitrant black people in line.

In 1965, more than 1,000 people were arrested in Jackson for protesting the all-white Mississippi legislature. Ben Brown was one of them. The brutality at the Jackson Fairgrounds, where the protesters were jailed, has been well documented: peo-

ple were made to run a gauntlet between rows of club-wielding police with adhesive tape covering their badge numbers; two pregnant girls lost babies; people were forced to lie on concrete for seven days, and were repeatedly sprayed with DDT, ostensibly to kill mosquitos.

Police Brutality

While at the Fairgrounds, as Ben was passing through a food line, he accidentally dropped his plate into a tank of boiling water. The cops forced his hands into the water to retrieve it; he was badly burned.

He worked in various civil-rights groups that appeared in Mississippi — SNCC, MFDP, COFO—and was a field secretary for Freedom Corps, a small group of young black militants who worked in the dangerous Delta, trying to organize the poor on plantations.

It was here that he met Margaret, a beautiful girl from Natchez, who worked with him in Freedom Corps. She later became his wife.

Soon Delta Ministry, which financed the Freedom Corps, ran out of money. Some people began to withhold financial sup-

port from the movement as they grew alarmed at the increasing militancy of the struggle. Freedom Corps had to be abandoned for lack of funds.

Ben Brown returned to Jackson and got a job as a truck driver-warehouseman. He soon quit when the company refused to pay him as much as they paid a white worker. He got another job as a truck driver. During this time, he had dropped out of the movement.

His wife said, "He was always talking about how the movement was dead and how nothing was really changed."

Then the revolt broke out at Jackson State College. News of it was in the newspapers and on the radio.

That night Ben Brown went down to the campus area to a little restaurant called the Kontiki, which coincidentally was in the building that served as COFO headquarters during the famous 64 summer project.

Miss Tut Tate, a young black girl who works for a lawyers' group in Jackson, saw him here. "He told me he had come to the restaurant to buy a sandwich for him and his wife. Then the

cops started advancing on the demonstrators and the students started running. Ben ran with them."

The police, backed up by highway patrolmen and an all-white National Guard, fired indiscriminately into the fleeing students. Four were wounded and so was Ben Brown. He lay on the ground motionless. A group of students approached the body and the police ordered them away.

"But he needs help," they cried.

"He's got all the help he's ever gonna git," a white policeman called back.

A Guard medic climbed out of a tank and examined the body. Forty-five minutes later, Brown was taken to the hospital. Within hours, he was pronounced dead of wounds in the back and the back of the head.

When his brother heard about it, he cried "O Lord, don't let my brother be dead. What can a person do when his brother is shot down like a dog? Why? I keep asking myself why?"

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Parents Fight for a Principle

Mississippi: The Children Are Waiting

By **ROBERT ANALAVAGE**
 JACKSON, Miss.—A group of poor people in Mississippi are engaged in another one of those apparently unending struggles with the power structure—both state and federal—over who should design and control a local poverty program.

This time, the group is the Friends of the Children of Mississippi. It was formed by poor people when OEO bowed to pressure in the state, and cut off funds to the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), a head start agency which the people controlled (see October Patriot.)

Mississippi officials have never wanted any poverty programs in the state, for they do not intend to help black people in any way. In fact, they have done everything in their power to force Negroes out of the state, now that they are no longer needed as fieldhands, due to mechanization. And black voters constitute a political threat.

Government View

The federal government, on the other hand, has been distressed by the militancy and independence poor people have shown once they do get control of these programs. Maybe, the folks in Washington never did expect anyone to take seriously that high-sounding principle of "maximum participation of the poor" in all programs. And some have never forgotten how that group of angry poor people drove Sargent Shriver out of that auditorium before all those TV cameras.

A deal was made between OEO and the Mississippi power structure. OEO would refuse to refund CDGM, and the state would set up another agency to handle funds and control the poverty program.

But the Friends group protested, and with help from North-

ern liberals and radicals, clergymen, labor unions and a few politicians, they brought pressure to bear on OEO. OEO relented—somewhat. They gave CDGM a grant but excluded six counties from it. Then, to placate the state power structure, they set up a rival group called Mississippi Alliance for Progress (MAP).

The MAP Board

It is interesting to look at the make-up of MAP and the way it functions. Three men—all white, all wealthy—got a state charter. They are Owen Coopes, president of the Mississippi Chemical Co. and president of the Mississippi Economic Council; Leroy Percy, chairman of the board of Mississippi Chemical Co., chairman of the First National Bank of Greenville and owner of the Trail Lake Plantation; Hodding Carter III, editor of the Delta-Democrat Times (anti-movement, anti-MFDP, SNCC, CDGM, etc., etc.)

These men knew they couldn't get away with that lily white board, so they turned to the NAACP for a little integration. Aaron Henry, the state president of the NAACP joined the board and he brought along some other Negroes—Charles Young, a Meridian cosmetics maker, Rev. L. T. Smith, a supermarket owner in Jackson, and Henry's brother-in-law, Rev. Merrill Lindsey. (Other people were added later, most notably Oscar Carr, who owns a plantation in Clarksdale.)

If Mississippi couldn't block poverty programs it would do the next best thing and control them. The Great Society merchants in Washington were elated over their success. They had come up with a poverty (?) program white Mississippians were going to participate in. (One OEO official said MAP was such a respectable organization that even whites could send their chil-

dren to it.)

They placated all those noisy liberals by giving CDGM part of the money they asked for. And that, as every good student of American government knows, is what is called "coalition politics".

