



THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT

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In an effort to share responsibilities, the staff is taking turns in producing this publication. Howard Romaine is editor of this issue. Our thanks to Rufus Hinton and Wilson Brown for the cover and to Dave Groskind for printing the newsletter.

AN EDITORIAL: AMERICAN CONTRADICTIONS AND THE STUDENT RESPONSE

In our country today there is a growing movement of students and adults who are reacting in many different ways to what they feel are profound moral contradictions in the structure of our society. There is a widespread malaise about the fact that what our moral sense and our political heritage dictates should be the relationship between man and man, between the governed and the governors and between the people and the resources of this country is not what is in fact the state of the Union. We want to focus in this issue of the newsletter on some of the conflicts that are sparking this movement, as well as attempt to capture the spirit of and basis for the student response. For the most part our opinions about contemporary America are unsystematic, gut responses to relationships or events that we consider wrong. But perhaps, as we sketch these opinions out and try at the same time to respond creatively to what we consider an unjust

system we will move closer to a more complete analysis of today's America.

Contradictions

What are these contradictions that concern us? Here are a few from one perspective: In our country people starve and freeze in the midst of the greatest wealth the world has ever known. Billions are spent to burn innumerable missions with napalm in the name of freedom, while the already inadequate social welfare programs of our government are cut back to pay the bill. At the same time the profits of the munitions makers and the big corporations soar from the war-boasted economy. Civil rights workers are murdered with impunity in our South, while the FBI claims it can only investigate and not arrest. But five FBI men surround and immediately arrest a student who burns his draft card in protest of our foreign policy.

(Continued on next page)

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Appearance and Reality

The response of much of the press to the increasing popular concern over the legitimacy of the deepening U.S. involvement in Viet Nam has been to engage in red-baiting and ad hominum attacks on individuals in the anti-war movement, while evading for the most part the issue that this movement is raising. Our government, faced with the total failure of an attempt to counter a revolutionary nationalist movement, reverses the normal procedure of policy making. Instead of basing our policy on an objective assessment of the facts, a new policy is decided upon - the escalation of the Viet Nam War - and history is rewritten to provide the facts to justify it - the theory of "Aggression from the North." (Hans Morgenthau, New York Times Magazine, April 18, 1965). Even the "liberal press" celebrates the public relations veneer of a "poverty program" that is hopelessly inadequate to basically change the lives of the millions of poor people in this country today; a program which instead of making basic changes often benefits the big business interests who run the programs, or increases the power of the political elites who administer them.

China and the Cold War

Today China, barred from the councils of world powers and tormented by fear and hatred of the U.S., explodes more A-bombs and nears completion of the H-bomb. We respond by compounding past mistakes with nuclear saber rattling and escalation of the war in Viet Nam, fulfilling all the Chinese predictions that we are an irrestrainable imperialist state. Instead of promoting a system of law which can provide a frame work for peaceful changes - which we, as the most powerful and richest country in the world would have most to benefit from, and have the greatest responsibility to establish - we break already established laws and treaties to pursue our anti-communist crusade. At the same time our attempts to move toward disarmament falter as the cold war heats up, and the world moves closer to nuclear destruction.

Our Generation

We did not create this world, but our generation may make the decision as to whether or not it will continue to exist. We are then perhaps the first generation of men to be faced with the decision of existence. Always before men have had to decide about their own lives. Today we are being called upon to answer not just whether we or this or that man will live, but whether man himself will endure.

There are a growing number of people in this country today who feel that man should be allowed to live. They do not believe that the escalation of the war in Viet Nam will bring peace. They do not believe that this country can persist in its present efforts to force a Pax Americana on the world without destroying millions of people and perhaps man himself. Instead, their demand is that our country commit itself to creating a system for the peaceful resolution of world conflict so as to make the world safe for revolutions.

Second only to our responsibility for the existence of man himself, is our responsibility for the quality of the lives of other men. An increasing number of students in this generation are demanding an end to racism, to enforced poverty and inequality of treatment. They are demanding 'freedom now' for the people of the southern black belt, the urban ghetto, the white mountain slum. These young Americans are becoming increasingly reluctant to accept a role in middle class America which will require them to condone or participate in the destruction of human life or potential. It is the faith of many that they will be able to end this useless distortion of American lives.

This newsletter is an attempt to capture the concerns of this new generation of 'rebels'. We hope to speak to issues that are often not fully examined by the commercial press. Our focus will be on those events that illustrate the many chronic moral contradictions of our
(Continued on next page.)

EDITORIAL...Continued.

social system. The attempts of students and adults in the South to build a new and more democratic society within the shell of the old has been and will continue to be a central focus of the New South Student. But we also want to ask ourselves again and again--are the kinds of things we are doing going to change the system into something better. Is what we're doing effective? What kind of a society do we want to build? These concerns suggest the 'logic' of this issue of the newsletter. After some coverage of recent and coming SSOC events, we try to capture and comprehend the significance of recent struggles in the South in the South in Transition. The Student Movement takes note of some of the many projects that students are involved in, as they attempt to build a new South. The Foreign Policy Crisis focuses on a different aspect of the student revolt as the South joins its voice to the growing chorus of critics of American foreign policy. Finally, To Change the South is an evaluative section on some of our attempts to make change. We hope that as the struggle goes on and continues to grow, the discussion of methods and goals will become a permanent part of the New South Student, and will help us to think through what we are doing and where we are going.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A LETTER TO THOSE CONCERNED...

I have become increasingly disturbed at the apparent disinterest in the issues of peace and foreign policy by a large number of persons committed to civil rights. My concern is not with those who for practical reasons do not become involved in the peace issue while working in civil rights activities, but for those persons who actually see no connection between the two movements.

Such persons are legion, I have found. It distresses me when persons who, for a few days, risked their lives in voter registration projects in Mississippi cannot envision the pursuit of democracy and self-determination for the people in

the Mekong Delta in Vietnam. It is inconsistent that those who abhor violence in Selma and Birmingham should not abhor and just as vigorously protest violence carried out by U. S. forces in Vietnam, directed against peasant and soldier alike. I have seen such persons, student civil rights leaders, gathering petitions in support of the U.S. position in Vietnam and thereby endorsing the atrocities in the name of "freedom". I have seen large audiences of civil rights supporters "freeze" and become hostile when Vietnam would be mentioned in a speech by John Lewis, Martin Luther King, Jr., or the Rev. C.T. Vivian. This alarms me.

Archie E. Allen

Ed. Note: Archie is a former SSOC field secretary and is now working for the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights.

FROM THE DELTA MINISTRY...

NEEDED! Individuals or groups who will save and send any information they locate concerning summer or full-time job opportunities, work-study programs, study, travel, service projects, college programs, scholarship aid, which can be made available to Negro high school and college students of Mississippi. All the possibilities which exist are not known to youth here.

To fill the information gap, I have undertaken the project of building toward an information center or clearinghouse for such materials which may later become a counseling center to aid young people in making decisions about how best they might use their time, interests and abilities.

Send materials to: Miss Lee Baum
Delta Ministry
522 Mobile Street
Hattiesburg, Miss.



SSOC TRIPLES STAFF

by Howard Romaine

SSOC entered a new and significant path at the spring executive session, hiring ten additional staff members. This new expansion is partly a result of recent grants to SSOC, enabling it to experiment with new approaches to creating a more democratic South. It is evidence of the continuing commitment of southern students to work for change in their society. The decisions that were made indicate an awareness that the creation of substantial change in the South will require work on several different fronts. The need for understanding and analysis, for organization of people around their needs and for transmitting a more radical perspective on society to a greater number of southern students were discussed. More important, this discussion was carried on by people who wanted to do work, and the proposals of things to be done were made by people who were willing to do them.

The program that SSOC is to be involved in this Spring is all focused around the southern student and the southern university. If these programs are successful they will be providing a radical education for those who face and come to grips with the widespread poverty and deprivation of our region, (as well, perhaps, as with the poverty of our foreign policy). The confrontation with these problems, both existentially and intellectually, is a necessary part of the process of coming to terms with the radical injustices of the South. Finding solutions, or channels for meaningful work to find solutions to these problems, is SSOC's most important task. How we shall try to do this was more clearly defined by the February meeting.

New Programs for Campus

The campus traveler program, for example, is moving more towards involving students in projects, rather than just telling them about the movement and hoping that they will develop something on their own. In Virginia Non Grogan will

be working toward a statewide student conference sometime in March. She had been doing community organizing with the Virginia Students' Civil Rights Committee, and her traveling will attempt to revitalize some of the campus related groups that organized this project last Spring. An expansion of the present project into new counties should be possible this summer. In Texas, Jamie Howell will be traveling for a similar group called the Demopolis Project Committee. Some of these students worked in Demopolis, Alabama, last summer and are raising funds and recruiting for a much expanded project this coming summer. They also hope that the foedtack of experienced people will make a similar project possible in Texas in the summer of '67.

Cecil Butler from Greensboro A & T is working with students in a slightly different kind of organizing project. The students there are helping to organize workers at the college into a union. Cecil will also be doing more traveling in the rest of North Carolina, as will Gene Guerrero. Gene and Cecil are also organizing a conference on students and labor which will be held in North Carolina some time this Spring.

Tom Millican will be traveling Alabama for SSOC. We're hoping that it may be possible to relate more Alabama students to community work that is now in progress there. Also, Tom is going to investigate the possibility of getting students to organize support for the people who have been put off their land in Lowndes County. In Mississippi, Sue Thrasher has been working to help students organize a statewide conference. The conference is now scheduled for February 25-27, and Sue is traveling the state recruiting for it. Ed Hamlett may finally be able to restrict his work to the two states of Tennessee and Kentucky where he intends to spend most of his time this next year. Anne Romaine will

be traveling around the South coordinating a Southern Folk Festival. This will consist of a series of concerts and workshops held at campuses and community.

