

[JAN. 1967]

Revolution in Mississippi

**Special
Report**
by
**Tom
Hayden**



20¢

A Students for a Democratic Society Publication

Though small in size, this report is large in substance and implied urgency. It is attempting to introduce to the wider audience outside the South the civil rights movement as something more than an abstract entity that "colored people are doing down there." With great perception and sensitivity, Tom Hayden presents a real picture of what an important part of the American civil rights movement is doing to effect and promote a full scale social revolution in this country.

In this report, the author's concern reaches far beyond the initial spontaneous response caused by student sit-ins, and explores the various ramifications of a student revolt that has grown into a planned revolution. The issue he treats, the dedicated determination he sees, the aspiration he records are not the concern, solely, of young Negroes in the South. They are, or should be, the concern of all thoughtful Americans because the end results of what is happening in this country today will surely affect the entire South, the nation, and our future position as members of a world community.

The concern of this report is political. It is a political concern in the older sense of the word which connotes a desire for involvement and participation in reform. Its focus then is upon matters which relate to using one of our basic social institutions, that of government, to revolutionize the social structure of our society.

The report clearly records the assault of young American Negroes against the existing power structure in the Deep South which would perpetuate a system of near political serfdom in the midst of a rapidly changing world. It echoes the throbbing demand to cease the hypocrisy of shouting support of revolutionists abroad and cultivating normalcy and mediocrity at home. The report shows that today, in this country, there are people who feel freedom as a passion in their lives and are willing to make it more than an abstract concept. We are doing this in an attempt to assure the security of the individual against all forms of social oppression.

Young people have integrated the ideal of working for people with the concept of working with people, and the results are positive. We are working with people not in the, so-called, depressed areas of distant lands, but here, at home, where the domestic scene is depressed and depressing in spots. The work that is going on here is important and the fact that it is being reported objectively is just as important. The concern of many of the people in this country today is to spread democracy to the other parts of the world. Our concern today is this: we who have fought for so many years to make "the world safe for democracy" are now fighting to make democracy safe for the world.

CHARLES F. McDEW
Chairman

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

WE SHALL OVERCOME, WE SHALL OVERCOME

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE, THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE

THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND, WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND

WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND SOME DAY

REVOLUTION I DO BELIEVE
E SOME DAY

WE ARE NOT AFRAID, WE ARE NOT AFRAID

WE ARE NOT AFRAID TODAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

WE'RE ON TO VICTORY, **WIN** ON TO VICTORY

WE'RE ON TO VICTORY SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH, THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH

THE LORD WILL SEE

OH DEEP IN MY HE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

WE WILL SOON BE FREE, WE WILL SOON BE FREE

WE WILL SOON BE FREE SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

WE SHALL OVERCOME,

WE SHALL OVER

OH DEEP IN MY HE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

By TOM HAYDEN

SDS Southern Field Secretary

THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE, THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE

THE TRUTH WILL MAKE US FREE SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND, WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND

WE'LL WALK HAND IN HAND SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

Students for a Democratic Society

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NOT AFRAID

TODAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

WE'RE ON TO VICTORY, WE'RE ON TO VICTORY

WE'RE ON TO VICTORY SOME DAY

OH DEEP IN MY HEART I DO BELIEVE

WE SHALL OVERCOME SOME DAY

THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH, THE LORD WILL SEE US THROUGH

"You have caused a very bad relationship to exist in this town. Through the years, and up until this past August, we have gotten along very well. It was then that this outsider Bob Moses came into the area to have a campaign to register 'Negra' voters. Now you have had classes instructing these people how to register. Some of them have been successful enough to pass the examination and are now qualified. . . . With the help of officers of the surrounding counties we have been able to keep violence down. . . . Every effort you make to stir up violence in this community will be met. Some of you are local residents, some are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

*Statement by Judge Brumfield when sentencing
McDew, Moses and Zellner.*

FOREWORD

February 1, 1960 marked the beginning of the student sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina. In a sense this is an anniversary pamphlet, illuminating one section of a movement which has continued and grown in significance. What is here described is a revolution by and for democratic man: one who believes unequivocally in each citizen's right to participate in shaping his social destiny. The struggle in McComb shows more than the practise of systematic repression by the state of Mississippi. It illustrates the price which some Americans are now willing to pay for democratic participation.

The League for Industrial Democracy and its student branch, Students for a Democratic Society, are engaged in the attempt to reinforce this desire for participation in Americans of all ages and conditions. For as our country has become increasingly urban, mechanized, and impersonal, the sense of being a live contributor to the life of society has sickened and, among too many of us, died. The L. I. D. calls upon Americans to observe how, and by whom, are made the great decisions affecting our life in cities—who decides the nature of our schools, our housing, our recreation, our wage range—and why do so few of us take part in these decisions? In urban life, as in civil rights and other major problem areas, L. I. D. seeks to encourage and improve the participation of the individual.

Students for a Democratic Society provides an educational center where people around the university can come together, not only to take part in the civil rights struggle of today, but also to relate that struggle to other badly-needed reforms—in campus life, in the city, in economic and foreign policy. We do this by means of pamphlets, periodicals, and conferences, but above all by establishing a sustained program of investigation and action on campuses throughout the country. In all this, we want to bridge North and South, campus life and adult life—to make the vital connection between the aspirations of students and those of the men and women working for the labor movement, for urban reform, for human and civil rights and liberties—for the America that we can create together.

ROBERT A. HABER
President, SDS

HARRY FLEISCHMAN
Chairman, Exec. Comm., LID

THE IMMEDIATE HISTORY

There are almost five million Negroes of voting age in the South. Generally, about 25% of the registered Negroes vote, compared to 60% of the registered whites. The population in Mississippi, white and Negro over 21 years of age, totals 1,207,000. Of that total, about 500,000 are Negroes, of whom approximately 23,000—or 1/20—are registered (all according to the 1950 census and later reports). In some areas, Negroes outnumber whites; e.g., in the Third Congressional District (Delta area) 67% of the over-21 group is Negro, but only 4,596 of 146,076 (Negroes) are registered. A recent Southern Regional Council pamphlet on voter registration says of Mississippi:

All forms of violence, intimidation, and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually rely on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the state which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered . . . In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50 per cent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the three elections on which information was available in 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and three had one registered who never voted. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population, two votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Sporadic attempts have been made to register larger numbers of Negroes, but never has there been significant success of a *continuing kind*. This is not the place to suggest the reasons for the past and present failures of a voter registration program; suffice to say that a range of intertwined factors are operative, including legal restrictions, violence and intimidation, the ratio of Negroes to whites, levels of education, degree of dependency on the white community for employment or the materials of subsistence, relative absence of indigenous Negro leadership, and so on.

