

the

BLACK POWER

controversy



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The December, 1966 New South Student marks the first conscious attempt to present to our readers a thematic issue, involving several articles which explore one subject.

We decided that this type of presentation might be more comprehensive than one or two scattered articles, and would provide a forum to open more serious thought about vital contemporary issues.

The Black Power controversy has stirred all segments of American life. Movement people have had to re-evaluate their roles as agents of social change.

Anger over the slogan has clouded the fundamental issues behind it. It is in hopes of sharpening our anger-fogged focus that we present the several articles related to the Black Power controversy.

And as a Black American, I make no apology for the decidedly pro-Black tone.

LOWNDES COUNTY STORY

CAGING THE PANTHER
NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY
LET THE FACTS SPEAK

CAGING THE PANTHER

by Janet Dewart

A favorite game of politicians has consisted of pretending not to comprehend the November 8th elections in Alabama and Mississippi that saw black after black defeated in heavily black districts. Most political observers should know exactly what happened. These elections just gave further proof that the white power structure refuses to passively relinquish its stolen goods to the poor and powerless. "Democracy" can be seen as a euphemism for the manipulation by the few for the political, economic and social enslavement of the many.

For those people who honestly question what happened, this article tries to provide some valid reasons for the disappointing results.

The Intimidation

Besides the usual political maneuvering, a more subtle form of intimidation claimed its share of victims. For example, the Calhoun-Letohatchie precinct in Lowndes County had four federal watchers. Out of a total of eight county officials for two voting booths, three were black, while the white minority had a total of five. The distribution for county officials was: one black and three white at one booth; and two black, nine white at another. Voters were allowed to receive aid in the booth from an assistant. If a friend had not accompanied the voter, he was required to have two assistants, one local and one federal. The odds were obviously stacked so that many

blacks, had to vote in the presence of whites, a serious situation when one remembers the continuous evictions and harassment.

An Incident

And one must question the fact that at one polling station, the supply of certificates for assistance was exhausted less than two hours after the polls opened. Was this merely the result of negligence? There is reason to doubt that very much. It should have been obvious that many folks might be wary of voting for the first time and would seek all aid available. These certificates had to be completed in order for votes to be cast. When these certificates mysteriously ran out, some kind white person offered to go to the courthouse and get a new supply. This person was gone for about an hour while black working folks stood around waiting. Some people had to return to work and never did have an opportunity to vote. Whether this incident was intentional or not, the reality is that people were prevented from voting.

Other factors which contributed to the defeat of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization are treated in the following article by Gwen Patton, which hints at the corrupt nature of white power. If you understand this corruption, you may understand that one need for black power is to make white power more human.

* * * * *

NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY

A DIALOGUE

by Gwendolyn Patton

The polls opened at 8 am, but black folks were there at 7 to make sure that they cast their ballots for those candidates who hopefully may take them out of their "fundamental trick bag". Lowndes County--Black Power--later to be corrupted by white power. Black folks were anxious and frightened.

"Remember, we are the second lever."
"Pull the Black Panther lever and go on home".

"Ask the black sisters to hope you in the booth."

So the conversations went on like this for the greater part of the morning.

"Us folks sho' are coming out. Folks want to vote."

"I'm seventy-five and I feel like I've been born again".

"De Lawd sho' want us to vote cause dere ain't a cloud in the sky."

The lady was right. . . there was not a cloud in the sky. When it looked as though it would rain that lucky ole sun beamed relentlessly upon the heads of first-class citizens.

Black folks walked, rode in trucks and cars to the polls. All of them trying to remember the instructions given them the night before at the mass meeting. Some of the new citizens had to be carried because they couldn't walk; others had to be led because they couldn't see. Many were around because they had not registered and wanted so desperately to be citizens, to be a man like their neighbors, to be a part of the "American Dream".

Brenton, a predominantly black precinct, was running smoothly. No trouble...not a cloud in the sky. It was a family reunion, a town's meeting. Folks were "hoping" one another, and feeling for the first time in their lives "American".

"There's trouble in Sandy Ridge".

The conversations changed as the morning progressed. Trouble seemed to be everywhere, and even though there were no clouds in the sky, white lightening was striking everywhere and on every black man.

"I saw Jim Clark."

"White folks ridin' round with guns."

"My boss evicted me because I wanted to vote."

"Black boy, don't come back to Lowndesboro 'cause we is gonna git ya."

"Dese white foks sho' got something up 'cause dey is too quiet."

"Why is the Alabama troopers here?"

"White folks lined across the street from the city hall; dey waitin' fo' somethin'".

"Look at the nazi sign above the courthouse."

"I'm scared!!!"

"Man, you got your shit?"

"Naw, there ain't a cloud in the sky."

The man is right, but there were clouds, god-fearing, gloomy, death-like clouds.

over every black man in Lowndes County. If they win white folks will kill them; if they lose the klan will take license to kill the uppity niggers, the bad niggers. There wasn't a cloud in the sky.

Is Lowndes County, this creation by black people, destroyed by white power another episode in the book entitled, Human Dignity? There seem to be clouds everywhere.

The Black Panther candidates lost. WHY? The results were:

Black Panther Candidates

Sheriff	Sidney Logan	1,426
Coroner	Emory Ross	1,391
Tax Assessor	Alice Moore	1,557
Tax Collector	Frank Miles	1,556
Bd. of Educ.	Robert Logan	1,620
	John Hinson	1,620
	Willie Strickland	1,552

Democratic Candidates

Sheriff	Frank Tyals	1,943
Coroner	Jack Golson	1,901
Tax Assessor	Charlie Sullivan	2,234
Tax Collector	Iva Sullivan	2,227
Bd. of Educ.	David Lyons	1,894
	Tommie Coleman	1,933
	C. B. Haigler	2,139

How can they lose? How can our black candidates lose in a county of 81.4% black? How did Mr. Logan get 164 votes in this precinct and Mrs. Moore only got 64 votes in the same precinct? Don't cry. HOW DID WE LOSE?

"My voting machine did not make "x", but they said I voted anyway."

"Its some folks from Tuscaloosa voting in our county, white folks."

"Miss Ann voted from Montgomery. She lives in Montgomery, but she votes in Lowndes County."

"Miss Ann voted for her dead husband."

"Will you hope me cause ain't nothing but white folks in dere?"

"I is too scared to 'challenge' white folks; I knows dey cheating."

"I ax the federal watcher to let the Negro woman hope me, but he pointed to the white official."

"My boss told me to pull the first lever down and go home."

"Man, we is the second lever."

"Mr. Charlie voted twenty times cause he voted fo' all the black folks on his plantation."

"Man, white folks are stealing the election. You got your shit."

"Naw, there ain't a cloud in the sky."

Lowndes County is a foreign country, full of black people, controlled by white people from Johnson on down. Did Johnson and his boys in the Democratic Party have a meeting to make certain that black people don't win the election? Is Lowndes County the example to show niggers that they better stay in their "places"? Johnson, is that what you are trying to articulate? Is that what you call democracy?

