



# ***THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT***

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In an effort to share responsibilities, the staff is taking turns in producing this publication. Ronda Stilley is editor of this issue. Our thanks to Bill Myers for the cover drawing.

At a brief glance, it is evident that this edition of the New South Student is a self-reflective one. In seven articles we discuss our activities, strategy, problems, and role. This sensitivity is essential to anyone concerned with his effectiveness in reaching stated goals. But perhaps its emphasis at this time results from our feeling that we are nearing a turning point, if not in the southern student movement, at least in SSOC.

SSOC has just received more financial resources than it has had in its entire existence, and we are badly in need of new staff. In addition, we sense that the South is changing rapidly, and to remain relevant or viable, we must be prepared to change our role radically.

Thus it is that we ask you to join us in our reflections. We would urge you to consider seriously the questions posed in the first article, "Decisions Face SSOC", and the planning conference in which we hope to face these; and to share with us your thoughts concerning the needs of southern students today, and how SSOC may be of service to them.

If you wish to receive the New South Student, contributions of not less than \$1.00 for southern students, and \$3.00 for northern students and adults are requested. All contributions are tax exempt.

# DECISIONS FACE SSOC

by Gene Guerrero

The Southern Student Organizing Committee will hold a "February Planning Meeting" on February 4, 5, and 6 at the SSOC office in Nashville. The meeting will be an open executive committee meeting to plan for the winter and spring. All interested students are invited to attend.

The purpose of the meeting is to deal with some of the practical problems arising from the fact that students are beginning to translate ideas into action. SSOC must discuss allocation of its new resources in terms of a "strategy" of social change for the South.

SSOC is limited in various ways by conception, staff, and finances. We need to think through these limitations keeping in mind that at this time SSOC may have a greater opportunity to contribute to real change than at any other time in its short history.

The following are questions some have raised for discussion at the meeting. The list is meant to be suggestive rather than definitive, and you should raise questions of your own.

1. Do we have an overall political vision and strategy? Should we have one? Are we serious about change without one?

2. How should SSOC be related to community projects such as the ones in Southside Virginia, New Orleans, and Atlanta? How can SSOC stimulate more community work? How are these projects related to each other?

3. How can SSOC develop more student leadership internally? What are the problems in developing continuing campus leadership?

4. How can SSOC find more good staff persons now that it can afford to double or triple its staff? How should staff be used?

5. When and where should the SSOC spring conference be held? How do we see SSOC

next year? What decisions will have to be made at the spring conference?

6. Is there a consensus in SSOC regarding the War in Vietnam? Should SSOC act? If so, in what way?

7. What are the final arrangements for the folk tour? Final decisions on dates, places, etc. should be made.

8. How should editorial policy of the New South Student be determined? How can we encourage more students to use the newsletter as a journal for their expression? Should the newsletter be moved to Atlanta?

9. What should SSOC do regarding South Africa?

10. How should SSOC relate to southern political developments in 1966?

11. How can the SSOC structure be improved? Do students feel a part of SSOC?

12. What is SSOC's relationship to organizing efforts in Appalachia?

13. How effective has the campus traveler program been? How should campus travellers be used?

Those who wish to raise questions for this meeting are urged to write working papers. If these are sent to the SSOC office in advance they can be mimeoed for the meeting.

The meeting will actually begin early Saturday, February 5. It is hoped that many will be able to come for the evening of the 4th to review what has been happening and begin planning for the weekend.

Some funds for travel are available. Please let the SSOC office know soon if you are coming, when you will arrive, and whether you will need help with travel. Please bring your sleeping bag if possible.

# SNCC WORKER MURDERED

Civil rights worker, Samuel Younge, 22, was murdered in Tuskegee, Alabama, early on the morning of January 4, 1966.

Younge, a SNCC worker and a student at Tuskegee Institute, had been helping Negroes register to vote at the Macon county courthouse earlier in the day when he was pushed by one of the registrars, who threatened him with a knife. Later that evening, Younge was told to use a segregated restroom in a gas station. His body was found in an alley near the station.

## Warning

Earlier in the day, Younge had reported to the Atlanta SNCC office that he was helping take 40 Negroes to register to vote. One of the registrars told Younge's co-worker, SNCC staffer, Jimmy Rogers, "I'm tired of fooling around with you. I'm going to spill your guts all over the floor."

SNCC workers in Atlanta reported the incident in the courthouse to the FBI and the Justice Department and urged federal intervention and protection--before the murder occurred--but federal officials did not appear.

Later, that night, Younge went to a service station to get gas and to use the restroom. When he asked to go to the restroom, the attendant told him to go to the back hole where Negroes go. Younge refused. He asked the attendant if he'd heard of the Civil Rights Act. The attendant pulled a gun, fired one shot, but missed. Young got into a car and drove to the police station five blocks away and asked for an investigation. It was reported that he went back to the station when he realized the police would not help him.

Dean Phillips of Tuskegee Institute was called about 2 a.m. by the police, who told him to come down and identify a body. He took several people with him and saw Younge's body with a single bullet wound in the head.

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## Protection??

John Lewis, SNCC chairman, issued the following statement:

We call upon the President of the United States to make the presence and the forces of the federal government visible in the state of Alabama by ordering federal marshals to the following counties in Alabama: Macon, Greene, Barbour, Lowndes, Dallas, Hale, Wilcox, Bullock, Marengo, Sumter, Perry, and all others where violence and terror are the order of the day. These federal marshals should have the power to make on-the-spot arrests, in order to protect, not just the civil rights, but the lives and limbs of the Negro people and civil rights workers of Alabama.

If the federal government cannot provide protection for people seeking civil rights guaranteed by the constitution, then people will have no protection but themselves. We find it increasingly difficult to ask the people of the Black Belt to remain nonviolent. We have asked the President for federal marshals for over three years. If our plea is not answered, we have no choice.

Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, addressed a civil rights rally in Mobile, Alabama, January 2, and said that night-riders seeking to put fear in the hearts of Negroes will run "straight into the federal government."

Yesterday an FBI agent listened to the report given him of Young and Rogers being threatened by the registrar in Tuskegee, and said, "You've done your duty. We'll take care of it." He then hung up.

SNCC has organized southwide memorial services to be held January 10 through 18 in Washington, Hampton, Richmond, Greenville, Raleigh, Columbia, Orangeburg, Atlanta, and Nashville, respectively.

# CANDOR COMPELS US

by Sue Thrasher

Perhaps you wondered just what it is that SSOC people spend their time doing. The following is an attempt to outline the activities of the officers and staff for the months of January and February.

HOWARD ROMAINÉ has been a second year graduate student in philosophy at the University of Virginia. His wife, ANNE, is completing a masters in history, and will be working on SSOC's southern folk tour. Howard is thinking of enrolling as a student at the Institute for Policy Studies, which will allow them to work and do research in the South.

