land must first take control of this party and then take control of the country via an election before it can hope for any real progress. In the meantime, the Conservatives can ignore them. In Canada, the most militant peace forces created the New Democratic Party; the effect was to split the peace vote, making it possible for the Conservative Party to remain in uneasy control.

Women's Strike for Peace wants to avoid being identified as a splinter of one party or another. The civil-rights movement wisely avoided the temptation to establish a third party; instead, it succeeded in getting the two major parties bidding for their vote. Thus, to succeed they need only muster a vote big enough to swing the balance of power.

THE women realize that their power is in the "swing" vote. They have organized an ambitious petition campaign to muster one million voters who will vote, not the party, but the issue. They point out that Mr. Kennedy won in 1962 by only 168,000 votes. Some election districts are won regularly by less than 100 votes. In a close contest, the women and their petition-signers could hold the balance of power.

The petition, addressed to candidates and party chairmen, states:

> Because the drift toward nuclear war threatens the very survival of life on earth, the time has come when personal and national interests must be secondary to the interests of all mankind. We who go to the polls in 1962—and those whom we elect there—will bear the gravest responsibility in the world's history.
>
> Therefore, we, the undersigned, promise our vote to the candidates, regardless of political party, who will actively support the following principles in their election campaigns and during their terms in office:
>
> 1. No more testing of nuclear weapons;
> 2. No further dispersion of nuclear arms;
> 3. Conversion of economy to peace basis;
> 4. Continuation of disarmament negotiations until agreement is reached;
> 5. Expansion of peace agencies, i.e., Disarmament Agency, etc.;
> 6. Action in areas where agreement has been reached, such as exploration of outer space;
> 7. Strengthening the peace-keeping machinery of the U.N.

The women plan to use the petition to force rival candidates for office into real debate. This approach, they point out, is far less expensive than backing candidates or starting a new party—and it is faster.

In New York State, the stage is now being set for such a debate. Senator Jacob Javits (R.), up for re-election, told the Rochester *Times-Union* that the "three major issues this fall will be peace, the rate of economic growth and equal opportunities for all people." He told the Independent Political Forum that "of course" he concurred with many points of the petition, but that he had "little patience with people who just want us to stop testing regardless of what the Russians do."

As the peace movement becomes increasingly political, it will be increasingly respected. The candidates who continue to do homage to the corpse of McCarthyism, and the peace workers who continue to fear it, will be left behind. Whereas SANE continues to feel it is political suicide to attend peace conferences attended or organized by Communists, the Women's Strike for Peace, in a no-nonsense, feminine approach, points out that we will never reach an understanding with the Russians about the survival of mankind if we are afraid to talk to them. One woman, asked if she wasn't afraid that the Communists might take over the Women's Strike for Peace, responded in eager fashion: "Do you know a Communist? Would you go get her? I'm working twenty hours a day for peace. I'd just *love* for someone to come take over a little typing and answer the phone." She reports, in mock disappointment, that no one seems to be able to find her a Communist willing to work that hard.

THIS is typical of the saucy, good-humored and optimistic approach of the women's groups and the independent, local peace groups which have sprung up around the country. They have brushed aside all the old stereotypes and are busily trying to save the world in the best American tradition. They are democratic and creative and not afraid to use their Constitutional rights. In contrast with the cynicism of many old-time liberals, they have a deep faith in their fellow man and in their own abilities to affect the course of events.

By 1964, this energetic group is determined to make peace the dominant issue in the Presidential campaign.

2. Freedom Riders to the Polls . . *by Staughton Lynd*

Atlanta, Ga.

AT THE WEEK-LONG convention here of the NAACP, delegates repeatedly heard their leaders tell them to "go political." "The ballot is one of the most vital instruments of power," said Bishop Spottswood, chairman of the board of directors. Clarence Mitchell, director of the organization's Washington bureau, spoke of a "Civil Rights Party" to open the way for more than token appointment of Negroes to high political positions. "If you think you will ever get these things without the ballot," echoed James Nabrit, president of Howard University, "you don't belong in the twentieth century"; the white man, Nabrit continued, is "motivated by respect for the black vote." And Martin Luther King added, "With the ballot, we will be able to elect Negro Congressmen right here in the South."