SSOC's primary organ of education and communication, The New South Student was subjected to various criticism at the conference, but the only meaningful change to result was the instituting of an editorial board of students and movement people across the South. The board members would have the responsibility of submitting or soliciting articles regularly for the newsletter which would formalize and make more regular the gathering of material.

Community Work

SSOC's relationship to community work so far has been to encourage and aid students who wanted to do organizing without actually making organizational decisions about sponsoring or undertaking complete projects. Our approach has been geared more to working with local groups, helping them to develop their own fund-raising sources, recruit students from their own area, etc. At the February conference SSOC moved to help several of these embryonic or already developed projects. Besides the traveler program which is linked to various developed or developing projects, SSOC agreed to help support a project Herman Carter and a group of Southern University students are working on near the Southern campus. It also agreed to support two organizers, Ronda Stilley and Laly Washington, in Nashville to work with students from Fisk, Vanderbilt and other area schools in an experimental urban organizing project. SSOC will also continue to support Ray Payne who is working on a similar project in Vine City in Atlanta.

One of the decisions of the conference was that the office needs to expand its function of publishing and distributing literature. Jody Palmour from Emory will be coming to work in mid-March and hopes to devote a great deal of his energy to expanding SSOC's stock of reprinted and original publications. Howard Romaine will be working part-

time with the Institute for Policy Studies in trying to develop working papers on foreign and domestic issues for the movement. He and Jody will work together on developing a literature for SSOC. Other office functions will be shared by the people in Nashville - George Brosi, Anne Romaine and others.

The Spring Conference

A great deal of discussion went into planning of the spring conference. Its difference in orientation from past conferences reveals many of the changes that have taken place in the southern student movement in the last year. The greater emphasis on foreign policy and the draft reflects the widespread concern of student liberals and radicals over the present course of American foreign policy. There is a widespread feeling that students can do more for democracy by working in the movement at home, than by burning and bombing Vietnamese.

There is also an emphasis on students running the conference, leading the workshops, participating in strategy evaluation and making the speeches, instead of being lectured at by adults. This is an indication of the maturing of the 'second generation' southern movement. Students who have been involved in various kinds of work to change the South are going to discuss the viability of their attempts in terms of producing long-run change, rather than listen to ex-students lecture them on the movement.



SPRING CONFERENCE

A great deal of time at the staff meeting following the executive committee meeting was given to a discussion of the Spring Conference. The conference is set for April 8, 9, and 10 at Old Gammon Seminary in Atlanta. It was felt that a number of changes from past conferences should be made. This coming conference will attempt to deal with ways students can work creatively for change. There will be workshops on "Students and Civil Rights," "University Reform," "American Foreign Policy," and "Southern Politics." It is hoped that discussion will center around the most creative ways of involving students in a variety of ways on these issues. There will be time for discussion of summer plans and project recruitment. Out of these kinds of discussions SSOC will pull together its plans for the coming year in a legislative session near the end of the conference.

The tentative agenda for the conference is as follows:

- Thursday, April 7 - 8:00 pm Films and free time for those arriving Thursday
- Friday, April 8 - 9:00 am Breakfast and free time
- 12:00 am Lunch
- 1:00 pm Beginning of Conference with keynote address by Howard Romaine on, "A Southern Student Movement."
- 2:00 pm Student panel reaction to keynote address followed by discussion.
- 5:00 pm Supper and free time
- 7:00 pm Workshops
- a) Students and Civil Rights
 - b) American Foreign Policy
 - c) Southern Politics
 - d) Urban Community Organizing
 - e) Rural Community Organizing
 - f) Students and Labor Organizing
 - g) What ever else people want to talk about
- Saturday, April 9 - 8:00 am Breakfast
- 9:00 am Workshops - second session. Repeat of above workshops with people free to move around or stay. Additional workshop on South Africa
- 12:00 am Lunch
- 2:00 pm "Work" workshops on
- a) Various summer projects
 - b) Draft clinic
 - c) Vietnam and foreign policy activity
 - d) Other things
- 6:00 pm Supper
- 7:00 pm Singing with members of SSOC Folk Tour
- Sunday, April 10 - 8:00 am Breakfast
- 9:00 am Legislative session
- a) Programs
 - b) Election of officers
 - c) Structure
 - d) Fund raising
 - e) Etc.

This agenda may seem too structured to some and too loose to others. Please let us know your thinking on the conference. A small committee was appointed to work on the conference and it can make changes within the broad outlines of the conference.

THE SOUTH IN TRANSITION

The Negro is the economic weathervane of our society. If he can find work, then the economy must be booming. But today, despite a war-bloated economy, the Negro is enduring a chronic economic depression. This section reflects this crisis. Our introduction attempts to sketch some of the reasons for it.

In the last few decades the South has been making the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Moving into the cities, Negroes entered the rapidly growing manufacturing, mining and construction fields, and many made large gains. In the 50's, however, economic gains slowed, as the combination of the slow growth rate of the economy and new automated processes eliminated the need for more workers. Unemployment grew.

The two pronged response of the Kennedy-Johnson administration to these problems: 1) The stimulation of the economy by deficit spending and, 2) helping certain individuals through job training, some make-work, and some area development such as building roads and dams, helped a little. The unemployment rate slowly leveled off --at 6%, then 5%, then, with the war in Vietnam, 4%. But Negro unemployment remained triple the white rate.

The factors causing this situation are complex. Plantation owners are finding they have no more need for their chattels--automated machinery is cheaper, and, besides, it is not so "uppity" as to demand the vote. Also, allotments are being cut down and small farmers find it increasingly hard to make a living. Thus migration continues, not because, as before, there are opportunities in the city, but because the Negro is being driven off the land. In the cities, the boom is not increasing the demand for workers. The sections of the economy where formerly the unskilled Negro migrant had been able to make headway are either declining or showing little gain. In the growth section of the economy--white collar jobs--Negroes make little headway. The greater resistance to integration of white collar positions and inferior training from segregated schools black Negro progress.¹ (Footnotes p. 29)

The task of solving these problems is large. What is necessary is "a planned expansion of the public sector of the economy, particularly with regard to housing, education and transportation."² The only way poverty can be ended is by the "conscious government creation of a labor market in which the poor can find economic opportunity, and this can only be done by social investments which will also attack the very environmental structure of poverty."³ The way to help poor people is to allocate a much larger share of the nation's resources to them. Greatly expanded public spending for low cost housing, education and public transportation, would not only help destroy the culture of poverty--poor education, poor living conditions--but would also boost employment among unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

The critical problem for the movement is how to change the way resources are allocated in this country. In the black belt, the Negro has had for centuries virtually no say about what was his due. He had no vote, no union, and no police protection. Neither does he have a say today when he is put off the farm, or put out of a slum in Atlanta. Perhaps the most basic fact about poor people is that they are pushed about and used by people and forces over which they have no control. The problem, then, for the movement is how can we help people get power so they can participate in the decisions affecting them. The strategic problem then becomes how to organize millions of American poor people into a political block powerful enough to make demands on the "system". This may entail organizing the millions of working poor into unions which can make demands on private capital as well as make political demands for public funds. It may entail organizing community unions in the ghetto, or radical grass roots political organizations. Only time, experimentation and commitment will tell. The changes will not come easily.

ATLANTA SLUM DWELLERS REVOLT

by Robin Ulmer

As January turned to February in Atlanta, a man froze to death in a house rented from landlord Joe Shaffer. A boy fell into a hot plate in an attempt to get warm, and huddled figures picked through rubble heaps for wood they could burn in their stoves. Soot-covered walls were coated again, due to faulty dampers and the intense blazes necessary for warmth. One man, without a stove, stood outside in the zero weather burning wood planks in the dirt street. "They don't have no stove down there either." He pointed to the next house. "An' they got kids."

Before the onslaught of bitter weather, a picket had been planned of an apartment building owned by Joe Shaffer. It was ~~once~~ the old Markham Hotel. It violated nearly every housing code requirement, and -- as one lady said -- "Why, that Markham Hotel was ramshakle when I came to Atlanta in 1921!" People from Vine City, a neighboring slum, organized the picket. But, when weather made picketing impossible visits were made instead -- visits to determine whether people could make it through the freeze. It soon appeared that some might not, especially the very young and old, and a series of telephone calls began.

Red Cross, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Goodwill, Salvation Army, churches, civil rights organization, and even Dobbins Air Force base were called for emergency aid of cots, blankets and coal. The few that responded offered limited materials.

The night spent itself, and the cold weather persisted. Hector Black, founder of the Vine City Council which initiated the picketing, returned to the Markham Hotel to check upon a family with eight children. Upon entering the hotel, Shaffer had him arrested for trespassing.

The arrest touched off publicity, and civil rights groups got into the picture. M.L. King and Rev. Abernathy took a tour through the rows of houses owned

by Shaffer. Dr. King said that he had not realized such slums existed in Atlanta. SNCC appeared with pickets and Julian Bond posters. And a protest picket line was formed.

In the meantime, Atlanta housing inspectors tacked up "condemned" notices on a row of Markham St. houses owned by Shaffer (only those which picketers marched in front of), and issued warning notices to tenants (checked "non-white") for the disposal of debris around premises.

Receivers of the warning notices and "condemned" placards formed their own meeting that night. Some tenants were frightened that the yellow city placards meant they would have to move from their houses, and they had no place to go. Others were angry. They thought that warning notices concerning debris was a punishment upon the tenant, rather than upon the landlord. "Looks like we took all the weight, and the landlord didn't get none." It was decided that some would go to city hall the next day to confront housing authority officials.

