



T H E NEW REBEL

Newsletter of The Southern Student Organizing Committee

VOL. I, NO. II

OCTOBER, 1964

TOWARD BUILDING A NEW SOUTH. . .

Another long hot summer has passed and all across the South students are settling down in the routine of campus living. Football season is in full swing, fraternity and sorority pledges are sighing with relief at being "included", Dr. Frosty's class in World Civ is a pain in the neck, and a tremendous debate is sweeping the campus concerning the pros and cons of weekend house parties.

However, there's a new element this year in the campus scene. Although the house party debate is "the issue", new questions are being raised about the problems of the times. It comes out in a political science course when the issue of states' rights is raised, is voiced by the mid-week chapel speaker when he refers to church bombings in Mississippi, is evidenced in a midnight gab session in the dorm when someone mentions the "bomb", and is made painfully clear when the plight of Appalachian coal miners is seen on TV.

had its share of the national and international spotlight. The death of three civil rights workers in Mississippi does not seem too far removed from soldier's dying in Viet Nam. The migrant workers, the plantation sharecroppers of the Delta, and Appalachian coal miners who remember the days when the mine worked 1800 men and now works 25, are seen in clear sharp perspective with the hungry people of Asia.

A MOVEMENT OF SOUTHERN WHITES

(A report on the White Community Project of the Council of Federated Organizations)

This summer in Mississippi twenty-five students, a great majority of them from the South, moved into two communities in Mississippi. Their work proceeded along two lines primarily--with white middle class moderates/liberals and with lower class unemployed and underemployed. The student workers were evenly divided along lines of their interests and temperament.

It was pointed out on several occasions that while this work is less dangerous (in the initial stages at least) than work in the Negro community, it is certainly more difficult. Additionally, there are differences in approach according to which socio-economic group one wishes to concentrate efforts on.

White liberals and moderates in hard core areas generally feel that they are doing all they can. "If I do anything, I'll lose my effectiveness," or "I can't move too fast or I'll lose my influence." This comes from ministers, civic leaders, and some professionals. Thus it is extremely important that one be aware of instances in which persons in similar situations were able to act. For instance, the Baptist church in Mississippi is considered to be the single most powerful religious body and a formidable force for segregation, yet over a period of two years one minister was able to lead his congre-

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The South is no longer an island--cannot and must not try to remain so. The industrial revolution followed closely by the Negro revolution has projected us into 20th Century America. We have a choice of meeting and dealing with the problems of the new era, or retreating into traditionalism and struggling vainly for a way of life that was always more myth than reality.

From the time the sit-in movement hit the South in 1960 and ushered in a new generation of students who were demanding equal treatment, the white South has re-acted. It has reacted in various ways--from police dogs, fire hoses, and cattle prods to interracial teas and human relations committees. Now we have had four years and we have some history making precedents that should point us toward constructive action for the future: Little Rock, which attracted no new industry for years; Nashville, where the desegregation of department store lunch counters showed no substantial financial loss; Atlanta, where token desegregation of schools was peacefully achieved; Birmingham, where fire hoses and police dogs stirred the conscience of the nation; and Mississippi, where death has not halted the responses from an idea whose time has come.

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A MOVEMENT OF SOUTHERN WHITES,

gation to an open door policy. Others have been able to take similar stands. It is clear, we believe, that if patience, perseverance, and commitment are evident, most who honestly desire to do so can move forward.

It is often easier to force a showdown and be forced to leave as a martyr than it is to stay and fight. However, a difficult situation should never be used as an excuse for inactivity and lack of moral leadership.

Those working with middle class people found that they could go about their tasks with a minimum amount of trouble. Some even stayed in white homes. Further, moderates have such terrific problems with their consciences, that they welcome an opportunity to tell others why they aren't able to do anything. While many of their fears are real, others go to great lengths to rationalize their position. They would "let Mississippi solve its own problems" (as it has been doing for years?!); they would do more if those agitators weren't stirring things up; and on and on and on. To say that this involvement is frustrating is an understatement.

However, lest one get the idea that there are no rewards, it should be pointed out that there were bright spots. One white lady spoke at an NAACP rally in Jackson. The state Human Relations Council is growing and plans to hire a fulltime Executive Secretary. Mississippians for Public Education, a save our schools group, made a significant impact for law and

TOWARD BUILDING A NEW SOUTH . . .

However, our period of grace has passed. We can no longer be content to react. The time has come to put away old ideas and begin constructive action geared toward creating a New South.