There were not reporters like there were at Wallace's headquarters. Was it because the white folks had conspired together and did not want reporters to relate to the public their cheating, their stealing of the elections?....Is the political struggle of black people anything in this country? It is thundering now. There is no place to go, no homes, no farms, no lands. . . NO CLOUDS IN THE SKY.

So it was. A beautiful day in Lowndes County, Alabama. God controlled the skies, but the white man determined the clouds, the lightening, the thundering..and the victims. Who controls the silver lining?

"Man, you got your shit?"

"Naw, ain't no clouds in the sky."

Election day was over, and night began to fall. There were no clouds in the sky, but the white man's clouds began to thicken as the night grew darker.

"A black man got whipped by a white cop for challenging. He had to go to the hospital out of town."

People gathered at the Lowndes County Freedom Organization Headquarters to discuss protection for the women, for the children, and especially for the candidates.

"Man, you got your shit?"

"YEAH! There seems to be white clouds everywhere groping for black men in the dark. We have to stop that to make certain that there 'ain't a cloud in the sky."

"Man, we better go home and get our shit together because we have to control that silver lining."

Author's note: For those who are concerned about what happened in Lowndes County, here it is in the language of the people, the black people of Lowndes County.

LET THE FACTS DECIDE

This November 29th press release by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee forms the third part in this Lowndes County Story. It tells more of the harrassment of those seeking black power through the ballot, and the racism of those who seek to deny the blacks their rights. It also shows the determination of a unified group whose thirst for

freedom can only be quenched by its acquisition.

As a follow-up to the November 8th elections in that state (Alabama), and as a result of black people voting in those elections for the first time in their lives, the white landowners are retaliating by evicting large masses of black farm workers from their land.

In Greene County, the Greene County Freedom Organization reports that there have been a series of evictions, resulting in 70 families being evicted from the land which has been their only home for years. Some families have been given a deadline for moving on December 3rd and others on January 1st. Meetings and discussions are currently underway among black people there to decide on necessary steps and remedies to deal with this problem.

In Lowndes County, several families have already been evicted from their homes and are now living in tents. Many more families expect eviction notices after the picking season is over. The Lowndes County Christian Movement in conjunction with the Lowndes County Freedom Party is now in the process of purchasing land and building houses for these people. The movement so far has 2 houses, has bought land for 2 families, and has begun construction on 2 houses which they hope to have finished within this week.

Besides the evictions, there have been brutal attacks by Lowndes County whites on black people who participated in the November 8th elections, one of the worst cases being the beating of Andrew Jones who was hospitalized with a skull fracture for 2 days in Selma. The Lowndes County Freedom Party is moving in the direction where they can gain complete control over the county in the next 2 years, and are also moving to an economic position where they will be able to take care of people who work in the movement there. Present plans include raising money to buy enough land for the dispossessed and starting a co-op which they hope will be operating in the near future.

MAN FROM MISSISSIPPI

I'm a man from Mississippi;
I'm a good God fearin' man.
Go to church 'most ev'ry Sunday
And I'm a member of the Klan.

REFRAIN:

Yea, forever segregation
Nay, and never integration.
There's a nigger, pull the trigger!
Shoot that black man in the back.

For my work I dig deep ditches.
Be you black or be you jew,
Be you doctor or a lawyer
I'm a better man than you.

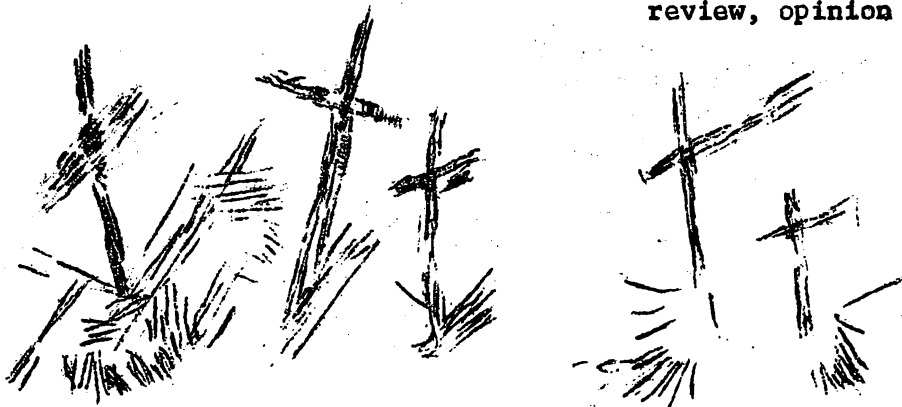
I kill communists and niggers;
Yes, I kill and wound and fight.
Oh, I only finished third grade
But I'm better 'cause I'm white.

I burn crosses and bomb churches
And I'll go and get my gun
'Fore I'll let some crummy nigger
In a school sit by my son.

When I die I know that Heaven
Is the place I'm gonna go;
But if God is dark, I tell you
I would rather go below.

Karen M. Griner

(This poem first appeared in Elan, a
Nashville-based independent journal of
review, opinion and Black Arts.)



MEDITATIONS

of a

WHITE SOUTHERNER

by Lon Clay Hill

For the past few years, I and many others have been attracted to SNCC because of its courage, the honesty of its anger, its unwillingness to compromise, its refusal to be distracted by irrelevant ideological warfare, and its romanticism. Some whites have committed an irrevocable part of themselves to its work--and both SDS and SSOC have emerged much under its influence. This very strength, however, has meant that many militant whites have allowed the black members of SNCC to define their role within the movement--particularly within the Negro community.

A Decision

While whites have had to depend upon others to introduce them into the Negro community and many of us naturally chose SNCC, whites in the movement must learn to make their own judgments about the dark community just as they are already making their own judgments about the business community, the university community, and the war machine. Our friends and lovers can be our worst enemies, and revolutions are a particularly self-destructive form of behavior generally consuming their most principled members.

There are no guarantees against such dangers; one just has to be aware that they exist and deal with them as best he can when they happen. It is in this spirit that I wish to talk about "black nationalism"--at times with special reference to SNCC ideas and attitudes, but more basically concerned simply with developing a perspective that is functional for a WHITE RADICAL.

One of the essentials of revolutionary activity is that a person must know something about the forces that surround him--"WHERE HE IS AT". In a revolutionary situation, the premium for this type of self-knowledge is high, often outweighing other considerations that are just as important morally. Thus Trotsky helped pave his own downfall before a ruthless, rather unexciting tyrant, because he was blind to the destructive potential of his situation. More concretely, this means for us that whites can never be totally committed to an exclusively Negro or "black" revolution. Or that Northern radicals generally are not as committed to the creation of a New South as the southern radicals who will continue to live there. That is to say that while altruism may be possible, PURE altruism or an altruism without reference to the needs of the self is hypocritical and transparently self-deceptive.

Now if whites do not have some sort of workable distinction between their necessarily limited commitment to an exclusively "Negro" cause and a commitment to the freedom of the total human community, they face real difficulties.

First of all, the white person appoints a black "leader" who directs the white in his struggle to help his dark mentor's people. The white person quite naturally chooses the person who gives him the most psychological and spiritual compensation for his commitment. Whether this compensation takes the form of praise and appreciation, long sympathetic conversations, or a few bitter re-

marks about race which can be forgiven as due to "the problem"-- it does not create enough mutual respect to be enduring.

