

Power of Protest

(By Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss.—The Mississippi court system collided head on with stands on conscience at several points recently, and the results were somewhat remarkable.

No one is under any illusion that conscience was a clear victor, but prosecutors and judges wavered, and a number of people, who by all Mississippi logic should be in jail, are not.

The points of collision were:

1. Cleveland, Miss., where Aaron Henry, Mississippi NAACP president, went on appeal trial in Bolivar County Court on charges of disturbing the peace. The charges were based on the unsupported testimony of a white teen-age hitch-hiker who claimed that Henry made "immoral advances" to him in Henry's automobile last March.

Henry has been convicted in Justice of the Peace court and sentenced to six months in jail and a \$500 fine. The jury in County Court convicted him again last week, but County Judge Paul Jones cut his sentence to two months and \$200—a clear victory by Mississippi standards. He is appealing further.

2. Jackson, Miss., where 15 Episcopal ministers, arrested last September for disturbing the peace as Freedom Riders, won dismissal of their cases. County Judge Russel Moore said the evidence—which was precisely the same as that on which Freedom Riders had been convicted daily for the past nine months—was not sufficient to convict them.

3. Jackson, Miss., again, where Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel, former student leader from Nashville, Tenn., has been trying unsuccessfully for over a month to abandon an appeal and surrender to serve a two-year prison sentence. Mrs. Bevel, who is expecting a baby in September, was charged with contributing to delinquency of minors last summer after she conducted workshops on nonviolence among Jackson young people, preparing them to take Freedom Rides.

She says she has decided she can no longer in good conscience cooperate with the Mississippi courts, and she wants to go to jail, unless the charges are dropped. Judge Moore, the same judge who has been hearing the Freedom Rides cases, finds some reason not to put her in jail every time she comes into court. He did it again in May—saying he could not possibly hear her case until sometime in the summer.

4. Magnolia, Miss., where 15 students arrested last October for participating in a protest march against segregation in McComb, Miss., went on appeal trial in Pike County Court. They too were charged with disturbing the peace and had received sentences ranging from four to six months in Municipal Court.

Three of them were tried and
(Continued on Page 3)

News Round-up: Review of the Month

In a major decision, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the convictions of six Negroes convicted of disturbing the peace for attempting to use the white waiting room in the Shreveport, La., bus station last August. The decision made it virtually certain that all Freedom Ride convictions will eventually be reversed.

On the school front, integration in New Orleans got a set-back, when Federal Judge Frank Ellis modified a previous order by former

Judge J. Skelly Wright, who had ruled the first six grades desegregated next year. Judge Ellis went back to the grade-a-year plan and added that all first grade children could attend the school nearest their home.

But in North Carolina, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education moved to geographic desegregation, assigning 413 Negro children to formerly white schools. This year there were only 27.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., joined by other outstanding Negro leaders, presented to President Kennedy a proposed "Second Emancipation Proclamation," which would include federal orders for desegregation in several specific fields.

And also in Washington, Southern injustice was dramatized at a hearing before a "Committee of Inquiry," headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and organized under leadership of CORE.

The Southern PATRIOT

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Southern Students Leap Forward

(By Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga.—The integration movement among Southern students has taken a giant leap forward in recent weeks. The evidence:

● A highly successful Southwide conference of students, called by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), brought together students from every Southern state and from all the major campuses.

● *The Student Voice*, publication of SNCC, was revived. Plans call for regular publication and distribution throughout the country. It is covering the news of

student activities, which is often ignored in the daily press.

● SNCC moved into a much larger office in Atlanta, to take care of its expanded activities. The new address is 135 Auburn Ave., N.E.

● At a follow-up meeting to the Southwide conference, SNCC representatives from all the key protest areas met here in early June, to consolidate a more tightly knit organization under a new constitution adopted at the larger conference.

The earlier Southwide conference, held the last week-end in April, was a solid answer to those who have thought that the Southern student movement, which appeared to spring from nowhere in the 1960 sit-in upsurge, was dead or dying. It is obviously very much alive.

The almost 200 student delegates (there were also about 80 observers and visitors) all represented student groups back home that were either currently engaged in action or looking for new ways to proceed.

It's true, of course, as SNCC



Photo by Tracy O'Neal

A SNCC SESSION: STUDENTS LOOK TO FUTURE

Chairman Charles McDew pointed out in his opening statement to the conference, that the 1960 sit-in movement has not spread spontaneously on a sustained basis, as many had thought it would.