It was this vision that prompted students from the Joint University Center (Vanderbilt, Peabody, and Scarritt) to invite other students to come to Nashville in the spring of 1964 and discuss common problems and goals. On the basis of one letter that was sent to campuses known to have active groups, approximately forty-five students from ten southern states and representing fourteen different campuses responded. Most of the students that were present had been reared in segregated environs, yet the central question that was discussed--in general sessions and over coffee--was what can we do? How can we best work toward creating a New South?

Two things were made clear at the conference: 1) there is a great deal of activity on southern campuses ranging from moderate to radical, and 2) students are not only interested in civil rights but also in such areas as peace, academic freedom, poverty, civil liberties, unemployment, and other relevant political and social issues.

Finally a structure was set up and a Continuations Committee was elected to formulate specific proposals and programs. Subsequent meetings of the Committee resulted in a formalized structure called the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), with three elected officers: Gene Guerrero.

order, (The governor refuses to issue them a charter while Americans for the Preservation of the White Race obtained one easily.) and southern white students were conspicuous at folksinging concerts sponsored by COFO.

The lower class white is another problem. He, in his frustration stemming from an alienation from the mainstream of American life, is generally anything but moderate. In his position of poverty, he realizes that he is superior to the Negro, in that only the Negro is more poverty stricken. He clings to his white skin-- which doesn't feed his children. He vents his frustration on the Negro by burning his churches, his homes, by beating him in the black of night. The poor white is the "pawn in their game" of whom Bobby Dylan sings.

From a neo-populist tradition, attempts were made to reach out to this human being. Believing that he could be appealed to on the basis of his own self interest the point was made "we must be allies . . . race has led us both to poverty." A few people were willing to talk. An office was rented. A meeting was set. But rumors flew that "those nigger lovers want to turn our jobs over to niggers." The office was lost as pressure was applied to the owner.

But one local white agreed to work with us. Six people signed up for the Freedom

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Jr., Emory University, Chairman; Ron, K. Parker, Vanderbilt University, Treasurer; and Sue Thrasher, Nashville, Executive Secretary. An Executive Committee was elected consisting of one person from five geographical areas.

The goals of the organization are:

1. An end to segregation and racism and the rise of full and equal opportunity for all.
2. An end to personal poverty and deprivation.
3. An end to public poverty which leaves us without decent housing, schools, parks, medical care, and communities.
4. A democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices about the issues that affect men's lives, not manipulation by vested elites.
5. An end to man's inhumanity to man.
6. A world working toward the easing of the Cold War with positive emphasis on peace, disarmament, and world wide understanding.

SSOC will be concerned with working in the areas of:

Education, particularly directed at predominantly white campuses, which exposes students to the vital issues of the times and projects a vision of a South which is totally democratic and responsive to the needs of all its people;

Conferences, regional and southwide, geared toward kindling and strengthening

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THESE ARE THE TIMES . . .

THAT CHALLENGE THE SOUTH . . .

1964 may prove to be the most important year of our lives. Our nation is rendered split by many issues of the greatest importance and of such magnitude that our forefathers never dreamed of. This is not merely just another election, it is a contest between two philosophies, two clashing points of view. It is a very real crossroads for our nation. It is a turningpoint around which we will mold the future. Which set of values will guide the nation? Upon which principles will we stand?

What are the values we cherish? Most of us grew up in the fifties. In a sense we grew up in a very special and a very fine way. For most of us, the fifties provided an abundance which our parents never shared during their childhood, but which we did receive and take almost for granted. From our middle class and Christian heritage we received these traditions of the South.

We cherish the values of freedom, of liberty and democracy. We strive toward the virtues of charity, compassion and humanity. We thirst after decency, the taste of the Great Society which is a democracy of the whole people with abundance and freedom for all. Many "yankees" poke fun of what seems to them to be an exaggerated sense of manners on the part of southerners. Yet, underlying our obvious mannerism, is a deep sense of

POETRY CORNER

I DARE NOT SAY I LOVE THE LORD

*I dare not speak of God today
A deity divine
As if I knew him very well--
A casual friend of mine!*

*I dare not speak of God like that,
It is too much for me
To see the hungry all around
And those in misery.*

*I saw a Negro lynched one time
By men who talk that way,
And saw a union miner killed
One sunny Sabbath day!*

*I dare not say I love the Lord
While children starve and freeze,
For Jesus said love first should be
Unto the least of these!*

*Oh Jesus spoke in simple words,
And simple truths are deep--
They who would say: "we love the Lord",
Must first go feed his sheep!*

by Don West

Reprinted by permission of the author. Don West is a native of the North Georgia mountains, a teacher, a poet, writer, and farmer. This poem appears in his book, The Road Is Rocky.