HOWARD SPENCER is a senior at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mississippi. He has been very active in the Methodist Student Movement and the National Student Christian Federation. He will be working on the statewide student conference which will be held in Mississippi during February.

HERMAN CARTER is a senior at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Although one of his primary interests is South Africa (See November Newsletter), he spends a great deal of his time being a thorn in the side of the administration at Southern.....Roll 'em, Herman!! (See December newsletter.)

ROY MONEY--treasurer, of course--is a junior at Vanderbilt University. In addition to working and carrying a full course load, Roy is active in the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam (See pg. 9) and the Student Political Education and Action Committee. He also spends quite a bit of time in the SSOC office paying endless bills and haggling with staff about salary and checks.

SUE THRASHER plans to spend a good portion of the months of January and February working in Mississippi on the statewide student conference. She is also making arrangements for the Board of Advisors meeting which has been scheduled for March 4.

GENE GUERRERO just recently graduated from Emory University and is now back on the SSOC staff. You may recall that Gene attempted to organize a union of the employees at Emory (See October newsletter). Gene will be setting up the Executive Committee meeting in early February and will then begin planning a conference on students and labor.

ED HAMLETT traveled north from the SDS convention in Urbana, but will soon return south to work in Tennessee and Kentucky. Ed plans to concentrate in the Knoxville, Tennessee, area, feeling out student interest in Appalachia.

RONDA STILLEY, who joined the SSOC staff in October, will be editing the January issue of the New South Student, and working with a group who are interested in an urban organizing project in the city of Nashville.

KATHY BARRETT just recently left the SSOC staff to concentrate her efforts on a community organizing project in the second ward in New Orleans. Kathy plans to set up a library and begin working for freedom schools.

RAY PAYNE, who traveled for SSOC in Alabama during the fall, is now working in the Vine City Community Project in Atlanta, Georgia.

During the past month, the SSOC office has received several large contributions and grants. We are indebted to: The Field Foundation for a grant of \$5000 for general program; to Mr. Stephen F. Wilder and Mrs. Blake Cady for a grant of \$12,500 in memory of their father, and the Methodist Student Movement for a grant of \$200.

We now need staff: We desperately need a person with some clerical skills for the office, as well as someone experienced in urban community organizing. If you are interested, write SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee.

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# SOUTHERN FOLK FESTIVAL

by Anne Romaine

During the summer of '64 a group of movement folk singers from around the nation gathered in Mississippi to perform and lead singing in various COFO project locations throughout the state. The local people as well as the COFO volunteers and SNCC staff were reinforced in their struggle for freedom by the knowledge that people outside Mississippi cared about what they were trying to do. However, the benefit was not a one way thing. The singers were in fact, joining in the protest against racism, and learning, many of them for the first time, what was really going on in Mississippi.

This spring, SSOC is planning a traveling folk festival composed of some of the same singers who participated in the '64 Caravan. The purpose of the tour is threefold. First, we hope to reintroduce southern students to the folk music tradition of the blackbelt and mountain regions of the South, as well as how the old forms have been adopted to new ideas by this generation's freedom and topical singers.

The second purpose is to pose issues. The whole idea of an integrated troupe appearing at Negro and white southern campuses has a significant thrust. Also many of the songs they sing will be songs of the movement, in themselves posing questions of politics and values.

Thirdly, we hope to give folk enthusiasts and aspiring folk singers from the student, as well as local communities, an opportunity to meet with the professional folksingers in workshops. These workshops will center on the musical techniques involved in performing traditional ballads and spirituals, as well as provide a forum for discussion of freedom and topical song writing. There should be a place where students can discuss the issues of the movement in which folksingers are playing a significant role. Among these are civil rights,

war, problems of anti-communism and blacklisting. Of course, the workshops vary with the particular campus and community and the degree of interest displayed.

There are four or five singers who will make up the core of the tour. GIL TURNER, composer, founding co-editor of Broadside magazine and a principle organizer of the Mississippi Caravan will be on hand. In his own words, Gil sings the songs of all the "big and little, public and private, peaceable and violent, revolutions and resolutions that made and remade and are still remaking the New World."

LEN CHANDLER who participated in the Arkansas and Nashville movements of the early '60's as well as the Mississippi Caravan, is also very interested in relating the music of the movement to southern campuses. A very talented composer and songwriter, he holds an MA in musicology from Columbia University.

BERNICE REAGON who was deeply involved in the '63 Albany movement is one of the original SNCC Freedom Singers--the major group responsible for spreading freedom songs over the nation.

MABEL HILLARY, one of the well known Georgia Sea Island Singers has also consented to join the group. Her songs represent the best of the more traditional southern Negro music.

Other possible members of the troupe are ERIC ANDERSON and HEDY WEST. During the course of the festival tour, it is hoped that other singers such as CAROLYN HESTER, BARBARA DAME, JOAN BAEZ, JUDY COLLINS, and PETE SEEGER will be able to make appearances at the afternoon workshops as well as the evening concerts.

The tour, which will begin sometime in April, will provide an opportunity for  
(Continued on pg.7)

# TO THE EDITOR...

Dear Editor:

You wanted comment on Vietnam. Well, here goes...

First of all, I resent the term used by Mr. Verret, Jr., "Johnson and his gang" (See "The Anti-War Movement--Some Questions With Answers, December edition.) This term is directly from the Peking Review. As for his letter, it could just as well have been written to the Moscow News or the Peking Review.

As a former member of the John Birch Society, I cannot go along with the majority of Johnson's policies, as I could not go along with Robert Welch's. Kennedy's civil rights bills and the Peace Corps are the two great things he accomplished.

I supported Goldwater all the way, except for his Vietnam policy, but dear old Johnson took it from Goldwater and has followed it completely.

My main concern is that Vietnam is not worth one American soldier. Let's bring our boys home and let the Vietnamese fight their own war.

We are backing a government that is incapable either of winning a military struggle or governing its people.

For nine years the U.S. helped the Diem government at a cost of three billion dollars. Diem's rule was marked by the achievement of some measure of economic stability, but principally by an increasing political dissatisfaction. That dissatisfaction was encouraged by North Vietnam, but basically Diem's own arbitrary rule made possible Viet Cong gains.

The very fact that Viet Cong strength was and still is the greatest in the Me-

kong Delta and around Saigon--more than 1000 miles away from North Vietnam, indicates that there is a basic popular support for the guerillas among the South Vietnamese peasants, but this does not mean that the peasants support communism and the hell that stands for.

Attacks on North Vietnam will not seriously weaken guerilla fighters 1000 miles away. The principle foe is not the limited industrial capacity of the North, nor the North Vietnamese who have remained at home, nor even their training camps and trails. It is the 30,000 individual guerilla fighters from the North and South who have no trouble finding sanctuary within South Vietnam or the neighboring states. Bombing North Vietnam is not calculated to reduce their determination, but undoubtedly it could antagonize many other Asians and could easily lead to increased communist Chinese involvement in the whole Indo-Chinese peninsula.