A year ago, student activists in the Southern civil-rights movement would have dismissed this appeal with a smilingly contemptuous reference

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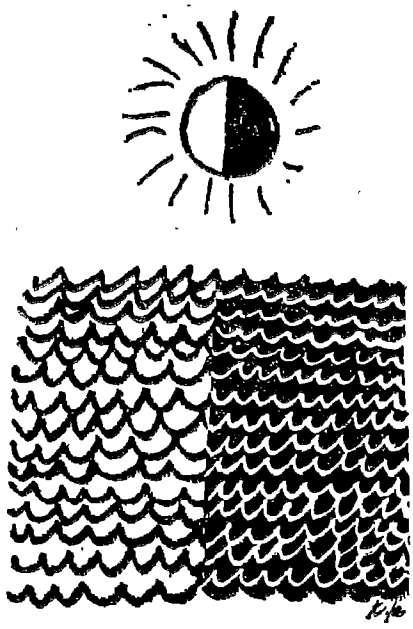
to NAACP conservatism. At that time, voter registration, like reliance on the courts, seemed to the students a siren song designed to lure them away from the new frontier of direct action. Freedom Rides and the concept of "jail without bail" then held the center of the stage. As recently as last December, the Albany (Ga.) Movement provided the most dramatic example of mass direct action since Montgomery. Events in that city embodied all three elements of a new direct-action strategy which then seemed in the making: (1) The resolve, by accepting jail without bail, to "wear them down with our suffering" rather than to coerce through legal or economic pressure; (2) the combination of local initiative with the supporting participation of outsiders (notably, in the case of Albany, several workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who had been active there throughout the fall); (3) the involvement of all groups in the Negro community in civil disobedience—all prepared to accept imprisonment rather than to endure injustice. A strategy developing along these lines would have brought the American movement much more closely into line with the Gandhian precedents which it has always professed to follow.

AS IT TURNED out, however, the Albany Movement, and with it the entire civil-rights movement, took a different course. Within hours of Dr. King's appeal for a national pilgrimage to Albany, local leaders of the protest entered into a compromise agreement. The imprisoned (Dr. King among them) came out of jail. The students expelled from Albany State College, and the Albany workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, turned to voter registration. (Today's recurrence of tension in Albany arises out of the initial direct-action policies. But as late as June 2, Dr. King told his followers: "The central front . . . is that of suffrage.")

Two months later, here in Atlanta, a similar transition occurred in the work of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. This is the committee of students at the Atlanta University Center which initiated and led the successful 1960-1961 campaign to integrate department store lunch-counters in Atlanta. After lunch-counter integration came off peacefully in the early fall, COAHR started negotiations on integration of Atlanta movie theatres. Such behind-the-scenes work lacked the drama of the mass actions of preceding years, and complaint was widely voiced that the "spirit" of earlier campaigns had evaporated. Perhaps in response to this criticism, the committee launched a dramatic action in February to celebrate the second anniversary of the beginning of the sit-in movement. The action, designed to desegregate the galleries of the Georgia Capitol, eventually misfired, and an unanticipated peripheral demonstration at segregated Grady Hospital resulted in several unplanned arrests. Shaken by adult criticism of these events, the student committee turned its attention to voter registration.

As spring passed into summer, almost every other Southern civil-rights organization — including the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Project of the National Student Association, the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, and the Albany Movement —gave the impression of putting more and more time and energy into the hitherto neglected work of voter registration. Summer registration drives in selected communities; the coordination of various organizations' registration work under a paid full-time director; monthly workshops wherein Negro community leaders from all over the South are given "citizenship training" — all seemed signs of the new times.



WHY THE new emphasis on voter registration? One hears three sorts of explanation suggested.

1. Direct action, even when coupled with resort to the courts, just hasn't done the job. Albany itself was a striking example of the fact that direct action has been required not only to obtain court decisions, but to enforce them (the immediate cause of the Albany Movement was the arrest of students using the bus terminal on an integrated basis, *after* the ICC ruling had supposedly solved this problem). School integration, at the present rate, would take a century (this figure is actually over-optimistic because it includes the relatively rapid progress of the Upper South). Moreover, some kinds of segregation do not seem susceptible to direct-action techniques—particularly discrimination in employment and (to a lesser extent) in housing, the two forms of discrimination underlying the continuing segregation in the North.

2. Voter registration has shown its effectiveness in assisting direct action. A good example was Nashville, Tennessee, where in the intervals between direct-action projects, students turned their attention to registration. Participants believe that this two-pronged attack had much to do with the spectacular success at Nashville in opening up facilities in the central city. There may well be a correlation between the number of registered Negro voters in a locality and the degree to which direct-action campaigns succeed quickly and peacefully.

3. The Kennedy Administration and private foundations have encouraged voter registration rather than civil disobedience. This story is told in Capter 17 of Louis Lomax's book, *The Negro Revolt.* All civil-rights organizations carry an enormous financial burden because of the resourcefulness of Southern states in devising ever-new grounds for jailing civil-rights workers. Foundation money, with the quiet sup-

port of the Department of Justice in the background, is tempting indeed.