Another set of values challenges us today. This new doctrine emphasizes personal aggrandisement versus public comfort, selfishness and callowness in place of altruism. This new doctrine, in the name of "freedom" seeks to destroy freedom by flaunting the constitution and the courts and the laws of the land. Men like George Wallace and Ross Barnett espouse freedom and states' rights on one hand-- and deny these by force to their Negro brothers. Along with their friends in the Citizens Councils, they espouse the freedom to starve, the freedom to be shot by segregationist police, and the freedom to rot in jail for exercising the right to vote.

This view has come to be accepted as that representing the South. And, what else could people think as lynching after lynching continued, after firehoses and police dogs, beatings and burnings and bombings? This, too, has come to be "southern tradition."

We must ask ourselves what part of the southern tradition do we wish to emulate? That of compassion, of the heroism of thousands of southerners in working for a better world through the labor movement and now the civil rights movement--or, the dark tradition of the KKK, the Citizens' Councils and assassination?

by Jim Williams

QUOTED WITHOUT COMMENT

"It is a terrible, an inexorable, law that one cannot deny the humanity of another without diminishing one's own: in the face of one's victim, one sees himself. Walk through the streets of Harlem and see what we, this nation, have become."

--James Baldwin
Nobody Knows My Name

"Every time I hear a political speech or I read those of our leaders, I am horrified at having, for years, heard nothing which sounded human. It is always the same words telling the same lies. And the fact that men accept this, that the people's anger has not destroyed those hollow clowns, strikes me as proof that men attribute no importance to the way they are governed; that they gamble--yes, gamble--with a whole part of their life and their so-called "vital interests."

--Albert Camus

YOU AND THE DRAFT

by Archie Allen

The duty of the individual's participation in military service is an issue which directly or indirectly, faces all students. Young men must make direct decisions concerning their attitudes and participation and young women are involved in developing conscious or unconscious attitudes toward military service, which affect them indirectly through brothers, boyfriends, or husbands.

To sift our pertinent information for the development of a consistent attitude the student must go deeper than dogmatic Selective Service. Romantic scenes of love, war, and glory are constantly depicted through glittering displays and posters of the military recruiters as well as through pocket novels, comics, movies and a rash of TV programs ranging from "Combat" to "McHale's Navy".

Under the maze of the glitter which calls today's youth to an adventurous career in the military, there still remains the cold reality of "blood in the mud." The rational, brutal facts of war and the deaths and suffering of innocents are not symbolized in the military's appeal to our vigorous young men.

A military force, unlike a police force, is not ruled by the mutual consent of the community and which apprehends both the guilty and the innocent without a trial. Such reads the history of the military.

To the individual's participation in the

FORUM . . .

PERSONAL VIEWS

FORUM will be a monthly feature of The New Rebel. Readers are urged to send in articles expressing their point of view. This month's article is written by Archie Allen and deals with the question of the draft.

Although this idea may be highly oversimplified, strides are now being made in the direction of having competent persons make detailed scientific research projects which deal with this very problem of presenting realistic program proposals.

Each individual must make decisions concerning his own involvement in such a system. He must examine and draw from his own moral, philosophical, or religious background. He must then determine if those motivations can be reconciled to the cold realities of the involvement he is considering. If moral and religious beliefs cannot be compromised, one should examine with an open mind the alternative of conscientious objection. In short, the decision about participation is a personal one. It can be an intelligent one only if all the facts are examined.

is the individual in agreement with the use of A bombs or H bombs which makes the matter of killing and destruction a matter of doing so as ferociously as modern methods can develop? Should not nations, like individuals, develop their policies and posture from a basically moral point of view? Or should they be allowed a free hand in the destructive game of war? Can a moral person support such policies, or is there an alternative, a way of working for peace?

In a broad perspective of long range goals, each individual must face the possibility of a peace force which, armed with the technology and resources of the present military system or equal resources, could play a positive role in the elimination of domestic need in the areas of poverty, education, employment, etc.

Carrying through this idea on a stepped up world program, the possibility looms that such a program might even strengthen our ideological stand against Communism for perhaps its greatest appeal has been the promise of riches and freedom to all in areas which have long been depressed and exploited. Such a peace program would seem very attractive to the two-thirds of the world's people who never have enough food to eat, decent clothes to wear, adequate medical attention, and education.



