

ECUMENICAL VOLUNTEER SERVICE PROJECT
 Tougaloo Southern Christian College
 Tougaloo, Mississippi
 July 5-August 5, 1963

LEADERS' REPORT by Pharis J. Harvey

Preface. Although I have taken the responsibility for the final compilation of reports on the Tougaloo Project, what follows here reflects to the best of my ability the understanding of the whole leadership team, Thelma Sadberry, Ivory Phillips and myself. In particular, Thelma and I had time following the project to work out parts of the evaluation together, and arrived jointly at some of the ideas expressed below.

I would like to express here my deep appreciation for the quality and extent of leadership exercised by both Miss Sadberry and Mr. Phillips, as well as to the various officials of Tougaloo College, whose hearty and lengthy cooperation and inspiration made the project a meaningful experience for all the participants and of some usefulness in the whole general struggle for humanity in Mississippi which we were privileged to join for a while this summer. Particularly are we indebted to Mr. and Mrs. John Garner, Rev. and Mrs. Ed King, and Mr. Owens and Mr. Briggs of the Tougaloo College staff. President Biettel and Dean Branch also gave generously of their time and energy to make our stay pleasant and fruitful.

SECTION I -- OUTLINE OF THE PROJECT

In looking over the individual evaluation sheets of the student participants, I have again been struck by the fact that there was not one single facet of our program and life which was not mentioned by more than one person as especially meaningful. I sense that there is some significance in this, and thus feel it important to spell out in brief the kind of schedule we followed, and the content of our study and involvement.

DAILY SCHEDULE. The workcamp followed a daily order which varied little six days of each week, except in the content of the seminars. The pattern was approximately thus:

- 5:45 - awaken
- 5:15 - morning office
- 6:30 - breakfast
- 7:00 - begin work
- 10:00 - mid-morning break (ca. 20 minutes)
- 12:00 - lunch
- 12:30 - free time for study, laundry, etc.
- 4:30 - supper
- 5:00 - group seminars
- 5:15 - TV (Huntley-Brinkley Report, our link with the outside world)

7:00 - Evening programs on civil rights issues
10:00 - evening office

Morning and Evening Offices. Our worship life consisted in two brief services daily. Each person took part in the leadership of these services, on a rotating basis. The attempt was made, with varying degrees of sophistication and success, to reflect in the daily offices the concerns of the group, the rhythm of life which we led, and to give expression to our understanding of ourselves Christianly and our understanding of our task. We tried during the first week to hammer out a common order, but came up with only some guidelines for each person to adapt to his own understanding of worship when it was his turn to lead. Most of the guidelines the group developed were psychological rather than theological.

Meals. Since part of our task was to become a natural part of the Tougaloo community, we decided consciously not to eat our meals as a separate group, but to join the various tables of Tougaloo students at the cafeteria. This decision worked out fairly well throughout the month, but at times we began to bunch up, and had to call ourselves back to the discipline of scattering. Our work schedule caused us to eat lunch after most of the Tougaloo students had finished, however, which diminished somewhat our contacts with them.

During the first week, we tried to have supper as a group in an adjoining room, but the result was unnatural, and did not give us the privacy for which we had hoped, so this was abandoned after a few days.

Work. Since most of the students were not physically adjusted to working in the hot Mississippi sun for long periods it was decided to work five hours per day, six days per week. Our work consisted in a wide variety of jobs around campus, some of which we were able to do as a group, and some of which divided us into smaller units. The jobs accomplished included:

- a. razing and dismantling the parts of an old three-car garage, chopping up the concrete floor, and stacking the useable materials.
- b. felling and sawing into firewood seven large oak trees which had died on campus.
- c. assembling some 200 metal gymnasium lockers.
- d. clearing some back land of rubble from an old building foundation.
- e. pruning most of the trees on campus, and hauling away the brush.
- f. filling in two unused cisterns with rubble and concrete blocks.

In addition to the work on campus, we did the following:

- a. spent two days filling cards for new subscribers to the Mississippi Free Press.
- b. worked one day in the offices of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Greenwood, Miss.

c. assisted Rev. Tom Johnson in distributing clothing to needy families in Madison County.