SNCC was born in the Spring of 1960 as a direct action coordinating agency of the sit-in movement. It functioned originally as a loose-knit, decentralized, coordinating unit composed of representatives from the 13 Southern states, the U.S. National Student Association, the National Student Christian Federation, with observers from Students for a Democratic Society and other organizations.

In the Spring of 1961 a series of events induced radical changes in SNCC's method of attacking segregation. Those events, very briefly, included: 1) The U.S. National Student Association, through the efforts of 1960-61 vice president Timothy Jenkins, arranged a three-week seminar, financed by the New World Foundation, for over a dozen sit-in leaders. Held in Nashville, the seminar concentrated on the social structure of the South, the process of revolution and

social change, the necessity of building a cadre of radical leadership; 2) The Kennedy Administration made clear that it believed and was willing to support the idea that the vote, not the lunch counter, must be the ultimate focus of the integration movement. The Administration's judgment was probably colored by the fact that the Democratic Party must gain the support of Southern Negroes to enhance political possibilities in 1962 and 1964, which is not to gainsay the validity of the administration viewpoint; 3) Prominent individuals and foundations met with student representatives from SNCC and promised financial help for massive voter registration efforts. Coupled with the virtual promise of full Justice Department support, the promise of financial help considerably enhanced the possibility of a fruitful voter registration campaign; 4) The standing civil rights groups (e.g., NAACP, CORE, SCLC) are willing to participate in voter registration projects.

The combination of such factors (oversimplified here) presented SNCC with a difficult decision: whether to make voter registration a keystone in SNCC's overall effort. Several questions immediately emerged: Is it possible for us to handle something as complex and comprehensive as voter registration? Does the Negro community see the necessity of registration and citizenship participation, or is it more necessary to concentrate on the massive nonviolent action which has inspired many students and elders to the sense of possibility and dignity which is the end of apathy and the prerequisite of an interest in voting? In other words, is voter registration, as a program, premature? Does mass action really get at basic beyond-the-lunch-counter structures which must be shattered if the South is to be fundamentally altered? Is it possible for a program to embrace both voter registration and direct action, bringing them into a complementary relationship? As involvement in direct action brings with it a deepened spirit of community, does not involvement in voter registration ignite a concern to eradicate injustices beyond the ballot box?

For a brief time, there were two conflicting "camps" within SNCC: one tending in emphasis toward "voter registration" and one toward "direct action." However, after a series of long meetings during the summer of 1961, both "camps" agreed on a plan to initiate an all-out revolutionary program encompassing both mass action and voter registration.

WHY McCOMB?

To understand the choice of McComb for a pilot project, we must trace the actions of Robert Moses during 1960-1961. During the spring of 1960, Moses, a teacher, spent his evenings working in the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In July 1960, Moses went to work for SNCC in Atlanta.

Moses was sent on a field trip, specifically to get people from Deep South areas to attend SNCC's fall meeting. Stopping in Cleveland, Mississippi, Moses became acquainted with Aimsie Moore, a militant Negro leader, who convinced him of the potential efficacy of an all-out campaign to register Negro voters.

The adult Negro population of a remote, rural Mississippi county far removed from industrial society do not even possess means of communication among themselves, much less means of communication with the outside world. This situation precluded the non-violent direct action characteristic of the sit-ins. But Moses and Moore saw the possibility of getting out on those dirt roads and into those old broken homes, talking the language and living the life of the oppressed people there, and persuading them to face the trials of registration. That trial passed, a Negro community with an actual voice in local, if not regional, politics, might be built, thereby acquiring the possibility for educational and social reforms. Most of all, a spirit that is vital to the eventual destruction of segregation might replace the spiritual apathy which now characterizes the Negro community.

Moses began drafting a proposal for SNCC to begin a voter registration project in the delta region, where two-thirds of the over-21 population is Negro. It took nearly a year, but this summer Moses was back in Mississippi, SNCC had completed its organizational reshuffling, and the project was ready to begin.

At this point accident again influenced events. The national Negro magazine *Jet* printed a brief note about the proposed Mississippi project. It was read by C. C. Bryant, head of the NAACP chapter in Pike County where McComb is located. Bryant wrote to Moses, indicating the desirability of such a project in the Pike County area. Moses was having difficulty obtaining anything better than deteriorated buildings in which to establish his Voter Registration School in the delta. He went to see Bryant in McComb, found conditions more suitable for immediate action, and decided to establish the project there and in the adjoining counties, Walthall and Amite.

THE PROJECT BEGINS

SNCC, in its attempt to ignite a mass non-violent movement, designated the formidable and sovereign state of Mississippi as the site of its pilot project. Moses moved to McComb, a city of 13,000. He found a number of local adults, high school students, and non-student youth eager to assist him. They provided contacts, housing, some transportation, and (particularly the students) began canvassing the surrounding area, determining the numbers of registered and unregistered voters, informing the citizens of the SNCC program and inviting them to participate. By the end of the first week,

PIKE, AMITE, AND WALTHALL COUNTIES

These are among the most treacherous areas in America for those who are concerned with extending civil rights beyond the white race. The statistical anatomy of the areas is suggestive of conditions:

County	Negroes over 21	Population over 21	% of Negroes	Negroes Registered
Pike ^{McComb}	7,608 (1950)	19,755 (1950)	38 (1950)	186 (1950)
Liberty ^{McComb}	8,010 (1960)			207 (1960)
Amite	4,598 (1950)	9,760 (1950)	47 (1950)	3 (1950)
Liberty ^{McComb}	5,010 (1960)			1 (1960)
Walthall ^{McComb}	3,017 (1950)	7,752 (1950)	38 (1950)	0

*In Walthall county, it should be noted, the Justice Department early in 1961 filed charges against the registrar for allegedly systematically discriminating against Negro voting. (Ed. NOTE: The case still awaits resolution.)

(Figures taken from 1950 census and the 1961 Report to the Commission on Civil Rights from the State Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Rights Commission, Rev. Murray Cox, Gulfport, Chairman. The first section of the latter document illuminates the problem of fact-seekers in Mississippi: "The subcommittee on Negro voter registration has received no official information regarding registration and/or voting of Negroes. Appendix A shows registration and voting figures, by counties, which were received from private sources. Following receipt of Appendix A, a letter of inquiry was sent to registrars of the counties listed in Appendix A, asking whether the information received from private sources was accurate. No replies to this correspondence have been received!")