NOTES FROM A DIARY

July 24, Jackson, Mississippi

"The closed society" is a very appropriate name for this state. There is something--and perhaps it is prejudices that we ourselves built up before coming--that is rather frightening about it. I suppose the thing which frightens me the most is the unwillingness of the people here to accept change, as well as seemingly total ignorance of what is really happening here this summer.

I have encountered this "unawareness of the revolution" before, but here it is more vivid. It is this ignorance of the revolution we are now in that makes the breach between black and white worlds so wide. The world of middle class America does not yet understand what it so desperately needs to know--the Negro is revolting and he is not going to stop until there are some basic changes in society. Changes not only at the lunch counters but changes that mean better living conditions, better schools and education, improved housing, and more employment opportunities. But most of all it must mean the freedom to walk in this land in dignity without having to feel defiant for doing so. All the concessions the white man makes cannot and must not be done in the spirit of giving, for the freedom to live and love is not ours to give. it is ours to share.

KLAN RESPONDS TO STUDENT CONFERENCE

Maryville, Tennessee. On October 25, 1964, an inter-collegiate conference on race relations was held on the Maryville College campus. Students from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville College, and Maryville College participated in the sessions which were held throughout the day.

Topics of discussion ranged from the personal experiences of a student worker in Mississippi to a questioning of possible roles through which more southern students can become involved in positive social change. A primary concern was found to be the need for making academic pursuits more relevant through increased awareness of and participation in social issues and activities.

The day was marked with activity on the campus, including a show of force by the Ku Klux Klan, whose state headquarters are located in the area. The Klan was protesting the presence of Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who was on the campus for the annual Presbytery Day Services and was to be a speaker for the inter-collegiate conference. In traditional bedsheet regalia, the Klansmen picketed every entrance to the campus, handing out leaflets urging Blount County citizens to fight Godless Communism.

I saw the look of hope on the faces

Perhaps the most significant development of the freedom movement will be the realization of the Negro that he no longer needs to apologize for demanding his rights. Rather, that in order to save the soul of the nation, he must demand them. The real tragedy of the South is that it has sinned against the Negro until an injustice is no longer an injustice, but simply a way of life. It has compromised with its ethical and religious principles for so long that it can no longer realize that compromises are being made. In a very religious society, most often in the Bible Belt, a Negro is turned away from the church door. And sadly enough, it is the Negro who receives the lecture on "patience", "your own church," and "staying in his place." Wallowing in our own hypocrisy and sham we still feel it necessary to lecture the Negro community each time a church or house or school is bombed.

Yesterday I sat in the office of the assistant minister at one of the larger churches in Jackson. That night I attended a rally in Vicksburg where Martin L. King addressed a hot and crowded church with people overflowing into the street and surrounding homes and yards.

of the people, sensed their feeling of unrest, and noticed their wariness of my own white skin--and I could have wept for that white minister who still insists on living in his own small world.

I wanted to say to him that beneath the work shirts and blue-jeans some very dedicated young people are working long and hard hours to help bring into being their vision of a better society.

I wanted to tell him that he must look deeper and deal with the real issues of social injustice. I wanted to tell him that he, too, has a responsibility to society, to himself, his children, his church, and the white world he lives in now and the black world he does not yet know.

I wanted to tell him to recognize this responsibility and from his recognition to act and live in light of it. And, too, I wanted to tell him that these things are not easy. They are very difficult for they involve the giving of one's self, involvement of one's personhood, and a sensitivity to life that can bring much pain and sadness--yet can also bring joy.

I wanted to tell him all of these things now and scream at him that tomorrow may be too late. But Mississippi is a closed society and I know that he would not hear.

Summer Volunteer, COFO

TOWARD BUILDING A NEW SOUTH, cont.

interest in social action;

Community Projects, emphasizing student participation in ending discrimination, poverty, elite politics, etc.;

Campus Projects, which encourage students to raise and to express their opinions on the issues which most affect their lives--academic freedom, campus integration, student decision making responsibilities, etc.

The response from southern campuses has been gratifying. Our campus traveler has discovered interested and concerned students on all the campuses he has visited, and we are convinced that southern students are willing and capable of helping to shape the destiny of our region.