These inducements to voter-registration campaigning are the more persuasive because of a general sense of uneasiness about the official nonviolent ideology of the civil-rights movement. Viewing social change in the South as a whole, the South has desegregated only when it has been *forced* to do so. This is not to say that the avoidance of violence is a little matter: far from it. But nonviolence in the sense of avoiding bloodshed is not equivalent to nonviolence in the sense of transforming hostility into love. Direct action has been supplemented by the coercive machinery of the courts, and the direct action itself has succeeded primarily through the coercion of economic boycotts.

In summary, almost a decade after *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Montgomery boycott, the strategy of direct-*cum*-legal action has failed to prove itself a comprehensive instrument of social change. It is very slow and very expensive. It is better suited to some kinds of desegregation than to others. Its dramatic victories are too often unenforced. Hence the turning of the civil-rights movement toward voter registration and political action, a turning which foundation money and the present Administration have been only too glad to foster.

THE TURN toward political action is both an opportunity and a danger for the civil-rights movement.

The opportunity should be obvious. Exactly a century ago, the Abolitionist orator Wendell Phillips declared:

> The moment a man becomes valuable or terrible to the politician, his rights will be respected. Give the Negro a vote in his hand, and there is not a politician from Abraham Lincoln down to the laziest loafer in the lowest ward of this city, who would not do him honor. . . . Give a man his vote, you give him tools to work and arms to protect himself. The ballot is the true standing ground of Archimedes, planted on which a man can move his world.

Strong evidence to this effect is the fact that the era of Jim Crow legislation in the South — roughly, from 1895 to 1945 — coincides closely with the period in which the Southern Negro was almost totally deprived of the vote. In Louisiana, for example, there were 130,334 registered Negro voters in 1896, and 1,342 in 1904; in 1947, the figure was still no higher than 10,000 while by 1952 it had jumped back up to 120,000.[1] In 1958, the number of registered Negro voters in Louisiana was almost exactly what it had been sixty-two years earlier, 131,068.[2] In the same year, the total Negro registration in the South was about double what it had been ninety years before, at the height of Reconstruction. But whereas in 1868, something like 75 per cent of Southern Negroes of voting age were registered, in 1958 the figure was about 25 per cent (the figure for Southern whites in 1958 was about 60 per cent).[3]

THE importance of voter registration is particularly striking in the area of economics. Here the Black Muslims have scored their most telling hits against the strategy of Martin Luther King. I heard a professor of mathematics, citing government statistics, compare the American economy to a train in which the Negro is the caboose and the number of cars between the caboose and the engine is constantly increased. The continued and heavy unemployment among low-income Negroes, which runs at a rate roughly two and a half times the rate among whites[4], provides the Muslims both arguments and recruits. It is difficult to see how direct or judicial action can affect this situation. Sweeping governmental action is called for, and the Negro is right to provide himself all possible leverage at the polls.

But the danger of a turn from civil disobedience to conventional politics should also be obvious. One has only to think back to the rapid alteration in the spirit of the labor movement during World War II to appreciate how quickly the civil-rights movement might lose its drive and *élan*. The organization of the C.I.O., while hardly nonviolent, was otherwise quite similar to the present surge of student action. The civil-rights movement could be patronized and tamed by Kennedy just as the labor movement was by Roosevelt. A tendency toward bureaucracy and toward a loss of vital contact with the rank-and-file is already apparent in the Southern civil-rights organizations, including the student groups. Commitment to the indirections and artificialities of the political game would rapidly accelerate this trend.

IS IT possible to steer between the Scylla of political abstention and the Charybdis of becoming an appendage of the Democratic Party?

The experience of an older civil-rights movement may provide a few clues. Abolitionism, too, passed through a decade of largely extra-political action until, with the formation of the Liberty Party in 1840, it embarked on the course which ended twenty years later with the election of Lincoln. The key to the Abolitionists' success may have been that, even after entering politics, they never abandoned direct action. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made every citizen of the North liable to be deputized as a slave-catcher. By defying this law personally, even after the Supreme Court upheld it, Abolitionists kept alive the original spirit of their movement while their political involvement steadily increased.

One hopes, therefore, that as today's civil-rights movement turns toward political action, it will not wholly leave behind the spirit and practice of 1954-1961. Every legal and political gain in the struggle has required direct action to prod it into reality. Even the 1954 Supreme Court decision, which seemed to descend as manna from heaven, was partly, of course, a response to the

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[1] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1957), p. 68; Margaret Price, *The Negro Voter in the South* (Atlanta, 1957), p. 5.

[2] Margaret Price, *The Negro and the Ballot in the South* (Atlanta, 1959), p. 9.

[3] John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago, 1961), p. 80.