A Conflict of Terms

Before dealing directly with any more of the concrete issues of whites in the movement, however, it might be helpful to try to shift the terms of the ideological battles now in process. Particularly the polemics about "black nationalism vs. integration" tend to obscure as well as clarify the issues. I would like to indicate some of the realities which I see behind these phrases. If we are going to be angry, and some of us are very angry, we ought to at least clear the self-righteous smog of battle so that our anger is focused on the right object.

The word "integration" has sometimes been used to indicate the fact that Negroes and whites in this country share an allegiance to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, they share some common religious traditions, they have common ancestors, and they should share the land and its produce.

On the other hand, "black nationalism" tends to emphasize that most of the people in the world are poor and colored, and that it makes no sense to integrate into white society unless the United States is willing to integrate into the rest of the world. So far white America has shown little inclination for such integration, pursuing an intransigent course of exploitation and murder in Latin America, South Africa, and South Vietnam. Furthermore, integration in this country has been reserved for only a few Negroes--often at dear expense.

The danger in pursuing "integration" is that one compromises his demands and vision by an over-accommodation to the power of white America. Thus, Roy Wilkins refuses to criticize the war in Vietnam because he does not want to jeopardize his standing with the White House. Of course, Negroes are "over-represented" in Vietnam and there will be no meaningful War on Poverty as long as the War in Vietnam continues, so his

standing with Johnson is politically as well as ethically foolish. The danger in pursuing "black nationalism" is an ethical despair which tends to substitute the coming revolution of the colored masses for serious grappling with present injustice.

The Nonviolent Approach

"Black nationalism" is an increasingly articulate and voluble rejection of non-violence as an answer to the Negroes' problems. Which really sort of begs the question, since non-violence is not so much a way of getting rid of your own problems as it is a way of making other peoples' problems your own.

Part of the confusion about non-violence is rooted in the person and image of Martin Luther King. King has discovered that there are times when non-violence can have an immediate and pragmatic significance. But he projects this discovery beyond the point of honest expectation. King, at times, has been so anxious to prevent Negroes from being violent that he has supported the use of the National Guard to restore "law and order". This posture of non-violence for Negroes may only help some Negroes to a sense of moral superiority, but it certainly does not prevent riots.

Double Jeopardy

Nor does King do any service to his white allies and brothers by mollifying and shielding them from the frustration and anger of his black brothers. The white liberal has been helped to feel that if he does something (say, support another civil rights bill, donate money to SCLC or SNCC, join a demonstration), then everything will be all right. As if there were not irrevocable deeds, that the average Negro does not harbor deep-seated hatred or resentment, that our black brothers are waiting for us with open arms--while we of course have a job opening for him, and our grandchildren may even intermarry. But there is no way to make "all right" a situation that has festered for centuries.

A distinction needs to be made between a general historical trend and our in-

Continued

dividual responsibility within the context of that trend. Whites have robbed and raped and murdered Negroes for years --and they cannot escape the consequences of their deeds. Not that whites were the only wrongdoers--slavery was established with the active assistance of African slavetraders and Negro overseers. But the record is clear enough--and the victims and their descendants have not forgotten it.

Fundamental Issues

The issue, however, is not whether whites will be killed or whether Negroes should be non-violent or whether there will be a race war. The reality is that people will be killed, whether they be brown or black or white. And murder is still murder whatever the justification or frustration. The role of the revolutionary is not so much to bring about change as to midwife the change so that the birth of the new society does not generate all the diseases of the old.

If this ideological backdrop has any validity, then perhaps we can be a little more clear about some of the real issues involved for whites working within Negro communities. I am not going to argue whether whites should or should not work in Negro communities, because that sort of question is too abstract. The movement tends to become ghettos of isolated revolutionaries--and political ideologies tend to guise very personal and even petty conflicts which have very little to do with race or economics. What such people as Stokely Carmichael or Malcolm X say is important--whites should understand it and learn from it, and make their own decisions about it. But for most of the whites in the movement, the problem has not been their political sophistication, but their difficulties in living and working with the particular Negroes they are supposed to be assisting. And it is of these problems I wish to speak.

One reason which should not move whites to work within Negro communities is their alienation from white society. The fact that one is critical of white society does not imply that one is necessarily for Negroes. Whites have

been working out their frustrations on dark people for a long time, and doing it in the name of civil rights does not make it any better. Likewise, it is not enough to work out of a sense of guilt. Whites have a responsibility for what other whites have done, but no single white can atone for all the wrongs of 300 years--which is to say that it is not enough to feel guilt or anger or alienation about the mistreatment of Negroes in white America, but that you must be clear about the relevance of those emotions to your specific tasks.

A New Awareness

One of the results of the changing mood within the Negro community is that dark men and women are trying to recover their dignity and independence and manhood and womanhood, and they have reached out to assert themselves. So that quite apart from the fact that most whites know very little about Negro communities, a white person has to eschew the sort of leadership which reinforces patterns of Negroes following the white man.

There is a reason why whites cannot "organize" Negro communities in the sense that black organizers do. What the white must do is open channels of communication between black and white communities. Whereas a black organizer tends to build the internal strength of the dark community.

At this point, SNCC's notion of independent organizing in the black and white communities veers toward abstraction. Since there have never been totally separate black and white communities, the problem is not so much to create an independent base and identity for black people as to change the terms of the deep cultural and physical interdependence which will continue to exist. Thus if the movement is serious about a coalition of poor whites and blacks, then tangible as well as ideological evidence of this concern must be forthcoming.

Toward Validity

There is not much that any single white can do to save a civilization so bent

upon its own destruction and inauthenticity. Some of its genuine achievements can be salvaged and shared with the rest of the world. Some perhaps, of the stolen goods can be returned. But this cannot be done within the context of "white" civilization. Only if white civilization opens itself to the poor and colored of the earth, will its own achievements have validity, and once white civilization does that, it will no longer be "white".

It is not hard to forgive the wary and fearful eyes of strangers riveted to your skin. You can understand why people lie to you and even why dark friends and acquaintances misunderstand you. After all, we do live in a historical context, and even committed whites have made their share of mistakes and wrongs. Still there are limits to how much white peoples' culpability exonerates Negroes of responsibility, and here I am going to be more personal.

The Frustrations

For me it can be terribly frustrating to listen to some dark people talk on and on about "the white man", as if there had never been cruelty by blacks...

Although my own skin is white, I DO know that white men are cruel, that the rent is much too high, and that too many dark babies die. And I know that the storekeeper called your child "nigger", and a white man asked where he could get some black pussy. But I also know that I love some of those people who hate you and reject me and are murdering their own humanity.

Still, the question I'm asking (though I don't know how to verbalize it with dark people whose wise minds distrust words, especially when spoken by whites) is: Do we have anything to share besides our pain?

Continuing the Struggle

Every white person who works within a black community faces some of these frustrations. Indeed it is impossible for anyone to work effectively against oppression without taking upon himself some of the frustration of the oppressed.