The only viable policy for the U. S. is negotiation and a political settlement. This must be done in such a way as not to hand it over to the communists. They say we will lose face, but France pulled out and didn't lose face. South Vietnam has no value to us, and the Seventh Fleet in Asia, and the commies aren't going any place. Again I repeat, let the Vietnamese fight their own battles.

I support our soldiers over the Viet Cong, but I do not support our being in Vietnam

Ray L. Simpson  
Student  
California State at Los Angeles  
President  
Education Committee on Vietnam

(Letters to the editor continued pg. 7)

Dear Sir:

I was quite taken with the article "The Anti-War Movement--Some Questions with Answers", (By Joe Verret, Jr., December, 1965, New South Student); in fact, I couldn't believe it. While the NSS is not known for outstanding achievements in journalism, it generally has done a commendable job of reporting on the southern student movement and in raising questions relevant to that movement. Mr. Verret certainly raises questions, such as, "What the hell is he talking about?"

First of all, I was not under the impression that SANE or its congressional friends (Morse, Hawkins, et al.) have "the best interests of imperialism at heart." Though it is clear to me that the President and the Departments of Defense and State certainly do not have the best interests of the Vietnamese people in their hearts. Secondly, his diatribe against SANE, Morse, the U.N. and the rest, and his advocacy of Marxism-Leninism as a tool for understanding imperialism do not help to "win over the masses of American people".

Perhaps the thing which puzzled me the most was his invocation of Marxism-Leninism. As if Mr. Verret were a "priest presiding over a sacred text" used to explain all present day phenomena, this is followed by an incomprehensible and thus irrelevant (to me) quote from Leon Trotsky addressed to "the Marxists".

Did you edit the transitional paragraph tying the first three-fourths of the article together with the last fourth? Or is your only criteria for publication that a piece be written by a southerner somewhere to the left of Carl Sanders?

Ed Hamlett  
Nashville, Tennessee

- - - - -  
Nothing was edited from Mr. Verret's article on Vietnam. Our policy in this respect has been to provide a forum for different viewpoints, and to stimulate discussion on this issue; and toward the latter objective, Mr. Verret's contribution has undoubtedly been the most valuable to date. (Ed.)

## THE VIETNAM READER

A Review by Howard Romaine

"It would be inaccurate to say that the United States does not have any foreign support for its action in Vietnam. It does--in about the same measure that the Soviet Union had support for its action in Hungary."

This is not the first sentence of the book, for the editors are not sensation-alists, but obviously men who are gravely concerned about the present course of American foreign policy. Bernard Fall, perhaps the best-known expert in this country on Vietnam, and Marcus Raskin, a former member of the National Security Council under Kennedy, are eminently qualified for the task of collecting the essential articles on the subject. It is difficult for Americans to think of themselves as somehow supporting a foreign policy designed to squash a popular revolution through mass terrorism--but a picture quite like this emerges from a thorough perusal of the materials the editors have compiled in this book. But the "Reader" does much more than that; it shows how we got into such a situation, suggests what is keeping us there, and proposes how we might get out and find a new direction for U. S. foreign policy.

Edited by Marcus G. Raskin and Bernard B. Fall, Vintage Books, V-309, \$2.45.

### SOUTHERN FOLK FESTIVAL (Cont.)

larger campus can local communities, as well as fund-raise for local student and community work. Below is a tentative agenda for the tour. You should contact the SSOC office immediately if you are interested. Any additional ideas or suggestions that you have will be welcome.

#### Tentative Agenda

Virginia . . . . .	April 1 - 3
North & South Carolina . . . . .	April 4 - 7
Georgia . . . . .	April 8 - 10
Florida . . . . .	April - 11
Alabama & Mississippi. . . . .	April 12 - 14
Louisiana. . . . .	April 15 - 17
Arkansas . . . . .	April 18 - 19
Tennessee & Kentucky . . . . .	April 20 - 23

# BOND REMAINS UNSEATED

by Gene Guerrero

On Monday, January 10, the Georgia House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to deny a seat to representative elect Julian Bond who was elected in a special election last summer. No representatives from outside the Atlanta metropolitan area voted to seat Mr. Bond.

The seating question seems to be a relatively simple one by itself. Those supporting the House position maintain that Mr. Bond is not qualified to hold his seat, because he cannot take the oath to uphold the Georgia and United States Constitutions. He cannot do so, this reasoning follows, because of statements he has made concerning draft card burners and his endorsement of a SNCC statement opposing the War in Vietnam. In a press interview Mr. Bond said that he "admired the courage" of those who were willing to follow their convictions and accept the consequences. When questioned further, he pointed out that he had his card in his possession. Before the vote, Bond told the House, "no charge has been levied other than the charge that I have chosen to speak my mind." He also said that, "I have not counseled burning of draft cards. I have suggested that congressionally outlined alternatives to military service be extended to include building democracy at home."

There is no question of the validity of Bond's election. Eighty two per cent of the voters in the special election voted for Bond. Both of Bond's opponents in the primary and general elections testified on his behalf at the House hearings.

Reaction to this act of the legislature was immediate. There were several mass meetings in and around the 136th District. Approximately five hundred students from the Atlanta University system assembled to hear John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, and others speak. At Emory University two hundred students participated in a discussion of the various issues involv-

ed. Pickets appeared at the capitol on Thursday to protest the House action. Friday 1500 persons marched from two separate points to the capitol. The first speaker was Bond's Republican opponent in the election. He said that he had lied a little to reporters who had asked whether he would run in another election. This time he would be running along with the rest of the 136th District for Julian Bond. James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, spoke next and called for a walkout of the Negro legislators.

Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke next. He pointed out that it is somewhat surprising to hear the Georgia Legislature so concerned about respecting the U.S. Constitution. He reminded those present that it was the same legislature that developed the doctrines of interposition and nullification to oppose the Brown decision. King said that the question was one of freedom of speech which is the most essential element of creative democracy. He said that Abraham Lincoln had as a freshman legislator vigorously opposed the War with Mexico. No thinking American he said, would consider Lincoln to have been disloyal.

After the rally about one hundred persons stayed at the capital to picket. Twice some tried to enter the capital but were roughly turned away by state troopers.

The general reaction to the House action and the SNCC statement on Vietnam is interesting. There was widespread distortion of the SNCC statement. The statement was said to call for burning of draft cards when in fact it suggested that work in the civil rights movement, "is a valid alternative to the draft." The Atlanta Constitution described the Bond affair as a trap laid by SNCC. The reasoning seems to be (although I'm not quite sure what the reasoning is) that

(Continued on pg. 14)

# NASHVILLE VIETNAM ACTION

by Sara Donnelly

Last fall a small group of university people arranged to have the Toronto Teach-In piped into the Vanderbilt Campus. This teach-in stimulated discussion and debate and provided the initial impetus for the formation of an organized group opposed to the U. S. Government policy in Vietnam. A meeting was called for those showing interest. At that meeting the Nashville Committee for Alternatives to War in Vietnam was formed.