John Hardy, Nashville, and Reggie Robinson, Baltimore, had arrived as SNCC field representatives to help in the project.

On August 7, 1961, the SNCC Voter Registration School opened in Burgluntown in a combination cinder block-and-paintless wood frame two-story structure which houses a grocery below and a Masonic meeting hall above. A typical voter registration (or citizenship) class involved a study of the Mississippi State Constitution, filling out of sample application forms, description of the typical habits of the Southern registrar—whose discretionary powers are enormous—and primarily attempted the morale building, encouragement and consequent group identification which might inspire the exploited to attempt registration.

On the first day of the school, four persons went down to the registrar's office in nearby Magnolia, the county seat of Pike; three of them registered successfully. Three went down on August 9th; two were registered. Nine went down on August 10th; one was registered. By this time, articles in the local press, the (McComb)

Enterprise-Journal, had increased awareness of the project, stirring a few Negroes from Walthall and Amite to come to the McComb classes. However, the thrust of the movement was somewhat blunted on the evening of August 10th when one of the Negroes who had attempted to register was shot at by a white. (It is now clear that the shooting had nothing to do with the attempted registration that day. However, in the minds of the Negro community, for whom the vote is intimately connected with intimidation and violence, the association was made between the two events.) Attendance at the Voter Registration School quickly diminished.

Moses and the others began to rebuild. People were talked to; nights were spent in the most remote areas; days were spent canvassing all around. Then on August 15th, the first of a still continuing series of "incidents" occurred. On that day, Moses drove to Liberty (yes, it is ironic), the county seat of Amite, with three Negroes (Ernest Isaac, Bertha Lee Hughes and Matilda Schoby) who wished to register. Moses was asked to leave the registrar's office while the three attempted to fill out the registration forms. The three claim that while they were so engaged the registrar assisted a white female in answering several of the questions. Upon completing the test, the applicants were told by the registrar that their attempts were inadequate. The registrar then placed the papers in his desk and asked the three not to return for at least six months, at which time presumably they might try further. (I have been told by a reliable Federal source that the tests were not of a quality character.)

Leaving Liberty, driving toward McComb, the group was followed by a highway patrolman, Marshall Carwyle Bates of Liberty, who flagged them over to the side of the road. Bates asked the driver, Isaac, to step out of his car and get inside of the police car in the rear. Isaac complied. Then Moses left the car and walked back to the police car to inquire about the nature of the pull-over. Bates ordered Moses back to the car and shoved him. Thereupon, Moses began to write the Marshall's name on a pad of paper, and was shoved into the car. Moses, incidentally, was referred to as the "nigger who's come to tell the niggers how to register." Finally, the contingent of four Negroes was ordered to drive to the Justice of the Peace's office in McComb, where Moses was eventually charged with impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties, fined \$50 and given a suspended sentence. Moses phoned the Justice Department, collect, from the station, which alerted the police to his significance. (The local paper called collect the next day, was refused by the Justice Department, and asked editorially why Moses was so privileged.) The fine was paid by the NAACP in order to appeal the case, and Moses did go to jail for a period of two days, during which he did not eat.

On the same day several other SNCC persons entered Pike

County: Gwendolyn Green, Washington; Travis Britt, New York; William Mitchell, Atlanta; Ruby Doris Smith, Atlanta; James Travis, Jackson; and MacArthur Cotton, Jackson. Responsibilities were divided and the canvassing increased.

REGISTRATION, SIT-INS, AND VIOLENCE

During this same time there had been requests from Negroes in Walthall county to set up a school there. A site for the school and living quarters were offered. John Hardy was selected to go to the area. Along with several others, he established the school on August 18th. About 30 persons attended the first session. Eighty percent of the Negroes in Walthall are farmers, and 60 percent own their own land. The heavy schedule imposed on the farmers at this time of year required that classes be scheduled so as not to conflict with the workday schedule. School was held at the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church and at private homes. Moses came into Amite several days later and remained for nearly a week, teaching and visiting "out the dirt roads." On August 22nd, four Negroes tried to register in Liberty; none succeeded; no incident occurred. By this time, however, dramatic events were occurring in Pike County.

On August 18th, Marion Barry from Nashville, a SNCC field representative particularly concerned with initiating direct action, arrived in McComb. Those students too young to vote, many of whom had canvassed regularly, were eager to participate actively. The Pike County Non-Violent Movement was formed; workshops in the theory and practice of non-violence were held. On August 26th two of the youths, Elmer Hayes and Hollis Watkins (both 18), sat-in at the lunch counter of the local Woolworth's, the first direct action incident in the history of the county. The two were arrested and remained in jail 30 days. The charge: breach of peace. Their arrest set the stage for a mass meeting in McComb on August 29th. The Reverend James Bevel, of Jackson, spoke to a crowd of nearly 200. The paper of the following day carried the story lead, in large type, and the local columnist warned the citizens that the Negroes were not engaged in a mere passing fad, but were serious in intention.

On August 30th, a sit-in occurred at the lunch counter of the local bus station. Isaac Lewis, 20, Robert Talbert, 19, and Brenda Lewis, 16, were arrested on charges of breach of peace and failure to move on. They remained in jail for 28 days. By now, a current of protest had been generated throughout the counties. Subsequent events intensified the feeling. On August 29th, Bob Moses took two persons to the registrar's office in Liberty. They were met by Billy Jack Caston (cousin of the sheriff and son-in-law of State Representative Eugene Hurst) who was accompanied by another cousin and the son of the sheriff. (Should this seem peculiar, read Faulkner.) Cas-

ton smashed Moses across the head and dropped him to the street. The other Negroes were not harmed. Moses' cuts required eight stitches. Moses filed assault and battery charges against Caston, perhaps the first time in the history of Amite that a Negro has legally contested the right of a white man to mutilate him at fancy. Approximately 150 whites attended the trial on August 31st. Among other questions, Caston's attorney asked Moses if he had participated in the riots in San Francisco or Japan; Moses replied that he had not. Upon the suggestion of law officials, Moses left the trial, at which he was the plaintiff, before the "not guilty" verdict in order to escape mass assault.