Committed whites must neutralize these negative forces so that constructive work can continue. My own work is simplified by the fact that I work mostly with children. Even though the children are under essentially the same social pressures as their parents, children do not express them in explicit racial terms. I would also argue that those whites who have done the most significant work have been those who were not in competitive or racial roles; they did not do a job that dark people could, or felt that they could do. In any case, there is no place where you can escape the pain of your dark brothers or the fatuity and more covert pain of your white brothers.

WOKE UP THIS MORNING

WITH MY MIND

SET ON FREEDOM

by John Beecher

A flood of song
breaches the levee
swamps cabins in the cotton
sweeps Natchez-under-the-hill

The flock escapes old shepherds
who in the dust of the stampede
incredulous and dazed
lumber along out of breath

Frock coats and crinolines
built nothing here
but skilled black hands
reared all this beauty

Which one of these
white-colonnaded bastions of
the ancient lie
Among moss-oaks and magnolias
will be our Freedom House?

(Natchez during the Demonstrations,
September, 1965)

From

To Live and Die In Dixie
and Other Poems
Red Mountain Editions
C. 1966

NORTH NASHVILLE PROJECT

THE TRANSITION

by Fred Brooks

"We are convinced that the only meaningful way to help people is to help them to help themselves. It is only through realizing power to make decisions affecting their own lives that men are able to live in dignity and to give meaning to the democratic process."
--The North Nashville Project Staff

The North Nashville Project has just gone through a transitional stage and is now in the process of revitalizing its program.

What happened to the North Nashville Project is the same thing that happened to integrated projects in black communities when the term "Black Power" shook the entire world this summer. Community organizers, both black and white, stopped to take this slogan into consideration. They found that there was a great deal of validity in the ideas behind it. It is now widely believed that if the people in the community are going to control their destiny, they must control those factors which influence it.

The Image

The image that an organization develops in a community is very important. This means that blacks must organize blacks. White organizers reinforce the power structure because they unconsciously give support to the false notion that whites are superior.

Repairing the Damage

Any black worker following whites knows that the psychological effect of white organizers is so detrimental that it often negates any good that they have tried to accomplish. Whites who insist on remaining in black communities should really question their motives for remaining there. Most of them cannot admit that they believe that they are more qualified than black workers, and feel that they must show blacks that they are oppressed, and then tell them to fight

that oppression.

Black folks know more about oppression than any other group in America. They have suffered a long apprenticeship. It is absurd that white folks do not realize that we are not happy. We are angry. And we are determined to channel that anger into effective programs in the black community.

Staff Agreement

The staff of the North Nashville Project is in agreement with the ideas that I have just presented. During this transitional stage in our development, we will seek a broader base in the black community for our program of tutorials, recreation, and classes in math, art, and Negro history.

During this month of December, we will continue to work on building a more effective program. We intend to be back in full swing by the first of January, with the volunteer aid of black students who have expressed a real desire to work in the Project.

December is also to be dedicated to fundraising so that we can resume our work with financial burdens largely removed. We would ask for those who wish to aid in our financial support, or who are seeking information to write:

North Nashville Project
c/o SSOC Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

* * * * *

POWER AND RACISM

by Stokely Carmichael

"One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to now there has been no national organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people in the urban ghetto. There has been only a civil rights movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between them and angry young blacks. None of its so-called leaders could go into a rioting community and be listened to. In a sense, I blame ourselves--together with the mass media--for what has happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha. Each time the people in those cities saw Martin Luther King get slapped, they became angry; when they saw four little black girls bombed to death, they were angrier; and when nothing happened, they were steaming. We had nothing to offer that they could see except to go out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustration.

Not A Buffer

"An organization which claims to speak for the needs of a community--as does the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee--must speak in the tone of that community, not as somebody else's buffer zone. This is the significance of black power as a slogan. For once, black people are going to use the words they want to use--not just the words whites want to hear. And they will do this no matter how often the press tried to stop the use of the slogan by equating it with racism or separatism.

"An organization which claims to be working for the needs of a community--as SNCC does--must work to provide that community with a position of strength from which to make its voice heard. This is the significance of black power beyond the slogan.

A Clarification

"Black power can be clearly defined for those who do not attach the fears of white America to their questions about it. We should begin with the basic fact that black Americans have two problems: they are poor and they are black. All other problems arise from this two-sided reality: lack of education, the so-called apathy of black men. Any program to end racism must address itself to that double reality.

"Almost from its beginning, SNCC sought to address itself to both conditions with a program aimed at winning political power for impoverished southern blacks. We had to begin with politics because black Americans are a propertyless people in a country where property is valued above all. We had to work for power, because this country does not function by morality, love, and nonviolence, but by power. Thus we determined to win political power, with the idea of moving on from there into activity that would have economic effects. With power, the masses could MAKE OR PARTICIPATE IN MAKING the decisions which govern their destinies, and thus create basic change in their day-to-day lives...

"Politically, black power means what it has always meant to SNCC: the coming-together of black people to elect representatives and TO FORCE THOSE REPRESENTATIVES TO SPEAK TO THEIR NEEDS. It does not mean merely putting black faces into office. A man or woman who is black and from the slums cannot be automatically expected to speak to the needs of black people. Most of the black politicians we see around the country today are not what SNCC means by black power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there...

Continued

We Have Found You Out

"Ultimately, the economic foundations of this country must be shaken if black people are to control their lives. The colonies of the United States--and this includes the black ghettos within its borders, north and south--must be liberated. For a century, this nation has been like an octopus of exploitation, its tentacles stretching from Mississippi and Harlem to South America, the Middle East, southern Africa, and Vietnam; the form of exploitation varies from area to area but the essential result has been the same--a powerful few have been maintained and enriched at the expense of the poor and voiceless colored masses. This pattern must be broken. As its grip loosens here and there around the world, the hopes of black Americans become more realistic. For racism to die, a totally different America must be born.

"This is what the white society does not wish to face; this is why that society prefers to talk about integration. But integration speaks not at all to the problem of poverty, only to the problem of blackness. Integration today means the man who 'makes it,' leaving his black brothers behind in the ghetto as fast as his new sports car will take him. It has no relevance to the Harlem wino or to the cottonpicker making three dollars a day. As a lady I know in Alabama once said, 'the food that Ralph Bunche eats doesn't fill my stomach.'

"Integration, moreover, speaks to the problem of blackness in a despicable way. As a goal, it has been based on complete acceptance of the fact that IN ORDER TO HAVE a decent house or education, blacks must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to a white school. This reinforces, among both black and white, the idea that 'white' is automatically better and 'black' is by definition inferior. This is why integration is a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy. It allows the nation to focus on a handful of southern children who get into white schools, at a great price, and to ignore the 94% who are left behind in unimproved all-black schools. Such situations will not

change until black people have power--to control their own school boards, in this case. Then Negroes become equal in a way that means something, and integration ceases to be a one-way street. Then integration doesn't mean draining skills and energies from the ghetto into white neighborhoods; then it can mean white people moving from Beverly Hills into Watts, white people joining the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Then integration becomes relevant...