Group seminars. These sessions, daily from 5:00 to 6:15, were the only times the workcampers met in reflective times by themselves. While subjects included Bible study, the topics were not limited to "religious" areas. For the most part, however, we did not use this time to talk of civil rights, since so much of our time elsewhere in the schedule was focussed in that area. Some of the topics included:

- the meaning and purpose of worship (4 sessions)
- "The Mastery of Technological Civilization" by Harry Morton
- "Contagious Humanity" by Andre Dumas
- "The Presence of Christ in our Lives" by James Blackie (these three articles are in Student World, LVI, No. 1)
- "Dialogue and Encounter" by Dr. Fred Gealy (an introduction to Bible Study)
- "Wife-weeing" by John Updike, a short story that introduced the problems of communication and personhood, particularly in the area of sexual relations
- family relationships
- inter-personal relationships in the group.

In these seminars, Bible study was undertaken from time to time, but only by way of relating Biblical insights to specific issues, rather than systematically.

Evening Programs. Almost every evening was filled with either a speaker from some aspect of the Jackson community, or participation in a mass meeting of the Negro community, a Social Science Forum on campus, or field trips. We had speakers from: the Mississippi Committee for the Civil Rights Commissions, CORE, SNCC, NAACP Legal Aid and Defense Fund; the (Negro) Board of Education of the State. We also had a series of fruitful conversations with Millsaps College students. On the whole, we were able to have contact with most aspects of Mississippi society, with the exception of die-hard segregationists. Our efforts to secure a speaker from the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission were understandably unsuccessful. Our attendance at mass meetings in Jackson, in CORE Non-Violent workshops, and at one political rally were meaningful in giving flesh and blood to the issues that were raised in the more academic setting of the seminars and forums.

Field Trips. The group was able to undertake several field trips, both to aid the movement, and to learn, as well as to enjoy ourselves. In the latter category, our opportunities were somewhat limited. At the beginning of the camp, we covenanted not to go anywhere that we could not all go, except by group decision. Thus, for outings, we were able to go only to Natchez Trace National Park, and Vicksburg National Monument, plus the Negro 4-H Camp near Canton. We also toured rural Madison County with the Rev. Mr. Tom Johnson, meeting a number of Negro farm families, and helping him distribute relief clothing for families whose participation in voting registration

attempts had brought economic hardships. Perhaps the most meaningful field trip was the day we spent in the Delta, working and discussing with leaders in the SNCC Office at Greenwood and joining in mass meetings in Greenwood, Rulesville, and Clarksdale. Another significant field trip was our visit to the Millsaps College campus. Millsaps, a white Methodist college, has a rather liberal faculty and a few students committed to the civil rights movement. Our visit as an integrated group may have helped several of these students take a more open stand on the issue than they had previously thought advisable, and because it passed without incident may have enabled them to take courage for more specific commitment later on.

Sunday Worship. Each Sunday we joined in the worship of a local congregation in Jackson, or attempted to do so. Joining as an integrated group, or presenting ourselves at the doors of churches to be admitted or turned away, not only contributed to the movement toward an Open society, but helped both the workcampers and the various congregations involved examine the Christian faith in regard to their congregational life. We worshipped together at the downtown Episcopal Church, almost without incident (a small group of old ladies jeered us after the service, but nothing else happened except a cordial but reserved welcome by the pastor and several parishioners.) We were turned away bodily by a corps of ushers, bolstered by a carload of helmeted policemen, at First Presbyterian Church, and part of our group was rejected entry to Galloway Memorial Methodist Church. We were admitted to the service at Trinity Lutheran Church one Sunday (the first integrated group to be admitted after several groups had been turned away in previous weeks) and were invited to remain for Sunday School afterward, which we did. The following Sunday, however, part of the group was barred from the same church, by a different crew of ushers. Finally, we worshipped together with the congregation of New Hope Baptist Church, the home congregation of Thelma Sadberry.

The church visits are mentioned in this manner because their most startling impact was in terms of the racial crisis in Jackson. However, the most significant aspect of the experience was certainly not the racial tension involved--which was certainly a part of it!--but the increasing JOY we found at the few opportunities that were afforded us to enter the House of God in praise and prayer, and the real sense of celebration, of thanksgiving for these high moments when we sat with other Christians in common worship.

SECTION II -- EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

Development. That the workcamp showed a development is evident from the responses in the evaluation sheets, as students discussed what it had meant in terms of their vocation understanding. Just how to chart this development is a different matter, and not so easy to do. It seems best to describe the orientation period, and then analyze the growth in the group in terms of study, intra-group relations, community relations, and involvement in civil rights.