Ten people from the Vine City Council and Markham St. met with the head of Urban Renewal Authority, the Chief Building Inspector, and a representative of the Mayor. Mr. Williams, a spokesman for the group, asked for an explanation of the "condemned" notices. He was told that the signs meant that it was illegal to rent, lease, or live in the houses. The signs meant that the houses were "unfit for human habitation."

"What about the rent?" asked Mr. Williams. "That's between you and the landlord," answered the building inspector.

Mr. Williams asked again whether it was not a violation to live in such a house. The inspector replied that it was, but when asked if the city was not then guilty of failing to enforce the law by allowing people to pay rent in a house, he replied: "We are working on these houses, but you must be reasonable. If we were to enforce this law all over the city, we would have hundreds of people

ATLANTA SLUM DWELLERS...Continued
without homes."

Whose responsibility is this? The shortage of low income housing is reaching a crisis point in Atlanta. The many conflicting regulations of Public Housing, the lack of three and four bedroom apartments, in addition to the continuing use of Negro and white application offices, leave many without proper homes. The city says they are doing all within their power to do away with slum housing, and at the same time to make available good, low income, rental units. The people from Markham St. wonder if this is so.

The Markham St. tenants now have a lawyer. A rent strike is in progress, and there appears to be a change in the West Side neighborhood. The houses are still there and in the same condition. The difference, I guess, is in the people. It is not that they haven't always been mad about slum conditions; but now the anger, which previously grabbed at the inside of a man, has a chance to get out. The landlords and the city must now face it, and must correct the conditions which they helped bring into being.

Editor's Note - Mrs. Ulmer has worked part time in the Vine City - Markham St. area for the last six months. On the following pages we have a complementary article by Alton Pertilla who was a student at Morehouse College, and is now with SNCC in Atlanta. He is working full time with the project there.

THE PEOPLE ON MARKHAM STREET by Alton Pertilla

Some very different kinds of things are happening on Markham Street today. It comes as a result of a number of things. There was the sub-zero weather of the January 29-30th weekend; the arrest of Hector Black, a volunteer worker with "The Vine City Council," a grass roots organization which has been working in the poverty stricken area of Atlanta; there was the "tour" of Markham Street by Dr. M. L. King; there was the picket by a group of concerned people of the "Markham" Hotel; and there was, most

important of all, a group of people who live on Markham Street who finally decided that they would not stand it anymore; that they would not be forced to live in rat-infested, cold, dilapidated houses and not say anything about it. They were the people who have been, and who are being, victimized by this vicious system. The system is the American system. No separation between the people who were forced to move onto an Air Base in Greenville and people who are forced to live in areas like Markham Street is possible. In both cases one sees a number of similar characteristics: they were both black and they were both basically poor. Of course, one might argue, there are still some poor people in this country, but they are only that way because they want to be. There is no greater lie that can be told. There are, and will be, a number of people in this country who are poor and must remain that way, who will never know what it means to eat three decent meals a day, have a decent house to live in, or share any of the "benefits" of their country, state, city or town.

But the human being can only take so much. After being the victim of so much he will rise up in protest. He will strike out in anger, hitting anything, not knowing or caring what it is, only wanting to strike. There are no terms that accurately explain this, but everyone knows that it happens. It happened, in a way, on Markham Street.

When they began thinking about their condition they thought about their landlord. One man remarked, "He, the landlord, rides around in a Cadillac and lives in a mansion while I live in a chicken shack and walk." That was the general tone of the entire meeting. They left and decided they would have another meeting the next day. They kind of enjoyed it. It was good, people getting together and talking about things that really mattered. It gave them a different kind of feeling, an aliveness. They also began talking about "rent strikes." Dr. King had mentioned the idea when he "toured" the area. Not too many were excited over the idea. They

(Continued on next page.)

THE PEOPLE ON MARKHAM...Continued.

kind of wanted to feel things out. Since nobody was really rushing or pushing them to do anything, they had all the time in the world to decide what they wanted to do. Now, that may strike some as odd: that poor people were wanting to make some decisions about what they should do. But, experience shows that poor people are about as well qualified as anyone else to make decisions. Perhaps they are better. Perhaps because they are forced to be so realistic in their daily lives, not having the luxuries offered to some people, they are perhaps better able to deal with their problems. They live with them every day. Theirs is a monthly struggle with the budget. In many instances theirs is a daily struggle to eat and keep alive.

Anyway, events happened so that Julian Bond, State Representative Elect from the district in which Markham Street lies, called a press conference in front of the Markham Hotel to declare his support and approval of "the war on slumlords."

Later that afternoon, February 4, a group of people from the area went down to City Hall to see the Mayor. They told him that they were refusing to pay rent to live in condemned houses. The Mayor said that rent-strikes were illegal and un-American. The people left and went on a rent-strike the next day; They obviously weren't interested in being too American. Maybe that was their trouble.

It happened on Markham Street after all the above things had happened and after the people there decided that they must do something. At first they just began meeting in each other's houses. They talked. They talked about the houses they lived in, which had been condemned, as a result of the public attention that had been given to them as a result of what happened there during the three day period between Saturday and Tuesday. They were puzzled; did not really know what to do. One lady said, "I been told that I got to move out of my house, that I will be breaking the law if I stay

there. What is I gonna do?" No one could really answer. For nobody knew. Yet they knew that something must be done. Most of the people who had been at the meeting had had their houses condemned too. They too were wondering. Someone said that perhaps they should go down to City Hall and talk to the people there; they would know.

So, a group of them went down to the Housing Authority: they asked the inspector: "Our houses have been condemned, is it lawful for us to stay there and pay rent?" To which he replied, "you may stay until you find someplace else to live; we will not kick you out of your houses."

They went back to their community and told their neighbors what happened. The confusion was still there. And someone realized that perhaps they should raise some questions about paying rent to live in condemned houses. In fact, they began to wonder, perhaps for the first time, why they had ever paid money to live in the ragged houses. Then they began wondering about their landlord; most of the people from the area rented from the same man, as is usually the case in this kind of situation. They began to talk about how the landlord had cheated them out of rent money by refusing to give them receipts; how he had loaned them money for fifty-per-cent interest; how he had literally enslaved them in their little community; how they were as much in debt until it seemed that they always worked for the landlord; or to pay someone else like him. And somebody started thinking that perhaps they had more than enough reason to refuse to pay rent.

A number of the citizens who participated in the series of meetings were served eviction notices after they went to see the Mayor. The landlord must have gotten scared. After having a continuous field-day exploiting the people he felt that if they were going to strike back then he had better get rid of them. That's an old trick. You only put up with them as long as they are peaceful. When they begin to speak out for their

THE PEOPLE ON MARKHAM STREET...Continued rights its time for them to go. In Greenville they threw them off the Air Base. In Atlanta they put them out of their houses. But in both instances the people moved in. They did not stop their efforts to get some kind of dignity and justice from a system that premises 'to do' everything it can to see that they don't. The people in Greenville went on to another area and set up a new community. The people on Markham are trying to build a new community within Atlanta. Who knows, perhaps they'll win.

AIR FORCE EVICTS POOR
by Sue Thrasher

From the New York Times

"Twas a famous victory" the Air Force won against the hundred civil rights squatters in the deactivated barracks in Greenville, Mississippi, or was it?

One major general, three colonels, two lieutenant colonels and two majors in command of 140 air policemen flown in from air bases all over the country carried through the eviction with the precision and dispatch of a long studied War College war plan. There were no serious casualties...except the injury inflicted on the nation. The interests of the U.S. would have been far better served had someone in authority paid more attention to the plight of the suffering souls who had been obliged to vacate plantation shacks. Surely housing for the cold and homeless and food for the hungry would have been a far more impressive response than this degrading display of strategic air power. The spectacle of so much brass leading this assault on the defenseless was particularly grotesque. Do generals and colonels have no more urgent business?" (New York Times, Feb. 2, 1966) One has to look more diligently now for headlines in the New York Times or the Washington Post to find news concerning Mississippi, for since the long hot summer of 1964 ground to a halt, the changes taking place in the state have seemed less revolutionary. However, the events in the Mississippi Delta today are of as great, if not greater importance than the '64 assault.

The Delta

The most salient example of a basic economic trend causing sweeping changes of crisis proportion in the life patterns of the rural Mississippi Negro took place on the morning of February 1. On that date approximately fifty homeless people entered the gates of the Greenville Air Base, proceeded to the first building and moved in. As the news spread throughout the state, others began to come. The following morning, the group, now numbering 70 people, were removed from the base by 150 Air policemen.

The Mississippi Delta is located in the northwest corner of the state, a sixty-five mile wide strip of some of the richest farm land in the world, extending 240 miles south from Memphis. It is characterized by large plantation homes and tenant shacks; 5% of the farmers own 50% of the land. The land has traditionally been tended by Negro sharecroppers whose median annual income is estimated at \$456. Ninety percent of their houses have neither an indoor toilet nor bathing facilities. Next year, many of them won't even be making \$456 due to mechanization and a one third reduction in crop allotments. The state employment service estimates that 6,500 of the 26,000 tractor drivers living with their families in the Delta plantations will not be needed next year. According to the National Council of Churches Delta Ministry, that affects approximately 20,000--jobless and homeless. On November 23, state officials signed a contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Agriculture for an experimental commodities program called "Operation Help", and agreed to implement it within sixty days. The plan included the hiring of 500 poor people to help give out the food. However, the plan depended on the cooperation of local county welfare officials, who balked at putting the plan into effect because it meant hiring Negroes. On January 24 the Freedom Democratic Party, The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Delta Ministry issued a call for all poor people in the state to come to a planning conference to figure out how to get jobs, food and homes. On January 29

AIR FORCE...Continued

700 people met at the Delta Ministry Conference Center, called themselves a "Poor Peoples Conference" and sent a telegram to President Johnson expressing disillusionment with federal programs. While the people were meeting at Mount Beulah, word came that two elderly Negroes had frozen to death in a Delta plantation shack.

