New SNCC Leaders Outline Their Plans

By Staff Correspondent

ATLANTA, Ga.—Early in May the New York-New York
Committee (SNCC) elected three more
victims—H. Era Brown, Stanley Wise and
Ralph Featherston—to head the organization for the com-
ing year.

Brown, who succeeds Stokely Carmichael as chair-
man, is in charge of SNCC’s work in Alabama for the past
year. Before that, he was chairman of Greens County, Ala. He dropped out of the Union
Reserve in 1946 to join SNCC. He is 25.

Wise, 24, has been active in SNCC since 1960, while he
was still at New York University. Much of his work has
been with students; he was one of SNCC’s first campus
workers. He was a field secretary for the Student League in 1964 and was elected executive
secretary in May.

Featherston, the new pro-
director, was a teacher in
Tennessee before he be-
comes active is 61. Most
of his work since then has
been in Mississippi. Holly Springs, N.C., most recently West
DPA, Tex. Is 27.

When the new slate was
named, reporters speculated that Wise was planning a
return to his “old-style” of working without publicity, but
the field, points out that Faith
has never seen for publicity; the area made
it’s own decision in Carmel-
dale Carmel last year.

SNCC’s program next year
will include building black
opposition to the draft, work
on black campuses, increasing
black consciousness and build-
ing “freedom organizations”
across the country.

They plan to bring together
and three hundred ter-
centrers from black colleges (Continued on Page 8)

In Strong Klan County

Mill Workers Unite

“The horses been using that old track too long. If we can get the
police to keep the colored workers out of our way, we won’t be

They’re helping us

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

The campaign is based on
rights—worker struggle; rather
than more traditional union issues.
The tactics are borrows from the
civil rights movement.

A few months ago, more than
300 people marched down the
main street of Greensboro carry-
ing 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 over-
coming racism that has been built
up for generations, in strong
Klan country.

In May 75 per cent of the work-
ers (they are employed at seven
plants) were black and white workers
throughout Greensboro which have been or-
organized by the Textile Workers
Union of America (TWUA) (Continued on Page 8)

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

We are soldiers
In the army
We have to fight Lord
Though we have to die.
We have to hold up

The bloodstained banner
We have to hold it up

(Continued on Page 8)

Jackie: Death of a Movement Soldier

Jackson, Miss.—Ben Brown
was one of those restless black
youths who would not accept, in
any way, the role a racist society
wanted the same rIghts as any-
other, a 13 year old, says Larry
Wright. “I worked there for 44
years to give my kids a chance
for my kids for 44 years to give
my kids a chance

Wright, it occurred to me, when I
was 13 years old,” says Larry
Wright. “I worked there for 44
years to give my kids a chance
for my kids for 44 years to give
my kids a chance

It’s not hard to understand why
they have been reluctant to stand
up to the company in the past.

For years the Cone family
owned the town, and the mill
were located. There were
company stores, company church,
company police and company
courts. Greenerhouse workers had
to work at the plant they hap-
penned to live closest to.

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
have never gained the right to
have done dedicated automation
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 have been so underpaid as Cone
workers.

The average industrial worker
in the United States makes $7.50.
The North Carolina textile worker made
more than $4 an hour. More than 45 per cent of all
Southern workers earn less than the $1.50
“poverty wage” or less.

Workers at the seven plants
have been organized. In 1962 and have never been able to re-
weight, or get paid for their labor.

(Continued on Page 5)

The Southern PATRIOT
Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 25, No. 6
June, 1967
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—all over who should design and control a local public school system. This time, the group is the Friends of the Children of Mississippi, formed by poor people when ORO bowed to pressure in the state, and cut off funds to the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), a head start agency under which the people controlled (see October Patriotic). Mississippi officials have never wanted any poverty programs in the state, fearing they do not intend to help black people in any way. In fact, they have done everything in their power to drive 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 independency of poor people and their actions shown once they do get control of these programs. Day Negroes joined in Washington never did expect anything but a victory for the high-sounding principle of "maximum participation of the poor" in programs financed by the federal government. Some have never forgotten how that group of black people from the South sent Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina out of that auditorium before all those TV cameras. A deal was made between ORO and the Mississippi power structure, the Negro power structure refused CDGM, and the state would set up another agency to handle funds and control the poverty program. Negroes in those groups protested, and with help from North ern liberals and radicals, clergy, labor unions and a few politicians, they brought pressure to bear on ORO. ORO relentedsomewhat. 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 in which functions. Three men—all white, all wealthy—got a state charter. The state Senate, of which the MAP board is a part, is run by a white man, with a white man as chairman of the Senate Committee on Education. (See page 86.) Later there were uprisings in the ghetto of Tampa, Fla., and in Prattville, Ala., near Negro homes, robbery early in June, after the combination would not work for the Negro. "Through all of them ran the ragged erode of questions or. artm Luther King, for a mistrial. He denied the dealing with deep social problems Jr., the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth motions. beauty an ug i~essh an ~aIn60~ which was report that f --Ion a mg on ea ears. ena mg oca o C1O s to break h

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FREED MANGUM pores over accounts (photo by Bob Analavage)

In the CDGM grant? Why, those folks could be. And Carr, who was a former student in Central High School, a federal judge had postponed his trial for a mistrial. He denied the motions.