When the group arrived in Tougaloo, most of the students were

mildly committed to the civil rights movement, and mildly aware of the need for direct action, but extremely cautious and somewhat frightened by the possibility of being directly involved themselves. By the time we left, all had taken on a new perspective, and a new commitment to participate, and to suffer if need be as a part of the movement. The orientation sessions, aimed deliberately to be a baptism by fire, succeeded in "shocking" most of the students into a hearty realization of where they were and what the stakes were in the movement of which they had somewhat unwittingly--or less than fully consciously--become a part.

The orientation, Sunday and Monday of the first week, began with introductions to the various facets of our environment--the Tougaloo campus, the college administration, the civil rights movement, the white Jackson citizen's position, etc. Monday evening the local leaders of CORE led us in a non-violent workshop, demonstrating through role play the kind of self-control to which those in the movement are called and committed. Though they were gentle with us, we were caught up in the magnitude of the task and the ideology with which they work, and confronted with the decisions about how we would respond to any situations of tension. Tuesday evening we were confronted with the possibility of direct action by a kneel-in at Galloway Memorial Methodist Church. It was decided by the group not to undertake it, at the risk of arrest. Conscious of the cost, the group decided at that point not to endanger arrest. Had the opportunity to make the same decision arisen later, we might have decided differently.

Study. We found it difficult throughout the workcamp to do Bible study. The group had a marvelous resilience to anything resembling theological language. In this I'm convinced they were not remarkable or exceptional, but rather represent well the general campus ethos of 1963. Even those with close church affiliation found it difficult to examine significantly the religious phrases they used. At the same time, however, questions of meaning and destiny, of personal relationships, guilt and anxiety, social responsibility and human development were central for them. The concepts had to be translated, however, for their 'religious' import to be seen. Or, rather, the 'religious' questions had to be translated for their existential relevance to be recognized. In this task, the Student World issue on 'secularization' was helpful, but even this had to be studied cautiously, for it slipped into a vocabulary that is suspect frequently.

Our most successful periods of study were those revolving around personal relations--sex relations, family, and intra-group relationships. Here the students found it possible to become open with each other and readily engaged in a joint probing of themselves and each other.

Intra-group Relations. Apart from the study of ourselves, there was a good growth in self-understanding that took place during the project. We had less than expected of pairing off into splinters or cliques, although natural friendships developed among various members of the group. One or two persons found it difficult to

enter any of the groups. But this fact was faced by the group toward the end of our time together in a way which was helpful, if painful, to all of us. The only person who did not come into a significant relationship with the others in the workcamp was our overseas person. This could well have been because of language difficulties, although I tend to suspect personality problems were more basic than language.

Looking back, it appears significant to me that the group continually was reminded by one of its members of the covenant of 'openness' to which we had all subscribed on the first evening. This agreement of mutual accountability and openness was kept continually before us as natural personality frictions developed, in such a way that we were required to deal with problems which we might have avoided otherwise. It is not true that we succeeded in being completely 'open' with each other, of course. But we did manage to keep fairly well aware of our short-comings.

Community relations. Briefly, those who roomed with Tougaloo students found it possible and comfortable to establish good personal relations with Tougaloo students; those who did not found it more difficult. On the whole, the group had a good rapport with the campus, I feel. Thelma's participation as a recent Tougaloo graduate contributed greatly to this, of course. But the efforts of most of the others in the group was significant also. As a whole, the girls established closer friendships than did the boys. This may be due, however, to a better rooming arrangement in the girls' dorm.

We all expressed our desire for better and more extensive relationships with other communities. This, as the group evaluation will indicate, might necessitate a different definition of the group and its task, and a different relationship to the Jackson white community. (That is, not being identified with Tougaloo would have made it possible for us to move more readily into certain closed sectors of Jackson society. Whether this would have been desirable is an open question.)

SECTION III --- GROUP EVALUATION SUMMARY

Since the group did an extensive evaluation, and most of the comments about the project which I might want to make were actually made by someone in that session, it seems advisable to summarize as fully as possible the discussions that took place August 4-5.

The evaluation began with the question: How would you define our basic or central purpose here, or our purposes if you see them as multiple? The group answered with nine statements, in this order:

1. To be of service to the college.
2. To learn about the racial situation.
3. To develop a social concern. This was amended to say, "To develop and express social concern."
4. To get to know more intimately people of other groups and races. For most of the group, this meant getting to know the Tougaloo students. For Thelma and Ivory, it meant getting

to know the members of the workcamp group intimately.

