

**CONFIDENTIAL** FOR STAFF USE**ERAP PROJECT REPORT**

JUNE 20 - JULY 1 [1964]

1100 E. WASHINGTON

REPORT FROM ANN ARBOR  
JULY 2

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Apologies to all for not bombarding the projects with the written word we have all needed during these first weeks of preparation and confusion. Shortly after the NC, I left for Washington, D.C. for several days and have returned to great stacks of unattended mail and reports. I also face, along with the others in Ann Arbor, the immediate tasks of moving (to 516 Oswego, Ann Arbor) and getting a completely new staff accustomed to the ways and pace of the ERAP life.

But morale here is high and we enter the summer with every intention not only of keeping ahead of the work you create for us, but of creating some of our own....

Washington: Report on the "Crusade Against Poverty"

On the heels of the March UAW convention held in Atlantic City, the UAW Executive Board voted a grant of 1.1 million to launch a broadly based citizens' "Crusade Against Poverty." Approximately 500 letters from Walter Reuther to union, civil rights, church, business, women's, and other groups appealed for support in this citizen's crusade and called for a "preliminary meeting" in Washington on June 23 and 24.

X The UAW backed Crusade Against Poverty (CAP) has obvious and not so obvious significance to SDS. Of obvious importance is 1.1 million, a sum expected to grow, to be made available to organizations which participate. There is every indication that if the UAW has any influence over the handling of these funds (and that seems likely!) SDS should be an important recipient. Also, CAP opens up new sources of useful contacts to SDS. At the first Washington meeting, I met dozens of representatives from organizations potentially of great assistance to our program--for their skills and knowledge as well as for their possible financial backing.

The less obvious significance of this new program (Crusade?) is also less cheerful. It has to do with the shape the program itself is likely to take--one that moves poor people into early acceptance of the old (liberal) ways, that carries education and service into the ghetto at the expense of radical politics and that considers the major significant attack on poverty to be found on the legislative front, relying essentially on the ways of the liberal coalition of the last 30 years rather than the less certain road of building a new coalition with organized Negroes and poor whites as a critical new element.

The CAP program, of course, is still undetermined and the prejudgement of

it is based primarily on the ideas expressed by those who attended the Washington meetings.

The principal constituency of CAP represents a kind of second level, micro-establishment. Names like James Carey, Margaret Mead, Mike Harrington, Harry Golden, Jack Conway, Leon Keyserling, Walter Reuther (and, of course, Paul Potter) make up the committee which will form the program to be presented to the first decision-making meeting of CAP in September. These people (except Paul, who sent his representative) were all at the Washington meeting.

The consensus at the "preliminary" Washington session was that an effective crusade against poverty in this country would require the broadest type of coalition of interests pulled together for this "great moral issue." Reuther saw a parallel between CAP and the efforts of labor unions and the churches to bring to the civil rights movement (through the March on Washington and the civil rights bill) legitimizing groups which had interests other than civil rights. The churches and labor unions kept the March on Washington from turning into an all black demonstration and it helped raise the issue of integration to a high level of morality.

The poverty-fight, it was argued, must also be raised to a high moral plane, with the broadest possible base of support.

I argued at the meeting that the people we worked with might be expected through organization to be in competition with a UAW local, eager to protect the few jobs that exist, or with a community church, unwilling to face the economic and political facts of life that would need changing in any effective crusade against poverty. The very groups represented in the CAP might not always find it comfortable supporting a program that faced squarely the radical implications of a demand for an end to poverty. I said that one of the potential pitfalls of any national coalition against poverty which was set up from above was that it would view change too narrowly, that it would not see clearly the need to get power into the hands of the politically voiceless, and that it would possibly impede a genuine movement of the poor aimed at an all-out assault on the economic and political priorities of this country.