During the fall, the Committee focused its attention on the March on Washington on November 27. Because of the number of members who wanted to attend the March, the Committee decided to charter a bus. Members made phone calls to people in the community, explaining the purpose of the March, and asking for donations to help cover the cost of the bus. The response in the community at large was, in general, favorable: \$400 was raised. The Nashville delegation to the March received local press and TV coverage. This publicity increased public awareness of the Committee and its position on the War in Vietnam.

Following the March on Washington, the Committee initiated a variety of activities, the purpose of which was to disseminate information about the war and the history of Vietnam.

Several Committee members have been on radio stations, participating in debates and explaining the reasons for their opposition to the war.

There was a debate on the Vanderbilt campus between Dr. David Kotelchuck (one of the main organizers of the Committee) and Dr. John T. Dorsey, a Political Science professor at Vanderbilt.

In an effort to reach as many people as possible, a few members have been visiting local colleges and community leaders, initiating discussion about U.S. involvement in the war.

Vice-President Humphrey made a brief visit to Nashville for the State Democratic Convention. Members of the Committee handed out leaflets to the Vice-President and the Tennessee Democrats. The leaflet urged HHH to do all in his power to bring about negotiations.

The major means of education and communication has been the Committee's magazine, Confrontation, published bi-monthly. Confrontation reprints outstanding articles from other sources, as well as original articles. The first issue has a collection of articles which deal primarily with the history of Vietnam. The next issue will contain articles which discuss alternatives to the U.S. Government's present policy in Vietnam, (suggestions and contributions welcome).

Confrontation was distributed to various campuses in the area and sent to out-of-state contacts. It was also distributed to a delegation of Tennessee college students who were presenting a petition to Governor Clement supporting U. S. troops in Vietnam. This received TV coverage and gave the magazine free publicity.

As a result of these activities, the Committee's membership is continually broadening. Not only professors and students, but other community members are beginning to attend the weekly meetings as well.

Adding some diversity to the weekly meetings, some members performed a skit which was very successful: "Our Man In Saigon-A Farce", starring Robert McNamara, General Westmoreland, Premier Ky, an American Soldier, a Vietnamese Barmaid, and an American Reporter. Following the skit was a home-written peace song to the tune of "On Top of Old Smokey".

There have also been several parties for members to get acquainted.

(Continued on Pg. 18)

## HUELGA! HUELGA!

Huelga! Huelga! (Strike! Strike!) is the cry that arises from the grape fields of Delano, California, where farm workers are striking 34 growers for (1) \$1.40 per hour plus 25¢ per box of grapes (over the previous \$1.10 per hour and 10¢ per box), (2) Union recognition, and (3) the right to collective bargaining.

Filipino and Mexican Americans, organized by the National Farm Workers Association and the Agricultural Workers Organization (AFL-CIO), have joined hands in the longest strike in California labor history. Beginning in September with 1000 workers, the strike has grown to include over 4500 workers and the active support of labor, liberal, church, civil rights, and various student groups throughout the state.

As the crucial November harvesting season approached, grapes sat, threatening to rot on the vine. Growers scoured far and wide for scab labor, ranging in area as far as Texas, and in age as young as six-year-old children.

Likewise, harassment, both from growers and police, increased proportionately to the length of the strike. It is clear that such tactics are not inherent to the South, and Delano has been nicknamed the "Mississippi West".

It is vital to all concerned that this strike be settled fairly, and as soon as

possible. The issues are a decent standard of living and a voice of the workers in the decisions vital to their lives.

You can support this endeavor by supporting the nationwide boycott of these growers' products, which include:

### SCHENLEY LIQUORS

and  
DELANO GRAPES  
plus

#### Bourbons

I. W. Harper  
Ancient Age  
J. W. Dant  
Old Charter

#### Wines

Roma  
Cresta Blanca  
Dubonnet

#### Blends & Scotches

Dewar's White Label  
Melrose Diamond 12  
Gin Order of Merit  
MacNaughton  
Long John  
O.F.C.

#### Other Liquors

Samovar  
Carioca Rum  
Seagers Gin  
Cherry Heering  
Coates Plymouth  
Coronet VSQ Brandy

If you can help the strikers in any other way, with food or financial assistance, or wish more information, contact

Committee for the NFWA Boycott  
1316 Masonic Avenue  
San Francisco, Calif.  
MA 6-4577

### RECOMMENDED READINGS

Invest Your Summer, a catalogue of service opportunities. Available through Commission on Youth Service Projects, 475 Riverside Dr. Room 825, New York N.Y.

From Protest to Politics, by Bayard Rustin, a discussion of the course which the civil rights movement is taking. Available from SSOC, 10¢.

The Failure of Federal Programs in the Black Belt, by J. V. Henry, an analysis breaking down illusions about federal programs. Available through SSOC, 10¢.

SDS and Middle Class Professional Unions by Shelley Blum, an analysis of the middle class in reference to the movement, and examination of efforts at organizing them. Available through SSOC, 10¢.

Labor and the South Today, a short paper by Jim Williams examining the new face labor. Available through SSOC, 10¢.

The New Republic's series on the "Thoughts of the Young Radicals" starting with the December 18, 1965 edition. Includes personal statements of persons such as Charlie Cobb, and Stokeley Carmichael, Todd Gitlin, and Tom Hayden.

# RUMBLINGS AND GRUMBLINGS...

## ON AMERICAN VALUES

By Uncle Ed

The contention is increasingly made that those who are opposed to U. S. foreign policy in Vietnam must look to the "fifth war from now" and that the only way to stop the upcoming wars--if we exist that long--is to build a domestic movement that is concerned about democracy, poverty, racism, and peace, both here and abroad. The belief is widely held that this war cannot be stopped by simply protesting this nation's war. Those who continue to protest out of moral need are urged to protest U.S. foreign policy in general and to link the specific war to past and future wars and to raise the question of world-wide deprivation.

It appears that the government's already feeble war on poverty will be de-escalated to pay for a steadily escalating war in Vietnam--a war which we are not winning, but have only recently ceased to lose--a war which is now costing us \$16 million a day. On top of this ridiculous expenditure is piled a budget of \$30 billion to pay for putting a man on the moon by 1970.

Dr. Warren Weaver, ex-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in a recent interview in U.S. News and World Report spoke out against the space program. He pointed out some of the things which could be done with the \$30 billion and the technical competence which is burned up in spending it:

1. Every teacher in the U.S. could be given a 10% raise each year for the next ten years.
2. We could endow 200 small colleges with \$10 million each.
3. We could finance the education through graduate school of 50,000 students at \$4,000 per year each.

4. Ten new medical schools at \$200 million each could be built.
5. Complete universities for 50 developing countries could be built and endowed.
6. We could create three new Rockefeller Foundations at \$500 million each.