What has happened, however, is that out of this spontaneous upsurge has come a dedicated core of students who are now digging into the hard and tedious problems of building a lasting movement with deeper perspectives and long-range goals.

Some of these students have taken a year or more out of school to work full time at this job under the leadership of SNCC, which now has a staff of 20. All of them work for virtually nothing and apparently live on dedication. Others have re-

mained on their campuses and work part time.

The April conference was noteworthy in several ways:

1. It was a serious conference. Meetings tended to start on time and lasted late. The sessions were hard-working, as participants delved into organizational problems. Little time was lost in oratory.

2. It was entirely a student-led conference. Older persons were there as observers, a few spoke or served as consultants in workshops, but most of the speakers and all of the organizational leaders were students.

3. There was a marked increase in participation by Southern white students. At the first student conference,
(Continued on Page 4)

'Only Answer'

AUBURN, Ala.—A recent editorial in the student newspaper at Auburn University (white) declared that "integration is the only answer . . ." The editorial was written by Jim Dinsmore, sophomore from Decatur, Ala. He said integration is "Christian and moral" and "the final outcome will mean a better America."

As in Nazi Germany

Courage Speaks in Mississippi

(By Staff Correspondent)

TALLADEGA, Ala.—Out of its worst degradation, the human race repeatedly produces its individual miracles: the oppressed person who rises up with courage, the member of the oppressing group who breaks loose from his environment and joins those who seek freedom.

It happened in Nazi Germany, and it happens today in Mississippi—and these two pivotal points in the modern struggle of mankind are joined in the dramatic story of Professor Herman Einsman and Miss Brenda Travis.

Einsman is a native of Germany who years ago defied his family to work with the Underground against the Nazis. He has adopted the United States as his new country and during the past year taught at Talladega College here.

Miss Travis is a native of McComb, Miss., and a Negro. Last summer, at the age of 16, she defied all Mississippi tradition to sit in at lunch counters in her home town. She was expelled from school and sent to reform school for her actions.

Their lives met this spring when Einsman heard of Miss Travis' plight. Many of her friends had almost given up hope of securing her release from the reform school.

But Einsman, who 20 and 25 years ago helped scores of people flee Germany through the Under-

ground, said nothing was impossible. He went to Mississippi personally, talked to officials there, and persuaded them to release Miss Travis into his custody. Today she is free and is starting life anew.

Where does it come from, this courage in Mississippi? Brenda Travis tells it this way:

"That first sit-in—I just had to do it. I guess it
(Continued on Page 2)



Photo by Joanne Grant

Brenda Travis and Professor Einsman
Two Symbolic Figures

'A Gnawing Hunger'

One thing that the growing integration movement in America proves is that human beings can be moved to action, dedication, and sacrifice on the basis of a great moral issue. This truth actually undergirds much of the action that makes newspaper headlines, but it is rarely articulated. SNCC Chairman Charles McDew did articulate it at the spring student conference in Atlanta in words worth marking and remembering:

"Historically men have been moved to action when they were hungry. It is not possible today that men may have a moral hunger that drives them into action?"

"Is it not possible that this new hunger can activate men who are safe and secure in positions and professions in life, men who have been conditioned to an existence of non-concern and non-involvement with the problems of their fellow?"

"We live in a moral vacuum—produced by the dichotomy between our preachings of equalitarian philosophy, Christian living, and democratic process, between these preachings and the way we actually live. And we are hungry for a moral society.

"What I want is that there should be a cultivation of this gnawing hunger within people so that they cannot be at ease with themselves so long as society is perverted as it is. Let us put our bodies into this struggle. Let us transform the frustrations of our moral hunger into action."

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Reading Notes

The Right Wing

The literature about right-wing group, their connections, and their aims continues to grow in volume and in quality. Most of the material shows clearly and documents the ties between groups like the House Un-American Activities Committee, the John Birch Society, and those who

want to keep segregation in the South.

The editors of *The Southern Patriot* recommend the following pamphlets:

THE AMERICAN RIGHT WING: A Report to the Fund for the Republic, by RALPH E. ELLSWORTH and SARAH M. HARRIS. Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D.C. \$1.