Burn, Baby, Burn

"To most whites, black power seems to mean that the Mau Mau are coming to the suburbs at night. The Mau Mau are coming, and whites must stop them. Articles appear about plots to 'get Whitey', creating an atmosphere in which 'law and order must be maintained.' Once again, responsibility is shifted from the oppressor to the oppressed. Other whites chide, 'Don't forget--you're only 10% of the population; if you get too smart, we'll wipe you out.' If they are liberals, they complain, 'what about me?--don't you want my help any more?' These are people supposedly concerned about black Americans, but today they think first of themselves, of their feelings of rejection. Or they admonish, 'you can't get anywhere without coalitions,' when there is in fact no group at present with whom to form a coalition in which blacks will not be absorbed and betrayed...

The Problem of Color

"White America will not face the problem of color, the reality of it. The well-intended say: 'We're all human, everybody is really decent, we must forget color.' But color cannot be 'forgotten' until its weight is recognized and dealt with...

"The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea that black people are able to do things themselves. Only they can help create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness that will provide the basis for political strength...

"This does not mean we don't welcome help or friends. But we want the right to decide whether anyone is, in fact, our friend. In the past, black Americans have been almost the only people whom everybody and his momma could jump up and call their friends. We have been taken, symbols, objects--as I was in high school to many young whites, who liked having 'a Negro friend.' We want to decide who is our friend, and we will not accept someone who comes to us and says: 'If you do X, Y, and Z, then I'll help you'...

On Liberal Whites

"I have said that most liberal whites react to 'black power' with the question 'What about me?' rather than saying: 'Tell me what you want me to do and I'll see if I can do it.' There are answers to the right question. One of the most disturbing things about almost all white supporters of the movement has been that they are afraid to go into their own communities--which is where the racism exists--and work to get rid of it. They want to run from Berkeley to tell us what to do in Mississippi; let them look instead at Berkeley. They admonish blacks to be nonviolent; let them preach nonviolence in the white community. They come to teach me Negro history; let them go to the suburbs and open up freedom schools for whites. Let them work to stop America's racist foreign policy; let them press this government to cease supporting the economy of South Africa.

And Poor Whites

"There is a vital job to be done among poor whites. We hope to see, eventually, a coalition between poor blacks and poor whites. That is the only coalition which seems acceptable to us, and we see such a coalition as the major internal instrument of change in American society. SNCC has tried several times to organize poor whites; we are trying again now, with an initial training program in Tennessee. It is purely academic today to talk about bringing poor blacks and whites together, but the job of creating a poor-white power bloc must be attempted. The main responsibility for it falls upon whites.

A Humanistic Vision

"Our vision is not merely of a society in which all black men have enough to buy the good things of life. When we urge that black money go into black pockets, we mean the communal pocket. We want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see black ghetto residents demand that an exploiting landlord or store keeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve co-operatively; they can back their demand with a rent strike, or a boycott, and a community so unified behind them that no one else will move into the building or buy at the store. The society we seek to build among black people, then, is not a capitalist one. It is a society in which the spirit of community and humanistic love prevail.

"We can build a community of love only where we have the ability and power to do so; among blacks...

Conclusion

"As for white America, perhaps it can stop crying out against 'black supremacy,' 'black nationalism,' 'racism in reverse' and begin facing reality. The reality is that this nation, from top to bottom, is racist; that racism is not primarily a problem of 'human relations' but of an exploitation maintained--either actively or through silence--by the society as a whole. Camus and Sartre have asked, can a man condemn himself? Can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves? Can they stop blaming us, and blame their own system? Are they capable of the shame which might become a revolutionary emotion?

"We have found that they usually cannot condemn themselves, and so we have done it. But the rebuilding of this society, it at all possible, is basically the responsibility of whites--not blacks. We won't fight to save the present society, in Vietnam or anywhere else. We are just going to work, in the way we see fit, and on goals we define, not for civil rights but for all our human rights.

From N.Y. Review of Books - 1966

LITTÉRATURE NOIRE

A Review of

POETIC ANGER

Black anger has given rise to an exciting, if not nerve-shattering, type of literature. This littérature noire is exciting because its heartbeat is the fresh one of a revived people who were being choked to death by vicarious absorption into a society that rejected them. It is as nerve-shattering as a bullet to the heart because it points an accusing finger at white folks, saying that none of them have done enough to eliminate the causes for the anger.

Littérature noire is the ghetto song of the "block guy" who has stopped asking "whitey" to remove the white feet from his black throat. He is pulling those feet off.

Of the angry black men, LeRoi Jones is the angriest and probably the most popular. His popularity stems from the fact that what has been referred to as "horror stories for the white liberals" are written in a precise, tense and very readable fashion.

If whites can understand the totality of his anger, there might be hope left.

Dutchman and The Slave (William Morrow and Company, N.Y., 1960) are two plays which clearly indict white society.

Their tone is so similar that this quote from the Dutchman can serve as a sampling for both. The protagonist says in an anger drenched with weariness:

...Let them alone. Let them sing curses at you in code and see your filth as simple lack of style. Don't make the mistake through some irresponsible surge of Christian charity, of talking too much about the advantages of Western rationalism, or maybe they'll begin to listen. And then, maybe one day, as sure as shit, when you really believe you can "accept" them into your fold, as half-white trustees late of the subject peoples. With no more blues, except the very old ones, and not a watermelon in sight, the great missionary heart will have triumphed, and all of those ex-coons will be stand-up Western men, with eyes for clean and useful lives, sober, pious and sane, and they'll murder you. They'll murder you, and have very rational explanations. Very much like your own. They'll cut your throats, and drag you out to the edge of your cities so the flesh can fall from your bones, in sanitary isolation.

BLACK POWER

and

WHITE ORGANIZING

by Anne Braden

One of the very good effects that has come with the call for Black Power from the freedom movement is that today more people are recognizing the necessity to organize in the white community.

Some of us have been saying for a long time that this is a necessity--and to its everlasting credit, SSOC people were among those who saw this before it became a popular concept. Now there is much more general acceptance of the idea.

We have SNCC to thank for this, of course. Stokely Carmichael has been quoted as saying SNCC is not interested in saving this country, it just wants to save black people. But it may well be that if SNCC does the correct things to save black people, it will save the rest of us as a by-product.

A Call For Change

Certainly when SNCC began saying it was useless to talk about coalitions because there were no meaningful white groups to coalesce with, many white people began to see they had not been doing their homework. When SNCC told its white organizers they could not work effectively in black communities, it may have been thinking mainly of what was best for those communities. But in the process, it forced a lot of people to examine themselves and their role in the movement; at least some of them are turning to the work they should have done long ago, organizing the white community for social change.

I think this trend is moving so firmly now that we need not belabor the theory of it. We have now reached the point where we need to deal in the practicalities of how we will go about this thing

of organizing white people.

In this, I am referring mainly to organizing poor white people. Many of us have long been trying to organize middle class white people to support the freedom movement--and not totally without some breakthroughs. But we always knew that if we really wanted to create a new South, we who believed in black-white unity must also organize among the poor and disinherited whites of the South. Now for the first time in 30 years, it appears that the circumstances are ripe for doing so.