But what about those six counties that were not included

Besides, there was one factor OEO and MAP didn't consider when they put that ludicrous deal across. They didn't consider the dignity and courage of the people themselves. Who, in a word, were too proud to be a part of MAP.

"It isn't just a head start pro-

gram those parents will be better guides for a child."

OEO came into the six counties and took the toys from the children, toys that had been there when CDGM was operating. The parents then furnished their own toys. Sometimes just a barrel to push around, or a cloth doll, or a necklace made of peas. And for seven months, they have kept open 29 chapters, composed of 128 units (classrooms) and 2,000 children, on a voluntary basis. And they don't receive a cent for this work.

With a small grant from the Field Foundation and small contributions, they have been able to purchase a few supplies and feed the children, however inadequately.

How long they can keep giving of themselves in this manner, until they are re-included in CDGM or are given an independent grant is uncertain.

And what of the children? They have already benefitted from one head start program with CDGM and are in the Friends program. What if the voluntary centers must shut down because of lack of funds? What happens to their head start then? Or are they to be tossed back again onto the garbage heap of society, the people nobody wants? After all, only 2,000 children are involved and the Great Society has sacrificed more than that.

People can help by sending money to:

**Friends of The Children
 Of Mississippi**

507 1/2 North Farish Street
 Jackson, Miss. 39202.

You can also write a letter to OEO in Washington, asking for the nth time "say it isn't so, Sargent Shriver."

Meanwhile, the children are waiting.



EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FRED MANGUM pores over accounts of unfunded headstart group (photo by Bob Analavage).

in the CDGM grant? Why, those folks could have a head start program with MAP. They could, yes—but they didn't want to. They took one look at the make-up of that board and the way it was put together and said no. To them, it smacked too much of white man's paternalism. They were angry that none of them had been consulted and they had a pretty good idea of what "maximum participation" meant to MAP.

gram we want," says Fred Mangum, executive director of the Friends group. "It must be a broad program that helps the child, the parent and the community. To train a parent and let him or her work in a center as a teacher, with an income and a respectable job, also gives the child a head start. These parents and other local people who have a hand in running the program, take an interest in their children that will carry over to the regular school system, and

The Month in Review

The Hot Summer Starts Early

The predicted long summer started even before spring ended in the South, with outbreaks on several Negro campuses. (See page 8.) Later there were uprisings in the ghetto of Tampa, Fla., and in Prattville, Ala., near Montgomery.

Through all of them ran the tragic theme of police efforts to deal with deep social problems through force and guns. In Prattville, there was the familiar pattern of black people surrounded by mobs of klansmen working with local police and calls to Washington for federal protection falling on deaf ears.

Meantime, a pattern showing how riots develop was presented before a three-judge federal court hearing in Nashville. The hearing was in a suit brought by attorneys for SNCC asking that laws under which Negroes were arrested there during disturbances in April be declared unconstitutional.

Evidence showed that Nashville police prepared for a riot before there was any sign of one and then moved riot police into the ghetto on the heels of a minor incident, thus provoking a major outbreak. The city's defense was

to charge that SNCC, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, SCEF and other civil rights groups are "subversive," plus some highly questionable evidence about weapons allegedly found in Negro homes.

Meantime, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld contempt convictions of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and six others for violating a court injunction against peaceful marches during the 1963 movement in Birmingham. The effect at this crucial time was to cripple nonviolent protest movements by enabling local officials to break them by injunction. A similar issue is now before the courts involving recent peaceful demonstrations in Louisville.

At the same time, however, the Supreme Court struck down state laws which ban interracial marriages. It acted on a case from Virginia.

Also in Virginia, an all-white jury dismissed a damage suit brought by a store-owner in Victoria against the NAACP, the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee, and other groups. The suit grew out of a boycott of the store in 1965, but a federal judge

ruled the civil rights groups had a right to conduct a nonviolent boycott.

In Lynchburg, Va., Thomas Wansley was formally sentenced to two life sentences for rape and robbery early in June, after the presiding judge had postponed sentencing in response to notions for a mistrial. He denied the motions.

In Grenada, Miss., a jury freed eight white men accused of chasing and beating Negro children at a desegregated school. In Haywood County, Tenn., it was reported that homes of three Negroes who ran for public office had been burned in recent months.

In Birmingham, the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth announced that the local campaign against police brutality was at least temporarily successful. Marches and a downtown boycott continued for 10 weeks this spring; during that time no Negroes were killed by police and the city announced a police code of courtesy and fairness. Mr. Shuttlesworth said the Birmingham movement would now turn its attention to jobs and school desegregation.

Book Notes

A Movement Poet

Jane Stenbridge was the first white student to work in SNCC and was an integral part of its life in its early years—in Atlanta and Mississippi. Always a poet, Jane wanted to be an organizer too but finally decided that the combination would not work for her.

Along the way she distilled the beauty and ugliness and pain of the movement of the early 60's into exquisite poetry which her friends have now collected and published in *I Play Flute* (Flute Publications, Box 109 Tougaloo, Miss., \$2.50)

The title poem reveals some of the sensitivity Jane brought to the movement. It is dedicated to "Bob," presumably Bob Moses with whom she worked closely before he became a legendary figure:

where
 in all
 the awful
 apparatus
 we acquired
 to hasten
 freedom
 is
 the
 flute

the
 fine
 thin
 flute
 the flute
 thin
 thing
 the
 thin
 thin
 thing
 which
 thinner
 than
 the
 rain
 rings
 freedom in

A Notable Life

"An American Century: The Recollections of Bertha W. Howe (1866-1966)" is a biography of one of SCEF's oldest and most generous supporters. Now a resident of Orlando, Fla., Mrs. Howe sent a note with her most recent contribution saying that it might be her last because she is now 101 years old. The life story of this remarkable worker for human rights was written by Dr. Oakley C. Johnson (Humanities Press, 303 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10010; 142 pp. illustrated; \$5).