I noted that there were no poor represented at the Washington meeting (held in the Mayflower hotel), a comment which with my others, displeased some--particularly Walter Reuther. Reuther found my remarks difficult to incorporate--to say, as he had with every other speaker, that we all agree on what needs to be done and that each organization can be brought into his grand vision. Following my comments, Reuther noted that his friend from SDS had misunderstood the intent of the CAP vision and added that when he was young, he also failed to understand such matters.

Jesus.

Staff Newsletter.

I think that all of us agree that the weekly newsletter will be of great value. Once we really get our operation in Ann Arbor functioning smoothly, we should be able to contribute to its clarity by ordering its content by subject and by pointing out where certain discussions are particularly relevant to some

projects. It will help us enormously if reports are mailed to Ann Arbor on approximately the same day from each area. I would like to ask that all reports be sent out in the Monday morning mail. However, if a project for some reason cannot get in a report on a particular Monday, it should not wait until the following week to report. Any report that comes in on any day will be immediately sent out.

I would suggest also that as we begin to develop programs and constituencies and established procedures, the detailed description of weekly happenings (which necessarily, I think, comprises the bulk of this week's report) should be briefly summarized and the emphasis of the report placed on some aspect of the project's program (research, staff education, block organization, etc)

The first public newsletter will either be mimeographed or sent to a printer (for free) on July 11 (morning), following the ERAP Committee meeting in Cleveland. Project reports for this public issue are requested, with any pictures that are available.

Every project should have someone responsible for taking pictures (of staff meetings, survey work, community meetings, of the office, of demonstrations, etc) The single factor that holds up brochures, posters and pamphlets on ERAP is that there exists virtually no photographs of activity. Please help.

Reporter: Rennie Davis

JUNE 30, 1966

# REPORT: NEWARK PROJECT

## 716 BERGEN

### Background

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The Newark project for jobs, income, freedom and stop signs is underway. We have spent most of the first week setting up the project and becoming familiar with the Clinton Hill neighborhood and Newark generally. Clinton Hill is an inter-racial community (65% Negro, 25% white, 10% Puerto Rican) that ranges from lower to middle class incomes and values. It is the area of Newark that has received most of the urban renewal migrants. Therefore the area is in flux (this flux being characterized by the appearance of great numbers of transient, lower class, tenants, and a preponderance of unskilled workers and high unemployment. The housing situation in Newark is very bad. Rents are very high and the Housing Commission is known for its graft. Schools are overcrowded and recreational facilities nil. A part of the Clinton Hill neighborhood has been designated as a blight area for destruction, because the city wants to replace the houses with a light industrial park. This would not only cause inconvenience to residents, but would result in less jobs because the new factories would be almost totally automated.

Connecting urban  
renewal +  
exploration

### The Newark Committee for Full Employment

The Newark Committee for Full Employment (NCFE) appointed one of their members, Warren Grover, as the Executive Director of the entire project. He works on general fund-raising and contact making among community big-wigs. Whenever possible he is brought into staff meetings to participate in the consensus process, but that isn't always possible.

### Parsnips

One influential resident of the Clinton Hill area, Stan Winters, who is a member of the NCFE, is planning to run for the city council in May of 1966. Although he has taught the project a great deal about Newark, the fact that he planned a private political confab on the night of a project office open house drew attention to the relationship between him and the project. Two project members talked directly with him and the air was cleared considerably.

Here the question is "shall there be any political involvement of any sort, reform, third party, or any other?" The question is "At what stage can an ERAP project safely enter into political action, and have we in Newark reached that stage?" While this is not entirely independent of the type of activity considered there is an important degree of independence, which is discussed immediately here. It is our feeling, for instance, that it would be premature to enter into any political direct work at this early stage of the project. The reason for that is the simple lack of base which WE have in the community. Winters may well have sufficient friends and base to form an independent political group (not a third party), but our immediate alignment with it would hamper our capacity to develop our own base, and constrain our activity from other means of organizing. We will not ignore the Winters group and may well agree with its statements entirely, but feel it too early to become very directly involved. Again it should be noted that this decision does not touch the question of the nature of the new political group at all. That matter becomes

important only when we have developed our own base and then have some freedom of choice and power in any possible coalition drawn with local politics.

#### Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council

Having ruled out politics as an immediate target of energy, there remains the matter of a positive decision. Since we are working with a long-established group, the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council (CHNC), we are again constrained. Here the problem is not lack of base, but connection with a base which has certain "Traditional" issues and methods. Because of the internal structure of the SDS-CHNC-NCFE coalition, we are organizing block branches of the Neighborhood Council, rather than building an organization from the bottom to the top anew. The coalition was entered to gain a foothold immediately, resulting in at least 1) a diversion from employment into such issues as tree pruning and street lighting, derelict housing, and others (a diversion which may have been necessary were we working alone, but one which does substantively draw down our resources for direct work with unemployed.) While there will be an employment committee of CHNC, it will probably be best to work outside of that newly created arm of the Council, since our independent activity will in this instance not be in direct competition with the Council. (Since we would be organizing the Council committee from the beginning anyway.)

2. Association with home-owners and small businessmen concerned with property value, of all things to be concerned about. There is a lot of concern by tenants about rent and keeping apartments up to livable conditions, but the present composition of the CHNC makes it virtually impossible to mount a solid attack on slum-lords for the time being.

3) an alienation of certain community people who have an axe to grind with the Council, but might not with us - sometimes because the alienation is a result of simple personality conflict. This is not so great a problem, since most of these people are split off because the CHNC took a moderately militant stand against urban renewal, so that people we are "losing" in many cases aren't worth having. In this regard, something like the CHNC, which has become increasingly radical in its demands (still not very good), has acted like a sifter for a lot of people, especially ministers, who have been tested, have failed, and we needn't waste time with them. The idea eventually is to purge the Council of reactionary tendencies by bringing in the more progressive and far-sighted elements of the community; engaging in radical programs and scaring off the reactionaries. This means that the vast bulk of the Council will eventually have to be turned over. The interrelations and mechanisms of developing radical program and action under the aegis of a non-radical group is a major experimental matter, the workings of which are not clear to us. But it has to happen.

As a result of the background given above we have centered our activities on building block organizations and drawing unemployed directly into the project office.

#### Block Organization

*strategy*  
We have decided to begin our block organization in teams of two and we spent the first few days making contacts and meeting people on the blocks. Technique in talking to people is to mention the connection with the Council in passing unless really pressed, and then to stress our own work. This seems to afford the positive value of being able to say in the very beginning that there is a connection with some existing structure (good especially in the cases where the people talked to have never heard of the Council), yet also it affords our differentiation from the Council.

organizing tactics

We have found it extremely useful to approach people with a leaflet asking them to attend a meeting, mass or small, or some specific demonstration, rather than working up interest through general talk or perhaps even a survey. (We haven't yet used a survey.)

### Office

We had our first office problem and somehow we solved it. For a few days a number of young boys (ages 8-12) were coming in the office to talk and play. This seemed great at first, but it soon became evident that it had its liabilities. When asked to quiet down or leave for a while the boys refused and became nasty. We finally decided (after threats of broken windows) that we would concentrate on the more mature members of the community. By presenting a "business-like" atmosphere in the office the younger boys no longer wanted to hang out here, but they still stop in to say hello and talk occasionally.

### Research

We have made research assignments which include becoming an expert in the designated areas and maintaining a file including reports on the various areas. The areas for research are as follows: Unions, Urban renewal, Employment, Police, Lawyers, Crime, Rackets, Politics, Housing, Welfare, Social Security, Public Health, Civil Rights, Business and banking, Civic and neighborhood groups, Schools, Youth, Recreation, Taxes, Economic structure, Puerto Ricans, and the New Jersey Constitution.