Poor Forced Out

Plans were made at the Poor Peoples Conference to occupy one of the over 300 empty buildings at the Greenville Air Base. Described as a civil rights demonstration by the press, it was simply an attempt by the poor and dispossessed to make use of living facilities that were sitting empty. While confusion reigned among state, county, air force officials about what to do and who was to do it, the people moved mattresses, quilts, and stoves, and hung out a sign, "This is our home; please knock before entering." The following morning, the seventy squatters were removed from the base by 150 air police--who had been flown in from bases as far away as Denver. Major General R. W. Puryear told the group they had become a source of danger to government property--and to themselves because the building was without proper water and sanitation. "This cannot be your reason for wanting us out," said Isaac Foster of Strike City, because all over Mississippi homes don't have water or fire protection."

When the troops moved into the air base, the residents of Strike City--who were evicted last May when they asked their plantation boss for better pay--made their five acres available to the air base refugees. Soon, the people plan to move to farm land that is large enough to hold them, and perhaps will build their own city. Isaac Foster said, "People are going to set up at Tent City out at Tribbet and work on getting poor people to come and build a new city. Because of the fact that we was refused by the federal government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government," Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Isaqueena County pretty well summed up their frustrations. "I feel that the

federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality. We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it, so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

Down in the Mississippi Delta, people are still singing "We Shall Overcome", but they don't sing it with much enthusiasm anymore.

FREEDOM NORTH: PARADISE OR DEAD END?

Brown, Claude. Manchild in the Promised Land. New York: Macmillan, 1965. \$5.95. Reviewed by John Hill.

"I want to talk about the First Northern urban generation of Negroes. I want to talk about the experience of a misplaced generation of a misplaced people in an extremely complex confused society." This begins Claude Brown's autobiographical narrative Manchild in the Promised Land. The book is a straight-forward presentation of what it means to grow up in the "dirty, stinky, uncared-for, closetsize" ghetto that is Harlem. Mr. Brown differs from many who have written of the urban ghetto in that he was truly a product of it. By his sixteenth birthday he had been a tough gang leader, dope pusher, and "murphy man." He had been shot, spent time in a school for emotionally disturbed boys, and served three terms in reform school.

Manchild in the Promised Land is not "literary" in the conventional sense of the word. It is written in the language of the teeming streets, garish bars, and crowded decaying tenement houses that make up the "promised land" of Harlem. The feeling of bitterness, despair and desperation of those who had come from the South, seeking the American Dream is illustrated with countless pointed anecdotes of rebuff and pain. It is a true "folk novel" of despair.

Mr. Brown spends much time discussing the lack of any constructive response by

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

HISTORY OF THE AUBURN FREEDOM LEAGUE

by Tom Millican

The Auburn Freedom League (AFL) was organized in March, 1965, by Tom Millican, a white Auburn University student and native Alabamian, and Rev. England, pastor of the White Street Baptist Church of Auburn. They felt that a militant civil rights group was needed in Lee County, Alabama, to combat segregation in the eating establishments and other public facilities and apathy on the part of Negroes toward registering to vote.

In order to break down racial barriers in the eating establishments, AFL members visited these places in small groups for several times, and now establishments are complying, although the managers of two restaurants refuse service to Millican, when accompanied by Negroes.

In the area of voter registration, League members went from door to door explaining the need for more Negroes registering and voting. This was done on a more massive scale after passage of the Voting Rights Bill, with car pools being organized in Auburn to carry people to the courthouse.

After complaining to the local officials and the Justice Department about the lack of sufficient voter registration days, an attempted march was made on the Lee County Courthouse on Sept. 1, 1965. Demonstrators were arrested by the Opelika Police Department for demonstrating without a permit, after having been denied this. The case was carried to federal court and won. The people who marched were not affiliated with a well-financed national organization, thus most of the money for bonds had to come from local people.

The demonstration did result in the people of Lee County getting 40 additional voter registration days for the period of October 5 through 31. As of December 14, the number of registered Negro voters in the county had increased from 1000 at the time of the passage of the

voting rights bill to approximately 3888. The number in Auburn itself is 600 while previously being 250.

Many people were not as concerned about being able to sit down and eat a hamburger or to vote as they were in making higher wages. They seem to realize, maybe more than many members of our middle class, that the Negro cannot really be free socially or politically without also being free economically. Thus far, the AFL has made only tentative plans in working for the realization of the latter freedom. A survey of job opportunities in Auburn has been undertaken and we are now in the process of urging qualified Negroes to apply for jobs at the grocery and pharmacy stores in Auburn. The employers will not be asked to give preferential treatment, but if equal treatment is refused Negro job applicants, after all efforts at persuasion fail, then more direct action will be attempted, such as picketing and boycotting. The AFL is also in the process of taking a housing survey in the slum sections of Auburn, and finding out if the occupants of such housing are renting, and if so, how much they are paying.

All of this activity in behalf of the Negro community's social, political, and economic advancement, by a dynamic locally dominated civil rights group is the reason the Auburn Freedom League enjoys such a broad base of support superseding the factors of sex, age, or economic status.

LYNDON'S OWN BACKYARD

by Dick Reavis

Demopolis, Marengo County, Alabama, lies half-way between Selma and Meridian, in the jungle called the black belf. Her population totals 7,300 split equally between the races. The conditions of life for Negroes in Demopolis and Marengo County are appalling: the median annual family for Negroes is \$1,214 with a full 47% of the county's adult Negro population handicapped by functional illi-

(Continued on next page)

LYNDON'S OWN BACKYARD...Continued

teracy. Less than half of the families in Demopolis own cars and many live in ancient waterless shacks. The elementary schools were integrated this fall, but on only an insignificant basis; further prospects for integration are practically nil. The county Klan meets monthly, and open incidents of violence are not uncommon. In a typical case, last summer four thugs sprayed acid onto two Negro youths, one of whom was carrying a four year-old child

Yet, despite these conditions, the attitudes of the power structure are 'moderate' ones. Historically, Demopolis has been a town of less hatred than has Linden, the county seat, seventeen miles away. Recently, due to a selective bargaining campaign initiated by SCLC, some of the local stores have abandoned discriminatory hiring practices on a token basis. Direct action was tried, last spring, with negligible success--- on both sides of the street. Since that time, the community has settled down to seeking longer-range objectives, such as implementation of the anti-poverty program. The situation in Demopolis today calls for several years of honest effort aimed at augmenting the Negro community's power to promote its people, educationally, economically, and politically.

Texans Plan Project

To assist the people of Demopolis in their campaign against enforced ignorance, and to alleviate other of the symptoms of oppression, the Demopolis Project Committee has been established-- in Lyndon's own back yard. Using as core University of Texas students and liberal Texas ministers, the group plans to spend this summer implementing three programs in Demopolis. These are (1) classes for high school students in English, history, government, foreign language, and current events (2) a free day care center (3) the establishment of a continuing (mimeographed) newspaper for the Negro community. Although classwork will be somewhat directed towards correcting evils in the segregated system (i.e., instruction in history will center around Reconstruction), the Committee's program is basically moderate; no direct social action is slated.

Plans for '67

The Committee also plans to establish liason with other compuses in Texas, so that when this year's crop of Demopolis veterans return in the fall, work can be begun towards implementing community organization programs in Texas the following summer. Thus, it is hoped that the Demopolis Project of '66 will serve as a training grounds and base for a core of workers who will mobilize Texas for community action of a more direct nature in the summer of '67. Since Texas has three ethnic groups (white, Negro, Mexican), all of whom have their poor, this could conceivably develop into projects similar to the migrant laborers' strike now underway in Delano, California.

We hope to be, in short, the extra-Texas trained base for intra-Texas projects in the future.

Currently, the approximately forty persons involved are concentrating on internal education, and on planning for organizing ad hoc committee on other campuses for the purpose of recruiting funds and volunteers. Thus far, response to our program has been encouraging, but lacking in the confidence that contributions reveal. Among other things, we have been invited to bring our case before the Texas Council of Churches in March. This should serve as the base for important solicitations. However, both ministers and laymen in Texas are reluctant to support anything that leans toward, "civil rights." At present we are penniless. We need help in the form of teaching aids, money, office equipment and supplies. Contributions and inquires may be sent to:

Demopolis Project
Box 7076
University Station
Austin, Texas

NSA AIDS COOP
by Bob Bass

The Poor People's Corporation

The United States National Student Association is initiating a personal aid program for the Poor People's Corporation of Mississippi. The Poor People's

NSA...Continued

Corporation is probably one of the most important economic innovations in the South at this time. A most critical element in the attainment of political independence for the poor people of the South is the development of economic independence. People are not free to act politically in their own interest when they face the possible loss of whatever small income they have. It is not uncommon for Negroes who have registered to vote to lose their jobs. People who have been very active in civil rights activity at one time or another are virtually unemployable. The production activities of the cooperatives represent an important step in demonstrating to poor people, and to the rest of the nation, that poor people are capable of helping themselves earn a decent living and of establishing their economic and political integrity and independence.