A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE

Howard Levy Confronts the Army

(By Staff Correspondent) "If you have convictions, you must stand by them."

—Howard Levy

FORT JACKSON, S. C.—On June 3, a young army doctor was sentenced to three years at hard labor.

He was convicted because he is an outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam, because he believes Negroes have still to fight for freedom in the United States, and because he believes the highest form of loyalty is to confront things he thinks are wrong with U.S. policy.

The trial began quietly at this sleepy army base. Before it was over, the United States was on trial for committing war crimes in Vietnam and people across America who believe the war is wrong had been forced to face the question of their individual responsibility for opposing it.

His lawyer has claimed, half joking, that it all started when Levy refused to join the officers' club here. In fact it started much earlier, while he was still a child.

He was brought up by parents who were very proud of being Americans. A picture of the

politics in general," his father says. "He felt nothing but concern for the people whose greatest need was given nothing more than lip service."

Levy noticed that middle class or wealthy patients recovered with ordinary treatment. But poor people, given the same treatment, stayed sick. "One gets the sense that the kind of medical treatment poor people get degrades them, almost by design," he says. "If you degrade people enough, medical care is ineffectual."

He became an outspoken supporter of civil-rights. For at least four years, he has been equally outspoken against the war in Vietnam.

After finishing his residency, he was drafted. Levy was violently opposed to joining the army, but there didn't seem to be any practical way out. He came to Fort Jackson determined to let the army impinge as little as possible on the things he considered important. He refused to join the officers' club, and almost

And partly it was because he is a person who lives according to what he believes—who can't divide his life into compartments.

He asked Negro soldiers like Sgt. Eddy Cordie why they were going to fight in Vietnam, when there was so much discrimination still to fight at home.

"He wasn't a soul brother, but he was a pretty good cat," Cordie testified. "And everything he said made sense."

Cordie's life is an example of all the things Levy talks about. He joined the army because he couldn't find a decent job in civilian life. When Levy knew him, he was in the stockade for going AWOL after he was refused leave to go to his grandfather's funeral. (A white soldier was given a pass to go to a funeral at about the same time.)

Finally, he volunteered to go to Vietnam, after an officer suggested that was the only way he would get out of the stockade. He was wounded there.

The Letter

Levy also wrote a letter, to a soldier in Vietnam, a friend of one of his co-workers in VEP. He told the man, Sgt. Geoffrey Hancock: "Your real battle is back here in the U.S., but why must I fight it for you?"

"The same people who suppress Negroes and poor whites here are doing it again all over the world and you're helping them. Why? You no doubt know all about the terror the whites have inflicted upon Negroes in our country. Aren't you guilty of the same thing with regard to the Vietnamese? A dead woman is a dead woman in Alabama and in Vietnam . . ."

Levy was asked to train special forces aid men in dermatology during the winter of '66. He did, for about four months, "until I gradually understood the significance of what I was asked to do."

He didn't make any of the special forces men he then refused to teach "disloyal or disaffected", as they all testified at the trial. But he did make his co-workers think deeply about what they were doing, and what their medical ethics meant.

Two doctors testified that they had strong reservations about teaching the Green Berets. One, Dr. Ivan Mauer, has never been asked to train them. He said he would refuse if asked to do so, if he knew for a fact that they were primarily fighters, not doctors. High-ranking officers later testified that the aid men are, in fact, primarily combat troops.

A Negro doctor, Captain Ernest Porter, refused to answer on the grounds he might incriminate himself, when the prosecutor asked if he would continue to train the aid men.

It wasn't until December that Levy was charged. His commanding officer, Col. Henry Fancy, at first had intended to bring light charges against him. Then he saw a secret file on Levy—and he decided to charge him with five violations of army laws, carrying a maximum 11-year sentence.

One of the charges was refusing to obey the order to train



HOWARD LEVY

aid men. Two dealt with his criticism of the war, and his comments about discrimination in the United States. The other two were based on the letter to Sgt. Hancock.

Atty. Charles Morgan of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Levy's chief counsel, prepared to defend him on the grounds that a soldier has the same right of free speech as any citizen, and that the things Levy said are true.

But the judge—Col. Earl Brown, the highest law officer in the army—ruled that the truth or falsity of the statements was irrelevant. However, he said, "Nuremberg evolved a rule that a soldier must disobey an order to commit a war crime, or genocide. If you can prove the United States is committing war crimes in Vietnam . . ."

Levy's attorneys were given a week. During that time, they collected documentation—most of it from American newspapers and periodicals—to prove that in at least 3,000 cases the U.S. has violated the laws of land warfare in Vietnam. The army defines a "war crime" as any violation of these laws.

Donald Duncan, a former special forces sergeant who is now a violent critic of their role, flew here to testify. So did author Robin Moore, who supports them.

The judge heard testimony for a day. Then he went home to read the brief and think over what he had heard. The next day, predictably, he said he was not convinced.