5. Through group life, to know each other and ourselves better. Someone suggested that our covenant of openness had been significant in this, so this statement was expanded after some discussion to state:

By corporate discipline in a covenant of open-ness --

--to become sensitive to each other

--to understand ourselves better

--to develop as a group committed to each other

--through the above to become able to more effectively relate to people in the community.

6. To develop an understanding of the ecumenical movement.
7. To understand the relation of worship and the rest of living.
8. To have a real fun month!
9. To grope toward an understanding of the role of the church in society.

In discussing the most significant events of the workcamp, the following were mentioned:

The personal contacts with some of the truly charismatic persons in the civil rights movement -- Jerome Smith, Dave Dennis of CORE, Mrs. Hamer, a housewife in Rulesville who has provided amazing leadership in a small rural Delta town.

The rapid and involved way in which our opening days caused us to "jump right in to deep involvement in the Movement, through the CORE workshop" in non-violence.

The morning breaks in work, spent visiting with Rev. Ed King and his wife, discussing the movement and the issues.

Some of the group seminars between 5:00 and 6:00 -- particularly the "Sexual" ones dealing with personal relations.

The Delta trip to SNCC headquarters in Greenwood.

Attendance at mass meetings of the Jackson movement.

Our own conversations about being "open" persons with each other. (Our terminology was a bit limited, but we put a few words through an awful lot of use!)

The various informal contacts with the Taugalee students and staff.

Visiting Churches--especially being admitted to worship at Trinity!

Visiting Madison County with the Johnsons, and seeing as well as meeting personally some very human and warm Mississippi Delta negro families.

Having related the events that for some or all were most significant, we tried to relate these events to the purposes we had spelled out at the beginning of the evaluation session. The first area we discussed, and that one most thoroughly, was our work. This is roughly the progress of that conversation.

"The work seems to me to have been primarily an excuse to bring us here. -- It was useful, yes, but the time might have been spent more valuably doing other things more closely related to the civil rights movements. -- What might that have been? Community service would have been more helpful. -- Perhaps, however, the work helped us to relate to the campus more realistically, while at the same time performing a service of some worth to the college. -- Yes, and the real rhythm of life was better established by the daily routine of maunā labor. The work was an expression of what real-life rhythm is like." -- "Sometimes I was disappointed because the work did not appear significant, but at other times I felt a real satisfaction at the jobs we got done." -- "There were times when the lack of something to do was demoralizing. For example, I wonder if all our work on trees was really valuable to the campus, or whether it was just 'make-work'. Constructing the lockers, yes. Chopping firewood, no." -- Making the campus beautiful through pruning all the trees was a real service. And of greater importance was our learning to contribute physically, to do the servants' job."

This conversation ended without a total consensus about the meaningfulness of our particular work, with the above-stated ideas in tensions. We then turned to a discussion about what the workcamp had taught us about the mission of the Church. This began by our trying to define the Church and its mission. The following statements were offered:

--The Church is a group of like-minded persons who gather to express their common ideals, and to gather strength to fight off 'outside agitators.'

There was a hearty consensus that this empirically described the church as we saw it in our experience in Mississippi, particularly the predominant 'white' churches. The Church seemed gripped by a pathological and pathetic fear, which is out of keeping with its true nature.

Trying to move to a more normative definition of the mission of the church, someone suggested that the church was organized group with a concern for human life, based on the belief that human life is sacred, and a respect for the individual. Brotherhood, based on God's grace expressed in Jesus Christ is somewhere at the center of its meaning. How is Jesus Christ related to the Church? It was suggested that Jesus Christ is a symbol for an understanding of life that pervaded Israel, is recorded in the Bible, and given personal meaning in his person.

We then tried to give more content to this 'symbol' by asking what we saw as the Church's mission in the situation in Mississippi to be. This was described in various ways -- as bringing about a reconciliation between persons, and between factions in the churches. It was recognized that the church is a leader in the community -- a real part of the power structure in Mississippi. How can it use its place in society to accomplish this reconciliation. The suffering of Jesus Christ offered us a clue. But how can the church suffer? An example was offered us, as someone mentioned, by the usher who at personal risk invited our group to Sunday School at Trinity Lutheran

Church following our admission to worship. The extent to which this was costly was indicated by the same man's pained inability to talk to us when a week later another group of ushers refused to allow us to worship in the same church. We had come to recognize the extent of sacrifice the seemingly insignificant movements toward open-ness and full humanity exact in the present situation.