Low Income Groups

"The Poor People's Corporation is a non-profit organization...with membership open to all poor people. Dues are 25¢ a year. The main purpose of the corporation is 'To assist low income groups in their efforts to receive financial assistance to initiate and sustain self-help projects of a cooperative nature that are designed to offset some of the effects of poverty.'" Loans for the establishment of new cooperatives are made from the Corporation's revolving fund, upon the vote of the entire membership of the Corporation. (see article of P.P.C. in Nov. issue of SSOC newsletter)

Nine Coops

At the present time, there are nine cooperatives in the Corporation, which has its marketing outlet at Liberty Outlet House in Jackson, Mississippi. The cooperatives produce leather goods, clothing and quilts. For efficiency, each cooperative focuses on manufacturing one type of product, such as leather goods, or quilts. Over one hundred people are involved directly in production while the membership of the Corporation itself is will over three hundred.

Most of the people who are involved in production in the cooperatives have had little production or managerial experience. As a consequence, many of the workers are unfamiliar with conventional production, managerial and bookkeeping techniques.

Managerial Aids

The personnel program which USNSA is initiating with the P.P.C. involves managerial aides will live in the community in which the cooperative is located. There will be a training session run by the secretary of the Corporation, Jesse Morris, prior to assignments.

At present, the Corporation does not pretend to be able to absorb all the people who have lost jobs or suffered from economic intimidation, but this Spring will be a critical time for the Corporation in terms of its role as an example not only to poor people in the South, but in other places in the country, because of the large numbers of agricultural workers in the Delta area of Mississippi who are being kicked off plantations now as a result of accelerated mechanization of plantation farming (see Sue Thrasher's article in this issue.) The corporation, and the cooperatives of which it is composed, must prosper and show growth if the Corporation is to continue to serve as a vital example and if it is to continue to produce concrete results towards the reduction of the effects of poverty.

The training session will begin in March.

WORK-STUDY WEEKEND

by Bill Roberts

Ten students representing six colleges participated in the first work-study weekend sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Feb. 4 - 6. The weekend was focused on urban poverty with the students working out of the Neighborhood House in Charleston, S.C., which has as one of its projects a special program for delinquent boys age 12-16.

(Continued on next page)

WORK-STUDY...Continued

The area surrounding the Neighborhood House has the highest percent of crime and disease in Charleston County and is located near both the county jail and garbage dump. Although mostly Negro, there are still a few white families living on a couple of the streets in the community.

The students worked in three areas--encouraging participating in a recently formed Neighborhood Improvement Council, recruiting white children for a day-care center located in a Negro church, and seeking people eligible for Medicare. The least successful group was the recruiters for the day-care center. The majority of the whites were not hostile even though the recruiting teams were integrated, but there were too few families, and none of them had children in the age bracket of 3 - 6.

Saturday afternoon several of the students took twenty of the boys on a tour, which included a nearby beach. It was evident that most of them had never previously visited the beach, which is still considered segregated.

The weekend did not end with Sunday. Students from one college are going to try to arrange for several of the older boys to visit the campus and stay in nearby homes for a weekend. Another student is planning to initiate a "big brother" program on his campus, involving local teenagers.

STUDENTS STAFF NEWSPAPER
by Southern Courier Staff

The young people who started publishing a civil rights newspaper last July are still in business in Montgomery.

The editors of the weekly Southern Courier were not sure how long they could keep alive a newspaper that attempts to cover all sides of racial news in Dixie.

They started with a deficit of \$1500 a week and a staff of a dozen, all of them under 25 years of age.

They encountered problems in getting the

paper to remote areas and were at first slow in winning white readers.

Now, six months and 20 issues later, the paper's circulation holds at 16,000, most of it in rural areas and small towns in Alabama. And the weekly loss has been cut to \$500.

The Southern Courier has been praised for its dogged insistence on treating all sides fairly. Even segregationist office-holders have ordered subscriptions, as well as civil rights leaders.

The Southern Courier was the brainstorm of a half-dozen Harvard and Radcliff students, who noticed the need for such a medium when they worked in civil rights projects in Alabama and Mississippi in the summer of 1964.

In the spring of 1965 they had raised \$30,000 in small contributions. Immediately after classes ended, the group set up an office in Atlanta, bought equipment, and recruited a staff.

Michael S. Lottman, a reporter for the Chicago Daily News, was persuaded to take a leave of absence and serve as editor. The founder had planned to publish separate weekly editions for each Deep South state, but time and money forced them to start with Alabama only.

The staff was told in the beginning, "Our main readers will be poor Negroes". There are now six staffers in the new headquarters in Montgomery, reporters in Tuscaloosa, Birmingham, Selma, Mobile, and Tuskegee, and several part-time correspondents.

"And I am convinced that if we get the right people," said President Robert E. Smith, "we can sell enough ads to keep self-sufficient and to disprove the idea that a paper like ours cannot survive economically."

The Southern Courier continued its search to add to its integrated staff of reporters, distributors, advertising agents, and photographers.

These are some examples of the stories
(Continued on pg. 29)

THE FOREIGN POLICY CRISIS

The Congressional hearings on Vietnam have made it clear that the U.S. is demanding 'victory' in Vietnam. The theory behind this demand is that only if the 'Viet-Cong' realize we are serious about Vietnam will they give in. But the NLF will not negotiate until we agree to leave. They probably feel that the U.S. cannot really beat them unless it makes the decision to destroy their whole country.

Both sides are fighting for 'freedom'. The NLF feels it is fighting for freedom from U.S. backed military dictatorships. Our policy makers seem to feel, with Senator Dodd, that "the ultimate outcome of the Cold War depends upon an affirmative decision to do whatever is necessary to achieve victory in South Vietnam.

Major critics have said that communist nationalism in Vietnam is not equal to Nazism in Germany, Vietnam is not equal to Munich; that military containment of Asian communism is not the way to world stability, and that the domino theory of history which justifies the war is fallacious. They argue that Vietnam is not necessary to the 'security' of the U.S., and the price we may have to pay to win our 'goals' -- the enormous military effort that would be required to 'secure' Vietnam, the possibility of war with China, and the probable destruction of the country we claim to be helping--is too big to pay.

The Choice

The American people are going to have to make a choice between these positions. A thorough knowledge of how the crisis evolved and of the policy alternatives is the most desirable basis for this choice.

But how one judges the evidence is also important. A general principle of historical interpretation is that one trusts least the 'facts' and 'theories' of those individuals who have the greatest vested interest, professional and other, in their particular viewpoint.

Also necessarily of utmost importance is one's own experience. If one's experience of this country is that it is truly the bastion of freedom, one is more inclined, psychologically, to believe that it is truly fighting for freedom in Asia. But if one's experience of this country's ability to guarantee free elections comes from Mississippi, Alabama and Atlanta, Georgia, if one's experience of this country's ability to insure educational opportunities comes from the ghetto schools in our cities, if one's experience of this country's ability to insure economic justice comes from Greenville, Miss., or Watts, or Vine City, then the claim that we are going to help 'build' Vietnam may seem less real.

Another factor which is important for many of us is who pays for the experiment in Vietnam? The Wall Street Journal of Jan. 5 carries a summary of a recent, highly confidential government report which lists 21 cities where growing tension due to lack of housing, schools, and jobs threatens to bring renewed Watts-type rioting. The report states that "the more optimistic feel that we have a year in which to improve the climate; others believe the situation to be such that any incident can spark an explosion." The obviously inadequate existing poverty programs are being cut down or leveled off in order to pay for Vietnam. As despair mounts in our own 'underclass' we cut, instead of expand, their share. However false or invalid the identification that some in the 'movement' have for the 'Viet-Cong', the escalation of the war makes more real the possibility that the people we identify with will have to be "contained" as they were in Watts, or in Greenville. Our country forces us to identify with the victims, and perhaps, even to see a common executioner.H.R.

THE STUDENT RESPONSE

FEBRUARY 12 DEMONSTRATIONS

Although the reports from local committees have just begun to trickle into the office of the Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, it would appear that the February 12 project, the first southwide coordinated End-the-War project was a great success. As there was almost a total press blackout of activities in most areas, we are printing brief summaries of all the reports which we have received to date.

**In Atlanta about 75 people participated in a counter-picket against the Affirmation Vietnam Rally at the Atlanta Stadium. Among the speakers at the rally were Dean Rusk and Senators Talmadge and Russell.

**On Rebruary 10, the Atlanta University Speak-Out Committee sponsored a forum at Clark College. Over 10,000 people turned out for the three sessions. Among the speakers were Howard Zinn, John Barber of SCLC, and Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

**In Gainesville, Florida where there is a fledgling free speech movement, about fifty people participated in a march from the UF campus to the federal building. There, about 150 people heard a short talk by Conrad Lynn, a militant Harlem lawyer. The rally was proceeded by two days of concentrated Vietnam discussion on campus and in the community.

**In Jacksonville 28 citizens of the Jacksonville-Gainesville area participated in a demonstration at the Naval Air Station.

**In Nashville about 500 people gathered at Vanderbilt University to hear Tom Hayden, who recently returned from a fact-finding mission to North Vietnam. No direct action was taken.

**In Richmond, Virginia 200 people attended a Vietnam Forum. Among the speakers was Richard J. Coughlin, former U.S. Vice-Consul to South Vietnam and a specialist in Southeast Asian affairs. Mr. Coughlin spoke against the war. There was no direct action in Richmond.

**In Jackson, Mississippi, about 40 took part in the project. Information on the Jackson protest is still sketchy. It was the second such demonstration in recent months in Mississippi.

**In New Orleans about 45 people took part in a March and open-air speak-out. There were incidents of egg-throwing and other minor violence. On February 5 a Vietnam Forum was held at Tulane University. Included among the speakers at the well-attended meeting were many professors and a representative of the State Department.

**In Little Rock, Arkansas a teach-in was held with two opposing views represented.

At present, we have no information on the projects in Miami, Lexington, Virginia, Henderson, Kentucky, Houston, Texas, or any of the Northern support demonstrations, except New York. In a support demonstration approximately 500 persons marched to St. Marks Church from Bennet Park.