"While there may have been, perhaps, instances of needless brutality," he said, "there is no evidence that would render this order to train aid men illegal, on the grounds that eventually these men would become engaged in war crimes or in any way prostitute their medical knowl-

edge by employing it in crimes against humanity."

And so the trial continued. The basic question, as Morgan saw it, was whether a man loses his rights as a citizen when he joins the army.

"On becoming an officer a man does not renounce any of the privileges of his citizenship. There is no more reason why the services should be immune from criticism than any other branch of our government . . . he must use his force to right those things he considers wrong. He owes it to his country to speak the truth as he sees it."

These are not Morgan's words. They appear in the Armed Forces Officer, a manual about the duties and responsibilities of U.S. officers.

During the closing days of the trial, Dr. Benjamin Spock and other prominent doctors who have written on medicine and ethics testified that Levy was morally justified in refusing to train the aid men. Other witnesses had already established the other defense points.

But the outcome was never in doubt. The army doesn't recognize any of the defenses Levy raised. The army was the prosecutor—and the army was the judge and jury.

Levy was sentenced to three (Continued on Page 2)



ATTY. CHARLES MORGAN JR.

White House and a copy of the Gettysburg address hung in the hall of his home. Levy was given a small American flag when he was six; he has it still. His parents taught him what it meant to be an American—and, today, his father feels he taught him well.

Levy supported Eisenhower in his teens. It was not until he began to study medicine that he came into contact with the real poverty of New York's Puerto Ricans and Negroes, and his attitudes became more radical. "He became pretty disgusted with

immediately became involved in the Voter Education Project (VEP) sponsored by the Southern Regional Council.

And he talked to the people he treated, and the men he worked with. Partly, it was because he believes that in order to treat people's skin problems—he is a dermatologist—you have to do more than give them medication. "You don't just treat a teen-age girl for acne. You ask her about her school work, about the inter-relationships in her home. You listen to people's problems and hangups."

New Witch Hunt

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The Tennessee Legislature has set up a committee to "investigate" Highlander Center in Knoxville. It was a legislative investigation that led to the destruction of the old Highlander Folk School at Monteagle. This time, however, many Tennesseans have determined that the destruction won't happen again.

"Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters."
FREDERICK DOUGLASS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

"If you want the happiness of the people, let them speak out and tell what kind of happiness they want and what kind they don't want!"
ALBERT CAMUS

What Happened In Sunflower?

Robert Analavage's report on the May 2 election results in Sunflower and Moorhead, Mississippi, contained a disturbing note. The loss of these elections, particularly in Sunflower, is characterized as a bitter defeat which has disillusioned the people of the county with electoral politics "as a means of changing the conditions under which they live."

I am certainly in no position to question Analavage's estimate of the mood among Negroes in Sunflower County. His tone, however, suggests that more than reportage is involved in this dismissal of elections as a tactic.

The mood described by Analavage is certainly not one to be deprecated, but neither can a mood be the basis for determining the most effective tactics needed to arouse the widest possible participation in this struggle. I believe it inescapable that such tactics must include electoral politics, along with the "series of commotions from within" which Howard Zinn, in an article in the *Columbia University Forum* (spring issue) describes as neces-

sary for social change. A variety of forms of struggle are needed today to engage the widest number of people, and it is an error to exclude or exalt any one form. Analavage has written elsewhere that Negroes will not wait for the slow process of elections to gain their freedom, and they certainly should not. But surely he will not argue that a revolutionary seizure of power, at any level of government, is a realistic method for a more rapid lifting of oppression in America, today or in the foreseeable future.

By what process, then, will the proclaimed goal of "black power" in communities of Negro majority be achieved? Various forms of "commotion" outside of the electoral process are undoubtedly essential in the development of militant opposition to the oppressing white power. But what then? Is a solidly militant Negro community to permit white politicians to remain in control, or is it to try to oust them? And if the latter, how can it be done except through the mechanism of elections?

It may be argued that the aim is to use methods of "commotion" to compel concessions from the white power structure, rather than to try futilely to displace it. If so, elections are an additional instrument of compulsion. White politicians are less inhibited about crushing mass commotions and denying their demands if their reelection concerns are only with their white constituents.

Moreover the electoral process, regardless of outcome, brings political awareness and motion to many who will not be moved initially in other ways. They will then join other forms of struggle. The fact that the great majority of eligible Negroes voted in a rural Mississippi town election in Eastland's home county—and that the large majority voted for a Negro slate—in the face of the awesome obstacles recounted by Analavage, is itself a striking demonstration of effective Negro movement. It surely is a massive break in the system of fear and conditioning described by Analavage as a major obstacle in the

Sunflower contest. It is naive to believe that the sole effect of an election is the ballot-count, or that victory can be gained at a single blow, without a process of development and experience.

Analavage wrote that the people of Sunflower fought hard and worked intensively "to gain their freedom." Yet, he added, "they lost." This, I believe, fails to comprehend that elections, like legislation, cannot in themselves "gain freedom". They are instruments in the battle for this freedom.

If Analavage was trying to suggest that electoral politics alone are not enough to lift oppression, he was certainly right. If he intended to rule out electoral politics as a specific tactic in a complex of tactics that need to be employed, he was dead wrong.

MAX GORDON
New York, N.Y.

(Editor's Note: Mr. Gordon has been active in the New York committee which supported the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party both in its congressional challenge and the events leading up to the Sunflower election.

