

October 12-19 [1967]

1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor

THE WEEKLY ERAP REPORT IS NOW BEING SENT TO A LITTLE OVER 100 PEOPLE. WHILE IT CONTAINS PRIMARILY SHORT STATEMENTS FROM COMMUNITY PROJECTS, IT IS ALSO OPEN TO ARTICLES TO ANY LENGTH THAT ARE RELATED TO THE ON-GOING DISCUSSION OF THE KIND OF MOVEMENT WE ARE TRYING TO BUILD

Ann Arbor Report
Rennie Davis

(1) Virtually every project staff has been consulted about the planned ERAP meeting in October and everyone whom I have talked with has indicated that the original October date should be changed. People feel there have been too many meetings and that longer periods of time must be spent in the communities. The proposed date for the next meeting is November 13-15. Any member of the ERAP Committee who would like another date considered should contact the ERAP office immediately. If any substantial number want it changed, we'll send out a ballot with several dates for selection.

At the Philadelphia ERAP meeting, the Committee indicated that the next site should be between Pittsburg and Oberlin. Investigation has shown that the fewest total number of miles are involved when people travel to Cleveland. However, it may be less inconvenient for the mid-West people to travel to Pittsburg than for eastern project people to come to Cleveland or Oberlin. I am asking SPAC to see if a place can be found in Pittsburg. Anyone who has other suggestions should contact the ERAP office immediately. If we have no possibilities by November 1, we will make arrangements in Cleveland or Oberlin.

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For the November meeting, I would suggest a four part agenda, which I will soon mimeograph and send out:

- (a) ERAP Administrative Report
- (b) Discussion of project expansion for the summer period. This would be essentially a political-strategic discussion of constituencies, issues and the locus of power in the economy. We would draw from such a discussion general criteria for locating projects beginning in June. I would urge staff people and others with a clear point of view to prepare a written statement for the meeting. In particular, I would like to see the Newark, Cleveland and Philadelphia people prepare papers on developing state-wide programs in their areas.
- (c) Discussion of the December community conference--(a) agreement on the agenda; (b) decision on who should attend; (c) transportation and other arrangements. Hopefully, a number of community people will be attending the November meeting and will participate in this discussion. Under separate cover, I am sending each project

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a number of tentative agenda's for the December meeting which are to be discussed in community gatherings. Emphasize that the agenda is tentative. We welcome suggestions for change. (A copy of the fund raising prospectus along with the agenda are attached to the newsletter).

(a) Informal discussion of project activity and problems.

(2) Newsletter. If we are to get out the ERAP newsletter on a regular basis, weekly project reports must arrive in Ann Arbor on Wednesday morning. Thus, reports should be in the mail Monday morning. Please try harder. (Baltimore!)

(3) Available Car. Todd Gitlin has given his car to ERAP (the black Chevy, God bless it.) It actually runs. Projects which need another car should send the ERAP office a short statement about their transportation needs. I think we can probably get agreement as to where the car should go on the basis of need if we send each others' statements around. If not, the ERAP Committee can decide (unless the projects requesting cars want the ERAP Director to make a decision, so the car can be used before mid-November.)

(4) Available Staff. A number of applications have come in for community work, beginning in January or so on. And we have a good possibility of hiring two new staff members within the week--Stevie Schwinn from Smith College and Mike McClatchey from the University of Michigan. Both are convinced they should leave school from something important (terrific!) I will stay in close touch with all projects as new people become available. I mention this here because people should know that there are hopeful signs that some of our staff shortages will be eased.

(5) Project Reports. We get requests for summer project reports every day. Thus far, we have received reports from Trenton and Newark. Nothing else. Please finish and send--now.

(6) Ypsilanti. The VOICE community organizing project has been at work for about four weeks. Fifteen people have been attending meetings, going into Ypsi, and doing research for the project on a fairly regular basis. Initially, the project was involved in a voter registration drive aimed at getting a large number of "outsiders" into the community without arousing too much suspicion and bringing people together into anti-Goldwater committees which could later shift to other issues and activity. On initial contact, project workers interested people in voter registration, Johnson and local issues. We saw this work as essentially a way to survey community attitudes and to learn about conditions.

While most of the project was involved in door-to-door conversations, several people, by the second week, were into more systematic research--concentrating on urban renewal, the welfare system, public housing and their relation to the public-private power structure.

Ypsilanti Project

Our canvassing along with the research is providing us with a fair picture of the town and has already suggested three possible areas for organizing work.

One area of concentration will be in the South side of Ypsilanti (Negro) which is designated for urban renewal. An indigenous group in the neighborhood--the Property Owners' Association (the name is worse than Chester's Citizens United for Self-Help)--has already developed an amazing web of relations among people who will fight urban renewal. Over 500 people who will loose their home are members of the organization. With only a few exceptions (the obvious Toms), those members are committed to holding onto their homes when the city offers to buy. Their hope is that Washington won't cooperate with a city program that has no support from the people directly effected.

The organization has good leadership. No middle class types are prominent in it. The leader, Maddie Dorsey, is quite articulate and perceptive and enthusiastically welcomes us, praising the participation and courage of "young people" in social movements. She and others we've met in the organization will almost certainly come to the Cleveland December meeting. Maddie is greatly interested in the work of other groups fighting urban renewal. She sees the fight as having national implications. She is particularly interested in learning more about the Newark Community Union.