Meanwhile in Walthall, the first attempt to register Negroes since the Justice Department suit of the Spring of 1961 was made. Five persons went to Tylertown, the county seat, with John Hardy. As all businesses close at noon on Thursdays, only two of the five had time to take the test. One was a teacher, the other a senior political science major at Jackson State College (Negro). Both failed. On the same day Hardy, in an interview with the editor of the *Tylertown Times*, made a remark which was interpreted as an endorsement of atheism. This was to "mark" Hardy, if he had not already been marked. On the following evening a mass "encouragement" meeting was held in rural Tylertown; about 80 attended. Again, a mass meeting was held on September 4th to emphasize the significance of the vote and of citizenship.

On September 5th, three Negroes waited two hours in Tylertown, then were informed that the registrar had to attend a meeting and would not be able to register them. The following day another Negro appeared at the registrar's office, and was told to return at a time more convenient for the registrar.

Back in Liberty (Amite county seat), on August 31st, Travis Britt had appeared at the registrar's office with several Negroes. He was told by the registrar to get out of the office. As he stood outside, Bob Moses approached with two witnesses of his August 29th beating to prepare affidavits against Caston. Suddenly two shots were fired outside. Two of the three Negroes attempting to register interrupted their work to rush out, thinking Moses and Britt were in jeopardy. A crowd of whites had gathered, as had police, but the source of the shooting was unclear. At any rate, the office was scheduled to close at noon, which prevented the three from finishing the test. They report that they had been told by the registrar that they could return whenever ready. No incidents occurred outside when they all left, although the white group remained.

Negro Vote Drive in Mississippi Is Set Back as Violence Erupts

***Leader Says Many Want to Register but
Are Afraid—Officials Deny That Any
Applicants Have Been Intimidated***



On September 5th, fear became terror throughout the region as a result of the beating of Travis Britt in Liberty. He and Moses accompanied four Negroes to the registrar's office. Let Britt's words tell the story: "There was a clerk directly across the hall who came rushing out while we were waiting, and ordered us to leave the hallway. He said he didn't want a bunch of people congregating in the hall. So we left and walked around the building to the court house, near the registrar's window. By the time we reached the back of the building a group of white men had filed into the hall, in about the same spot we'd been 'congregating' in. They were talking belligerently. Finally one of the white men came to the end of the hall as if looking for someone. He asked us if we knew Mr. Brown. We said no. He said, You boys must not be from around here. We said he was correct. This conversation was interrupted by another white man who approached Bob Moses and started preaching to him: how he should be ashamed coming down here from New York stirring up trouble, causing poor innocent people to lose their homes and jobs, and how he (Bob) was lower than dirt on the ground for doing such a thing, and how he should get down on his knees and ask God forgiveness for every sin of his lifetime. Bob asked him why the people should lose their homes just because they wanted to register and vote. The white gentleman did not answer the question, but continued to preach. He said that the Negro men were raping the white women up North, and that he didn't want and wouldn't allow such a thing to start down here in Mississippi. He went on to say that the Negro in New York was not allowed to own homes or establish businesses so why didn't we go the hell back home and straighten out New York instead of trying to straighten out Mississippi. At this point Bob turned away and sat on the stoop of the court house porch, and the man talking to him took a squatting position. Nobody was saying anything. I reached in my pocket and took out a cigarette. A tall white man, about middle-aged, wearing a khaki shirt and pants stepped up to me and

asked 'Boy, what's your business?' at which point I knew I was in trouble. (Recall: Moses had already been beaten earlier, had filed charges, had called Washington, and was much less 'open game' than Britt at this point. T.H.) The clerk from the hallway came to the back door leading to the courthouse with a smile on his face and called to the white man, 'Wait a minute; wait a minute!' At this point, the white man, whom they called Bryant, hit me in my right eye. Then I saw this clerk motion his head as if to call the rest of the whites. They came and all circled around me, and this fellow that was called Bryant hit me on my jaw, then on my chin. Then he slammed me down; instead of falling, I stumbled onto the court house lawn. The crowd (about 15, I think) followed, making comments. He was holding me so tight around the collar; I put my hands on the collar to ease the choking. The clerk hollered 'Why don't you hit him back?' This set off a reaction of punches from this fellow they called Bryant; I counted fifteen; he just kept hitting and shouting, 'Yes, why don't you hit me, nigger? Yes, why don't you hit me, nigger?' I was beaten into a semi-conscious state. My vision was blurred by the punch in the eye. I heard Bob tell me to cover my head to avoid any further blows to the face. I told Bryant if he was through beating me, I was ready to go. The clerk said, yes, I should go. Then this guy they called Bryant yelled, 'Brothers, shall we kill him here?' I was extremely frightened by the sincere way he said it. No one in the crowd answered the question, and Bryant (I found out his last name was Jones) released me. Moses then took me by the arm and took me to the street, walking cautiously to avoid any further kicks or blows. The Negro fellow that had been taking the registration test gave up in the excitement, and we saw him in his truck. The white men advised him to get the hell out of town, saying they were surprised that he was associating with our kind." Charges were not pressed.

On September 7th, John Hardy accompanied two persons to the registrar's office at Tylertown. The two were informed by the registrar that he didn't want to have anything to do with them because he was already involved in a suit with the Federal government. Says Hardy: "I entered the office to ask why. The registrar, John Woods, had seen me on one other occasion, the 30th. After telling him my name, he came out very insultingly and boisterously questioning my motives and reasons for being in Mississippi and said I had no right to mess in the niggers' business and why didn't I go back where I came from. He reached into his desk drawer and ordered me out at gunpoint. As I turned to leave he struck me over the head with the pistol. I left his office and walked about a block. I decided to go to the sheriff's office to report the assault and possibly make charges. But this was not necessary because the sheriff found me. He told me to come with him or he would beat me 'within an inch of your life.' After being put in jail (the charge was

resisting arrest and inciting a riot, and later disorderly conduct) I was interrogated at length by a city attorney and later by the district attorney. About 7:30 I was taken to Magnolia jail for 'your own protection.' I was in jail until the following night."

The Hardy case deserves more than outrage. It holds the possibility of legal response which might form a precedent against the state's using its official machinery to interfere with civil rights. John Doar of the U.S. Justice Department, Civil Rights Division, charged that if Hardy were tried and convicted, Negroes would be discouraged from attempting to vote (an action constituting a violation of the Civil Rights Act), and irreparable damage would be done the nation. Subsequently, the Federal government has been striving to prevent Hardy's trial. On September 20th, the Justice Department, filing its complaint before U.S. District Judge Harold Cox in Meridian, Mississippi, asked for court orders forbidding intimidation or coercion of Negroes seeking to vote in Walthall and appealed for prevention of the Hardy trial.