### Fund-Raising

On June 22 a representative of the project went to New Brunswick (Rutgers) to address the IUE summer school leadership training session. Aside from \$50 payment, the talk resulted in no direct funds. But there was interest expressed from many about the projects in other cities on the East Coast.

labor

In Newark we are working with Al Fleming and Herb Levine, both of the Rutgers Labor Education Center. They are working to dredge up trade union men in the Clinton Hill area who might be approached to help organize the unemployed, either as a union function or better as a community project directly for and with ERAP. That still has to develop further.

As a last reminder, don't ever go to a trade union meeting with a pack of Camels in your pocket. They are scab cigarettes, and the whole affair can be grizzly.

### The First Demonstration - a late report

demonstration as strategy

In an effort to respond to the immediate needs of the residents of the Clinton Hill area and to establish a good reputation as an action group, the Newark project sponsored a demonstration on Monday evening, June 29. Over 1500 flyers announcing the picket headlined a quote from a precinct policeman - "There is no law for your kind of people." This statement, and additional rudeness and vulgarity addressed to a group of residents that were asking the cops to better serve the needs of the block, created a small incident from which the demonstration sprung. The ten demands of the demonstrators included the removal of cop cars from sidewalks, stop signs on the block, and assistance in setting up a 9-5 playstreet nearby. Over 95 people picketed the police station Monday evening and over 200 people attended the mass meeting held later.

children: recreation + safety  
cops

# REPORT FROM CHESTER

342 ULRICH STREET

CHESTER, PA.

JUNE 17-29

The Chester Project has been slow getting started for a number of reasons. First, only four of our present ten members were present at the training institute, and we had decided at that time to discuss only the history of the movement in Chester and the present condition of the city and the movement; we decided to wait until the entire project was assembled in Chester to make any decisions about the internal structure of the project (finances, decision-making, allocation of responsibilities). Thus we had to spend a lot of time during the first few days making the decisions that most other projects had made in the enviable seclusion of Pine Hill. We found it very difficult to make these decisions while we were actually in Chester and facing demands upon us by the community; those few days at Pine Hill would have been invaluable to us.

The second difficulty we faced was a practical one of housing. We had arranged previous to our arrival for a local Negro to rent a house for us, since no landlord would rent a house to anyone like us. However, the arrangements fell through, for reasons I'm not sure of, so we were homeless for the first night. Don Jackson, a Negro member of the project and a resident of Chester except when he is at school, was able to rent a house for us on our second day, but it hadn't been lived in for a year, and we had no beds, cooking utensils, or clean appliances. The Negro population of Chester was generous in lending us practically everything we needed for the house, but making the place liveable was still a major operation.

The third difficulty was a demand made upon us by the movement. The trials of 262 demonstrators arrested throughout the spring were scheduled to begin June 29 (they have since been postponed), and it was necessary that all those arrested be contacted to sign legal papers. We were conscripted immediately for the necessary house-to-house work, and upon finishing the first set of papers, we were told that another set of papers had to be signed. There were deadlines on both of these requests, and the work probably wouldn't have gotten done if we had not done it. The three days that it took, however, while delaying the beginning of organizing work by the project, did provide an opportunity for project members to gain experience in talking with members of the community, particularly those who are most active in the movement.

The fourth difficulty we faced occurred because of the people who were attracted to the project. Most people in the movement know we are here, and I previously mentioned the great amount of help we have received from them, and from a few individuals in particular. However, there were a number of people who immediately latched on to the project as a major part of their lives. The little children in the neighborhood we took care of by house rules, but three young men about 19 were not so easily dealt with. None of the three command respect in the Negro community, and it was evident that hanging around the project house, even to the point of eating three meals a day, satisfied some personal needs they had. Two of them we took care of rather abruptly, and they haven't been seen since. But the third, a 17-year-old boy whom we at Swarthmore had known previously in the movement, was a much bigger problem. He sincerely wanted to be a part of the project and devote all of his time to working in the movement. On the surface this