In Grenada, Miss., a jury freed eight white men accused of raping and murdering Negro children at a segregated 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 latest campaign against police brutality was at least temporarily successful. Marches and a downtown boycott continued until weeks this spring; during that time no Negroes were killed by police and the city announced a police code of courtesy and fair ness. Mr. Shuttlesworth said the freedom C. Johnson (Humanities Press, 303 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10010; $2.50)

The title poem reveals some of the sensitivity Jane brought to the movement. It is dedicated to "Bob," presumably Bob Moses, Recollections of Bertha W. Howe and an integral part of their movement. It is a great story, too, that the movement would not work for the Negro. "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).

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PORT 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 great need was given nothing more than lip service."

Levy noticed that middle class or wealthy patients received 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 are degraded almost by design," he says. "If you degrade people enough, medical care is ineffective!"

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

After thinking 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 limit the army impingings as little as possible on the things he considered important. He refused to join the officers' club, and almost immediately became involved in the Veterans 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 in order to treat people's skin problems—he is a dermatologist—he might in some way be able to talk to them about things they didn't seem to be able to talk about. Levy told the judge he would be quick to continue to any patient who asked him to continue to talk to him. The judge heard testimony of one who had been a violent critic of their role, flew to Vietnam, after an officer suggested that was the only way he would get out of the stockade. He was wounded there.

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

"The same people who suppressed Negroes and poor whites here are doing it again all over the world and you're helping them—why? You must know all about the terror the whites have inflicted upon Negroes in our country. Aren't you doing the same thing with regard to the Vietnam war? A dead woman is a dead woman in Alabama and in Vietnam..."

Levy was trying to train special forces aid men in dermatology during the winter of 66. He didn't make any of the special forces men if he refused to teach "dishonorable 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 ethical obligations are.

Two doctors testified that they had signed reservations about teaching the Green Berets. One, Dr. Ivan Mazer, 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 fighters troops.

A VEP doctor, Capt. Ernest Porter, refused to answer on the ground that he might incriminate himself, and the prosecutor asked if he would continue to train them. His answer was negative.

It wasn't until December that Levy was charged. His commanding officer, Col. Henry Fantsy, at first had intended to bring light cases. 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 aid men. "Two dealt with his criticism of the war, and his comments about democracy in the United States. The other two were based on the letter to Sgt. Hancock.

Levy also wrote a letter to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Levy's chief counsel was 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—ruling that the truth or falsity of the statements was irrelevant. However, he said, "Nevenburg evolved a rule that a soldier must disobey an order to commit a war crime, or genocide. If you can prove United States is committing war crimes in Vietnam...

Levy's attorneys were given a week. During that time, they collected documentation—demonstrating from American newspapers and periodicals—to prove that at least 8,000 cases the U.S. has violated the laws of land warfare in Vietnam. The army declared a "war crime" as any violation of those three laws.

Donald Duncan, a former special forces sergeant who is now a violent critic of their role, flew here to testify. So did author Rubin Moore, who supports them. The judge heard testimony of a day. Then he went home to draw the brief and think over what he had heard. The next day, unfortunately, he said he was not convinced.

"While there may be some, perhaps, instances of needless brutality," he said, "there is no evidence that would render this order to train aid men illegal, on the ground that eventually these men would become engaged in war crimes or in any way prostitute medical knowledge by employing it in crimes against humanity."

And 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 saw it to his country to speak the truth as he sees it.

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

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

In the end, it was a fact the army recognizes of any of the defenses raised. The army was the prosecutor—and the army was the judge.

Levy was sentenced to three years in prison. (Continued on Page 2)

Howard Levy Confronts the Army

HOWARD LEVY

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 Montreat. This time, however, many Tennesseeans have determined that the destruction won't happen again.

A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE

Howard Levy Confronts the Army

(Scott Correspondent)

"If you have convictions, you must stand by them."

—Howard Levy

HOWARD LEVY

BY HOWARD LEVY

Nashville, Tenn.

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What Happened In Sunflower?

Robert Analavage’s report on the May 2 election in Sunflower County, Mississippi, contains a disturbing note. The losses of elections, particularly in Sunflower, is characterized as a basic symptom of the disenfranchisement of 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.