This is merely an example of some of the things which might be done with it, were not our priorities so seriously messed up. Our daily newspapers are replete with possible alternate priorities. Recent reports, for example, from George Peabody College (High Schools In The South: A Factbook) and the Southern Regional Council (Black Belt Schools--Beyond Desegregation) strongly indicate that much work is to be done if southern schools, both white and Negro are to be brought up even to national standards--a very poor criteria. We lag in facilities, teachers' salaries, libraries, and by almost any other standard. Furthermore, the great majority of our colleges are in the same boat. On the other hand, the South leads the nation in poverty, illiteracy, and in support for all-out bombing of every part of Vietnam. (See Harris Poll published about Jan. 3, 1966)

Though a higher percentage of total state and local governmental expenditures in the South goes into education than it does in almost any northern or western state, the actual pupil expenditure is much less. To this inadequate sum is added substantial subsidies from the federal government. Finally, our economy is further bolstered by space and defense investments, and still we are miserably behind. Clearly something else is needed. People who are underemployed before a major defense industry

(Continued on next page)

or base moves into an underdeveloped southern area are not greatly affected by the move. Jobs provided are most often filled by skilled workers and technicians from outside the area, because local poor cannot meet the qualifications. (In Mississippi, math graduates from Tougaloo College cannot meet the requirements for jobs which are available to them at the moon shot center which is being built in southern Mississippi.)

It is incumbent on all of us to demand that government priorities be changed. How can this be done? Southwide demonstrations against the war in Vietnam have been called for February 12, 1966. Those of us who oppose the war should answer this call. But in so doing, we must help people in the South to make the connection between diversion of large amounts of money from the domestic sector of the economy--which could go for schools, roads, resource development, etc., to the war and space economies.

Those of you who are undecided about the war, but concerned about poverty and deprivation in the underdeveloped South and world should ask yourself where your priorities lie. Perhaps then, all of us can join together at the gates of Canaveral, Huntsville, Bragg, and the other almost countless military and other-worldly manifestations in the South. If we are not ready to demonstrate, then we can hold teach-ins and seminars--not just on the war, but on the needs of our region and its people, or on the defense establishment, or on American values. Whatever course we take, we must let the nation, the Congress, and the President know that there is not a single region in the country where they are "safe" from criticism--that all of us in the South are not madly rushing to join or keep up with the consensus. LBJ's pride, the columnists tell us, is the "progress" which he and the Congress made in civil rights during the past two years. We must say to him "This is not enough; we will not be bought off with a rhetoric that has not even been backed up with sufficient numbers of federal regulations. The people of Appalachia have had the vote for years. What has it done for them? Have you really been there to see?

by George Brosi

It has often been said that the last thing in the world the movement needs is another organization. But often money is available to create a new group even when existing organizations are desperate for cash. For this reason, a new Southwide organization has just been formed.

Operation Open Debate is not a typical "movement" group. It will never publish a newsletter--no matter how tempting that may be. It will not even attempt to coordinate activities, and will have no permanent staff. Most unusually, it will never claim to be internally democratic. Instead, it will use its resources to allow movement people to share their ideas and expertise with their neighbors. The hope is that a chain reaction will occur, spreading the climate of conflicting ideas beyond the few centers of activity which exist today.

OOD (not ODD!) is a non-partisan educational outfit geared toward involving people in rational discussion of the United States' policy in Vietnam. Sherri Myers, the director, insists that most of its resources will be parceled out to people from all over the South who want to travel to nearby campuses or communities and share their experience in making the War in Vietnam an issue worthy of objective consideration. In order to discover some potential part-time organizers, George Brosi, also of Nashville, will make a brief tour of movement centers around the South. There is a possibility that OOD will be able to arrange some speaking tours by experts on Vietnam and American foreign policy.

Other services of the group will include the distribution of speaker lists, bibliographies, literature, and occasional papers exposing new ways of stimulating pertinent debate and detailing information about organizing educational Vietnam activity.

Write Sherri Myers, 2202 Oakland Avenue, Nashville, Tenn. or call (615) 291-0395 if you want some information, a visit, or a travel grant.

# WILL THE PANTHER EAT THE ROOSTER?

"The white folks think they can let a few of us vote and fool us. They just don't see that we're now startin' to see how to use that vote to help ourselves instead of helpin' them."

This is how one woman from Lowndes County talked as she discussed the newly formed Lowndes County Freedom Organization. (Symbol--the Black Panther, while that of the Alabama Democratic party is the White Rooster).

## Classic Registration Struggle

When the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee first went into Lowndes County in February of this year, they went with the idea of not only carrying on a voter registration drive, but with the idea of educating people about how they could use that vote.

At that time, none of the 5,000 eligible Negroes were registered. Between March and August (when the voting rights act was passed), only 250 more had been registered. Although hundreds more had gone to the courthouse in an attempt to do so, they were subjected to a variety of tactics of harassment.

At the same time that local officials tried their best to keep Negroes from registering, they had registered 117.9% of the local whites.

Finally a federal registrar was sent into the county in September, and the number of Negro voters sharply rose. Within two months, the number stood at 2000.

## A Meaningful Alternative

Alabama law requires that if 20% of the electorate votes for the LCFO candidate, the party then becomes an official one in the county and must be put on the ballot.

This plan of independent political organization---where Negroes will make their votes count--will be carried out, not only in Lowndes County, but in several other Alabama counties as well. Groundwork is now being laid to run independent candidates in these counties with the idea of eventually spreading out into 20 counties.

Knowing that they will be unable to pierce the present white power structure they came up with what they considered a viable alternative--an independent political organization, organized on the county level. The people of Lowndes refused to make meaningless the votes they fought for by using them to elect one oppressor over another.

Therefore the idea of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization became one where everyone could have a vote in determining the use to which his vote could be put. A major thrust of the organization will be felt at the local and county level, for this is the level which most affects the Negro of the Black Belt--the sheriff, jury commissioners, tax assessors, board of supervisors, and board of education.

Lowndes County Negroes are also determined that any Negro they elect will be responsive to them and their needs. This can only be done by supporting people like themselves for political office.

Reprinted from The Voice

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Time is short, the hour is late, the matter is urgent. It is not incumbent upon us to complete the task; but neither are we free to desist from doing all we possibly can.

Ethics of Our Fathers

## BOND REMAINS UNSEATED (Cont.)

SNCC waited to release the statement until January 6th because they knew that it would create an adverse reaction resulting in Bond's ouster. This would create sympathy and therefore funds for SNCC which is characteristically broke.

This reasoning deserves no comment other than it is simply not true. The press reaction makes one think about press coverage in general. One wonders how accurate the press is in other similar situations.

It seems to me that the action of the Georgia House is evidence of the dangers of war hysteria and America's increasingly blind anti-communism. Julian Bond should sit in the House. The people of his district chose him as their representative and it is clear that they would do so again. The denial of his free speech endangers the free speech of all.