Commenting on his letter, Analavage said: "My article was not intended as political analysis. I am a reporter, not a theoretical person. As to my own opinion, I certainly did not intend to rule out electoral politics as a valid tool—and neither do the people of Sunflower; they are now running candidates for the fall elections. But the fact remains that in the two Deep South communities where there have been well-organized electoral movements—Lowndes County, Ala., and Sunflower, Miss.—people are still living the way they always lived. As for revolutionary action—streets battles, etc.—I am not suggesting that this course be taken, but it is a fact that this is the present mood in many black communities and not to report it is to blink at the facts.

"One problem is that in the Deep South the electoral process is controlled by the very people the movement needs to oust. Sunflower showed how they can keep the process from working, despite heroic efforts of movement lawyers. Much depends on what can be done about this in the future.

SNCC Will Organize Around Draft, Black Power

(Continued from Page 1)

work on SNCC projects this summer. They are also concentrating on building a base of financial support in the black community.

Recently the new SNCC leaders discussed their program in some detail with the Patriot. Here are some excerpts from the conversation:

Black Power

Black power was the issue that catapulted SNCC into the headlines last year. They plan to raise black consciousness to an even higher level, this year.

Brown thinks it will serve as a catalyst for future movements in America, "because I think these movements are going to have to be organized on ethnic lines." He says "I don't think there's a civil-rights movement in America today; it's turned into a human rights movement. But black people are worse off now than they were 30 years ago, as the result of the kind of movement it has been."

The movement failed because "it was geared to working 20 million Negroes into a racist, capitalistic system as it now stands. But the system has to be changed before any progress can be made. And to do that, black people have to deal from a position of power—to organize themselves."

Featherstone pointed out that "black power has given the black community a sense of legitimacy, and it's done things for us in the same area, too. This has been a learning experience for us all."

The Campus

One of the most important areas for raising black consciousness is the black campus. SNCC has been working intensively there for at least six months, and Brown believes they have already helped to create a new militancy.

"I think there's been a new understanding of the black oppression in America, a new intellectualizing. This is because students understand the things Malcolm talked about; they understand the things Carmichael has been saying, and SNCC through him. They relate this to things they see happen every day. And they're sick and tired."

Featherstone is concerned about the

maintenance of black colleges, which he considers an important vehicle for developing black consciousness. "It's not a question of separate colleges for blacks and whites; it's a question of developing consciousness and dignity."

He discussed a recent report which suggested changing the racial composition of black schools to 50-50 or 60-40—60 per cent white and 40 per cent black. "This has grave sociological overtones for us. It's directly opposed to our whole thrust of black consciousness."

"One thing we try to make students aware of," Wise said, "is the discrepancy in the amount of state money spent at white colleges and at black colleges. We have to make them aware that their parents are paying taxes, too—and most of that money is going to improve white institutions."

"We have to make them aware that control of these black colleges, decisions about what shall be taught there, is not in the hands of black people."

Wise says black students have to waste too much time on things like compulsory chapel—time that could be spent on courses they could use to develop the black community. Many of their other courses, like European languages, don't relate to the problems of the black community.

"It seems to me one role of black colleges is to instill in black students a sense of their roots."

"And, finally, we are telling students they must not lend their skills to help maintain the status quo—to maintain those people in this country who already control and oppress black people. We don't encourage them to take a job with IBM or Du Pont."

"We maintain that the most significant thing a black student can do is bring his skills back into the black community."

Draft Opposition

SNCC is also working to build a nation-wide black anti-draft movement. Seventeen of their own members have already been indicted for refusing the draft; this is a program in itself.

In the past, most of their anti-draft

work has been on black campuses, working with people who expected to be drafted soon. Now, Wise says, "we want to spend a lot of time working with high school age people, from which will come the future—as this country sees the future—soldiers."

Featherstone said SNCC will also try to make information about the historical development of the Vietnam situation widely known. "I think one of the reasons so many people in this country support the war is that they don't know how the situation developed. I think most people support it out of blind nationalism."

Wise points out that "it's no accident that the country with most bases around the world is America. And it's no accident that a significant number of the governments this country supports are the right-wing extremist type—the equivalent of the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan here."

"When there is any attempt by the people in those countries to do anything about it, America rushes to the aid of the government in command, as she did in the Congo, the Dominican Republic, and now Vietnam."

"We want to raise the level of consciousness of black people in this country so they realize some of the international tie-ups this country has. And we raise our draft program around that."

Featherstone: "Our program is based on the fact that we disagree with what has been done in Vietnam, not that we reject armed struggle as a tool to be used by oppressed peoples."

Wise: "People who decide to oppose the draft should be aware they stand a good chance of going to jail. That isn't something we fear; we believe that, if a human being is strong enough, he must be prepared to take the consequences of his actions. Most of us are."

At the May meeting, SNCC also decided to work toward building "freedom organizations" in communities across the U.S. These are organizations that will address themselves to all the needs of the people—economic, cultural, political.

In the political sphere, for example, they will try to put together a viable, independent political force. This is how Brown explains it:

"We call it creating power, or putting together power that exists. What you do is organize a bloc of power. Perhaps eventually, on a national scale, you might have a constituency of 12 million people through these organizations. Then you can do a number of things with that power: work toward third party politics, or back a particular candidate, even in the Democratic Party."

"What you've got now is a situation where the Gallup polls show that Wallace will carry the South. So the Democratic Party will have to address itself to the black community. If it doesn't, it faces defeat."