The Uncharted Road

For most of us, this is an uncharted road. This applies to the SSOC generation certainly, and also to my generation which came along in the late '40's, too late to have experience in the movements of tenant farmers and industrial workers that did reach poor white southerners in the 1930's. This means we have to learn partly by trial and experiment, and we have to expect to make some mistakes. The main point now, it seems to me, is to get this effort out of the parlor-talk stage as quickly as possible and begin to create some experiences we can learn from. In other words, let's do something--even if it turns out to be the wrong thing.

As a matter of fact, we are beginning to have a few scattered current experiences from which we can learn. SCEF had one such organizing project in East Tennessee which failed, at least for the time being, and we learned a number of things in the process. We now have pilot projects aimed at reaching poor white people in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Louisiana; we are also lending full-time

staff to a similar project initiated by people in Nashville. SSOC is making some similar efforts, as are a few other scattered groups.

It is on the basis of these experiences--admittedly limited so far--that I want to point out what I think are some of the dangers we face, and some of the necessities.

Self-Awareness

First and foremost, as we move into organizing work in white communities, I think we need to remember who we are and what we are about. Virtually all of us came out of the Negro freedom movement--that is, our lives have been shaped to a large degree by this movement. We are what we are today because we became convinced that we can never have a good society in this country (or in the world) unless white people overcome their inherent racism, and build a unity of black and white to work toward mutually important goals. In other words, our work in the white community is in large part a search for a situation in which there can be a meaningful black-white alliance.

Some might say that if this is our viewpoint, we just want to "use" these white people--that their needs are not important in themselves. I don't think this is the case at all. Certainly the inherent needs of poor white people are reason enough to organize--they, like poor black people, are ill-fed, ill-housed and lacking in opportunities for education, medical care, political expression, and dignity. But I think what we are recognizing is that these white people will never be able to solve these problems unless they find ways to unite with the black movement seeking the same things. All of southern history proves this to be the case.

Unless we are continuously aware of this basic fact and necessity--I think we can make some very serious mistakes. In many areas, white people live in their own ghettos, just as Negroes do. I can see the possibility that our organizers could become so engrossed in the problems of these neighborhoods--in the im-

mediate day-to-day issues facing the people they are working with--that they could completely forget to raise the question of the need to seek alliances in the black communities. I can see how one might work a year or so, begin to see some results in terms of community organization among whites and come to feel he has been rather successful. He could do this and yet never have raised the matter of white racism which the white people have to overcome before they can create the social changes that will really help them.

The ultimate and worst result of such organizing, although it would never be our intention, could be the formation of new white racist groups.

Toward Coalition

It was my concern over this danger that led me to write a paper for a SSOC conference last spring suggesting that any organizing in the white community should be an effort to organize white and black together. I also suggested that, where possible, work in white communities should combine the efforts of black and white organizers.

I realize now that this may not always be possible. This is not, I am convinced, because it wouldn't work in the white communities. And right here, I'd like to correct the false rumors that are circulating that the project in East Tennessee failed because it was an effort to organize black and white together. The failure of that project had absolutely nothing to do with the black-white issue. It was for other reasons that may be worth discussing sometime, but which are not pertinent at all to this particular point.

The reason a joint black-white effort may not always be possible is that more and more there is the trend for black people to want to organize their own groups and alone. Furthermore, we have found in regard to SCEF projects, that black people who want to try to work in and with white communities are few and far between.

So I am not suggesting any rigid ap-

proach. I hope it is obvious that I am not suggesting anything so mechanical as organizers ringing doorbells in white communities and opening the conversation by saying, "I'm here to talk about white supremacy and Negro-white unity and what you can do about it." This is stupidity. Any organizer worth his salt listens a long time before he talks much, and he learns to adapt his approaches to the people he is working with and to their life situations.

Combatting Racism

What I am saying is that our organizers (and here I mean movement people, not just SCEF) need to have constantly on their minds this necessity for getting at the question of racism; they need to be looking for the opportunities to make it real to the people they are working with. We all know that white supremacist attitudes change fastest not by logical argument, but when people have new experiences. We need to be on the lookout all the time for ways in which we can create those experiences for people. We need to look for the situations in which white people need the strength that can come from alliance with black people on issues of common concern. And we need to encourage them to seek these alliances.

White Responsibility

Let us face the fact that if such alliances are built in the coming period whites are going to have to seek them. Stokely Carmichael has said that integration is irrelevant when initiated by black people, and he is probably right. In any event, this attitude is spreading among black people, and in many places they are not going to take the first step toward even temporary alliances. It is time for some initiative on this to come from the white community--and a big part of our job is to help others see the necessity for it.

Another thing those of us working in white communities are going to have to realize is that in keeping this question uppermost in our minds and efforts, we will be pretty much on our own. SNCC is not likely to be coming around reminding us of it--nor are militant black people

anywhere. White people have always needed black people to nudge their consciences. From now on, we are going to have to be our own consciences, I think. This is because most militant black people won't be taking our efforts to organize poor white people very seriously. It's not that they are opposed to it; SNCC has said they want it to happen, and I think they do. But most of them don't think it is possible. So they have more important things to do. And the job of keeping the white organizing efforts on the track and geared to the goals we started with will be up to us.

The Pitfalls

There are two pitfalls I think we need to avoid.

One is the tendency to think there is some easy and painless way to combat racism in the white southerner--or in the white American anywhere. This illusion, I think, is what leads people to decide not to mention the question, to hope that unity will come someday if we don't talk about it very much. It's sort of the soft-sell approach--boiling the frog without his realizing he's being boiled.

I've been a white southerner all my life. I've seen a lot of racism, and I've seen a considerable number of people change their views. Nothing in my experience or my observation has ever led me to doubt a proposition that I consider key: that there is no easy way to get over this hump, that it must be tackled head on, that people must be confronted with the consequences of their racist views and put into a situation where they have to face the truth. Truth is painful, and people usually have to turn themselves inside out to accept it. Once they have done that, things happen. I think it's worth the pain--and the effort. Again, I'm not saying you always do this in the first conversation with somebody; it may not be a verbal approach that will work at all--it may have to be a situation where a man who has always hated Negroes suddenly knows he needs black people. But in some form, it has to be a confrontation, and it has to be painful. There is no short cut.

Continued

The other pitfall that worries me may seem to contradict the first, but I don't think it does. This is the danger of thinking most white southerners are hopeless on this question--that there is nothing that can be done about it so we should keep quiet on it if we possibly can. I've seen this attitude over and over in white organizers from the North--dating back to 20 years ago when I had some occasion to work with northern white union organizers who came South. Their present-day counterparts sometimes have the same timid approach--the feeling that race is unmentionable with the white southerner and you avoid the subject if you can.

Facts of Life

I think we who are white and southern can steer a course between these two pitfalls. We don't expect it to be easy for people to change the patterns of a lifetime. But we have more faith that it can be done. There's not a one of us in this movement who has not changed drastically from what we were when we grew up. We changed because certain experiences came into our lives. We changed not because anyone tried to protect us from the issue--or because they let it alone and figured we'd find our own way gradually if not too much was

said. Most often we changed because we were confronted with the issue dramatically and had to re-think our lives.

I think we need to stop feeling, even unconsciously, that we are something special--that we could change but others somehow don't quite have the intelligence or flexibility to do so.