Of all the ironies in this case, perhaps the most striking is that while we claim to be defending "freedom" in Vietnam, the rights of Americans in this country are being suppressed. The recent deaths of civil rights workers in Tuskegee and Hattiesburg make this irony profoundly tragic.

## Statewide Mississippi Conference

### "Mississippi 1966: Student Perspective"

Mt. Beulah Training Center  
Edwards, Mississippi

February 25 - 27

Speakers and seminars are being set up on the following topics: The Church in Mississippi, Civil Rights, State Politics, State Economy, and Students and the University. Tentative resource persons include Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the Freedom Democratic Party, Clifton Whitley, Chaplain at Rust College, Lawrence Guyot, state chairman of the FDP, Jesse Morris of the Poor People's Corporation, and Harry Bowie of the National Council of Churches Delta Ministry.

Mississippi students are seriously urged to attend this conference, and should contact SSOC for further information.

## SOUTHWIDE VIETNAM PROTEST PLANNED

The Southern Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SCCEWVN) is receiving daily reports of plans for demonstrations against the War in Vietnam on February 12, and inquiries about possible demonstrations from groups in the process of formation in the South. Among the cities definitely planning activity are New Orleans, Tougaloo, Mississippi, Nashville, Atlanta and Albany, Georgia, and Miami, Florida. The Tougaloo demonstrations will be state-wide in participation and interested Mississippians should contact Howard Spencer, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi.

Inquiries from developing organizations and plans for demonstrations are coming from Richmond, Virginia, Baton Rouge,

Louisiana, Gainesville, Florida, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, Savannah, Georgia, and Charlottesville, Virginia.

Several groups are planning teach-ins February 5 to educate the community and publicize the February 12 demonstrations. The focus of many of these will be the common issues of peace in Vietnam and of the civil rights struggle, and major aspects of a search for human rights and human dignity.

Groups not presently in contact with SCCEWVN should write as soon as possible, detailing plans for February 12, and mentioning what services the SCCEWVN could make available to them. Address: Box 3105, Atlanta, Georgia, 30302.

# THE CHURCH IN MISSISSIPPI

by Howard Spencer

In these days of great strides in the area of human relations, the Church is still dragging its feet in the struggle for human dignity and freedom, a problem magnified in the state of Mississippi.

(It would be misleading to conclude that Mississippi is now an open and free society. If we are not careful, Mississippi is going to become the most tokenly integrated area in the nation. Liberal Mississippians who "pat" themselves on the back for "progress" seem to ignore the fact that Negroes are still intimidated when they try to vote or send their children to integrated schools, that most places of public accommodation still refuse to serve Negroes, and that there is still no justice in Mississippi courts for Negroes and civil rights workers.)

When we talk about the lack of progress in Mississippi, we have to talk about the Church in this state, because it is now the major institution that reinforces white supremacy. The Church is the refuge, the one place where white people are sure they will not be bothered by Negroes because federal laws cannot force them to integrate.

We will take Galloway Methodist in Jackson as an example. It is one of the largest churches in the state, and was the scene of arrests and beatings when Negroes tried to worship there in the early 1960's. There has been a new and vigorous drive to integrate this church since mid-October when Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Los Angeles area was guest preacher during the four-day preaching mission. After countless attempts, an integrated group from Tougaloo College was admitted to these services. The big question was why had they decided to let us in after we had been refused entrance the Sunday before and this is the same church that turned away two Methodist Bishops on Easter Sunday, 1964. It is not so strange when we realize that Bishop Kennedy was re-

luctant to participate in the mission if the services were going to be closed to Negroes. Hence, the people of Galloway "opened" their doors to show Bishop Kennedy, and no doubt, the rest of Methodism that they were an integrated church. Apparently they did a good job of hiding the facts, because the November 3rd issue of The Christian Century and the January 1966 issue of Together magazine carry articles praising Galloway for being integrated. The Sunday following Bishop Kennedy's departure, students from Tougaloo were again turned away from the church, and have been ever since.

Guards (ushers) at the door tell us we cannot come in and to go to a church where we are welcome, because this church is not open to niggers. When we remind them that the Methodist Discipline states that the Church is open to all without regard to race (Par. 106.1), they say "not this Church. We run this church."

On December 12, the doors were locked and we were pushed down the steps when we tried to walk around the guards at the door. On December 19, we were again pushed down the steps when we tried to sing Christmas carols and pray, and I was kicked in the lower stomach by one of the ushers.

Even if we can get Galloway open, one of the most vicious and dangerous places in the state will still be segregated, Capitol Street Methodist Church, where Rev. Edwin King, Chaplain at Tougaloo, was beaten last spring.

Where is the Methodist Church when Methodist students are kicked and pushed down its steps, when white Methodist students from Millsaps (Methodist college in Jackson) walk out and say "no thank you" to a segregated church, when pre-seminarians say "if this is the Church, seminary is not for me", and when "ushers" say, "you will never come in here"?

# A NEW VOCATION

by George Brosi

If you want something to happen, you have to understand the process that leads to its occurrence. Thus, those of us who are concerned with building a movement in the South must constantly seek a deeper understanding of how people become activated and how oppressive power can be visibly and successfully challenged. Only with this understanding can we make wise decisions about how to spend our time and how to allocate organizational resources.

Why is Southern University the only Negro campus in the South where there is an active university reform movement? Why didn't this occur at Florida A & M or Fisk? The answer does not seem to lie in the objective conditions at Southern, for there was no "incident" which touched off demonstrations, and Southern has the reputation of being one of the more attractive Negro universities in the South.

The only answer I can suggest is that one crucial factor in sustaining protest activity is the presence of individuals who have time to devote to coordinating activity. The work of Herman Carter at Southern made it possible for other individuals to participate in the little time they had, because he was willing to do the necessary tasks that nobody else had time to do. Similarly, in almost every center of activity, one can point to a few key people.

If you are going to have a discussion group, somebody has to secure a meeting place and do the publicity. To publish a magazine, someone has to type dummies, talk with printers, collate the finished product, and get permission to distribute it on campus.

If this analysis is correct--if, in fact, we can expect activity only in places where people are willing to do lots of unglamorous work, then we must deal with its implications. Church groups came to this conclusion a long time ago, and

they decided that the best way to encourage greater involvement of people was to get their circuit riders off their horses and into a congregation or on a campus. I would like to suggest that now is the time for SSOC and other organizations to do the same thing. All "campus travelers" cannot settle down immediately. There are still plenty of localities which cannot afford a professional, and there are clearly too few full-time people to go around. But we ought to experiment with the idea.

The role of a person working full-time in a city or on a campus would be similar to the role of the community organizer in the rural South and the urban North. He or she would be responsible to the political group or groups in his locality and would help make its activities successful. The full-time worker would spend most of his time doing chores and errands--mimeographing rough drafts, sending out mailings, etc. But he would also spend a lot of time trying to activate new constituencies and trying to interpret the activities of the local group to those that oppose it. Clearly, one of the greatest concerns of the full time person would be involving part-timers in all of the chores and creative aspects of building a movement--including occasional travel to dormant and active localities.