THE AMERICAN ULTRAS: The Extreme Right and the Military-Industrial Complex, by IRWIN SUALL. New America, 1182 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 75¢

HATE GROUPS AND THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (Revised), by DAVID WESLEY. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N.Y. 25¢

THE RAPE OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT, by ALEXANDER L. CROSLY. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N.Y. 25¢.

(Most of the above can be obtained at reduced prices by ordering in quantity.)

Also

Recommended

STUDENT, by DAVID HOROWITZ. Ballantine Books, 101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y. Paperback, 160 pages. 50¢.

The author is a teaching assistant in English at the University of California, Berkeley. He traces and analyzes the recent political activities of Berkeley students, many of whom were victims of the police action at the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco two years ago. His findings apply to a whole generation of students now active on the campuses of the United States, including those in the South.

This book should be read and widely circulated by everyone interested in preserving democracy in the U.S.A.

FREEDOM AND PROTECTION, by ANDREW D. WEINBERGER, Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, Calif., \$3 in cloth, \$1.75 paperback.

This book on civil liberties and constitutional rights is written by a lawyer for the layman. It is basic law simplified. The author is a civil rights attorney who is a national vice-president of the NAACP.

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News in Brief

Houston Unites Behind Sit-Ins

The Negro and liberal community in Houston, Tex., recently united solidly behind 37 students jailed for pro-integration demonstrations.

The young people, many of them students at Texas Southern University, were jailed after losing appeals because they were unable or unwilling to pay fines ranging from \$100 to \$250. Some of the fines were for theater demonstrations last year, some for a sit-in at Union Station coffee shop in Houston.

Many organizations protested to the Governor of the state. The Harris County Council of Organizations, composed of 50 Negro organizations, spearheaded a drive which raised \$10,000 to pay all the fines.

In Greensboro, N. C., Attorney Samuel Mitchell, civil rights attorney from Raleigh, won a delay of a year's prison sentence imposed on him on charges of late filing of income tax. The delay gives Mitchell more time to raise a \$7,500 fine levied against him.

It was granted after protests sparked by Guild Assistance to Attorneys in the South (GAAS), an agency of the National Lawyers Guild.

Len Holt, a GAAS spokesman, charged that the "prosecution of Mitchell, initiated by Southern representatives of the Internal Revenue Department, is directly related to his vigorous efforts to protect the rights of Negroes in the state of North Carolina."

Mitchell and his former law partner, Herman Taylor, have handled many of the major civil rights cases in North Carolina. Taylor has also been indicted on tax charges and his case is on appeal.

In Washington, D. C., Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, noted Negro sociologist, died at the age of 67. He was a member of the board of SCEF and a leader of several other civil rights groups.

In North Carolina, three major colleges and universities announced a new policy of admit-

ting applicants without regard to race. They are Duke University (which has previously admitted Negroes only to graduate school), Davidson College, and Wake Forest. All are denominational—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist, respectively.

In Miami, Fla., CORE announced that a year-long campaign of stand-ins had ended with integration of the city's major movie theaters.

In Roanoke, Va., pupil placement laws received another blow when the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in effect ruled out the city's placement plan and ordered the school board to revamp its entire pupil assignment system to avoid discrimination.

In Louisville, Ky., protests by civil rights groups forced the resignation of former baseball star Pee Wee Reese from a newly-formed city Human Relations Commission. It was pointed out that Reese owns a segregated bowling alley.

Strength in Numbers

(By Special Correspondent)

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Recently Charles Sherrod, a student integration leader, said in a speech: "There is one great hope we have: when they strike us, knock us down, throw us in jail, we must be able to say, 'Brother, if you knock this body down, there'll be hundreds more in its place.'"

Operating on that principle, the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement, with five of its leaders indicted for unlawful conspiracy for a restaurant sit-in, circulated a letter addressed to the Tennessee district attorney.

The letter said: "Since I am a supporter of the movement for desegregation . . . I too am guilty of 'unlawful conspiracy' . . . You must do your duty and have me arrested."

Over 250 people signed the letter and sent it to the district attorney. The local press publicized it. When the five indicted leaders went on trial, the charges were dismissed for insufficient evidence. Attorney Z. Alexander Looby presented the clinching legal arguments for the defense.

The Brenda Travis Story

(Continued from Page 1)

was born in me. It seems to me that for as long as I can remember I knew that as soon as I was old enough I would do something about injustice."