I must say that Analavage is certainly not one to be argumentative in this issue. The mood is the basis for determining the most effective tactics needed to help bring about participation in this struggle. I believe that powerful tactics must include electoral politics, along with the “series of occupations” within which Howard Zinn, in an article in the October issue of Freedom Forum (spring issue) describes as necessary for social change. A variety of occupations are needed today to engage the widest number of people, and it is an error to see them as excll or any one form.

Analavage has written elsewhere that he believes the Negroes will not sit out the slow process of elections to gain their freedom, and they certainly should not do so. But surely he will not argue that a revolutionary struggle of power, at any level of government, is a realistic method for a more rapid lifting of oppression of the people, today or in the foreseeable future.

His position, then, will be the proclaimed goal of “black power” in communities of Negro majority be achieved? Various forms of coalitions within the electoral process are undoubtedly essential to the development of militant opposition to the opposing white power. But what then? Is it possible for militant Negro communities to permit white politicians to remain in control, or is it to try to oust them? If the latter, how can it be done except through the mechanism of elections?

It may be argued that the aim of the draft movement is to compel concessions from the white power structure, rather than to victory in any form. If so, elections are an additional aspect of the movement, but those politicians are less likely to encourage such demands. But they certainly do not have to be only their white constituents.

Moreover the electoral process, regardless of outcome, brings to the attention of many who will not be moved initially in other ways. They will then join other forms of activity.

The fact that the majority of “eligible Negroes” vote in the rural Mississippi town election in Raeford’s home county—and that the president of the Negro state-in-the-face of the other candidates (the Gaitherites) who opposed Analavage, is itself a striking demonstration of effective Negro movement. It is a massive break in the system of fear and the denial of the black community can exist as a major obstacle in the Sunflower context. It is naive to believe that the impact of an election is the ballot-box, or that one party can “outvote” the other single blow, without a process of development and experience.

I think what Analavage means is that the people of Sunflower fought hard and “turned,” to gain their freedom.” Yet, he added, “they lost.” This, I believe, fails to comprehend that elections, like legislation, cannot in themselves yield “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. I certainly wholeheartedly agree as a specific tactic in a complex of tactics that need to be employed, he is dead wrong.

One problem is that in the South the electoral process is not as effective as it should be in terms of the movement needs to seek. Sunflower showed how they can keep the process open, despite the efforts of movements to hold elections, as the case has been done with this in the future.

Max Gordon

SNCC Will Organize Around Draft, Black Power

(Continued from Page 1)

work on SNCC projects this summer. The SNCC meeting on building a base of financial support in the black community.

Recently the new SNCC leaders discussed their program in some detail with the people; there are some excerpt from the conversation:

Black Power was the issue that reappeared, as a kind of FFRM's pbumbline for the SNCC headlines last year. They plan to raise black consciousness to act on them 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 on organized on ethnic lines." He believes that the black right movement in America today; it's something that is keenly felt. But black people are worse off than they were 20 years ago, as the result of the black struggle.

The movement failed because it was supposed to be a black community, a racist, capitalist 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" belongs to a third category of black community a sense of legitimacy, and it's done things for the people 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 in the black community is the black community. If we are to make Black consciousness so they can be taught in black community. Many of their other courses, such as European languages, don't relate to the problems of the black community.

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

And...we are telling students they must not spend their time doing so that something can be spent on courses they could use to develop the black community. We don't encourage them to take a job with IBM or Du Pont.

"We maintain that the most influential students are the black students who can help you improve education in the black community."

Draft Opposition

SNCC is working to build a national-wide black anti-draft movement. I am sure that many 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, an idea to which you can organize a bloc of people. Perhaps eventually, on a national scale, we 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 90% of the people believe the Democratic Party will have to address itself to the black community. If it doesn't, it is faced.

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

Conclusions

What about eventual coalitions with whites?

"When you talk about coalitions, you talk about politics," Featherstone says. "When you talk about this, you're not talking about allies. And if people have our political views, of course we're related.

"I think the point is that people who become equal must understand they cannot organize around the government's way of things and that, I think we'll be in coalition with the oppressed white community. Here's what I mean:"

He gave this example: "If the oppressed white community in Mississippi decide to oppose the draft in any way, and can influence in the case of the draft in any way, and can influence the people of Mississippi, and can on a given day—then to make a national reaction. And that's the kind of immediate coalition that should be worked for, and can in fact be gained.

Albert Camus
Basic Issues in the Movement (7)

Today's Challenge: To Organize the White South

BY ANNE BRADEN

As noted in The Patriot last month, there is now in the Southern freedom movement a movement of acceptance, an 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 now that the Negro movement is 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 work in black communities, much of the white community was left out of the organizing efforts of racist groups.

Many classic questions remain unanswered, however. What needs to be done is clear; the ship is obvious; the door 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 been actively in the Negro community. This is not so. As the Southern poet Don West repeatedly points out, the appeal to white people lay in the black community. During Reconstruction, previously powerless white people joined forces with the short-lived new state governments. There was the Progressive Party movement which seemed briefly to unite the white and Negro poor.