appears to be exactly what we would hope for, but Ray's desire to work with us was chiefly the result of his personal attachment to us, and not any agreement with what we are trying to accomplish politically. At first we thought we could solve the problem by just saying he could work with us, but could not come to the project meetings for a while. But he pressed for some sort of ultimate acceptance into the group, and it was evident that our tentative acceptance was not enough. We finally decided that he would not become a member of the project, for two reasons: first, though we all liked him very much, we realized that Ray had no skills to bring to the project, not even a good position in the community; and second, we felt that there was a real security risk in accepting as co-worker and confidant a person whose attachment to us was not based upon agreement with our political program, but rather upon his like, or need, for us. If his like or need for us should diminish, even for a little while, we felt we had no assurance that he wouldn't blurt out something disastrous to our position here - e. g. a criticism of leadership. We decided to encourage Ray to work with us as a member of the community, perhaps in a block organization, but not as a member of the project, and to go to summer school, which he has decided to do. This was a very difficult decision, and almost immobilized the project for two days because of the emotional attachments we all had, but everyone agrees that we did the best thing for us and for Ray, even though he was very hurt.

The position of the Project in the movement in Chester has been difficult to define, and has caused us some trying moments already. We knew how the cops and white townspeople would react to us, and have prepared for that (three of us were "dispersed" by a cop and his police dog on the first day Chester used dogs). But our relation to different elements within the movement have caused us much more trouble. The NAA can be written off from the start, as can the churches. CFFN and Stanley Branche are the movement in Chester, and on our second day here Stanley and I agreed that the Project would not be "under the banner" of CFFN. In announcing this the next day to the CFFN executive committee, Stanley changed it a little - we were now working "for" CFFN, and not for SDS. This was still OK, for Chester is too small, and we are too much outsiders, for us to become the base of organizers for a movement separate from CFFN.

Another development on our second day here was our attendance at the second meeting of a high school and college age group of Negroes who have been dedicated to the movement for years, and who are known to all of us at Swarthmore. Their program for the summer is to be block organization (they are very naive) and voter registration (to oust the Republican machine). They will disband at the end of the summer, and last summer there same people worked in the same way and had the most fraternal relations with CFFN, which was just a skeleton at the time, and actually owes much to the Young Adult Council. I was very encouraged by the possibility of working on organizing with these guys - we had previously had conflicts with them very similar to the conflicts between SDS and NSM; I.E. they resented our know-it-all white student attitude, whether or not such an attitude existed. Donald Jackson, a member of our project who is a Negro and from Chester, was elected secretary of the organization, and at the meeting after this first one, two of our project members became co-chairmen of the voter registration and block organization committees.

Another group we wanted to work with was the community of Puerto Ricans, where a block organization had been started and maintained during the spring of this year. The Puerto Ricans had met with Ofelio Morales,



Jessie Gray's Puerto Rican organizer for the rent strike, and they had expressed much interest in an office and a permanent movement. We contacted the leader of the old block organization immediately upon our arrival in Chester, for he had previously expressed his dependence on the summer project for help. We plan to have two project members who speak Spanish live in the Puerto Rican community.

Besides the movement per se (CFFN and Young Adult Council) and the Puerto Ricans, we also want to work with the other groups who are potential members of an alliance to defeat the McClure machine - labor unions, church people, and the Democratic Party. Contact with these people has been very successful - a Philadelphia CORE member wants to see the same coalition, and the county Democratic party was just recently united behind a chairman who seems sincerely interested in ousting McClure. The students in the movement in Chester are seen as the workers in the community to bring about the registration and political education necessary for this reform. Labor and the Democratic Party see the Young Adult Council as the third prong of the reform movement; evidently Stanley had been approached, but was cool to the idea. Several prominent members of CFFN also are working in this area, and one of them had opened an office to carry on activities. Though CFFN is not formally committed to these beginnings of a coalition, developments so far are very encouraging.