Her first step toward freedom actually came a bit earlier last summer when she decided to join the NAACP. It takes a great deal of courage to join the NAACP in McComb, Miss. Miss Travis recalls that not many people were willing to join.

"I had been thinking about it a long time," she says, "but I just couldn't get up the courage. Then one day I decided, 'I'm going to rule myself, I'm not going to be afraid.' So I started out walking and I wouldn't let myself stop until I got the home of the NAACP president, and I told him I wanted to join."

After that, through the NAACP, she met Bob Moses, young field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who had come to McComb to start voter registration classes. She began to hear about the actions of students elsewhere—and the sit-ins followed as naturally as day follows night.

She was in jail a month and in reform school over six months, but she never felt alone, she says. After a few weeks, she began to get letters of encouragement from all over the country and from some foreign countries.

Does she have any regrets? None whatsoever. If she had it all to do over again, she would do exactly the same thing.

What about Professor Einsman? How did he happen? His father was a high-ranking Nazi, and he can remember meeting Hitler and Goebbels and other Nazi leaders in his living room.

"But I was a terrible mongrel," he smiles. "My father was from Luxembourg and my mother was from Austria. My father was an engineer and we lived in many countries before I finished what you

would call high school. I guess that's one thing that made it hard for me to be narrow."

He, like Miss Travis, was always a rebel and was expelled from several schools for taking stands against injustice. In 1934, he was disowned by his family because he married a woman of Jewish ancestry.

"It was just like with Brenda," he notes. "People said it was impossible—this marriage. But I did it anyway, and we've been happily married ever since."

Later he worked with the Underground, and for a time after World War II he was an advisor on political and educational affairs to the U. S. Government in West Germany.

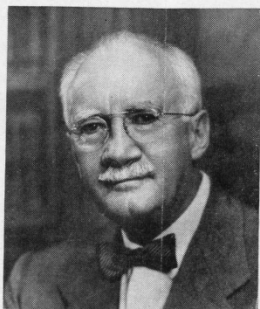
But in the early 50's, he says, Nazis began to return to power in Germany, and life became impossible for anti-Nazis such as himself. He emigrated to the United States, and is now a naturalized citizen.

He taught in schools and colleges in the East for several years, but ever since he's been in America he has wanted to teach in a Negro college—a dream that came true this past year when he joined the faculty at Talladega College.

There he threw himself heart and soul into the movement for freedom. When the student demonstrations started in Talladega this spring, Einsman was a pillar of strength to the students.

Whether it's working in the organized integration movement or rescuing the individual victims of segregation like Miss Travis—as he rescued victims of Nazism years ago—Einsman sees his involvement in the Southern struggle as a continuation of the battle for humanity he's been fighting all his life.

"Evil knows no national boundaries," he says. "Racism in the South is the same as the racism that destroyed Germany. There's a difference because in the South there is still hope that the racists won't win, but the evil is the same."



DR. PARK J. WHITE, St. Louis, member of the SCEF advisory committee, recently received an Urban League citation for "his skill and enthusiasm in teaching young doctors the art of medicine and for his untiring efforts to eliminate racial bias in the St. Louis community." Dr. White, who has long worked for better human relations in his city, is assistant professor emeritus of clinical pediatrics at Washington University School of Medicine and director of the Division of Pediatrics, Homer G. Phillips Hospital, St. Louis.

Augusta: Familiar Pattern of Tragedy

(By Special Correspondent)

AUGUSTA, Ga.—This city in northeast Georgia, recently the scene of racial violence and tragedy which is not yet ended, is another example of what happens when police fail to stop hoodlum attacks on integrationists.

A white youth is dead, and 14 Negroes are in jail awaiting trial, nine of them on murder charges and the other five on riot charges. The prosecution has indicated it will ask the death sentence for some of them.

The consequences have been more extreme in Augusta than in any other locality recently, but the pattern is a familiar one:

It begins with peaceful protests against segregation. Always there are some white hoodlums who try to attack the protesters. Where the police step in quickly and control the hoodlums, violence is stopped, more decent sentiment in the white community has time to emerge and organize, and peaceful change results.