People who are interested in this "calling" could support themselves by part-time or occasional jobs (baby-sitting, typing, working for Manpower, etc.) but groups like SSOC could put them on staff and eventually support could come from pledges given by local people.

The presence of full-time workers in communities throughout the South will not automatically create a massive social movement. It will, however, allow us to develop further the existing potential for significant action as we seek to understand the social processes over which we have no control.

# THE WAR AND THE DRAFT

by David Nolan

Stories of the torture and brutality in Vietnam have led many young men to question whether war can ever be an effective means of problem solving, and whether they themselves can ever participate in a war. This issue becomes more pointed as they begin to draft college students to fill quotas which are this country's highest since the Korean War. And judging by the action rather than the rhetoric of our leaders, it is a war which America is not seeking to end in the near future. We hear ominous predictions of five, ten, and twenty years.

From the war in Vietnam, many men have gone on to consider the nature of war as an institution, and they have found it inherently antithetical to any notions of liberal democracy. They have concluded that war is a self-defeating means, that by its very nature, it corrupts the high ideals for which some wars are supposedly fought.

World War II is a case in point. Supposedly it was a great war for democracy fought against fascism. Yet in this great democratic war, American troops were rigidly segregated, and there is little evidence that those who fought in this war adhered to any meaningful democratic creed. The conservative stance of the American Legion today shows that veterans of this war are not necessarily the most enlightened and committed democrats of our times.

In World War I we fought against German militarism and won. But we fought the war using the tactics of propaganda, and ruthless suppression of dissent at home--so in a larger sense, we lost. We have won the battles against men, but lost the war against ideas. And aren't ideas and institutions, rather than men, the true enemy?

I think that if people would only consider the nature of war, what it means and what it inevitably results in, they

would decide that it is unacceptable as an instrument of national policy, no matter for what cause it is supposedly fought.

It has been said that "the purpose of military training is habitual, instantaneous, unquestioning, absolute obedience to all superiors however unwise they may be." Through the use of these means, can anything positive in the way of human freedom ever be obtained?

I am reminded of the story of the Quaker who asked the group he was speaking to: "Who here would kill 1000 Catholics? No one raised his hand." "Who would gas a million Jews?" Not a sound. "Who would shoot 100 Vietnamese?" No one stirred. "Then you're all conscientious objectors" he said.

Many people assume, without examining it further, that they are not eligible for conscientious objector status. And Selective Service certainly does not encourage men to examine the provisions of the law.

Some people feel that you have to be a Quaker to qualify as a C.O. They think that the religious provisions will cover only those who worship in an established church, or believe in the traditional Christian conception of God. But religion has been defined as "that set of ideals that a man would rather die for than abandon." Tom Paine said: "My religion is to do good." So maybe your belief in the brotherhood of man, if it is a moral principle involving "duties which to you are superior to those arising from any human relation" will qualify as your religion, and you may be classified as a conscientious objector.

I recently made a tour of some of the peace groups, asking for help in filing my own C.O. application. I pass on to you some of the tips they gave me:

(Continued on next page)

## THE WAR AND THE DRAFT (Cont.)

1. In general, the less sophisticated the claim, the more likely it is to be recognized. Intricate and complicated theological dissertations frequently fly above the heads of the members of the draft board who judge your claim.
2. There is an emphasis on sincerity and action. You should be prepared to show where you have taken actions in accordance with your conscience.
3. In general, the further south you go, the harder it is to get recognition of your claim from an appeal board or from the president.
4. The timing of your claim is important. It is given less weight if it is filed immediately before you get an order to report for induction.
5. The draft board usually doesn't know anything about you that you don't tell them. So if you have something significant that would help your claim, send it to them so they will have it on file.

There are several organizations that provide excellent C.O. literature and counselling. The best is probably the Handbook For Conscientious Objectors, available for 50¢ from the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

Other organizations which can provide you with information on the draft and conscientious objection are:

American Friends Service Committee  
1818 South Main Street  
High Point, North Carolina

Peacemakers  
10208 Sylvan Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Students for a Democratic Society  
1103 East 63rd Street  
Chicago, Illinois

Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Box 271  
Nyack, New York

May 2nd Movement  
640 Broadway  
New York, New York

War Resisters League  
5 Beekman Street  
New York, New York

End the Draft  
c/o Mitchell  
150 Crown Street  
Brooklyn, New York

Your student deferment may not be renewed, if you are carrying less than a full program, if your grades are low, or if there is a shortage of single men in your home town. It is very important therefore, that you understand the workings of the U. S. draft and know if you are eligible for alternative civilian service as a conscientious objector to the killing of other human beings.

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## NASHVILLE VIETNAM ACTION (Cont.)

The Committee is now working on an ad which will appear in the local newspapers. This ad will encourage President Johnson in his peace efforts and ask specifically for direct negotiations with all concerned parties, particularly the National Liberation Front. Signatures will follow the ad. It is hoped that many people who do not feel ready to join the Committee will, nevertheless sign the ad and contribute money to help finance the ad.

Discussions are also underway about the February 12 Southwide demonstrations and a demonstration in Nashville; possibly to be held at the War Memorial Building.

The Committee's emphasis has been two-pronged: direct action and education. By offering a variety of activities, the Committee hopes to attract people with different levels of commitment, thereby engaging as many individuals as possible in the protest against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

# CONFERENCE REFLECTIONS

(During the Christmas vacation, two significant conferences were held. The first, a small workshop, was sponsored by SSOC and the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., and drew together people who have been working in the South for some time. This provided an opportunity to look at length and in depth at the South--the changes which have taken place in the recent past, and those toward which we must work in the future. The second was a much larger and more general conference of Students for a Democratic Society, held in Urbana, Illinois, which was attended by SDS'ers from all over the country. In the following articles, we will attempt to present some of the issues discussed and the questions raised.)

## Students, the Movement, and the Community

by Ronda Stilley

What do we mean when we speak of students in relationship to the Movement, and do we really want a "student" movement? Have the last five years left students and campuses in the South untouched? What have been the barriers to student involvement in the past, and what are the means to meaningful participation of the student in the movement today? These are just a few of the questions with which one must come to grips, if we are to deepen or broaden our impact upon students today.

No doubt, the movement should be concerned about the student as such, for the problems he faces are often only the reflection of the problems of the system as a whole. However, do we really seek to build a student movement? In general, these have proven to be of short duration and little impact, often consisting of talk in lieu of action.

In particular, many barriers still separate the vast majority of southern students from involvement. Southern society is still "closed" to the extent that the potentially active student holds not only his own destiny, but that of his parents in his hands. To the student from an impoverished background, attending college, no matter how inferior or tyrannical that school may be, is an unprecedented privilege, which he is not about to risk for the movement. Finally, perhaps we have failed to relate the concerns of the movement adequately to the immediate concerns of the student's life.