On September 21st, Judge Cox declined to stop the state court trial. Among his remarks, as quoted by the Associated Press: "It is difficult to conceive how the United States can possibly be irreparably damaged by this criminal case down in Walthall County, Mississippi." "While it must be presumed that John Hardy is guilty of everything with which he is charged, it must likewise be presumed that justice will be done in the trial of the case." "This incident occurred September 7th and the government waited until September 20th to ask for instant relief. It looks like the government has a self-made emergency." "(It would be improper) for me to permit a clash of the sovereignty of the state and Federal governments on such a case."

The Federal government announced it would next appeal to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, in Montgomery, Alabama. On October 4th, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall argued before the Montgomery Court that Walthall is a place of "near lawlessness." He accused Mississippi of a "trumped-up charge" in the Hardy case, which was "an attempt to intimidate them to prevent them from registering to vote." A Mississippi assistant attorney general, Edward Cates, responded (according to A.P.) that the Federal government is seeking to "condemn a whole state without evidence," that Federal lawyers have presented no proof that Negroes in Walthall are afraid to try to register following Hardy's arrest. A three member tribunal is presently (October 13th) considering the case, with no outcome yet announced. (ED. NOTE: The Justice Department suit has been successful.)

CULMINATING IN DEATH

A little over two weeks after the Hardy beating, Mississippi terrorism reached a peak in the killing of a 52-year-old Negro, Herbert Lee. (The following information has been obtained from several private sources.) Lee was a member of the Amite NAACP. When SNCC came to Mississippi, Lee became an active, dedicated worker, assisting Moses in meeting people and arranging get-togethers. He lived on a farm just outside of Liberty, near the Louisiana line. On the morning of September 25th, he arose early, prepared to go to Liberty to gin cotton. As Lee drove his truck into Liberty, he was followed by Mississippi State Representative Eugene Hurst. Hurst and Lee had known each other for quite some time. Lee's brother, Frank, had apparently once purchased some of Hurst's land in Louisiana. In 1956 Hurst helped Lee get a cut in the cost of some land which Lee wanted to purchase. (The reduction was from \$9,000 to \$7,000.) Lee in turn promised Hurst a "tip" of some \$500 upon completion of Lee's payments on his land. On September 25th, Lee had paid more than \$6,500 on the land and was carrying a total of \$287 in his pocket.

There had reportedly been a recent economic crackdown in the whole area. The white community was circulating a list of names of those Negroes seriously involved in the voter registration or NAACP "movements"; many were being cut off from basic commodities. Mr. Steptoe, the NAACP head in Amite, received a letter, for instance, telling him to pay off his debts . . . Such was the situation that morning in Liberty, Mississippi. When Lee stopped his truck that morning, Hurst, who is the father-in-law of Billy Jack Caston, did the same. Hurst got out of his truck, and approached Lee, carrying a .38 in his hand. Lee remained in the cab of his truck. An argument ensued, partly about debts owed, partly about the .38, and partly about a tire tool Lee was alleged to be holding in the cab. Apparently the two challenged each other to put down their respective weapons. Hurst put his gun inside his belt. Lee edged across the seat, attempting to get out on the far side of the truck, which caused Hurst to run around the front of the truck. There Hurst is alleged to have said, "You didn't use the tire tool when you had it, and you're not going to use it now." Two motions followed, both by Hurst. The second motion was a downward thrust of the arm, a shot, and Lee was on his stomach with a .38 bullet in his brain. Hurst left the scene. Lee was left on the ground fully two hours before he was taken to the Negro coroner in McComb. A tire tool was near his body. A coroner's jury, after hearing whites but no Negro witnesses, ruled that the killing was in self-defense, and thereby a justifiable homicide. Hurst was never booked, charged, or tried.

In a county such as Amite, its caste system uninfluenced by the movement of ideas in the rest of the United States and the world,

the tradition identified in 1937 by John Dollard (*Caste and Class in a Southern Town*) is still relevant: "one of the best ways for a politician to get notoriety was to kill a Negro; such an act would speed him on the way to getting office and reveal that his sentiments on the race question were sound." When appraising the effect of the Lee killing, it is well to bear in mind that it happened at a moment when the Negro's hope of gaining the vote was rising once again, that it was executed with apparently the full support of the white caste's law enforcement agency, legal system, and public opinion, that the privileged assailant is himself a symbol of the enthroned political power which the Negro vote would presumably seek to undercut, and that he is a symbol connected with a historic pattern of killing for political reputation. All of these factors influence the effect of the slaying regardless of whether or not Hurst actually killed Lee deliberately for his part in voter registration.

A week later a little scrawled but mimeographed sign went out:

Bulletin
Mass Meeting for Voter Registration
Oct. 2nd, Tuesday
Guest Speaker
Rev. Charles Jones
From Charlotte, N. C.
Masonic Hall 630 Warren
7:30
Collection will be taken for the
wife and ten children of
Mr. Herbert Lee.

The Pike County Non-Violent Movement, perhaps the youngest and most challenged in the South, was resuming operation. The five sit-inners had returned from jail. On October 3rd, the mass meeting was held. Parents attended and spoke. People stressed that the corrupt government which permitted Lee's death could only be eliminated if Negroes registered. A total of \$81 was collected for Lee's wife and ten children. An unarticulated decision was made: If Brenda Travis and Ike Lewis were not re-admitted to Burgland High School, the students would protest. On the next day, the Negro high school principal, Commodore Dewey Higgins, ruled that the two would not be re-admitted to Burgland High School. For personal reasons, Lewis, 20 years old, had decided not to return to school. Brenda, however, had demanded entrance.

THE STUDENT WALKOUT

Chaos . . . during the previous day Martin Luther King sent an open telegram to President Kennedy protesting a "reign of terror" in McComb, and calling the Executive's attention to recent beatings. Several new SNCC people, returning from a successful national trip

in quest of funds for bond for the sit-inners, had arrived in McComb on the morning of the 4th. Among those arriving was Robert Zellner, a white man from Alabama who, as a white, was even more susceptible to mob hostility than a Negro, though in no sense could the Negro SNCC representatives feel secure.