[4] See "Negroes and Jobs," *New York Post*, Mar. 25, 1962; Ernest Dunbar, "The Negro in America Today," *Look*, Apr. 10, 1962.

civil disobedience of the Afro-Asian independence movements overseas. Throughout much of the South jail is, and will be for a long time, the place—as Thoreau said—where the man of principle will feel at home.

There is another way in which the spirit of nonviolence will have continuing relevance to the coming period of primarily political action. The curse of the American South has been the "rule-or-ruin" psychology which has repeatedly led its leaders to sacrifice the well-being of the South as a whole in order to retain the privileges of a class. By contrast, the political arm of the Southern civil-rights movement will presumably stand for the kinds of economic development, urban renewal and social welfare which benefit *all* Southerners. Just as during Reconstruction the freedmen were far readier to grant the vote to whites than were ex-Confederates to welcome Negro suffrage, so today the Southern freedom movement must be careful to concern itself with the blighting poverty of the poor white as well as with his Negro counterpart. Thus in politics, as well as in direct action, the movement can fulfill Dr. King's prophetic assertion that its mission is to lift the burden of segregation from black *and* white.

Abolitionists required the Mexican War and the Fugitive Slave Law to keep their spirits pure and their movement independent. Perhaps, so long as the party of Kennedy remains the party of Talmadge, Patterson and Eastland, we need not fear for the soul of the American civil-rights movement as it goes into politics. A good first step would be to run independent candidates at a local level, which the peace movement is already doing.

SUMMER CAMPS REVISITED . . *by Hermine G. Basnight*

THIS JUNE approximately 750,000 old footlockers were hauled out of basements all along the Eastern Seaboard, dusted off and stuffed with uniforms and equipment costing about $100 per locker; 9 million name tapes were somehow sewn or ironed on 9 million socks, and 750,000 children were tearfully (though not without a few signs of relief) kissed good-by at railroad stations and airline terminals—all in answer to the call of that perennial Pied Piper of contemporary America, the private summer camp.

Time was when the only reason to send a child to summer camp was a humane one: to get him off the hot New York City (or Boston or Philadelphia or New Haven) streets. Today camping, like everything else, is more complicated. The seemingly limitless ingenuity of camp directors has transformed camping into a sprawling, highly competitive, half-billion-dollar-a-year industry. Since World War II, camps, like other status symbols of an affluent economy, have mushroomed everywhere.

As near as anyone can figure out, 15,500 camps are accommodating 5.5 million kids throughout the United States this summer. Of these, 9,000 are agency and institutional camps serving 3.25 million children; 3,000 are day, school and church camps which cater to 1.5 million campers; and 3,500 private camps for the aforementioned 750,000. There are 500,000 counselors to keep an eye on the children. Add to this the medical, maintenance and kitchen personnel, and the figures climb even higher.

It all started about one hundred years ago when a New England schoolmaster took some boys out overnight for "an experience in outdoor living." But long gone are the days when a canvas tent or simple wooden cabin housed a hardy race of athletic, energetic campers from six to nineteen. Today's campers range from three to fourteen, with teen-agers given special consideration.

In the old days, camp was a potpourri of active sports (baseball, tennis, track, archery, volleyball, basketball, hiking, swimming, canoeing, life-saving) *and* fledgling cultural pursuits (dramatics, tap dancing, arts and crafts, nature study). The most exotic we got was "rifle-range practice," a euphemism for belly-flopping on old mattresses deep in the woods and shooting at Dr. Brown's Celery Tonic bottles. From dawn until dark we chorused songs, songs and more songs.

Yet with all the activities, there was always plenty of time for staring at dragon flies, water beetles and June bugs, for listening to rain on the cabin roof. A daily rest hour was spent on blankets under the trees.

Other things I remember: listless girls applying calamine lotion to their poison ivy; the delicious round of three wholesome squares a day; miles of crepe paper; bathing caps; collapsible aluminum cups; flashlights; sweaters tied around the waist; tincture of green soap (for shampoos) dispensed by the camp Mother; nightly medical inspection (choice of mineral oil or milk of magnesia); cheery directors and counselors whom we called Uncle and Aunt and whom we adored.

The coeducational camp was unknown. In those days there was strict segregation of the sexes and the twain met en masse perhaps once a summer, for some discreet musicale. Siblings, of course, were brought together weekly if they attended nearby Brother and Sister camps. ("Did you bring my share of the Indian nuts?")

Camp was something else to me. It was there that I had my first intimations of Other Places, there that I first heard the lilting strains of a Brooklyn accent, the broad A of my New Haven bunkies, the charming drawl of an occasional counselor from the South. Slowly it

HERMINE G. BASNIGHT, daughter of a camp owner, spent her first twenty-one summers in camp as camper or counselor.