I think we need an abiding faith that every white southerner is potentially in a state of flux--that he can go one way or the other--and that we have a responsibility to nudge history along just a bit by providing him with the opportunities to experience new things and think in new ways.

Keeping the Perspective

Unless this perspective is constantly in our minds, I have the fear that all our work in the white community--although it may address itself to some economic and political issues--will at best be the tinkling brass and the sounding cymbal. At worst, it could create some Frankenstein monsters that we will live to regret.

* *
 * "Anybody, at any time, may equally *
 * find himself victim or executioner." *
 * --Sartre *

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Gwendolyn Patton, 1965 student body president at Tuskegee Institute, is on the staff of the National Student Association's Southern Student Human Relations Project.

Karen Griner, class of 1970, is a student at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.

Fred Brooks, a senior at Tennessee State University, worked with CORE in Jonesboro, Louisiana in 1964-65. He has been with the North Nashville Project since its inception a year ago.

Anne Braden, a long-time worker in the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties, is associate director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, (SCEF) and editor of The Southern Patriot.

Lon Clay Hill, a native of Prestonsburg, Kentucky, has been working as a community organizer in New Orleans for the past two years.

Stokely Carmichael was elected chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee this past spring.

WHAT'S HAPPENIN'?

Tallahassee, Florida: The Tallahassee NAACP sponsored a very successful school holiday, November 28 and 29, which kept 71% and 72.6% of the county's black students out of school for Monday and Tuesday respectively. Florida State University and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University students coordinated and manned freedom schools attended by some 400 children. The FSU Young Liberals and FAMU NAACP are planning future coordinated efforts on academic issues at the two universities. Contact: Phil Mullins, 439 West College Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

Washington, D. C.: Planning is underway for a conference on radical vocations in the white community. The tentative date for the Washington meeting is the second or third week-end of February. Interested persons should contact Sue Thrasher at 1900 Florida Avenue, NW, Washington, D. C.

Atlanta, Georgia: SSOC and the NSA Southern Project co-sponsored a conference of insurgent newsletter editors on Dec. 2 and 3. To participate in the newsletter exchange program instigated by the conference, editors should send 12 copies of their publication to Bill Roberts, NSA Southern Project, 41 Exchange Place, Rm. 701, Atlanta, Georgia. A future possibility is the establishment of a southern student news service program. Write Bill for a summary of the weekend meeting.

Knoxville, Tennessee: Anne Romaine, Virginia-based SSOC staffer, coordinated a workshop at Highlander Center on Nov. 17-19 to discuss the second Southern Festival of Song to be presented in the spring of 1967. The presence of folk-singer Guy Carawan and southern poet Don West made the week-end a tremendous treat for students interested in the South's cultural history. Carawan is to be one of the performers of the Festival, a SSOC-sponsored tour that last year

gave 18 concerts and appeared in every southern state. Groups interested in hosting the 1967 Southern Festival of Song should contact Anne Romaine, 405 Altamont Street, Charlottesville, Virginia, (703) 296-8203.

Pine Bluff, Arkansas: A newly-organized group of students at Arkansas State AM&N plans to publish a supplement to the general college catalogue, evaluating courses, departments, and professors, and including an analysis of the regents and a comparison of course offering and Ph.D's with other schools and grad school requirements. The publication should be off the press in early February. The students are also making plans to begin work in the Pine Bluff community. Contact: Eugene Hunt, 3703 West Ninth Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Nashville, Tennessee: SNCC affiliates at Fisk and Tennessee State University are sponsoring a food and funds drive. Proceeds will be given to aid black people in Alabama who have suffered reprisals as a result of their participation in the November 8 elections. People are urged to contribute by sending funds and non-perishable food to John Hulett, President, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Route 1, Box 191, Bayneville, Alabama.

About 14 Nashvillians gathered Dec. 3 to discuss the spiraling cost of living and what they could do about it. A representative of a recently-formed neighborhood buying co-op told of its success. The group decided to explore similar programs and to possibly join in efforts for a major food boycott. The meeting is particularly significant when one thinks in terms of a future coalition of poor whites and blacks. The people are working in their own communities, yet were able to meet on common ground to exchange sympathies and ideas.

THE TUSKEGEE INCIDENT

(Compiled from an eyewitness report by Ernest Stephens, editor of the Black Thesis, an insurgent newsletter at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.)

On Thursday afternoon, December 8, 1966, an all-white jury acquitted Marvin Segrist, the accused slayer of Sammy Younge.

About 10:00 of that same evening, approximately 100 students met in the Tuskegee gym to propose a demonstration for the next morning in protest of the acquittal.

By midnight the group decided to turn out the campus for a demonstration that night rather than wait until the next morning. They left the gym and went around campus arousing people from their dorms. Both men and women students continued to join the group until it numbered about a thousand.

These angry folks marched downtown to the Confederate Memorial Square. After painting the statue black, a decision was made to hold another demonstration the next morning rather than hold an all-night vigil as was originally planned. Students were to be called to the gym at 9:30. Police saw everything that went on, but took no action.

The Return

Around 3:45 am the group began an order-

ly march back to campus. At some point while they were still in town one of the marchers threw a bottle through a store window. From that point, all store windows along the route were broken. No appropriation of merchandise was reported. And no arrests were made. The students arrived back on campus at 4 am.

The President Speaks

Reports of the night's activities were on local radio and T.V. the next morning. President Foster of the Institute came in and took charge of the meeting, and declared that there would be no more demonstrations or marches. (Newspaper reports claim that Foster called the meeting, but our report says that the meeting had been already planned by students.)

He expressed concern over what had taken place the night before. The President then called his own meeting to discuss the matter on Saturday, December 10. As of this writing (on December 10th) that meeting has not occurred.

Anyone who wishes to keep in close contact with the situation in Tuskegee should call or write:

Ernest Stephens

Box 657

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Phone: (205) 727-1455

GHANDIAN TOUR

Lavanam, as noted in the November New South Student, is the Assistant Secretary of India's Bhoodan Movement of land redistribution, cooperative political economy, and partyless democracy. He was an organizer of the Sevagram to Delhi March in 1961 to educate the common people to control their government. And he was the primary interpreter for the English-speaking members of the Delhi to Peking Friendship March in 1963.

A noted writer and lecturer, his writings and talks reflect the keen insight of an eloquent man whose opinions should be of programs advanced by the Bhoodan Movement.