Where the police look the other way, violence grows and spreads, more decent elements are temporarily paralyzed and tragedy of

In Charleston, S.C., a suit was filed by parents of 13 children seeking school desegregation. One of the plaintiffs is state NAACP president.

some kind results. It happened in the Jacksonville, Fla., race riot of 1960. It happened this way in Augusta:

The beginning of the current situation in Augusta was last March, when a group of Negro high school students, who live in an area where there are no park facilities for Negroes, decided to play in a "white" park.

At first, white young people were willing and challenged the Negroes to a basketball game. But police soon came and broke it up, tension rose, hoodlums gathered, several Negroes were struck, and a Negro girl was hit by pellets from an air rifle. There were no arrests.

The NAACP had not initiated the park action, but the local NAACP chapter and its Youth Council immediately organized support for the young people who had and the drive for integration widened.

Feeling the pressure, community leadership began to move, and five downtown lunch counters were integrated by negotiation. On the first day there were no incidents.

Later, Willie Didley, a student at Paine College, a predominantly Negro institution here, and a white student attending an interracial conference at the college, went together to one of the newly integrated lunch counters. As they were leaving, a white man approached the white student with a knife, Didley stepped in

front of his friend to protect him. Didley himself was stabbed. Both Didley and the assailant were arrested.

Meanwhile, the NAACP had turned its efforts to an employment drive and young people were picketing supermarkets, demanding fair hiring. Bystanders threw bottles at pickets; a white driver tried to run down a store picketer in his car. There were instances of Negro homes being fired into from passing cars. Still there were no arrests.

Tension mounted. The organized integration movement here, led by the NAACP, advocated and adhered to a strict policy of nonviolence. But, as always in such situations, other Negroes armed themselves in self-defense. The stage was set for tragedy.

On April 19 it happened. A car driven by Leslie Lee Luttes, 16-year-old white, drove into a Negro section and was fired into. Luttes was killed and a white companion was injured.

Police later said the Luttes car was one of several riding through the Negro area with "iron pipes and rocks." They then began arresting white teenagers and confiscating weapons, including firearms. But it was too late.

Soon thereafter, 14 Negroes were rounded up and charged with murder or riot in connection with the Luttes killing. They were scheduled for possible trial in late June.

The NAACP, both local and national, is providing counsel and giving them all-out support.

An interesting and unusual sidelight of the Augusta events is an organized protest among integrationists against the two local papers, the *Herald* and the *Chronicle*, owned by arch-segregationist Roy Harris.

Civil rights advocates claim the papers have consistently refused to print news of integration activities or have distorted it. During the past year, three reporters have been fired by the newspapers for sending articles about integration in Augusta to the Associated Press.

After the last two firings, Augusta Negroes picketed the newspapers and instituted a boycott of the papers, which is still in progress.



MRS. AMELIA TUCKER, first Negro woman to serve in the Kentucky legislature, was selected as its "most persuasive and convincing speaker" by her fellow legislators. She is the wife of Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, Louisville civil rights leader and a SCEF director. Mrs. Tucker is herself a minister in the A.M.E. Zion Church and has long been a civic leader.

New Drive in Louisville

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—A new round of demonstrations against segregation has started here by CORE and the Student Nonviolent Action Committee (SNAC). The latter is a new student organization affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The leadership of SNAC has been arrested repeatedly on breach of peace charges while standing in at the West End Theater, a segregated establishment in a racially mixed section. The students have gone limp, following the nonviolent technique of refusing to cooperate with arrest, and have been cuffed off by police. Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, local civil rights leader, charged police with brutality and protested to the mayor.

Most downtown eating places and theaters here were integrated after massive student demonstrations in 1961. The students say the new demonstrations are aimed at making this a truly "open city."

The Power of Protest: Its Effect in Mississippi

(Continued from Page 1)

convicted, but then the court, apparently tiring of it all, postponed the cases of the other 12 until next fall. And, to their great surprise and in contradiction of the usual Mississippi custom, there was no increase in the bond for those convicted. They remained free, on further appeal.

Marion A. Wright, noted Southern lawyer, said recently that there aren't going to be many more segregation cases as such in the South, because the victories have all been won. (See April *Patriot*.)

"The fight from this point on," he declared, "will be against slimy law and sleazy advocates."

The four cases cited above are good illustrations of this. Every one of the defendants was quite

obviously arrested for just one reason: he was opposing segregation. But not one of them was charged with it, and the word "race" is rarely, if ever, mentioned in these courtrooms.