"Until we have this kind of organization the black vote may help certain individuals or groups in various places, but the black community as a whole doesn't gain."

Coalitions

What about eventual coalitions with whites?

"When you talk about coalescing, you talk about politics," Featherstone says. "When you talk about politics, you're talking about allies. And if people have our political views, of course we'll coalesce."

"I think the point is that people working in the white community must understand they cannot organize around integration. If they understand that, I think we'll be in coalition with the oppressed white community before either of us admits it."

He gave this example: "If the oppressed white community in Mississippi decides they have to get rid of Eastland—and certainly the black community understands that it has to—and they both go to the polls and vote to get rid of Eastland on a given day—then that, to me, is a coalition. It's around issues. And that's the kind of immediate coalition that should be worked for, and can in fact be gained."

Basic Issues in the Movement (7:)

Today's Challenge: To Organize the White South

BY ANNE BRADEN
(Patriot Editor)

As noted in *The Patriot* last month, there is now in the Southern freedom movement widespread acceptance of the premise that the job of white people is to work and organize among other white people.

Many white people are realizing that if new coalitions to change the South are to be built, there must be a new component: sizeable groups of white people who can find common cause with black people.

Also many white people committed to freedom have awakened to the fact that while they worked in black communities much of the white community was left entirely to the organizing efforts of racist groups.

Many classic questions remain unanswered, however. *What* needs to be done is clear; the *why* is obvious; the *when* is surely NOW. But the questions of *who*, *where* and *how* are not so easy.

To find some clues, it is helpful to look at history.

The 'Other White South'

Many people believe that Southern efforts toward a democratic society have always centered entirely in the Negro community. This is not so. As the Southern poet Don West repeatedly points out, there has always been "another white South."

There was the pre-Civil-War Abolitionist movement which began not in New England but in the hills of Tennessee. During Reconstruction, previously powerless white people joined with freed slaves to set up short-lived new state governments. There was the Populist movement which seemed briefly to unite the white and Negro poor.

More recently, there were the movements of the 1930's—CIO organizing efforts reaching both black and white workers, unemployed movements which joined Negro and white, tenant farmers' movements, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (predecessor of SCEF), a coalition of many groups attacking Southern poverty and rule-by-the-few.

In the 1940's there was the Progressive Party movement which reached white Southerners in sizeable numbers with a program for economic reform and world peace. And in the 1950's there were the continuing efforts of SCEF (the Southern Conference Educational Fund), encouraging white Southerners to act in support of new Negro movements. Also the human relations councils of that period, rarely action-oriented but reaching out to the white South.

And in 1964 there began the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), formed to bring young white Southerners into movements for social change.

Most of these movements involved sizeable numbers of white people. An important common denominator emerges in most of them.

They were efforts to organize both white and black people but not for the support of Negro freedom efforts only. Rather the appeal to white people lay in programs aimed at their own needs for economic improvement and political representation—needs which coincided with those of black people.

Even the Abolitionist movement which was a moral imperative was also a matter of economic necessity for Southern hill people and poor farmers. They had nothing to gain and everything to lose by living in a slave society.

The one notable exception to this pattern is the work of SCEF in the 1950's, avowedly an effort to get white Southerners to support Negro movements. But its supporters never expected that it could become a mass movement.

This was a time when earlier mass movements for social change in the South and elsewhere had been crushed by the Cold War and McCarthyism. SCEF's work was an effort to create a break in the silence, a leaven in the loaf, to keep the door open for black-white unity until large movements might be possible again.

As such, it succeeded and was worth the effort. But today this is no longer enough; white Southerners must be reached on a mass scale. And history suggests that if we are to do this it must be around issues that relate to their essential needs.

The Shared Issues

This does not mean that people cannot be rallied by moral appeals to oppose injustice. They can—more of them than is often realized. But where their sense of justice is aroused around basic issues that affect their own lives as well as the lives of others, healthier alliances are possible and the danger of paternalism is lessened.

What issues? Some are obvious. White Southerners who are poor have many problems in common with black Southerners who are poor. Today at least some movement people are working to help the white poor in Appalachia organize—and in the Deep South too.

But it is not only poor white Southerners who have problems. War is another issue that cuts across the color line. The growing Southern peace movement is a step toward coalition.

and attempts to divide came—and they always did—white people could abandon black people, and movements collapsed.

This will not be true in any future coalitions because black people out of their own strength will enter such coalitions, if they do at all, as equal partners and leaders. Today *they* have the strength and experience the whites need, not the other way around.

This indicates a very practical imperative for those who would organize white Southerners. Any such effort, to succeed, must meet the color question head-on.

A Dangerous Idea

Some people who today want to organize white Southerners have some dangerous notions. They have concluded, because militant black people are organizing separately from whites, that whites must be organized entirely separately too—and that sometime in the future the two groups may get together.

This is fallacy. For white people to organize separately is very different from black people organizing that way. Negroes are an oppressed group; when they organize it is to throw off oppression and that is healthy. White people, although they may be oppressed, are also members of an oppressor group, and that makes a profound difference.

"White people never organize as white people except for a bad purpose," one astute student leader has said.



EXCEPT FOR THE MOUNTAIN in the background, these cabins where poor white people live in Appalachia could well be the cabins where poor black people live in Mississippi. Poverty is a problem that joins the interests of thousands of black and white people in the South. (Photo by Less Jordan)

And among many Southerners who do not consider themselves poor there are common issues. For example, Southern white teachers as well as black ones are notoriously underpaid and discriminated against.