The question was asked: "What does it mean to identify with the Negro people, to sing freedom songs, etc?" Most of us confessed to feeling uneasy at times in the too rapid identification we made with the Negroes of Mississippi. Could it be that it is too painful to identify with the white Southerner now, and therefore easier to deny our people? This question, addressed to the whites in the group by a negro member, gave us pause to consider the right we have to participate, and the manner in which our own identity is maintained while participating. The question remained unanswered in the group, although each of us was left with the need to work out for ourselves a satisfactory understanding.

This led to the question of what we would do when we left to continue the identity we had here made. We recognized it would be easy to do nothing, to rest in having participated. But it would not be easy to do this with a clear conscience, for we will all be more alert now to see problems which had been ignored before in our own communities -- housing, employment, de facto school segregation, etc.

The third major area of evaluation was the area of Vocation: What effect, if any, had the workcamp had on our understanding and intentions vocationally? In relation to the Church, Lisa--in whose home congregation are many national staff people for her denomination--indicated she would use this channel to focus concerns learned here. Bobbi indicated she intended to bring Negroes to church with her, a step she had contemplated but not done before. Others intended to find out the situation in their local congregations and work out a strategy for enlarging their vision and participation.

In relation to occupation or profession, the following statements indicated the impact of the workcamp:

Tom, heading for law school, plans to seriously consider a specialty in civil rights law. Karen plans to return to Mississippi at least for a time in social work, perhaps in adult literacy. Paul, heading for the pastoral ministry, acknowledged he generally felt more confident in wanting to work in the church, but less definite about where in the church. He wants to remain open to whatever might come along after seminary. Sharon would like to work directly with adult literacy, perhaps in Texas, her native state. Thelma, heading for social work, found the group experience helpful, broadening by contacts with people of differing backgrounds. Bobbie, heading for a foreign mission post, still plans to work in and through the church, indicated she was learning what it means to be 'reconcilers.' Diethelm indicated that he had made no changes or growth in vocational plans, but had seen many of Berlin's problems paralleled by those of Mississippi.

Lisa stated she would like to study more of the meaning of this whole crisis for America, in connection with her American Studies major, and intended to take a supervised research course in civil rights, and following graduation to work for American Friends Service Committee. Tremen, whose plans at the beginning of the workcamp alternated between teaching and business, plans not to teach. He expressed the fact that he was unsure what role the workcamp had played in this decision, but that he sees a great need. Pam said she had been given the incentive to study the variant factors in the whole situation, and was thinking ~~hazily~~ about A.F.S.C. work. Ivory indicated that the project had not changed his vocational plans (to study political science in preparation for teaching, and possible political involvement in Mississippi) but had accelerated his plans. While at Jackson State there had been no time or opportunity for involvement, but during the workcamp he had come to see more clearly the necessity of involvement.

Finally, our evaluation session turned to the future, in recommending future projects. First, in criticism of the present workcamp, the following areas were mentioned:

--transportation always a problem, either because inadequate or uncertain, or because we were overly reliant on the goodness of too many individual car-owners. -- We did not have sufficient speakers who represented the position of segregationism. Recreation was less than might have been. Some of us did not get to goom with Tougaloo students. Those who did found it a more valuable experience on campus than the others. Thus, high priority would be placing students with Tougalooian roommates. The materials did not arrive from CEVSP in time for the beginning of the camp. More responsibility could have been delegated, e.g. transportation and recreation. Speakers could have been scheduled more in advance.

(After a period of being duly defensive, I'm prepared to admit that these were areas where we could have tightened up our organization a bit.)

As far as suggestions for a like project at Tougaloo next year, the following suggestions were made. There should be more contact between the negro and white communities. It was proposed that perhaps a group more closely identified with the white community could accomplish this, and could perhaps operate out of Millsaps. Several suggestions were made along this line: The students could be "interns in industry", finding jobs in Jackson business firms for the summer (necessarily a more long-range project) and could infiltrate various churches and social groups to ferret out those individuals who might be open to the future but who now are fearful and isolated. The students could focus then on bringing these individuals together, so that the white community might begin to feel a sense of solidarity in the direction of change, or at least a few individuals could become a group.