The Henry case has been described point-blank by the NAACP as a "frame-up." Eight of the Mississippi Delta's most respected Negro citizens testified that Henry was with them at the very time the teen-ager claimed to have been in the car with him; there was no one to support the youngster's word.

Obviously the word of one white teen-ager meant more to the jury than that of eight Negroes, but the cut in the sentence would indicate that the judge may have found it a bit hard to swallow.

The issue in the Jackson Freedom Ride cases and the McComb cases is identical. Some-

day someone is going to write a play about the Freedom Ride trials, and no one will believe it. There was an unreal atmosphere about the whole thing, and it was all a piece of shadow-boxing by the prosecution.

No one ever said what the defendants were doing in Jackson, and, if the defense tried to, the judge sustained the prosecution's objection. The famous Captain Ray of the Jackson Police Department simply testified that the Jackson bus terminal was quiet and peaceful until the defendants walked in; then, he said the mood of the people therein changed and became ugly and threatening and the station was no longer peaceful. Therefore, ipso facto, the defendants "disturbed the peace."

Likewise in McComb. The streets of this little Mississippi town were peaceful until the student protesters marched down them. It wasn't that they did anything violent—but they were upsetting the other citizens to the point where they might have become violent. Therefore the students disturbed the peace.

Defense Attorney Jack Young, of Jackson, asked:

"Since when in this country do police officers have the right to arrest you because that fellow over there may attack you?"

It's an important question, which the higher courts are going to have to decide. It involves, as one of the McComb defendants, Bob Moses, points out, a decision as to whether the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, with its guarantee of the right to peaceful protest, is going to prevail in Mississippi.

"We are not yet in Mississippi fighting for civil rights as such, but for those civil liberties that provide an alternative to armed struggle," Moses said.

Meantime, it's shenanigans such as these court trials that have led Mrs. Diane Bevel to decide she can't cooperate with the Mississippi courts any longer.

"The courts," she said in explaining her stand, "are completely lacking in integrity because we are being arrested and tried on charges that have nothing to do with the real issue."

She is a follower of the Thoreau and Gandhi philosophy of non-violence and notes that this precludes cooperation with evil. She

decided to take her appeal instead to the court of public conscience by serving her sentence.

So far she has not succeeded in getting to jail except briefly or a contempt charge, but she may have won her point. Someone's conscience—or perhaps their sense of Mississippi's public image—has been touched. In a sense, the fact that she's still free is a vindication of her activities of last summer which got her arrested in the first place.

One thing that all four recent Mississippi cases had in common is that they have been somewhat in the public eye nationally. Simultaneously, a staff member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Lester McKinnie, who has been working on voter registration, got arrested for "attempting to disturb the peace" in Laurel, Miss., was quickly and quietly convicted, and given the maximum sentence.

The difference was that no one outside of Mississippi had ever heard of him or his case. Mississippi shouts loudly that it doesn't care what the rest of the country and the world thinks, but it quite obviously does.



Patriot Photos

VOICES OF CONSCIENCE: At left is Mrs. Diane Bevel, expectant mother, who challenged the Mississippi courts to either put her in jail or drop the charges against her. At right are Charles McDew, Bob Zellner, and Bob Moses, staff members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as they appeared in court in Magnolia, Miss., along with McComb high school students, to defend the right of peaceful protest. Zellner has his lawbook with him, preparing to defend himself if necessary.

State Seeks to Close College; Pickets Jailed

Almost every week brings a new focal point in the fast-growing movement for change in Mississippi. For example, a few recent ones:

1. The state legislature passed a law empowering the state to use the right of eminent domain to take over Campbell College in Jackson. Campbell is an institution of the AME Church which has taken a stand for integration. (See April *Patriot*.) College officials pledged to resist the take-over by all legal, moral, and nonviolent means.

2. Two Jackson young people, Luvaughn Brown and Jessie Harris, recently spent 30 days in jail

for sitting on the "white" side of the County courtroom. They were apparently inspired by the example of Mrs. Diane Bevel, who previously spent 10 days in jail for doing the same thing.

3. Four young people protested the above incidents (and discrimination in employment by the city bus company) by picketing on the steps of the Federal Building in Jackson. They were arrested by City Police and charged with breach of peace. They claimed police exceeded their jurisdiction by arresting them on property of the U.S. Government. An important court test seems likely.