In addition to solving the problems outlined at the beginning of this report, and making the contacts with the groups mentioned above, we have spent about five days doing research on land ownership, housing conditions, and law in preparation for organizing for the rent strike which has been proclaimed, but which has attracted only about five participants so far, chiefly because of its completely spontaneous nature - no one is working on it at all, except to put signs up in the windows of the CFFN office. We have also investigated all the services which the city and state offer to citizens, for on our third day here the formation of the "Greater Chester Movement" was announced - a Scranton-sponsored move at buying off the movement, a move which has the support of everyone who is big in the city - mayor, educational leaders, etc. - as well as all the state welfare machinery. Stanley has come out in favor of using all the services offered (manpower re-training, etc.), and the GCM has adopted our rhetoric of "block organizations" and "Grass roots." Wop

I mentioned before that our relations to the different elements in the movement had proved a problem. On June 26 Stanley had his secretary call me to say that we were no longer affiliated with CFFN. She was very noncommittal, but did say that I could come down to the office to talk with Stanley. He asked me what our affiliation with the Young Adult Council was, and I told him that they wanted to do what Stanley and I had wanted to do (block organization), so we were working with them on it. He said that was not OK, that different organizations had different programs, and that we on the project had to definitely commit ourselves to an organization, or operate by ourselves. He was not angry, and didn't mention at all that we should leave - he seemed to think it was perfectly possible for us to do whatever we wanted separate from CFFN. However, he mentioned the issue of "protection", which he had mentioned the first time I talked with him. He said he wanted to know if he should feel responsible for protecting us, or whether we would be on our own. Pressure, though nicely put. I told him that we wanted definitely to work with CFFN, that we were not a separate group in the community. He made no demands about our YAC affiliation, though

we will have to make it clear where our first loyalty lies (Stanley demanded that the whole project demonstrate that night, a demand which we met, but which conflicted with the project's decision that only one man and one woman should demonstrate because of the possibility of arrest.)

Evidently Stanley is worried about any groups doing things separate from CFFN. He has been very hard on YAC, in addition to his conflict with us. We as students are no longer essential to the existence of the movement in Chester, and Stanley is somewhat fearful of our existing as a separate group which meets together and works to carry out a program. He wants us to tell him of all our plans, and work them out with him. He also wanted everyone to check by the CFFN office every day, but we have scaled that down to one person each day. It is our feeling that the work we want to do should be part of CFFN's program because of the greater effect we could have working in that manner than if we attempted to operate as a separate force. This means a lot of top-level maneuvering with Stanley and company to obtain the sanction for what we want to do. There are problems with this: first, all the time that we are crapping around getting CFFN to say we can organize in an area is taken away from the time we could be organizing, and all the time someone is crapping around the office he could be out working where people are really reached by a movement; and second, at the moment I am the only person on the project with whom Stanley will do all that wrangling, which is bad. We on the project have decided that other members besides me will be introduced to working with Stanley.

One problem we face right now: on June 25 the FBI and the State of Pennsylvania announced that their investigations had turned up no evidence of police brutality in Chester, and the movement is presently engaged in a series of demonstrations in protest of this decision. This emphasis means that the rent strike is not CFFN's primary concern, and I am sure that conflicts will arise. Puerto Rican organizing and the building of an anti-McClure coalition are also not seen as primary concerns by CFFN, and will not be until they appear as sources of power at least equal to the power that is to be had by demonstrating in protest to police brutality. They won't appear as sources of power until we have actually done the organizing in those areas, and the finagling which is necessary to get permission to do this organizing as a part of CFFN's program is very frustrating.

On June 28 the Philly and Trenton projects met with the Chester projects for a day at the beach, and a difference of opinion developed as to whether we should use the day as a vacation or use it to discuss our problems. Both needs were felt, but fun received the most attention.

Reporter: Vernon Grizzard