The students—remember, 100 under 18 years of age—spent the mid-day preparing signs, and at about 2:30 P.M., they started to march downtown. Never before in McComb—never before in an area so rural, so violent—never before *anywhere in the South* with students so very young. One of them, 13 years old, has been charged with “assault with intent to kill” because she ran over the foot of a white woman in a supermarket with a push-cart, and, subsequently, the two slapped each other. That is simply an example. The others, while a little older, suffer the same system and are moved by the same courage. And so they went downtown—with 119 in all, including 19 students over age 18, Bob Moses, Charles McDew and Robert Zellner. They walked through the Negro neighborhoods where families watched from the windows and steps and yards, through the downtown business district, down to the edge of McComb, and back up to City Hall. There the march halted. Elmer Hayes, one of the original McComb sit-inners, began to pray on the steps. Three times the police asked him to move on. He refused and was arrested. Then it was Lewis, Talbert, and 16-year-old Brenda, in order, all arrested, Brenda violating juvenile parole. Each individual in the march stood quietly, waiting to be arrested. Moments before, a white man had tried to run over them with his automobile; now there were whites on foot, yelling, cursing. And each of the 114 left was quietly standing. Too much time was being taken up, so the police blew their whistles and pronounced everyone under arrest.

The whole march started up the stairs, on its way to be booked. As they did, a local white citizen reached out for Zellner and began to beat him. Hurting Zellner with the first punch, the man then grabbed him around the neck and began choking him and gouging his eyes. Then Bob Moses and Charles McDew were there, one holding the white's wrists, one clasping Zellner in protection. Moses and McDew were struck and dragged into the station by police, who then pulled in Zellner. The first statement inside the Police Chief's office, according to Zellner, was, “Ought to leave you out there.” Everyone was arrested and placed in jail. The nineteen over 18 years of age were arraigned on October 5th, after a night in Pike County Jail. Before Judge Robert W. Brumfield of McComb's Police Court, they pled innocent to charges of disturbing the peace; bond was \$100 each. Nine also pled innocent to the charge of contributing to delinquency of minors; bond was \$200 each. Trial was set for 9 A.M., October 23rd.

The nine charged on both counts were:

Curtis E. Hayes
Isaac Lewis
Stephen Ashley
Hollis Watkins
Robert Talbert
Robert Moses
Charles McDew
Donald Gadson
(John) Robert Zellner.

The high school students, meanwhile, refused to compromise their stand, as announced in the statement which they distributed:

"We the Negro youth of Pike County, feel that Brenda Travis and Ike Lewis should not be barred from acquiring an education for protesting an injustice. We feel that as members of Burgland High School, they have fought this battle for us. To prove that we appreciate their having done this, we will suffer any punishment they have to take with them.

"In the schools we are taught democracy, but the rights offered by democracy have been denied us by our oppressors; we have not had a balanced school system; we have not had an opportunity to participate in any of the branches of our local, state, and federal government; however, we are children of God who makes our fellowmen to love rather than hate, to build rather than tear down, to bind our nation with love and justice without regard to race, color, or creed."

Why only 100 students in a school of 600? A few of the others perhaps were opposed to change in the community. Many more, however, were clearly sympathetic with the revolt but either afraid, or in conflict with parents, or tied economically to the white system.

And as for those who went to jail? "You get kind of hard," said McDew, "after two or three days without eating, laying on the floor with the window busted out. It is cold in McComb at night." Beyond the question of physical health hazards, the crucial problem was the threats on the life of McDew, Moses and Zellner. By this time, everyone in the city knew them; they'd been photographed, facial close-ups appearing in the *Enterprise-Journal*, and now, in jail over the night, not far from the area where Charles Mack Parker was emasculated and lynched two years ago, they sat in their cells, confronted for four hours by a steady run of staring, muttering white visitors. "Do you believe in Jesus Christ?" was the question of a hostile local minister. "Do you believe that God is love?" was the question in return. "You don't believe in Jesus Christ, do you, you son-of-a-bitch; you'll go to hell and I'm going to see you get there soon." Four hours of threats and hatred.

The night passed, without death. The SNCC members were re-

leased on bond, and the next day the students solidified their commitment.

Brenda Travis, having broken parole by committing an offense within 30 days of her last one, is sentenced to one year in Colored Girls Industrial School, a detention home near Oakley, Mississippi. Until she is re-admitted, the students claim, they will not re-enter high school.

First they were told to return to school—after signing the following affadavit:

This is to advise that I am aware of the regulation of the McComb School Board concerning student walkouts in the McComb school system. This is to further advise that I have participated in such a walkout and am now asking for re-admission on probation. I also acknowledge that should I participate in a second school walkout that I shall be automatically expelled for the next school year.

They refused. They were a little scared; they felt odd without any history of Negro protest with which to identify because the sovereign state of their birth does not tell history honestly. They were almost all without planned futures. They were even giggling like kids that age do in Northern suburbs, but they refused—again and again.

On October 12th, Moses and McDew taught them classes in their new “non-violent high school,” the Negro Masonic Temple. The next week SNCC people taught other subjects: history, for example which the Mississippi school system presents in a thick book with a Confederate flag on one cover and the capitol of Mississippi on the other, and which tells of the “War of Northern Aggression,” the positive aspects of slavery, the heroism of the Ku Klux Klan in the South’s series of crisis.

The high school administration has declared that any student who has not signed the affadavit is thereby expelled for the rest of the year. Unless I miss my guess, most will not sign those slips. They’ll take classes from SNCC or go to school elsewhere, and perhaps they’ll petition the white school for admittance, and they’ll take it to the courts, and someday they will win. (ED. NOTE: See “Retro-spect” at end of pamphlet.)

• • • • •

Perhaps this situation cannot be adequately conveyed. Does it become more real in noting that a white man connected with the broadcasting system there sees the solution to the problem in “throwing those little niggers in one bag, castrating them, and dropping the bag in the river?” Does it become more real in visualizing Herbert Lee lying on his face for two hours? Does it become real in recognizing

that those Negroes are down there, digging in, and in more danger than nearly any student in this American generation has faced? What does it take? When do we begin to see it all not as remote but as breathing urgency into our beings and meaning into our ideals? James Baldwin said last year that these kids are the only really free people in the country; perhaps he is right. They have decided not only to protest but to seek social transformation as well, and that is revolution. They have decided it is time right now—not in a minute, not after this one more committee meets, not after we have the legal defense and the court costs promised—to give blood and body if necessary for social justice, for freedom, for the common life, and for the creation of dignity for the enslaved, and thereby for us all.

MY BRIEF CONTACT WITH McCOMB

I am reluctant to discuss my brief role in McComb because it was insignificant in contrast with the activity of others. My bruises do not compare with the suffering there. My trip, however, received far more publicity than anyone had expected, and as I had an opportunity to explore the white community and to confer later with the Justice Department, I suppose it merits brief mention. I learned of the danger in McComb, was frustrated at the relative absence of newsmen there at a moment when their presence might in itself be protective and mitigating, and therefore decided to go on down for two or three days to obtain information, analyze attitudes, and do some writing. I was accompanied by NSA National Affairs Vice-President, Paul Potter. In our rush I was unable to obtain clear credentials from the several New York magazines and papers I spoke to by phone; however, I left without them, assuming that it was possible to avoid such problems even in McComb.