At this point, SSOC is a poverty-stricken organization with a big dream and a very small bank account. Yet two full time staff persons and several volunteers are working hard to achieve our stated goals. For years the South has been shouting that it could handle its own problems--and SSOC has accepted that challenge. The group of students meeting in Nashville last April verbalized their aspirations in the statement, "We'll Take Our Stand", which said in part,

SSOC PLANS SOUTHWIDE FALL CONFERENCE

Some of the dreams and ideas of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) are going to be actualized in Atlanta on the weekend of November 13-15 when southern students gather on the campus of the Old Gammon Theological Seminary for lectures, panels, seminars, films, and bull sessions on the topics of: Students in Politics, Southern History and Economy, Civil Liberties, and An Overview of the Civil Rights Struggle.

We have worked hard preparing for the conference and have invested the majority of our limited financial resources in defraying the costs. We hope therefore that you will attend.

Speakers who have been enlisted for the occasion are:

- Bob Moses, Director, Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)
- Larry Goodwin, former head of the Texas Democratic Coalition
- Rev. C. T. Vivian, Director of Affiliates, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- William Kuntzler, one of the top civil liberties lawyers in the

"We do hereby declare as southern students from most of the southern states, representing different economic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, . . . that we will here take our stand in determination to build together a New South which brings democracy and justice for all its people."

We need your support. Local campus groups are urged to affiliate with SSOC in order to create a dynamic working form of communication among Southerners who share our ideals.

--Sue Thrasher
Executive Secretary

A MOVEMENT OF SOUTHERN WHITES, cont.

Democratic Party, and several neo-populists learned some invaluable lessons.

Let it be emphasized that Mississippi and the South are not monolithic structures. People here as everywhere are capable of change. To be sure, the winds of segregation, racism, and exploitation are still blowing strongly, but cross currents are whispering. It is for us to provide the conviction, sweat, and dedication to man the bellows that will generate a cross current so strong as to destroy the old forces. Only then will the New South for which so many for so long have worked come to pass. Have we the people the faith to free ourselves?

by Ed Hamlett

Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Associate
Executive Director, Presbyterian
Commission on Religion and Race
James Forman, Executive Secretary,
Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee
Don West, Educator, poet, farmer
from North Georgia mountains
Dr. Howard Zinn, Dept. of Political
Science, Boston University.

For further information on the conference write to SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212.

NOTICE! NOTICE! NOTICE!

The New Rebel needs your help if it is to serve as a communication organ among southern campuses. It needs: information about activity on your campus, articles of personal opinion, cartoons, poetry, and responses to news items and features. Deadline date for next month's issue is November 20.

Ed Hamlett, author of the article, *A Movement of Southern Whites*, is director of the Southern White Student project of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He was director of the White Community Project in Mississippi for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)

THE SOUTH AS AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY

by Robb Burlage

Editor's Note: Robb Burlage is a candidate for a Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University. He is presently working for the Tennessee State Planning Commission. The following article is taken from the paper, The South as an Underdeveloped Country, the full text of which can be ordered from Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The last three decades in Dixie have moved the plantation economy clearly into the 20th Century industrial world. The South, though a stepchild, is a full-fledged member of the national economy. Fifty years later than the North its urban areas have tipped the balance over the rural, though in values, traditions, and politics the battle has not been completely won. Perhaps fifty years later than the North the crest of the industrial revolution has hit the South.

To miss the dynamic aspects of the rise in average per capita income, manufacturing, employment, urban population, regional bank assets, and agricultural productivity . . . would be a serious mistake. On the other hand, to refer glowingly to the "New South" as a thing completed or merely a matter of more incremental growth is to avoid serious problems that make the South, as it was in the 30's, the nation's number one economic problem.

According to the usual criterion of per capita income, the South has made heartening progress in the last three decades--from 50% to about 75% of the national average. However, this is only "three fourths American" and this figure in itself can be misleading. The urban Negro, the rural resident--white and Negro, and the people of "depressed areas" such as the Southern Appalachian region are generally below this figure. Many urban whites, on the other hand, are close to the national average.

The Negro is still the automatic lower class of the South despite some strides in improvement of educational and employment opportunities. The estimated average per capita income of the Negro in the South is less than \$1000; for all other Southerners it is about \$1500. The "place" of the Negro today, though more mobile socially and geographically than before, is most uncertain in the southern economy. The Negro was the "technology" of southern agriculture for almost three centuries Transferring the Negro from an economy where he was the machinery of production to one which uses him as a skilled operator of the machinery of production has been the hardest task of southern development.

Despite an increase in population in the deep South during the last decade, in all states except Florida, more people left than came in. Besides the large Negro outmigration, a great number of skilled and educated young persons of both races left the region after scarce regional resources had been spent in their training.