But there is another lesson in earlier Southern movements. Even though some of them involved sizeable numbers, all of them failed in the long pull. There were many contributing factors, but an essential one was that none of them ever really succeeded in bridging the gap between black and white.

The South will continue to be ruled by the few until people who want change cannot be divided along color lines. In the past when the chips were down white Southerners, no matter how oppressed, cared more about illusory privileges of white skin than the unity with their black brothers that might have changed their life condition.

Many people believe that any new movement will founder on the same rocks. Some of us, however, believe that today may be different because of a new factor: the strength of the black movement.

Previous movements that involved both black and white were organized and led by whites. This meant that when attacks

were knocked at white doors in this country, but they aren't doing it anymore. It is our turn to do the knocking; we can expect rebuffs and must teach others to expect them. But we must keep on knocking.

Some white people, especially non-Southerners who come South, hesitate to take this head-on approach because they are victims of one of two myths. Either they think white Southerners are so hopelessly prejudiced that one simply cannot mention the question to them—or they think that if they keep quiet about the problem the prejudice will somehow go away of its own accord.

We who are white and Southern know better than to accept these myths. We know the depth of racism; we know that probably none of us ever loses it all. But we know people *can* change because most of us have done it. We need to stop being so arrogant as to think we are somehow special and that others can't change too.

But we know also that the change is never easy and never automatic. No white Southerner ever changed his racial views because he was protected from looking at the issue. Rather, change came when events literally forced him to think about it. We must seek to create conditions in which more and more people will be required by their own need to face this question.

(This direct approach has been used by young organizers working in the North Carolina mill movement described in this issue of *The Patriot*. It is one secret of the strength of this new movement.)

The Question of Who

As to who is to be organized, most white people in the South stand to gain by movements that unite them with black people. Southern control-by-the-few has kept most white people as well as black—and not just the very poor—out of the decision-making process.

As to who is to do it, it should be all of us who care about the South and our country. We must abandon the idea that only a few full-time people can organize. The essence of being a participating citizen is joining with fellow-citizens for constructive change—whether our organizing is full-time or part-time.

Some will go to new regions—students to Appalachia; northerners to the South again, and that is good. But many people will stay in their own fields of work and organize there—teachers organizing teachers, social workers organizing social workers, etc. This will be one basis of the new coalitions we seek.

Finally, we must realize that we may be too late—that divisions between black and white may now be so deep that bridges are not possible.

If this is so, there is little hope for the world. But some of us are not convinced that it is so; as long as there is hope that something can be done none of us dare to sit inactive.

One important fact is that if the black-white question is ever solved in the South it will not be at the level of theoretical talk among civil rights activists or in policy-making meetings of regional organizations.

If solutions come they will be at the local level in communities across the South—where human being works with human being and they find in life, regardless of preconceived notions and theories, that they need each other. This is where the bridges will be built if they are built at all; each time we build one we set a stone in a structure that may save the South—and perhaps the world.

And we must realize that we who are white must make the first moves toward coalition. For a long time black people

Armed Force Quells College Rebellions

Police used massive, indiscriminate force last month to put down uprisings at two black colleges: Jackson State College in Jackson, Miss. and Texas Southern University in Houston.

A pattern emerged, which apparently will govern police across the country as people attempt to break out of the oppression which governs their lives. More and more, police are resorting to armed force as the single weapon against dissent.

At Texas Southern, where just a few months ago a student-police confrontation occurred, students demanded the removal of a garbage dump from a residential area, on the grounds that it was a health hazard. They refused to let garbage trucks leave waste at the dump.

A policeman stationed at the scene claimed he was hit by a watermelon. Soon more than 500 police arrived. They arrested one student, charging that he had a gun in his possession.

The students fled to the TSU campus, burning tar barrels in an attempt to impede pursuing police. Bricks and bottles were thrown.

On the campus, students and police eyed each other warily across the barricades. For several hours nothing happened. Then, the word was given. More than 500 police rushed the students and discharged some 3,000 rounds of ammunition, wounding one student.

Observers reported that some gunfire came from the student dormitories and that police bullets were ricocheting all over the place. In the melee, two police were wounded and one was killed.

Inside the dormitories police caused massive damage to the buildings, broke TV sets, damaged student property and beat any student they came upon. One woman, a dorm housemother, was thrown to the floor and police stomped her. Students were dragged from the building, streaming blood, thrown to the ground and clubbed mercilessly.

Police found only four weapons in the building, which discounts their claims to have encountered massive armed resistance. Approximately 500 students were arrested in all, but most were soon released. Five of them were held and charged with inciting a riot, which—under Texas law—could result in up to 40 years in prison.

At Jackson State, the uprising was sparked by two city police who came onto the campus trying to make an arrest. This violated a code which says city police are not allowed on campus, unless invited. The school maintains its own security force and has complete jurisdiction.

Trading Stamps for SNCC

ATLANTA, Ga.—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has asked that interested *Patriot* readers help it to equip its garage by donating trading stamps.

A committee in California collects the stamps, and SNCC uses them to buy the equipment it needs to keep its cars operational. The cars are used by SNCC workers in the field. All kinds of stamps are acceptable, but the ones that are most useful are S & H Green, Blue Chip, Top Value, Holden Red and Gold Bond. The Stamps should be sent to Marin County Friends of SNCC, P.O. Box 210, Mill Valley, Calif.

Students demanded they leave and the police called for reinforcements. When they arrived the students, angered at this gesture of contempt for their autonomy, drove the police off the campus into Lynch street, which intersects the school.