Peace and Integration Merge on Southern Walk

(By Staff Correspondent)

CROSSVILLE, Tenn.—On a spring day here in East Tennessee, two groups of young people met and talked—and exchanged the buttons that signified their respective movements.

One group was students, Negro and white, on their way from Atlanta to Kentucky after the conference of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. They were leaders in the integration movement and their buttons—black letters on white background—said "Support Southern Students."

The other group was peace walkers, also Negro and white. These pacifists were walking from Nashville, Tenn., to Washington—part of a three-pronged walk to Washington sponsored by the Committee for Non-violent Action. The others were converging from New England and Chicago.

They carried signs proclaiming: "No Bomb Tests East or West," "Defend Freedom with Nonviolent Resistance." Their buttons were the simple nuclear-disarmament symbol—three black lines in a circle on a white background, a composite of the semaphore signal for the letters N and D—which has become the emblem of peace groups in many countries.

The exchange of buttons was perhaps symbolic of the effect of this Nashville-to-Washington peace walk in the South.

Pacifist anti-war demonstrations have been increasing in the North and West over the past several years, but this walk was one of the first efforts to carry direct nonviolent action for peace into the South—an area long noted for its militaristic tradition.

The walkers left Nashville April 22 and, pursuing a course through East Tennessee and Virginia, were due to arrival in Washington on June 22. They met their share of hostility and in some communities were temporarily jailed when local officials objected to their distributing literature. But the effect of their coming, although not widely publicized, was profound.

Probably only a small minority of persons along their route were persuaded to their pacifist position. A much larger number was undoubtedly moved to deeper thought—about peace and war, life and death. But perhaps the most lasting effect of the walk results from the fact that, for the first time on any widespread scale, the organized integration movement and the organized pacifist movement met face-to-face



PEACE WALKERS TALK WITH TENNESSEANS

* in the South. Not only the Kentucky students, it happened in communities all along the route.

These encounters are best described by representatives of each movement to whom it happened. In the words of Clarence Glenn, one of the Kentucky students who exchanged buttons with the peace walkers:

"... These people are opposed to war, they are opposed to armaments. They think there are other ways to settle world problems. I never heard anyone talk like they did before; I never thought about these things. But it's pretty much like what we are working for in the South; we think love and nonviolence can change the South; they think love and nonviolence can change the world. I think we are working for the same things..."

"They've suffered just like we have, they've been in jail like we have. I would have liked to have joined them—only I don't think I should; I think my job is to stay here in the South and work against segregation. But I want to help them in some way. I told

them I'd raise some money for them; I'm going to try..."

And in the words of Barbara Deming, a writer who participated in the first part of the peace walk in East Tennessee.

"What held the deepest meaning for me on the walk was our encounter with some of those fighting for integration..."

From the moment that two students from the sit-in movement in Lebanon, Tenn., appeared on the road to walk beside us, miles outside their town—we felt a new lightness of heart.

"By the time we were entering Lebanon itself, so many more had joined us that our numbers were equal; and as we walked those hostile streets together, the identity of our battle, I think, was felt instinctively and strongly by us all. We were both, very simply, for the brotherhood of man.

"The Negroes of Lebanon—and of our next stop, Carthage—gave to us more than we gave them. They not only swelled our

numbers; not only housed us and fed us bountifully, even took up a collection for us—among people who had little enough to spare. But they gave us, beyond this, their prayers, and gave us, by contagion, something of their own astonishing courage.

"We sang together 'We Shall Overcome, We Are Not Afraid,' and in spite of all the threats we had met along the road on that trip, we could not walk away from these meetings with them feeling anything but unafraid..."

Prior to the beginning of the walk, the peace walkers had agreed on a policy of keeping somewhat distant from South-

erners engaged in the integration movement. Their reason, unselfish enough, was a desire not to "burden" the Southerners with two "unpopular" causes—disarmament in addition to integration.

But, as Miss Deming points out, it was the Southern integrationists themselves who broke over the artificial bounds of this policy. And the peace walkers learned that it was those who had suffered for brotherhood and nonviolence on the picketlines and in the jails at home who could best understand what they were talking about when they spoke of brotherhood and nonviolence in international affairs.