RICHMOND
by Gayle Ray

"United States policy has failed in Vietnam because in the early postwar period our policy makers misread the signs," according to Professor Richard Coughlin, former U.S. Vice-Consul in Saigon and Southeast Asian specialist on Feb. 12th at a meeting sponsored by the Richmond Council for Peace Education.

U.S. Fantasies About China

A University of Virginia colleague, Maurice Meisner examined a number of U.S. assumptions and "fantasies" about Communist China and asserted that they are mostly not justified by the facts. He questioned assumptions that the Chinese are really responsible for the fighting in South Vietnam, that China is a direct military threat to the U. S., and that China is embarked on a policy of aggressive military expansionism and conquest. "While they engage in extreme ideological propaganda," Meisner said, "it is only words, while Chinese actions are characterized by extreme caution and prudence."

Coughlin, referring to the initial formulation of U.S. policy in Vietnam stated that "The U.S. government misunderstood the political and social situation in Southeast Asia after the war. We failed to realize that: (1) colonialism was finished, and in the minds of Southeast Asians the issue of freedom now was neither negotiable nor conditional (2) Asians would tolerate no intervention by any outside power. This was sure to be met by massive armed resistance. (3) Leaders, selected and hardened by resistance to the Japanese and French, were national heroes, universally accepted, immovable, there to stay. The national leaders then, including Ho Chi Minh, are still the national leaders today. Unless the United States is willing to work with these leaders, regardless of their ideology, we have no popular support for our goal. There is no one else to deal with. We should avoid building a policy on a fantasy."

U.S. officials also misread the need for revolution, confusing it with "communist

conspiracy...Social, economic and political orders were abruptly rearranged," he said. "These revolutions have been remarkably bloodless. We can no more oppose or deter them than we can the Japanese current."

"Ignoring these critical political signs, said Coughlin," led the U.S. to intervene on the side of the French in the Indo-chinese war, with money and military equipment; and later to support puppet governments which are alienated from the people, as well as dishonest, inefficient and unpopular."

There is no question now of "victory", he said. "Time is no longer on our side." Rather than an abrupt withdrawal, Coughlin felt perhaps the best solution is to hold on to coastal enclaves and wait, while ceasing to escalate and resisting all inducements to escalate. "In time," he said, "the Vietnamese would come to the conference table."

Meisner stated that "both the Chinese and U.S. governments, each from its own side, tend to see the Vietnam war as a test case in the struggle between good and evil. Both governments are suffering from delusions of grandeur," he said.

Speaking of China as a military threat, Meisner cited the number of U.S. bases ringing China. "China has more reason to fear us than we them." He also noted that there are no Chinese soldiers outside Chinese territories, even in North Korea, while thousands of U.S. soldiers are stationed around the world, some very to Chinese borders.

He noted a "fantastic" notion in some government quarters and in some newspaper columns that if the U.S. should pull out of Southeast Asia, China "will almost the next day be in the Philippines or Hawaii or even San Francisco. This, I submit, is an extreme form of paranoia."

Meisner touched on the centuries-long history of Chinese involvement with Vietnam, but said this does not give China special rights in Vietnam or make the

(Continued on page 20)

RICHMOND...Continued

the Vietnamese fond of the Chinese. He said the Vietnamese demand for independence applies also to independence from China.

As for the theory that Chinese overpopulation would cause a "spilling over" of Chinese into Southeast Asia, he said this is a "demographic and economic absurdity." Southeast Asia is already overpopulated. "Any movement of population in China," Meisner said, "would be north, not south, and would be of concern to the Russians, not the Vietnamese."

Meisner spoke of Chinese activities in Africa as being comparable to those of the American C.I.A. Both provide ideological inspiration and try to buy influence in African nations. He stated American assumptions about "wars of national liberation" are based on the conspiracy theory of history, which he characterized as "fallacious and superficial." "The question to ask in revolutions," he said, "is why some conspiracies are successful and some are not. The answer is not in conspiracy, but in the internal social, political and economic conditions in the particular country."

"In Vietnam, for instance," he said, "the Viet Cong could not possibly have grown without considerable support from the people, and this support comes, not from conspiracy, but from the needs of the people for revolution and reform."

Both speakers expressed doubt that economic and social reforms recently agreed upon by the U.S. Government and the Saigon government would be meaningful or would rescue the U.S.-Saigon cause politically.

Over 200 persons listened as the two professors spoke, and asked a number of questions afterwards, particularly about China. Meisner is professor of Chinese history at the University of Virginia, and Coughlin, an anthropologist, specializes in Southeast Asian culture and intergroup relations.

The meeting held at the Unitarian Church and free to the public, was the first

event sponsored by the Richmond Council for Peace Education since it was formed early in January. Future plans for the group include a seminar on the Cold War to be held on April 25th at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond.

JACKSON
by Jim West

The Tougaloo College Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam sponsored a demonstration in downtown Jackson, Mississippi, on February 12, as a part of the South-wide emphasis on Vietnam. The demonstration was planned at the last minute because a teach-in planned for the same weekend had to be postponed and it was felt that some sort of action was necessary.

Approximately 34 - 40 persons marched through the rain to picket the federal building for about an hour. They handed out leaflets containing the SNCC statement on Vietnam. In the Negro section, a few joined the line of march. A different attitude prevailed, of course, in the white part of town, although there were no serious incidents. One bystander handed one of the marchers a pack of matches--urging him to burn his draft card or himself. The only hint of trouble came at about 7:00 on the morning of the demonstration, when an anonymous phone call was received threatening the life of some of the demonstrators if the march was carried out as planned.

Press coverage was quite poor, and there have been no real reactions from the community thus far. The significance of the demonstration lies in the fact that it has been shown that people can finally protest their grievances for an extended period of time on the streets of Jackson--a condition that was impossible only this summer. Otherwise, many of the participants remain fairly pessimistic about the value of a demonstration such as this. It is widely felt that education is vitally needed. Because of this, we are about to begin planning a teach-in to be held this spring in cooperation with the Freedom Democratic Party.

NASHVILLE: REPORT FROM HANOI

by Verna Fausey

"The people in Vietnam are involved to rid their country of foreign intervention", Thomas Hayden, 27, of Newark, N.J. told an audience at Underwood Auditorium at Vanderbilt University on February 12.

Mr. Hayden, along with Yale professor Staughton Lynd and Marxist historian Herbert Aptheker visited Hanoi December 28 to January 7. His report on this trip was part of a Southwide anti-war demonstration. He was sponsored by the Vanderbilt and Nashville Committees for Alternatives to War in Vietnam and the Vanderbilt Forum.

Normalcy in the Midst of Strife

The atmosphere in North Vietnam was surprisingly peaceful, even though the country has been involved in war for over twenty years", Mr. Hayden told the audience of 400. "Military readiness in Hanoi is offset by normal activities. The people of Vietnam have been at war so long, they have learned to live almost normal lives in the midst of their struggle."

The speaker talked with various North Vietnamese, including Premier Pham Van Dong. Their feelings could be summarized in the following way:

Independence Struggle

"The North Vietnamese desire peace because the country has been torn by war. But no peace can be lasting until there is genuine independence which gives the individual a chance to exist. This includes the type of government which probably would be communism, a Vietnamese communism--a unique and beautiful socialism."

"As a result of the Geneva Agreements, families have been divided for many years. Hopes for reunifying the country and families ended when the United States and the 'puppet' government in Saigon scuttled the Agreements. Now the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front are trying to get rid of foreign intervention.

U.S. Replaces France

"In 1954, the French admitted defeat. But the Americans and the 'puppet' regime in South Vietnam, who had exempted themselves from the Geneva Agreements, resumed a military crusade against the communist-led independence movement--a violation of the Agreements."

The Vietnamese see the war as basically a continuation of the anti-colonial struggle against the French, with the U.S. backed puppet, Diem, replacing the French puppet, Bao Dai." They feel they are being used as "a piece on a chess board, and it is going to be a long hard time before the Vietnamese are ready to negotiate." Their reaction to the United States is to "tune out the words and tune in to actions."

Peace Offensive Hoax

Then Mr. Hayden pointed out that the United States government pursued the following activities during the peace offensive from December 20 to January 31

1. Increased the number of troops in South Vietnam;
2. Spread the war into the whole of Indochina by allowing hot pursuits into Cambodia and bombing Laos;
3. Used poisoned chemicals to destroy the rice crop;
4. Continued bombing in South Vietnam;
5. Opened a ground offensive before the peace offensive closed;
6. Announced a period of solidarity and pacification plan with the Ky government.

North Shows Good Faith

"What were North Vietnam's military actions during the peace offensive?" Mr. Hayden asked. "On January 5, Premier Pham Van Dong denied the presence of North Vietnamese troops in the South."

"North Vietnam could have de-escalated during this period," the speaker said.
(Continued on next page.)

NASHVILLE...Continued

"Responsible American newspapers reported no contacts with North Vietnamese troops during the month. After the bombing resumed, however, battles with troops from the North were reported."

"Could this have been the concrete evidence needed to continue the peace offensive? When asked by reporters, President Johnson had no comment on this evidence," Mr. Hayden said.

Johnson No Statesman

Referring to Abraham Lincoln's birthday, Mr. Hayden claimed that Lincoln was pushed into a civil war to prevent the spread of slavery in a rural area." Today, President Johnson is intervening in a civil war in Vietnam. There is no basis for President Johnson's persistent efforts to liken himself to Lincoln.

The peace movement today seeks an immediate change in American foreign policy, the speaker said. He concluded by comparing the peace movement of today with the abolitionists prior to the Civil War.