Another trend has been the shift in population from the economically overcrowded farms to the city. In the six states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, for instance, 80% of the counties had more people leave than came in between 1950 and 1955. There has been a population explosion in the metropolitan areas, but the cities have not coped with their new population very effectively. The urban tenant is more helpless and more in need of higher levels of income than the rural tenant. Welfare, medical, and re-employment progress have been sparse. Housing and community development programs have lagged critically. In other areas the programs turn into "Negro removal" projects without adequate provisions for resettlement. Large metropolitan areas are becoming increasingly segregated as whites scamper to the political and fiscal irresponsibility of the suburbs and the Negro and low income whites are left to the shrinking, blighted "central city" with no place to go.

Southern agriculture is still the largest problem area. More than three-fourths of the farms in the South are less than 25 acres (only 5% more than 100 acres). One half of the nation's farm families live in the South yet only one third of the nation's farm product is from that region. Net income per family in the South is less than two thirds of that of farm families outside. Forty-seven of the fifty one economic areas in the United States with median farm family income less than \$1000 are in the South. The South has only 13% of the commercial farms in the nation but 70% of the commercial farms with less than \$2500 income. Definite progress has been made in developing larger, more viable farm units; livestock and a variety of cash crops have supplanted King Cotton; fertilizers, hybrid seeds, scientific conservation measures, and mechanization have all contributed larger income potential. But thousands of marginal farmers, tenants, and freeholds are stranded in rural areas without any prospect of betterment.

The "industrial mix" of the South is still rather "soft", featuring the natural resource use industries of textiles, lumber, and food processing. Chemicals, heavy manufacturing, electronics, and other high technology plants are relatively shy of the South, often because of a lack of skilled workers. Industrial wages have been rising but are still considerably below natural scales. Unionization has been beaten down since the late 19th Century in the South by use of race intimidation and outright violence and social pressure, as well as local and state "right-to-work" type laws, thus democratic participation of workers in the economic decision making process as well.

It must be recognized that "progress"-growth of gross product and increase in average per capita income--does not automatically bring justice. As Mike Harrington has suggested in his book, The Other America, poverty is a "culture" that must be attacked from many directions at once to break its vicious circle. And despite the rise of urban industrialism across Dixie, racism still haunts the region. The Negro is still the most underdeveloped resource in America. His plight is greatest in the South. Attempts to preserve segregation corrode politics and obfuscate all other issues, prevent effective worker organization, lead to irrational plant organization, curb efforts to attract industry, (Little Rock got no industrial nibbles for three years after Faubus closed the schools, though things had been booming before that) and to the "welfare" burden and make the administration of welfare programs discriminatory and prevent positive programs from being launched (An Area Redevelopment tractor training program in the Mississippi Delta was blocked by local politicians because there were fears that the interracial project would change the existing status of Negro farm laborers.) .

As we view the Southern mixed economy it is clear that vast changes are taking place in the structure of production, the distribution of population, and, more slowly in the social structure. It is important that "New South" fever not take away our critical judgment of the status quo of discrimination and poverty and undemocratic processes that still pervades the South. Southern leaders should not allow the region to make economic growth only a vener and a "trickle down" factor that ignores the traditional problems. There is a need for broad secular changes if the "New South" is to be a well balanced and just society where all its citizens have the opportunity to grow and live in freedom. There is a crying need for broader expenditure for education, training, and research, for more basic community facilities such as sewerage, water plants, roads, for more diversified capital investment in manufacturing with emphasis on "growth" industries such as electronics and more intensive investment in agriculture with emphasis on "industrial agriculture", for direct ~~assistance to the poverty stricken~~, for elimination of the walls of race and region that leave literally millions of Southerners of both races still living as second class citizens.

What we are after is economic progress with justice--opportunity for all Southern citizens. The region cannot be visualized apart from its national and world context, but it can be a beginning for attacking problems that plague the globe.

Racism must be hammered out of the system. The politics must be open to all. Community development should involve all constituents. Service and the cooperative principle should guide economic decision making--with as much participation as possible by all persons. This is the projection, the goal, the dream.

SSOC PLANS CHRISTMAS PROJECT FOR MISSISSIPPI. The Southern Student Organizing Committee will be recruiting southern students to go to Mississippi during the Christmas holidays to help rebuild and paint churches destroyed by racist bombings. The project will be divided into two parts, one before Christmas (December 19-23) and one after Christmas (December 27-January 1). Anyone who can go at either time should contact the SSOC office for additional information. Write to P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212.

PLAN NOW TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE IN ATLANTA