More recently, there were the movements of the 1960's-CIO organizing efforts reaching both black and white workers, unemployment movements which joined together black 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 30's there were the Southern Workmen's Union (SWU) and SCYP (the Southern Conference Educational Fund), encouraging Southern white people to act in support of new Negro control-by-the-few...and such communications among Negro and white workers as well as black and white people as a whole...to help those people see that

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 as well as black and white teachers as well as black and white children...

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 want change cannot be divided alone color lines. In the past when the chips were down Southern whites, no matter how opposed, cared more about illusions 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 succeed on the same rocks. Some of us, however, believe that today may be different as 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 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 coalition because black people out of their own strength will eat such black people that if they desert one movement for white partners and leaders. Today they have the strength and experience the "white control-by-the-few" that they need.

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

A Dangerous Idea

Some people today who want to organize white Southerners have some dangerous notions. They have concluded, because militant black people are organizing separately from white people, that whites must be organized entirely separately too—and that sometimes 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 are not an oppressed group, are perceived in the Deep South as an oppressor group, and that makes a profound difference.

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

We who are white and Southern know better than to accept such 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 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 the South and organize there—teachers organizing teachers, workers organizing social work, etc. This will create one base of new coalitions which we seek.

Finally, we must realize that we may be too late—that divisions between black and white may 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 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 elites. We must get the activists or in policy-making meetings of regional organizations. If solutions come they will be at the local level, coming out of the South—where human beings are working with human beings and they find in life, regardless of preconceived notions and theories, that their bridges will be built if they are built at all; each time we build one we set a stone in the foundation of the South—and perhaps the world.
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 police officer, who apparently will govern police across the country as people attempt to break out of the oppression which governs their lives, was 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 destroys health. The refuse is let garbage trucks leave waste at the school.

A policeman stationed at the scene claimed he was hit by a watermelon. Soon more than 200 police arrived. They arrested one student, charging that he had a gun in his possession.

The students feel the TCU response is too heavy-handed in an attempt to intimidate pursuing police. Bricks and bottles were thrown.

On the campus, students and police tossed objects at each other across the barricades. For several hours nothing happened. Then, the word was given. More than 500 police rushed the students and discharged some 2,000 rounds of ammunition, wounding one student.

Only reports 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—two shotguns, one which discounts their claims to have encountered massive armed resistance. Approximately 250 students were arrested in all, but only 10 have been released.

Five of them were held and charged with inciting to 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 take an arrest. This violation of a code which says city police are not to come onto the campus unless invited. The school maintains its own security force and has complete jurisdiction.

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 routed the school.

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

The students demanded that police who entered the campus be thrown out. They talked about the dirty jobs they have, the poor pay, about the degrading way the system is run, about how they and their communities are controlled by whites. And they talked about how the white power structure resists to police force to "pre-conceptual order" or, as they put it, to keep things just as they are.

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

The next day the major appeared and tried to convince the students to abandon their action. 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 breathing crowd. Few 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's no alternate violence—but black against white, rich against poor. Nobody wins, everybody loses."

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

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 car operational. The car is used by SNCC workers in the South. 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 Friend of SNCC, P.O. Box 219, Mill Valley, Calif.

Friends Carry the Coffin of Murdered Civil Rights Worker

(Captioned From Pages 1 and 8)

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," Miss. 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 can't see them doing nothing to stop it."

Funeral services were held in the Masonic Lodge on Lynch Street, where numerous mourners had been held. Owen Brooks, acting director of the Delta Ministry, said Brown was 'another victim of racism in Mississippi.'

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

Lawrence Guyut of the MFDP said "We must organize Mississippi or we will keep returning to this hell 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.

Jackson Police Kill Ben Brown

By Ben Brown

Manil the Earth

Jackson, Miss.

Let us wander anywhere, 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. (Athem)

Luke 6:43

Mt. Bethel

Edom, Mississippi

Autumn, 1965

White Students Protest Killing

A group of about 20 white Mississippi State College students' Milligan 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? Philadelphis, Hattiesburg, Natchez, and now Jackson. We condemn the Jackson Police Department and the Mississippi Highway Patrol for provoking and aggravating the situation at Jackson State College.

The police and police are guilty of irresponsible law enforcement and are directly responsible for the needless murder of an unarmed man, Ben 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

(Hattiesburg 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 standpoint 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. McConaghy, who the students charge had a habit of firing any instructor whose opinions differed from his own.

What started as a springtime party raid and brought thousands of students on the campus, soon turned into a demonstration 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, shooting 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 cuffed and scoured arrested. Black students were rounded up and the campus returned to normal. But the uprising shook people—people, had the state's power structure and its newspapers suddenly search for answers to explain how such a thing could be questioned by white students on a Mississippi campus.