Other long-range projects suggested were adult literacy work among negroes, or tutoring high school students, or adult literacy among predominantly white population centers. This, like the 'student interns' project, would require more than a month, at least three and

possibly six months.

In working more closely with the negro churches of the state, it was suggested that a group might conduct what were called Christian Citizenship Workshops -- a series of workshops in local churches teaching the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and the role of the church in social and political life. There also exists a need for well-staffed Bible school with both white and negro churches. The old "Caravan" projects were a model for this suggestion.

Perhaps, it was suggested, a concerted effort might be made to secure field work for the summer in southern white churches, and to enable the field workers to have some kind of discipline together. Another suggestion of this sort was that the NSCF actively recruit students to work within SNCC, consciously as Christian students.

A further proposal along the lines of the Citizenship seminars was made by Ivory, whose home is Rosedale, Miss. This was a plan to have Christian education and Theology students teach a series of workshops for pastors and laymen, teaching: "basic Christianity, the role of the Church in political life", a 'liberal' interpretation of the Bible." Since most of us were apprehensive about the feelings of Negro pastors concerning such a project, we asked Ivory how he thought it might be received. He replied that the Negro pastors want to know more in these areas, and would respond favorably. Would the Baptist ministers in the delta welcome students from other denominations? He didn't know, but said the National Baptist Church, with which many Baptist Churches in the delta are affiliated, is ecumenically-minded and would probably welcome the program. He suggested that any further inquiries be addressed to various County associations.

There also exists a need for more summer camp facilities, and a workcamp such as the present one might undertake to build or repair facilities for such. Again, the National Baptist convention officials were suggested as the persons to contact regarding such.

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On this note, the evaluation closed. I hope this recording of it may be helpful to future planners of workcamps in the deep south. That the experience was valuable to the participants has been brought vividly to me in a packet of letters just received from the various workcamps. All of the students involved speak with real feeling of the differences in their relations with persons, their sensitivity to the social issues around them, and their involvement in the civil rights struggle. One paragraph, from a letter from Jane Stenbridge, a SNCC worker with whom we had close friendship at Tougaloo, bears quoting to those who think of student involvement in the coming year(s):

I have thought about you guys a lot and wondered what you are doing -- not necessarily for the movement, but more what you are thinking and feeling. See, I am convinced that the white and Negro Christian has a greater task than ever before... not only in the church, not mainly in the church, but in speak-

in ing to the movement about reconciliation...saying that there is more to life than civil rights, more than integration, more than equal employment opportunities. There is reconciliation and, the word is not popular, there is dialogue out of which freedom can come and freedom cannot come from anything else ...

The movement is political, and it is American. That four Negro students sat in a Woolworths one day three years ago and that a movement was born, is revolutionary. The movement is not a revolution. The movement is a political phenomenon aimed at the attainment of political, socio-economic ends. Which is good and essential, which is not freedom. Plenty of intelligent, brilliant students can lead the way in politics, economics, social issues ... but not very many have or will talk about human relations: freedom, love, peace. And this seems to me to be the role of the workcampers. Maybe it is obvious to you all but I do not know whether or not you are aware of the changing nature of the movement and of the institutionalization of human dreams. When they become institutionalized (SNCC) they become nightmarish. Well, we must ~~xxxx~~ transcend movements and organizations and our goals must be bigger than a program for the years, bigger than literacy, bigger than passage of the C.R. bill and it is increasingly un-
p popular to be a reconciler. The sophisticates are annoyed with talk of dialogue ...but if we do not play to devil's advocate here, the movement will not have been a revolution and the gains will be far less than we want. One works within and through the political organizations, but one transcends. In short, the people do not now understand the difference between civil rights and freedom. It must be made evident ... subtly, clearly, immediately ...and, I suppose, forevermore.

Well, I am not telling you what to do...you are all close to the truth than I...but I am closer to the insides of the movement and can reveal its trends and failures. We, you, must infiltrate the politically oriented groups and, of these, SNCC is the most important and most influential. It also has the most fluid structure and can be redeemed.....

Jane has, it seems to me in summary, given a very thoughtful and concise statement of where Christian student strategy might well focus in the coming year or years. I commend it to you as worth considerable attention.

Sincerely,

Pharis J. Harvey, project leader
Tougaloo Workcamp
Commission for Ecumenical
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