The trip to Hanoi by Mr. Hayden, Dr. Lynd and Mr. Apetheker was sponsored by Viet Report, an Emergency News Bulletin of Southeast Asian Affairs. On the way to Hanoi, the trio spent three days each in Prague, Yugoslavia and Moscow and four days in Peking to talk with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. The reason for the trip was to clarify the position of North Vietnam. But because the trip was not authorized by the United States government, the State Department cancelled the passports of the trio.

Mr. Hayden's speech in Nashville was his first public appearance in the South since his trip to Hanoi.

He is a graduate of the University of Michigan in 1961. While there he was editor of the Michigan Daily. Mr. Hayden is a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society. He has worked actively in the civil rights movement in Mississippi and Georgia.

Since 1964, Mr. Hayden has been a community organizer in the Newark, N.J. Community Union Project.

Vietnam Literature Available

SSOC and Operation Open Debate are reprinting a large number of the first issue of Confrontation magazine, a bi-monthly publication of the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam. Both SSOC and OOD are interested in encouraging critical and informed debate of our Vietnam policy and feel that a wider distribution of this invaluable publication around the South will encourage discussion.

Included in the first issue of Confrontation is one of the finest short histories of our involvement in Vietnam available. The United States in Vietnam is a reprint from the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. The authors, George McT. Kahin, director of Cornell's Southeast Asia program, and John W. Lewis, also an Asian specialist at Cornell, set out in a crisp analytical style the origins of the present crisis and defend their interpretation with lengthy and invaluable footnoting.

An article by Jack Langguth, New York Times correspondent in Vietnam, reflects the personal horror of a sensitive and humane reporter at the carnage of the mass mechanized terrorism waged by the U.S. upon the guerillas and the civilian population which supports them. His opinion, "When I first arrived in Vietnam, I thought the war could not be won but it was worth trying. Now I sometimes think it can be won but that it is not worth the price."

Another reprint from the New York Times describes in some detail the effect of U. S. bombing raids on a small group of villages in South Vietnam. The cumulative effect of both articles leaves a very distinct impression of what the war is like--it is gasoline bombs burning men, women, children, homes, and crops and U.S. A.I.D. teams dispatching bandages and rations to the survivors who are then herded into refugee camps. an intractable military power, who never admits its mistakes and whose people blindly back the crimes of its government, or that of a peace-loving country that values human life more highly than false pride and whose people have the

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TO CHANGE THE SOUTH

CONVERSION, ACTION AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY by Dick Reavis

Every movement should have three aims: conversion, action, and social solidarity. This is to say that every movement should serve as a spearhead of new ideas, a base for social action, and as a group which provides identity and psychological rewards for its own members. The student movement in Texas, I am afraid, has given up on the first aim, neglected to act on the second, and misoriented the third. This paper attempts to delve into the problems we face in Texas and to seek some probable means of besting them.

What we need in Texas, firstly, is some communication and respect between the scholars and would-be activists. Secondly, we need some activity on which both groups may work, mutually contributing to one another. The goal should be toward embodying the scholar's stability and the radical's zeal. Needless to say certain compromises are necessary to any such amalgamation. I propose that we make them.

Moderation Involves Students

In general, we must "come on" moderate. This means, bluntly, that we don't advocate the destruction of the present social order. Instead, we must tentatively work toward alleviating the symptoms of the System. However, we know that radical problems require radical solutions. Therefore, we must educate the liberal majority to the need for radical change. This implies several considerations.

The first is that we should not immediately engage in extensive civil disobedience. This would constitute forcing the liberal scholar to put his body into radical action, -- before his mind is accustomed to radical thinking. In the end, it would only eliminate his support both in terms of manpower and of money and prestige.

Poverty Radicalizes Students

The second is that any program of community action must be a long-term program. Men become radicals because their daily lives give them reason to. Campus-bound projects fail to expose the liberal to a dose of hardship sufficient to alter his moderation. Though school term programs should be initiated, they should be used as preparatories to longer programs. Since social pressures force scholarly types to return to school in the fall, and since the draft tyrannizes most of us, summer projects are the best experience we can offer. Three months of daily exposure to the tri-evils--poverty, ignorance, and discrimination -- should be enough to convert any scholar into a radical -- and into an activist. This approach does something for the poor and in doing so builds a base for more meaningful activity. The quest for activity is resolved, then, as best as present conditions allow.

New Radicals Need Community

The first and third goals -- those of conversion and social solidarity -- are best undertaken by the establishment of Freedom Houses. The student in Texas who would investigate radical activity and radical thought must face the risk of being expelled from his society, and the social and economic pressures which follow can be disastrous to his curiosity. In the upheaval that follows a student's activity in SDS, for example, his personal identity is shaken, and in desperation he runs either into refuge among fellow dissenters or headlong into surrender to the System. We must convert the man, but we must also salvage his working capacity. We cannot be caught in the fruitlessness that characterizes groups which withdraw into themselves.

The function of Freedom Houses would be to provide a way of life, a place of living, for radicals and for those scholars who would investigate alternate ways of seeing things. Such centers would be stocked with relevant literature, and, because of the financial hardship im-

CONVERSION...Continued

posed on some, would stress brotherhood and communal living. Importantly, they would also serve as workshops for community organization programs. And each freedom house would be expected to plan and produce a summer program, led by radicals, but staffed in the main by the dominant liberal majority. Moreover, for their value as conversion tools, such Houses would be expected to give weekly parties, in which a mixture of "frats" and "beards" would be sought. Discussions and some agreements would inevitably arise. Thus, the participant would be given a chance to investigate new ideas, to be active in a growing movement, and to find a sense of "belonging," all inside the Freedom House. Conversion, work, and social solidarity would be combined.

What I am suggesting, of course, is Utopian. However, we have experimented with the techniques on a small basis at UT, and have met with encouraging success. We recognize no mandates for pessimism. To others of you, what I have proposed may seem to be a "half-a-loaf" ideology, and--to put it bluntly--may appear to be immoral, chicken-hearted, or Tommish. However, I would re-emphasize that the movement must strive for the possible--plus a little--and not kill itself in the frustration that follows seeking a wholist change. We must remember that in the South we have only the seeds of a movement, not the strength of a full-grown Berkeley. Therefore, we must carefully nourish our potential, man-by-man, project-by-project. Our capacity for manpower, militancy, and action should escalate, though it may grow slowly at first.

SOME COMMENTS ON A SUMMER PROJECT by Dick Ramsey

Since the summer of 1962 the American Friends Service Committee has sponsored summer CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECTS in the South as part of its work-study program for college students in this country and abroad. The structure of the project is a group unit of fifteen to twenty, including a married couple, living together co-operatively and assist-

ing the local people in voter registration work, citizenship classes, adult literacy, tutoring, etc.

Essential preparation for a summer project is securing an invitation from local people and forming a local steering committee to be involved in making some basic decisions and giving support. The student volunteer group has a lot of energy to give, forms an interest or focal point for "events", and acts as a catalyst in involving local resources.

The attitude of learning on the part of the volunteer is important. The spirit of sharing experiences -- working with local people rather than coming to 'show them'--helps build more local responsibility and lays groundwork for continuing work after the project has ended.

In addition to the actual work done the project is an example of interracial cooperation, showing that people can live and work together and it is desirable to do so. Efforts are made to interpret the project to the local white community and involve them in some of the work. This does not necessarily meet with success but shows the spirit of reconciliation.

Last summer the project was held in Rock Hill, South Carolina. AFSC participants came from all over the U.S. They had diverse background, but only a few were from the South, and only three were Negroes. The interracial nature of the project was enhanced by participation of local Negro students (mostly high school) Local white college students and professors participated also, especially in the tutoring. Here are some comments from the final group evaluation written by Charles Schunior (student at the University of North Carolina).

"The tangible results of our voter registration drive exceed our most sanguine hopes. During our eight weeks, some 2500 personal contacts were made in the Negro community, and on four days in August 994 persons were registered. Less tangible results were just as important and even more encouraging.

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SOME COMMENTS...Continued

second and third time, we were aware of a growing awareness within the community about registration and voting and the necessity for taking a positive stand in matters of citizenship. We found less need to talk about basic essentials of citizenship, as had been necessary on our first visits to most houses. People were often waiting for us and prepared with questions. This growing awareness and concern was also evidenced by the large number of people who came on their own to be registered on Tuesday and Thursday of this week. Another encouraging sign was the presence during the last voter registration day of local high school students at the registration center doing the jobs we had formerly done.

To accurately assess the results of our voter registration work we could not overlook the effect it had on us as individuals. The personal contacts we made while canvassing neighborhoods were often very meaningful and exciting and after a few weeks voter registration became rather a personal thing to many of us. In another sense our work made us more aware of the issues, realities, and urgencies of being a citizen of the United States.

In retrospect we can see the great difference it made to have established a good relationship with (the local state senator.) This man was later invaluable in making the registration campaign a success.....After we had first been told by the registrars that it would be illegal to register Rock Hill people because it was within thirty days before an election, the senator quickly informed them that they were misinterpreting his own law, and the books were opened. He was equally helpful the day after in securing enough registrars' so that work could proceed. We feel that this early contact with the senator was evidence of the difference between our project and others where the participants came prepared and anxious to do battle with every white member of the community.

Under limitations of the voter registra-

tion work we would have to list a certain dissatisfaction with our own organization...getting under way habitually half an hour late...not always following correct canvassing procedure...not encouraging more local initiative....we should have done more work with voter education. Although nearly 1000 Negroes registered in August, we feel that many of them still have extremely vague ideas about the significance of registering and voting and active citizenship in general...