'No Apology, No Regrets'

Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Evans, a white couple in Crossville, Tenn., who extended hospitality to the peace walkers, were criticized by friends who said their action had aroused violent elements, strengthened racial extremists, and weakened potential liberals. But Mr. Evans, who is a member of the SCEF advisory committee, wrote:

"We have no regrets or apologies to make for practicing the brotherhood of man in which we deeply believe... Our belief is that no progress comes except as we practice our beliefs even at the risk of arousing opposition whose tactics are to make threats of physical violence and sometimes engage in such.

"We just don't feel our lives should be ruled and future progress decided by the hoodlums who are willing to employ... violence to keep things as they are..."

"Basically it all comes down to the issue of confronting violence with the nonviolent loving action which the peace walkers are advocating as the only sane means of solving international disagreements..."

"To do nothing to defend or promote the way of life one believes in because of the opposition's possible use of violence is surely cowardice and knuckling under to violence; but to practice what one believes in, in a spirit of love and with nonviolent action, takes the kind of courage the peace walkers, and freedom riders and sit-ins and stand-ins are exhibiting.

"This... will bring peace and a more perfect society if it is not already too late to change man's long-established modes of thinking and acting before a nuclear war destroys us all..."

Student Movement Takes Forward Leap

(Continued from Page 1)

where SNCC was organized at Raleigh in the spring of 1960, there were virtually no Southern whites. At the second conference, in Atlanta in October, 1960, there were 12 by actual count. This time it was estimated that about 30 per cent of the students present were Southern whites.

4. Workshop sessions this time tended to reflect the very concrete problems students have encountered since 1960, when it seemed for a time that all you had to do was sit down at a lunch counter and the whole society would suddenly change. For example:

Time has shown that people

must know what their theoretic legal rights are, even when they are deprived of them, and that there are creative uses to be made of court processes, along with direct action; so there was a workshop led by Attorney Len Holt, on "Get Your Legal Rights Yesterday."

Time has shown too that there must be a basic change in the political structure of the South, so there was a workshop on voter registration. Time has shown that civil rights cannot be divorced from civil liberties, and that the right of free speech must be established if there are to be weapons for peaceful social change, so there was a workshop on civil liberties.

Time has shown that white students must be drawn into the struggle, so there was a special workshop on the white student. And so on.

The tone of the conference was actually set in the opening statement by Charles McDew, who described the "moral hunger" which motivates this movement. (See excerpts on Page 1.)

Dr. Robert Johnson, professor of sociology at New York University, who has worked closely with the student movement both North and South, gave the opening address. His theme was "You are not alone," and he described what the Southern student movement has meant in inspiration to students all over the United States and indeed all over the world.

Miss Ella Baker, long-time civil rights leader who helped found SNCC and has continued to serve as one of its advisers, gave the address which closed the conference. She told the students that they represented the "revolutionary thrust" that can change the South and urged them not to be lured into "peace settlements" that compromise their stands after they've raised the issue.

"Segregation is a disease that affects our entire body politic," she said. "It's no time for a peace settlement, because we cannot make peace while this evil still prevails."

There was no indication that the students would.

A Glimpse Beyond the Lunch Counter

(By Staff Correspondent)

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.—Another indication that at least some Southern students are thinking far beyond the corner lunch counter was provided by a week-end conference at the University of North Carolina here in May.

The conference, sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), brought together over 70 student leaders from the South and North and centered on the theme "Race and Politics in the South." The students spent 2½ days discussing long-range ramifications of the Southern integration movement and ways in which the moral force of this movement can be translated into fundamental changes in the Southern political structure.

Among the main speakers were Michael Harrington, editor of *New America*; Tom Kahn, author

of the widely acclaimed pamphlet on Southern sit-ins, *Unfinished Revolution*; Miss Ella Baker, SNCC adviser; Bob Moses, SNCC leader in Mississippi; Tim Jenkins, student leader, and Vincent Harding, Southern representative of the Mennonite Central Committee, now working on an integration project in Atlanta.

Conference proceedings are being printed and will be available soon by writing SDS, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. SDS, youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy, has been reorganized within the past two years and is now in the process of formulating a political program in keeping with its basic goal: "a democratic society where at all levels the people have control of decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent."



SERIOUS-MINDED students register for SNCC conference in Atlanta. At right, Mrs. Mildred Forman, wife of SNCC Executive Secretary Jim Forman, handles the registration desk.