We arrived in McComb about 8:30 A.M. on October 9th, the first morning that the students went back to Burglund High to return their unsigned affidavits. We talked with Oliver Emmerich, the editor of the *Enterprise-Journal* and the *Jackson State News*, and Chief of Police George Guy among others that day.

They were both hospitable and hostile, a duality infecting the life of many a Southerner. Emmerich briefly traced the history of the Negro from "back when you couldn't have them in your living room" to an unspecified "more civilized state." He seemed strongly conscious of the Southern past, especially the reversal of Mississippi's economic fortunes after the War when "bossed mass Negro voting was ruinous."

"There is no hatred of the Negro in the South; but this agitation is causing it now . . . the protest last week was manufactured . . . the student body as a whole seems dissatisfied and regretful. Hos-

Mr. Carl Hayes was tried on October 27th, pled guilty and was fined \$100 and a thirty day suspended sentence given Mr. Hayes. Hoping this answers your question. As to your returning for trial, it will not be necessary."

THE McCOMB FREEDOM RIDES

5 NEGROES BEATEN
BY MISSISSIPPI MOB
Riders Attacked in McComb
—Crowd Shouts 'Kill 'Em'
By CLAUDE SITTO
Special to The New York Times
McCOMB, Miss.,
mob of cursing wh-

The illogic of segregation once confronted can bring a human mind or a human city into convulsion, and sometimes to madness. That is what is happening in McComb where, ironically, the first desegregation of a Mississippi interstate terminal has occurred.

To keep a Negro from sitting in a waiting room of wooden chairs; to keep him from eating and relaxing in a bus station restaurant while on a long trip; to keep him from buying a ticket at the "white" window; more deeply, to keep him from any kind of equal status with the white man; to keep him from that first simple bus station meal which could lead to the fulfillment of his larger aspirations; to keep him from shattering the rigid system in which the racist falsely integrates and regulates his being; to keep him from this, mobs roved the streets, threatening death to "any nigger who leaves his place." But it was not sufficient. City officials were forced to relent to a Federal court order and, even more ironically, *protect* Negroes wishing to use the terminal—the reverse of the controlled state pattern during the Freedom Rides, when police *arrested* Negroes for breach of the peace to "protect" them from the possibility of violence.

The chronology of events is rapidly traced:

November 1. An Interstate Commerce Commission order to desegregate interstate transportation facilities became effective.

November 3. The Justice Department initiated proceedings against the city of McComb, which continued to enforce terminal segregation by the use of signs. Chief George Guy blundered in a way that Jackson police never did throughout all the Freedom Rides, when he told the judges that state breach of peace laws were used to keep Negroes out of the "wrong" waiting room. The breach of peace law, passed last year, is ostensibly used to prevent violence,

not enforce segregation. The suit was successful; a three-judge Federal Court ordered immediate desegregation of the terminal.

November 27. As the orders were received, McComb Mayor C. H. Douglas announced that officials would "throw it (the terminal) open and see what happens"; he said that breach of the peace statutes wouldn't be utilized "unless somebody gets his head skinned down there."

November 29. George Raymond, Doratha Smith, Jerome Smith, Alice Thompson and Thomas Valentine, all young Negroes from New Orleans CORE, arrived by bus at the terminal. Because of a "gas leak", the terminal was closed; it would re-open that afternoon. Shortly afterward, a photographer free-lancing for CBS was beaten in the streets by several whites.

When the CORE "riders" returned in a taxi that afternoon and walked up to the entrance of the white waiting room, no policemen were in sight. An elderly white man in a gray felt hat and work-stained clothes blocked the way and sought to persuade them not to enter. But he stepped aside and the five filed into the joint waiting room and cafe, past the brightly lighted pinball machines and back to the lunch counter in the rear.

Jerome Smith walked over to the ticket window and the four other students took seats at the lunch counter. George Raymond asked twice in a firm voice for service. He was ignored. A. P. McGehee, operator of the bus terminal, walked behind the counter. Tapping his finger on the counter for emphasis, he told each of them: "Greyhound does not own this building; Greyhound does not own this restaurant. You get out of here."

At this point, a white youth grabbed a half-filled cup of coffee from a table and walked rapidly down the line of stools at the counter. When he reached Raymond, he struck him sharply at the base of the skull with the cup and saucer, spilling coffee over Raymond's head and back.

Smith then waved to the four others to join him in a row of seats at the front of the waiting room. As they got up to move, a short, wiry white man of about 35 jumped at the Negro leader and began beating him with his fists.

Smith doubled over and ducked his head under a rain of blows to the back of the neck, the shoulder, the stomach. "I'll kill him! I'll kill him! I'll kill him!" yelled the white.

The assailants then shoved and kicked the students through the door. In the street, the mob tossed one of the youths into the air again and again, kicking and beating him as he struck the pavement. The other students were also beaten brutally before they escaped in a taxi.

A Mississippi reporter recounted these events as follows: "At about that time the man who had asked them to move on was called to the ticket office to sell a ticket. While his attention was distracted,

the Negroes were hustled out of the waiting room by several men who apparently were angered by their actions." The reporter went on to state with seeming indifference that as of that night the police had not located the Negroes.

November 30. After private phone calls and public declarations of concern from Robert Kennedy, the city decided to comply with federal orders. Under a threat of going to a federal penitentiary for disobeying the District Court injunction order, Mayor Douglas reluctantly made an announcement:

"We did not make the law at the local level, but it is our purpose to enforce it. We are determined to this end."

He hastened to add: "McComb, known for years as the 'Camelia City of America', is a beautiful and enlightened community. Our whites and colored people have long enjoyed mutual respect and friendship. We do not intend to permit this relationship to be marred by the unfortunate publicity involved in the situation." Mayor Douglas described the Freedom Riders as a "sudden influx of outside professional agitators who came with the announced intention of remaining in our city until an incident is provoked and photographed."