The success of our tutoring is more difficult to evaluate because the results are less tangible. We tutored for seven weeks some 125 children who would attend desegregated schools this fall. One of the problems they will face will be that of the unaccustomed contact with white people. We hope and believe that we have been helpful in minimizing this problem. We certainly have noticed a considerable relaxation since the first days in relationships with the students until now most of the kids feel as natural with us as we have come to feel with them. Tutoring sessions are frequently exciting and mutually fulfilling. Most of us are planning to carry on some degree of correspondence with the tutees.

One achievement is the encouragement of the tutees' latent abilities and the building up of their confidence. One of the project members remarked that one of her students had been very fearful of reading out loud because she felt that others would make fun of her. Recently, though, her confidence in herself had grown tremendously and no longer was she as timid about reading. Most of us have had similar experiences with our tutees.

The tutorials were helpful in exposing the students to new ways of thinking. Most of them had had little or no experience in dealing with conceptual relations and abstractions. While many of us were rather disappointed in the frequent lack of imaginative, creative response in our tutees (one tutor who conducts an art class has despaired often about how many of her students have a great natural talent, but only apply it

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SOME COMMENTS...Continued

to copying things) we were also aware of the causes for this lack, and began to see encouraging signs in the later sessions. A few of the tutees wrote some poetry; others worked with their own dialogues or plays.

Certainly one of the most encouraging results of the project was that many of the tutees began to learn things on their own...investigating subjects they had become interested in...asking project members to talk to them about our majors in college...making individual trips to the public library. We should have taken more advantage of opportunities to take the tutees on field trips.. to local public facilities (which Negro citizens are not accustomed to use.)

Much of the tutoring project's success was given a dramatic emphasis a few nights ago when our tutees held an elaborately prepared dance for us. The music was recorded, but the mutual affection and fellowship was live and genuine.

More communication with the parents would have been very desirable. Besides providing further personal contacts and integration into the community this communication could have the effect of involving the parents in the tutoring program, greatly facilitating its success in the future. (The head of OEO was so impressed with the progress of the tutorials that he assured funds to continue such a project during the school year.) On the other hand, the fact that we were involved in tutoring helped us in our relations with both Negro and white communities. Among the whites it was generally considered much more respectable and American to be teaching Negroes as opposed to encouraging them to register and vote! Of course we emphasized that we didn't consider the two phases of our work as separate and non-related, but it still seemed more comfortable for our white brothers to concentrate on tutoring.

To try and sum up this summer's experience in a paragraph or two is an awesome and humbling task. Certainly there is not one member who doesn't feel that

the project has been untellably exciting meaningful, and successful in most of its many aspects. But to try to frame an overall description of the project is really impossible and quite nearly absurd. "Describe" means, I think, something like "write around," and I can't trap the reality of this summer with a circle of mere words. It is impossible to measure the height of a growing tree because your measure cannot grow with it. In the same way, no description of the last eight weeks could capture the GROWING, the BECOMING which is an essential element of civil rights work and any work which involves personal relationships.

The "final evaluation" of this project rests in the minds of the local high school students who worked at the registration board yesterday, in the eyes of our young tutees, some of whom may have seen the world for the first time clothed in wonder and potential, in the smiles of old men and women bearing new registration certificates just gained and old dreams just reborn, in the hand-clasps of friends joined in a circle, whose song tells you that the vision of peace and brotherhood won't die in the South, in the voices of white people, whose softer more questioning tones suggest a seed of turning, and in our own deepest selves, where the magic of this summer won't be forgotten, and may spread outward like the concentric ripples around a stone dropped in the water, outward to other people other summers.

ON THE TREATING OF CAUSES VS SYMPTOMS by Ronda Stille

A child's cry of hunger, an old man's eyes--staring out of a SNCC poster, the universal smellof poverty, an irrational injustice done to a friend--the need for change hits us on a specific and individual basis--at the gut level. We empathize. It might be our child. It might be us. At a gut level we respond. We ask, "What can I do?"

Perhaps it is unfortunate that the needs of society present themselves to us in
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ON TREATING THE CAUSES...Continued

this way. For while this encounter evokes compassion and incites action, too frequently we are so struck by the symptoms, that we fail to recognize the deeper causes from which they spring. The symptoms are tangible, easy to identify, and easy to respond to. The causes lay hidden, and in a diseased system, their implications are by far the more threatening. To ask "What can I do?" is not enough.

The first major difficulty is that we lack an analysis of our society sufficient to separate the causes of poverty and deprivation from their symptoms. We often cannot explain why in our society there is poverty and injustice, and even when we can, we find ourselves uncertain what constitutes the most effective course of action to alter the system. We find ourselves thrown against a void that constant new analysis and creative action alone can fill. We falter in the insecurity of not knowing explicitly the goals toward which we work, and in the idealism of thinking we may succeed where so many have failed. Too easily we find ourselves consigned to the treating of symptoms.

People are poor--Since the New Deal, we have given them bigger and better unemployment compensation, welfare, aid to dependent children, charity, urban renewal, public housing, job retraining, and social workers to help them adjust to it all. And still poverty increases. We have not sought to eliminate the problem. We can easily direct criticism against the "establishment" without recognizing the ease of succumbing to the same temptation ourselves. Let us look for a moment at one example, using the model of the tutorial and examining its possible pitfalls and potentialities.

We see children doomed to failure in our contemporary world, because they cannot read. Because we realize the implications, feel compassion, and see something concrete we can do, a tutorial springs forth, the success of which is almost invariably limited at two levels.

No private group has resources equivalent to the need, which means the changes it effects necessarily must occur on a personal and limited level. This is important, but deceptive. We feel a great deal of satisfaction at bringing change on the personal level. However, anyone who is truly concerned about persons, must be concerned at the political level to bring the most good to the greatest number. In addition, this very satisfaction may become the obstacle which blinds our vision and assuages our conscience. The awareness that the problem is gargantuan and our part necessarily small, is often the very reassurance which prevents us from seeking more effective action.

Even if the project meets with the standard measures of "success", we must examine its effect upon the total picture. If a private group is able to surmount the obstacle of limited resources, it should not attempt to assume what is the basic responsibility of the government--namely to furnish an adequate and equal education for all. The success of a model such as a tutorial may serve to extinguish the motivation of the local people to act on their own behalf, while also obscuring the obvious failure of the government to assume its responsibilities.

Our success in treating symptoms may be directly responsible for perpetuating their cause. Our schools will continue to pour out children who cannot read at an ever increasing rate. The cause is inferior schools, which may in turn be only a symptom of the powerlessness of a people to demand decent schools, which are considered to be an inalienable right in our country.

Recognizing the cause, we may find guidance for our response. In the South Negroes are powerless due to the obvious legal disfranchisement. In the North and urban South, the problem of powerlessness appears far more complex. Some contend that power consists of either money or people, and lacking the former, we must rely upon people as the resource. But people are powerful only

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ON TREATING THE CAUSES...Continued

insofar as they are organized. This realization, that the obtaining of power to make demands upon the social system requires organization, indicates a potentially effective course of action. Then we are forced to question: Into what do we organize people--labor unions, community unions, political parties, or what? Where does wealth and power really lie in our society, and what kind of organization or poor people can most effectively demand that the wealth and power be shared?

So long as we are able to maintain this sort of analysis and frame of reference even imperfect models can lead toward higher objectives. The experience of failure can be ultimately constructive or destructive, depending upon its interpretation. The "success" of a tutorial in treating symptoms can be used to create hope, and people may be mobilized around these aspirations. Insofar as our failure to bring about significant change through tutorials flings us in the face of the realities of the underlying causes, and we are forced to re-evaluate our action, we are able to rechannel our motivation and energies toward more basic structural changes in the society.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED--Citizenship Education Project, Sumter, South Carolina

The American Friends Service Committee and the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations will co-sponsor an eight week project this summer in Sumter, S. C. The effort will be largely voter registration in the entire county. 41% of the population is Negro. Less than 30% of those eligible are registered to vote. This is an election year and there will be key local and state contests. The number registered this summer can have a direct effect on next year's public officials.

Community relations will be important in the project. Participants should attend local churches and civil meetings, show an interest in recreation, farm work, labor unions and should do as much to become part of the community as the lim-

ited time allows. Voter education takes place in the informal contacts as well as special workshops to discuss issues.

NUMBER IN PROJECT: 15 plus leadership

DATES: June 23 to August 20

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS: Participants will live cooperatively in a house, sharing in work responsibilities, household chores, group educational programs.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS: The project is financed by the participants' contribution of \$150. Special scholarship funds will be available for participants who need them. Preference given to southern students.

APPLY NOW: Write to AFSC, Box 1791, High Point, N.C.

BOOK REVIEW...Continued

the political-economic power structure to the pyramiding problems brought on by the influx of the poverty-stricken emigrants from the rural South. However, he stops short of asking the really pertinent question--why? Why is it that thousands of people live in squalor and economic center of the wealthiest nation on earth, while a few blocks away other people are living in ornate splendor. What is wrong without system that brings about these conditions. Mr. Brown's personal solution is to leave Harlem, finish high school and persuade a church to send him to college. But this path is open only to a very few. What of the rest? Will they be permanently consigned to the ghetto by racial prejudice and economic discrimination? Will they fit Mr. Brown's poignant description: "The children of these disillusioned colored pioneers inherited the total lot of their parents--the disappointments, the anger. To add to their misery they had little hope of deliverance. For where does one run to when he's already in the Promised Land?"

VIET-NAM LITERATURE...Continued

A final article raises the critical moral questions that any American who supports the Administration policy in Viet-Nam must answer. What kind of "face" is the U.S. saving in Viet-Nam? "Perhaps it is a question of what kind of face we want the United States to have: that of

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