Police sealed the street off and waves of students poured into the area.

The students demanded that police who entered the campus be disciplined. They also demanded the speed limit in Lynch Street be lowered to 15 miles per hour and an overpass, which the city has been promised for years, finally be built. They were joined by others in the community, mostly young people, who are bitter and disillusioned with a system that has no place for them.

They talked about the dirty jobs they have, the poor pay, about the degrading welfare system, and mostly they talked about the way their lives and communities are controlled by whites. And they talked about how the white power structure resorts to police force to "preserve law and order" or, as they put it, to keep things just as they are.

Suddenly, without any direction they began destroying property; barricades were burned, telephone booths and street lights and one store were destroyed.

The next day the mayor appeared and tried to convince the students to abandon their sector. They refused, and that night the power structure acted. City police, the Mississippi highway patrol and an all-white National Guard, complete with tanks and machine guns, moved into the area.

The students responded with the weapons of the street—bottles and bricks—as they retreated. Instead of using tear gas or shooting over their heads, the police deliberately shot into the fleeing crowd. Four were wounded and one veteran civil-rights worker, Ben Brown, 22, was killed.

The revolt was crushed, but in the black community bitterness was sharpened. One group, called the Black People's Unity Movement, issued a statement that said: "We must do whatever is necessary to protect our own black women, black babies and black men. We must unite or perish."

The Hinds County FDP asked, "When every God-given freedom is trampled on, what do you expect a college to do? What do you expect a community to do? What do you expect a people to do?"

The MFDP called for cooperation from all elements, including the black middle class, to help less fortunate people, "because if they don't, there is no alternative but violence—black against white, rich against poor. Nobody wins, everybody loses."



FRIENDS CARRY THE COFFIN of murdered civil-rights worker Ben Brown (photo by Bob Analavage).

Jackson Police Kill Ben Brown

(Continued from Page 1)
His mother asked Miss Marian Wright, a Negro lawyer with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, if anything would be done about it.

Miss Wright thought a moment. "The Mississippi officials won't do anything," she said. "Maybe . . . maybe this time the federal people will."

"You know," Mrs. Brown

said, "We paying those cops to kill us. That's all it is." Then she said, "white people keep saying they sorry when something like this happens, but I don't see them doing nothing to stop it."

Funeral services were held in the Masonic Lodge on Lynch Street, where numerous movement meetings have been held. Owen Brooks, acting director of the Delta Ministry, said Brown was "another victim of racism in the United States."

Charles Evers of the NAACP, whose own brother Medger was also killed four years ago, said "they have taken the hoods and sheets off the murderers and issued them uniforms and badges."

Lawrence Guyot of the MFDP said "We must organize Mississippi or we will keep returning to this hall for more funerals. We must organize around one thing—survival."

The funeral procession drove to the cemetery to bury him in a place called Sweet Rest. For Ben Brown, the struggle was over.

Man Till the Earth

By Ben Brown

Man has ventured into the unknown.

Man is a Proud Possessor of many brown belts of his fight between man and space.

But has man ventured into the unknown of hate? Men have wandered in the Valley of Hatred.

Let us not wander any more, but walk together as brothers and sisters in a land of love and understanding, so man can till the Earth not in hatred but till the Earth in Love.

And the Earth will bear fruit and God will see that it is good.

for no good tree bears bad fruit nor again does a bad tree bear good fruit; for each tree is known by its own fruit. (Amen)

Luke 6:43

Mt. Beulah,
Edwards, Mississippi
Autumn, 1965

White Students Protest Killing

A group of about 20 white Mississippi students from Millsaps College in Jackson marched on city hall protesting the killing of Ben Brown. They issued this statement:

How long will people be murdered in Mississippi? Philadelphia, Hattiesburg, Natchez, and now Jackson.

We must condemn the Jackson Police Department and the Mississippi Highway Patrol for provoking and aggravating the situation at Jackson State College.

The police and patrolmen are guilty of irresponsible law enforcement and are directly responsible for the needless murder of an unarmed man, Benjamin Brown.

We as white Mississippi students demand that the murderer be immediately dismissed from his duties and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

White Campus Explodes In Mississippi

(By Staff Correspondent)

HATTIESBURG, Miss.—The first white college in the South has rebelled, with a confrontation between students and administration. And, to the surprise of everyone, it happened in Mississippi.

The incident occurred here at the University of Southern Mississippi, and from many standpoints it resembled the uprisings at Southern black colleges.

The grievances sound familiar: bad food, overcrowding of dormitories, the smothering of free expression in the school newspaper and a "militaristic outlook" attributed to the university president, Dr. W. D. McCain, who the students charge had a habit of firing any instructor whose opinions differed from his own.

What started as a spring-time party raid, and brought thousands of students on the campus, soon turned into a discussion on university restrictions and stretched through two nights of continuous demonstrations.

The administration responded with what is now standard behavior: they blamed the action of four thousand students on "outside agitators" and sought to quell the disturbance in the traditional manner, by calling in the police.

Students responded by throwing bricks and bottles at police, shouting and jeering, and at one point they even shut the power off and blacked out the entire campus.

But the revolt was soon crushed by police. Twenty students were expelled and scores arrested. Final exams were coming up and the campus returned to "normal". But the uprising shook people—and had the state's power structure and its newspapers suddenly search for answers to explain how such a thing as authority could be questioned by white students on a Mississippi campus.