The influential Jackson papers concurred with the Mayor's remarks, and elaborated. The *Clarion-Ledger's* news columns used "friction riders" instead of "freedom riders," and declared that the beating was a "regrettable vindication" of the Jackson policy of arresting each of the 330 Freedom Riders on breach of the peace charges before crowds could gather. When the McComb violence erupted, *Jackson Daily News* editor Jimmy Ward had just finished speculating that the joining of the Communist Party by 93 year old W. E. B. Dubois (a leader of the NAACP in the early part of the century and a prominent Negro man of letters) was a prelude to the immanent exposure of the rest of the NAACP leadership. In analyzing the McComb situation, Ward deplored the outbreak of violence—the first violence, he said, in a state which had received the Freedom Riders with "patience, endurance, tolerance, and kindness." It was Ward's second interpretation of the Freedom Rides; when they began in the late spring he declared their goal was to permit Negroes to stand "hip-to-hip" with whites at public toilets.

Hardly mentioned in any paper were the historic antecedents of the "minor incident" in McComb. One article mentioned that it was the second incident there; two white men (ourselves), the paper said, were beaten a month ago. Coincidentally, this was the same view Oliver Emmerich expressed to *Newsweek* a short time ago: "Nothing's happened except one white man beating two white men." (A remark made shortly before Emmerich himself was beaten. Only violence toward white men seems "out of the ordinary."—Ed.)

December 1. One month after ICC ruling, McComb "integrated"

its terminal. With FBI agents, representatives of the Justice Department, police, press, 400 howling citizens in the streets, and thousands more waiting anxiously in their homes, six Riders, members of New Orleans and Baton Rouge CORE, marched into the terminal. Their names: George Raymond, Claude Reese, Jean Thompson, Willie Bradford, Patricia Tate, and Thomas Peete. In the terminal restaurant the chairs were upon tables and seats untwisted from stools. The previously white waiting room, however, was open. The six entered, stayed a moment while the mob watched, then quickly hurried outside to a car and left the scene.

In the meantime, four newsmen—a *Life* photographer and reporter, a *Time* reporter, and an AP photographer—were beaten in downtown McComb. They were not hospitalized. Later that day, Mayor Douglas announced his intention to seek a Federal court injunction to prevent more Freedom Riders from entering the city; "The fact has already been established that McComb authorities will not violate the injunction of the Federal Court . . .," he declared, and therefore the Federal court should prevent further tests of the facilities. (Several days later, the court complied with the Mayor's request . . . Ed.)

December 2. Three young Negro high school students, once of McComb, returned there today by bus. They entered the terminal, were met by a local person in a car—and police pulled attackers away as they began to smash at the car. The three were James Vurnhan, Joe Lewis, and Jerome Byrd. A fourth McComb student, MacArthur Cotton (one of the first sit-inners) was slugged by a white man as he tried to purchase a ticket to return to Campbell State College in Jackson.

Thus it is for the present. A final note: chances are better now that the thirteen in Magnolia County jail (strange how neglected they were in the last week of publicity) will be bailed out; twelve can then go back to school and the thirteenth, Bob Moses, can proceed again.

• • • • •

Time and day-by-day life go on in McComb, though the reading public will find fresh amusements in the news pages. The turning away is unfortunate, though to be expected—after all, they ask, what is rare about racial strife? We value life in relative, not absolute, terms and much more violence occurs every day in many places around the world than in a little Mississippi town.

What is rare? Something that cannot be understood by any who place less than absolute value on life; something articulated once by Ignazio Silone:

"I am convinced that it would be a waste of time to show a people of intimidated slaves a different manner of speaking, a different manner of gesticulating; but perhaps it would be worthwhile to show them a different way of living. No word and no gesture can be more persuasive than the life, and if necessary, the death, of a man who strives to be free . . . a man who shows what a man can be."

Extreme words these. But the time for man has come.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Nathaniel M. Minkoff, *President*
William H. Kilpatrick, *Chairman of the Board*
Joseph Schlossberg, *Treasurer*
Harry W. Laidler, *Executive Director Emeritus*

Vice-Presidents:

John C. Bennett
M. J. Coldwell
Frank P. Graham
A. J. Hayes
John Haynes Holmes
Alexander Meiklejohn
Ernest Nagel
Mark Starr
Vera Rony, *Executive Secretary*

Executive Committee

Harry Fleischman, *Chairman*
Albert Blumenthal
LeRoy Bowman
Thomas R. Brooks
Max Delson
Isabelle B. Friedman
Murray Gross
Michael Harrington
Julius Manson
Isaiah Minkoff
Emanuel Muravchik
Aryeh Neier
Andrew E. Norman
Marvin Rich
Clarence Senior
Rowland Watts
Pearl Willen

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

National Executive Committee

Robert A. Haber, *New York City, President*
Robert Ross, *University of Michigan, Vice-President*
Mark Acuff, *University of New Mexico*
Becky Adams, *Swarthmore College*
Paul Booth, *Swarthmore College*
Donald Freeman, *Western Reserve University*
Betty Garman, *University of California*
Sandra Cason Hayden, *Atlanta, Georgia*
Sharon Jeffrey, *University of Michigan*
Tim Jenkins, *Yale Law School*
Dan Johnston, *University of Iowa*
Steve Max, *New York City*
James Monsonis, *Yale University*
John Robert Zellner, *Atlanta, Georgia*

Staff

Thomas Hayden, *New York City and Atlanta, field representative*
Curtis Gans, *Chapel Hill, N. C., field representative*
Harlon Joye, *New school for Social Research (New York City), Venture editor*
Jon Eisen, *Oberlin (Ohio) College, Activist editor*
Walter Lively, *Philadelphia, Northern civil rights project*
Jerry Schwinn, *University of Indiana, peace and disarmament project*
Richard James, *New York City, Administrative Assistant*

THOMAS HAYDEN is a field representative of Students for a Democratic Society. A graduate of the University of Michigan, he has worked for SDS in the South as a writer and participant in the nonviolent direct action movement. McComb, Mississippi, is one of several "trouble spots" he has observed in the course of his Southern travelling. His writing has appeared in *The Progressive*, *Mademoiselle*, *New America*, and numerous student journals.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY is an educational and social action organization which brings together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars in an effort to realize the vision of a society where at all levels the people control the decisions and resources which affect them. To this end the S.D.S. national staff chapters, and associated groups are engaged in political discussion and action projects.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY is a tax-exempt research and social action organization dedicated to the proposition that there is more to democracy than pulling a lever in a polling place. We believe that in a truly democratic society each individual participates in shaping his social destiny—in making the key decisions which govern his livelihood, his place of residence, the education of his children, as well as the large social and economic policies of his government. To increase such participation, and to inform and enlighten it, are the tasks which the L. I. D. has set for itself.

Cover by Isaac Trompetter

Editor: Harlon Joye