Lavanam's tour plans are still flexible enough to allow more formal or informal visits. We urge you take note of the following schedule, and call or write the listed contacts for more information:

December

- 12 - Charlottesville, Va. (Afternoon)
Contact: Will Offeley, #13 Brandon
Avenue Apartments, Phone 296-6850.
- 12 - Victoria, Va. (Evening) - Contact:
Nathaniel Hawthorne, VSCRC, Box 79,
Kenbridge, Va., Phone: 696-2742.
- 13 - Greensboro, N.C. - Contact: Cecil
Butler, Textile Workers Union of
America, 404 State Street.
- 15- Knoxville, Tenn. - Contact: Myles
17 Horton, Highlander Center, 1625
Riverside Drive, Phone 523-4216.
- 18 - Atlanta, Ga. - Contact: Jody Pal-
mour, SSOC, 1580 Dantzler Avenue,
Apt. 2, Phone: 633-9936.
- 19 - Akin, S.C. - Contact: Jody Palmour,
1580 Dantzler Avenue, Apt 2, Atlan-

December

- ta, Ga., Phone: 633-9936.
- 20- Albany, Ga. - Contact: Jim Romberg,
- 21 S.W. Georgia Project, 534 Holloway
Avenue, Phone: 435-0152.
- 22 - Selma, Ala. - Contact: Frances X.
Walter, Interfaith Religious Pro-
ject, Tuscaloosa, Ala. Ph: 758-2301.
- 23 - Tuscaloosa, Ala. - Contact: Fran-
ces X. Walter, Interfaith Religious
Project, Tuscaloosa, Ala. Phone:
758-2301
- 24 - Nashville, Tenn. - Contact: Dick
Waddell, 1917 Belmont Boulevard,
Phone: 292-8117.
- 27- Yellow Springs, Ohio - Contact:
- 28 Antioch College Humanist Assn.,
Phone 767-7295

ROBERT THEOBALD

ADDRESSES

SSOC CHRISTMAS MEETING

The second annual SSOC Christmas seminar will be held at the Methodist Student Center of Duke University, December 19-21. The focus of the meeting, which is primarily designed for SSOC members, is the southern economy.

Robert Theobald, internationally known economist, writer and lecturer, will address the seminar on Monday, December 19.

The event will be preceded and followed by one day SSOC planning meetings. On Sunday, December 18, those interested in formulating programs for the SSOC summer camp in Buckeye Cove, North Carolina are to confer. A SSOC membership meeting will occur on December 22, following the seminar, to give direction to the staff for programs for the new year.

The agenda for the seminar will include:
Monday, December 19

South as an Underdeveloped Country
From Manual Labor to Cybernation in
the South

Agents of the Status Quo:

The Role of Yankee Capital
The Role of Organized Labor
The Role of the University

Tuesday, December 20

The Role of the Government Including
the Military

The Economics of Development, Political
and Economic Decentralization

Wednesday, December 21

Agents and Programs of Change:

Poor Whites and Blacks

The Middle Class Including Students

The Labor Movement

Governmental Programs

Strategies of Various Movements

(SNCC, SSOC, SDS, UCM, etc.)

Some additional resource persons are:

Vera Rony, writer; she is doing a history
of the labor movement in the South.

Nick Levin, student, University of Florida
who recently completed a study of
the Florida Board of Regents.

While members receive preference in
this situation where space is limited,
it is possible that we may be able to
accommodate you. If you are interested
in attending, please call the SSOC of-
fice immediately and inquire. (615) 291-
3537. The phone at Durham is (919) 286-
9230.

* * * * *

LIT LIST ADDITIONS

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Box 6403 Nashville, Tenn. 37212

Foreign Relations and Vietnam

- HOW TO INVESTIGATE WAR PROFITEERING IN YOUR COMMUNITY, Dayton Area Coordinating Committee - 5¢
- IMMIGRATION TO CANADA AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE DRAFT, San Francisco SDS - 10¢
- SELECTIVE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION, ACLU, J. de J. Pemberton, Jr. - 15¢

University Reform

- ALCORN 1966: AN INCIDENT, SSOC, 10¢
- AN END TO HISTORY, Mario Savio - 10¢
- FREEDOM PARTY PLATFORM (University Political Party) - University of Florida-5¢
- POLITICAL MEDDLING AND THE FLORIDA BOARD OF REGENTS, Al Levin - 10¢
- UNIVERSITY OF THE STATUS QUO, David Nolan - 10¢
- UNIVERSITY REFORM, FOUR AREAS OF CONCERN, Duke University Caucus - 10¢

Poverty and Economics

- MISDEAL IN APPALACHIA, Harry Caudill - 10¢
- MOBILIZE TO COPE WITH AUTOMATION - Free

Civil Rights

- CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE CLASSROOM, Kenneth Clark - 15¢
- FREEDOM SCHOOL POETRY, SNCC - \$1.50
- POWER AND RACISM, Stokely Carmichael - 5¢
- RACISM AND THE ELECTIONS, Nat'l Committee of Negro Churchmen - 5¢

Community Organizing

- JOIN COMMUNITY UNION, assorted information - 10¢

Politics

- HUAC: BULWARK OF SEGREGATION, Anne Braden, 50¢

The Movement

- ELAN, Journal of Review and Opinion and the Black Arts - 25¢
- THE MOVEMENT, A Photographic Essay, Lorraine Hansberry, SNCC - \$1.95
- SNCC TRENDS: CHALLENGE TO WHITE AMERICA, Anne Braden - 10¢

BULLETINS

TOWARD SOUTHERN NATIONALISM

Raising the banner of Southern Nationalism is both difficult and dangerous for one who advocates a New South. The Lereens, Lesters, Sheltons and Eastlands leap to the mind; lynchings, poverty, pellagra, rape, states rights--the list is seemingly interminable--compel careful attention to history....This is especially true for one who would fashion a new banner from the cloth of a region which is, in fact, led by the grandsons of Henry Grady--led to beat and kneel at the heavy door of the twentieth century.

Yet those who have the power to open that door are not desirable hosts. To much of the world, the Johnsons, Rusks, Fords, Rockefellers and Engelhards are the Wallaces of the Earth. Their house is full of napalm and missiles; their minds are filled with counter-revolution; their offering of water is polluted and tepid.

But what is a new banner if it is to become a burial sheet for a people who have fought bravely for the wrong cause? Did we learn something one hundred winters ago? Can we fight again, but for those "peculiar virtues" that are vague yet real in our souls? Must we choose the traditional weapons of warfare? Can we create a full and beautiful life for all our people, our region?

Jody Palmour and I are interested in seeking answers to these and other questions that are raised by the idea of Southern Nationalism. We will co-edit the February issue of the New South Student. If you are interested in grappling with Southern Nationalism from any side, please submit an article. The deadline is February 1, 1967, the seven-th anniversary of the Sit-In Movement.

Ed Hamlett

Dec. 10, 1966

TOM GARDNER JAILED

Dedicated peacemaker given a 30-day jail sentence for contempt of court. His crime: Refusal to stand when a judge left the courtroom.

Tom was in attendance at a hearing for another conscientious objector, Robert Steven Holmes, and was instrumental in having Holmes' trial postponed until January.

Tom is continuing the fast that he had originally begun in sympathy with Holmes.

His friends here at SSOC realize that Tom has a hard road to travel, and hope that you'll join in our efforts to make it easier for him. Please send some letters of cheer to:

Thomas N. Gardner
c/o Forsyth County Jail
Winston-Salem, N.C.

For some of you, this issue marks the beginning of a complimentary three-month subscription to the New South Student. To insure that you continue to receive the newsletter, fill out the form provided below and become a subscriber or member of SSOC.

☐ I would like to join SSOC (\$5 a year, ☐ I would like to subscribe to the \$7.50 per couple, includes newsletter) New South Student (\$3 per year)

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THE SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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