The involvement of hundreds of students in tutorial programs at schools such as Emory and Vanderbilt, the budding interest in Vietnam policy in New Orleans, Atlanta, and Nashville, and the militant concern of Southern University students over the state of their school over-rule any notion of students having been untouched by the events of recent years in the South. The mobilization of the masses of college students is unrealistic, and instead, we should think in terms of building small cadres of committed people, who sense the importance of alternative ways of seeing things, and who will work. Thus, perhaps we have evidence of a broadening base of support, and now our immediate task is the deepening of both the involvement and the commitment of these persons.

Toward this end, two things seem necessary: a sense of community adequate to reinforce the persons stepping out for the first time against the major-

its; and meaningful channels for action, which by definition will permit enough success to be reinforcing. It is possible that SSOC may have been effective in the former, but it is now crucial that we respond to the latter.

In this respect, it seems essential that the student movement have its roots in the community. First, (particularly for the middle-class student) the encounter with the realities that shape and maintain the world of the disenfranchised is indeed one of the most radicalizing of experiences. In addition, community work provides one of the most available opportunities to participate in a direct and visible way in the changing of those realities--an experience essential to the development of commitment. And to the extent that both radicalization and commitment exist, they will act as catalysts and stimulants to other aspects of the movement (i.e. university reform, foreign policy, etc.).

In the past, this experience has been available only to those who were willing and able to give up a whole way of life (even temporarily) and to immerse themselves in community work. On a part-time basis, students have participated for years in tutorials, which have frequently been of limited value to all concerned, because seldom was the student aware or could he deal with the causes behind the symptom he faced. Perhaps it is possible to capitalize on the spirit motivating the tutorial, while providing the student with the "radicalizing experience" by involving him part-time in community organizing projects in the nearby ghettos which too frequently adjoin our universities.

Hopefully, such a model would be flexible enough to meaningfully involve students of varied talents, interests, and levels of commitment. In addition, the potential of the university as a base of resources is unlimited. It could be an ideal tool for the social and political analysis so basic to the effectiveness of those in the field. In the past, it has also been a recruiting ground for full-time workers, as well as a fruitful financial base.

Obviously, many serious questions need to be asked about such an endeavor. Can full-time students donate enough time to be effective in community work? Has this model been tried, and if so, with what success? Is the skepticism of professional organizers justified? If it is realistic, what should be the role of SSOC in relation to it? Will it fill the need for a community base, while remaining a campus based movement, as SNCC failed to do? How can we alter the focus and structure of SSOC to be responsive to these needs?

#### SDS Conference. . . A Perspective

by Roy Money

During Christmas, about 20 Southerners traveled north to the SDS convention in Urbana, Illinois. All in all, it was a very exciting event. The most exciting thing for me was that people were more politicized than ever before. Much of the SDS rhetoric, it seems to me, has been moral revulsion (and rightly so. In fact, it was this that attracted me to SDS) at the current state of affairs. Now there seems to be an increasing awareness of the political implications of talking about a "movement for social change".

There are two varieties of radicalism in SDS: "personal radicalism" and "political radicalism". By "personal radicalism", I refer to a radical perspective that sometimes seems to suggest that social change will come about by a spiritual transformation of society. By "political radicalism", I refer to a perspective that emphasizes the necessity of politics for a radical movement. Until now, it seems to me, the "political radicalism" has been unable to gain equal ground with the "personal radicalism". Both radical politics and radical morality are needed for a "movement for social change". To omit the first is to become a religious sect; to omit the second is to make the mistake of the "old left". What is needed is for radicals to quit celebrating their exclusion from the present society and to start thinking about and working for a society in which they can be included. This is not so much a criticism of SDS as a criticism of the radical movement in general.

There were many, many workshops at the SDS conference. In addition to the 12 already planned by a conference committee, people set up workshops on whatever they could find people interested in. Two of the best that I attended were the "coalition" workshop and the workshop on "Movement For A Democratic Society".

Until now, "coalition" seems to have been a very dirty word in SDS, which one only advocated at the risk of being barraged with criticism. However, at the December conference, something new happened (at least, it seemed new). People quit talking about coalitions as something you either advocate or condemn, and started talking about "coalitions with whom". (Coalition refers to a joining of forces around specific issues with groups outside the movement; church groups, labor unions, social workers, and the like.) That is, that to be sure, you can't form a coalition (is you are sane) with those who "have been kicking your butt" (as Jimmy Garrett, a SNCC worker from Watts said) and are likely to kick you in the future, but that coalitions, especially on the local level, and to some extent exclusively so, are a necessity. In fact, ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project--community project brand originating from SDS) is doing that in several projects now.

Another workshop that I found particularly interesting concerned a "Movement For A Democratic Society". People seemed to agree that a movement of college students could not change this country's politics. There were two main groups seen as needing to be included in such a movement. One was the increasing number of frustrated high school students that in many places have already been recruited, but find it hard to feel a part of a "college" student group. The second element with which people were concerned was that part of the middle class that is particularly open to the radical's criticism with how the society is run, but that is most often excluded from the movement (although not necessarily intentionally) because of a difference in life styles. In particular, the middle class elements, because of their intellectual background and access to and acquaintance with information that students do not usually have, were seen as having great potential for helping SDS to put forth a substantive analysis of "what is to be done" in the radical indictment of what is wrong.

Many people at the conference saw our rotten foreign policy as a symptom of our rotten domestic policy, and felt that until changes are made (at home) about how decisions are made, the country will pursue a foreign policy as hideous as it wishes, impervious to protest. Thus a "movement for social change" here seems to be the main concern, as it is felt that when people are able to "make the decisions that affect their lives", our other problems, such as foreign policy, will be much easier to solve, if not already solved.

DEEP SOUTH MODEL UNITED NATIONS

Meeting, April 7 - 9, 1966

Florida Atlantic University  
Boca Raton, Florida

The purpose of the Model United Nations is twofold: delegates learn about the U.N. by imitating its procedures, facing its problems, and acting as representatives from U.N. countries. They discover the relationship of the U.N. to students as national and world citizens, and how they can contribute to the aims of the world organization.

If your group or school is interested, contact immediately: Deep South Model United Nations, International Affairs Club, Box 9, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida.

SSOC  
Box 6403  
Nashville, Tennessee  
37212

MILITARY ODE

by

Verna M. Fausey

I give lip service to thee, O Peace:  
my future does not lie with thee.

Who am I, a little being  
against the giant supersonic jet.  
Missiles, rockets, spies and lies,  
modern, up-to-date methods of kill.  
Would any aggressor dare to attack?

Disarmament, ha! How naive!  
When incalculable military power  
has almost reached perfection?  
Better use the knowledge we've gained,  
it's now or never.

Why give lip service to thee, O Peace,  
nothing left, no future, no pieces.

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