The second area we will work in is also Negro. Preliminary surveys indicate an enormous set of grievances among people in a low-rent public housing project--"rigid rules," rents which go up as one gets a job or an increase in pay, open doors to anyone who wants to inspect, etc. Our work here will be to attempt a tenants' council similar to Cleveland's and Philadelphia's.

The third area is in a white community where 56 homes will be torn down for a hospital. The hospital is desirable, but it seems that the new building which is planned could be built in an area where an older hospital is flanked by an open field. The place where they intend to build is directly across the street from the old hospital. The field is not being used apparently because a private developer is planning to construct an expensive apartment house on this site. Seven people have expressed a desire to meet to discuss the problem. Though our information on this situation is still incomplete, the similarity of this situation with that in the urban renewal area suggests the potential for an alliance between the two groups if the latter one does in fact form.

The original conception of the project was that we would work almost entirely with poor whites in Ypsilanti. We have found little that could be developed among poor whites in the area, primarily because they are extremely scattered throughout the city. However, on the North West border of the town, in the township itself, there exists a community of poor whites, most of them recently from the South, which we will be investigating in future weeks.

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HAZARD

A letter from Art Gorson to Rennie Davis:

October 7, 1964

Rennie:

Last night (October 6th) at 2:00 a.m. about 10 shots from a high power rifle were fired into the home of Jason Combs, Appalachian Committee for Full Employment Vice Chairman. Jason and his wife were sleeping and several shots narrowly missed them. There was heavy damage to the front part of the house.

At 3:00 a.m. more than ten shots were fired into the ACFE/CIM office in downtown Hazard. The shots shattered the front windows and caused heavy damage to the office equipment and furniture.

As you may note from our last memo, we are asking the Justice Department for a full investigation of the situation in Hazard. In addition we are asking for protection for CFM and ACFE organizers in the area. It would be quite helpful if ERAP people could write or send telegrams to the Justice Department supporting our demands.

I will send you more information when the smoke clears.

Peace,
Art Gorson

P.S. Jason called the State police to ask for protection and an investigation into the shooting at about 2:15 a.m. They took no action!

Roman's retrial on trumped-up conspiracy charges is set for October 14th in Lexington.

NEWARK REPORT

As most of you know both Harriet Stulman and Barry Kalish will not be continuing as part of the Newark staff, for unavoidable personal reasons. This leaves us in a bind, as we were counting on four round-the-clock workers to pick up on the summer's work. We will have to tighten the organization up considerably, perhaps have blocks meet less regularly while keeping the Program Committee functioning on a weekly basis. We have started a weekly newsletter with an initial circulation of 300, as another form of keeping up contact. No doubt we can still be an effective organization, build greater morale and perspective into the solid core people we need, develop together a comprehensive program outlook and take various important actions on issues. However, we are convinced that great growth possibilities are going to be retarded severely by the lack of staff. To avoid a leadership freeze, and to constantly replenish the ranks, to build a mass organization in Clinton Hill, and to keep up the numerous fruitful contacts we've made across Jersey, we need people right away. In the last week we've taken a few corrective steps: (1) Norman Fruchter will be working one day a week, probably coordinating surveys of housing conditions; (2) one community person, Terry Jefferson, seems able to join the staff full-time without pay, in the next few days (we're crossing our fingers); (3) through the student organizations at Rutgers-downtown, which we've begun contact with, we may find a handful of students to help on weekends or some weekdays; (4) we're going to Smith, the NSM fall conference, and a couple of liberal groups in NY city, to speak and look for someone who can be brought in right away.

Our principal need is for an all-purpose person, able to organize blocks, politic with other organizations, perform technical-manual work, etc--of course. Naturally, however, we would be relieved immensely by the arrival of any competent, hard-working person who can or wants to perform in only one of these ways--researcher, office administrator or whatever.

We're essentially hoping for special attention from ERAP, because it seems as though we're more understaffed than any project with similar activity (maybe Chicago is as short, we're not clear). We're not asking for someone to leave their present city and come here, unless there's someone who's quite dissatisfied or a group which thinks there should be a switch of staff personnel. It is more a case of our asking for all of you to keep us particularly in mind as you come across people who want to join project staffs.

We trust you're getting our little newsletter which keeps you up on current events around here weekly. For more analysis, we've written a summer report which is in Ann Arbor and should get around to you as soon as possible.

In the absence of an October ERAP meeting, which we feel the need for, we spent part of last weekend at Swarthmore with the Chester and Philly staffs and SIAC people. Merely political discussions of a relaxed but thorough sort took place.

Tom and Carl, Inc.
Magic Troupe, skilled in sleight-of-hand

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CHESTER REPORT

Urban renewal may be the issue in Chester, but moving the people on it seems to present a problem. Our called rally netted only two people on October 5. It may not be indicative of anything more than a failure of SPAC, organizers, and block people to fulfill their responsibilities. One whole urban renewal area was supposed to be leafleted, plus the entire area around where the rally was to take place. But the work was never done. Moreover, leafletting was suppose to occur in conjunction with at least five minutes of conversation with each leaflettee.

It's impossible at this point to determine if mass movement in conjunction with our organization is possible. Without mass action, we either won't be able to defeat urban renewal or clever new tactics will have to be thought of.

We have regained contact with many workers from CFFN. This is for several reasons. (1) Stanley Branche has not been active, at least he is temporarily immobilized by his wife who is pregnant and cannot work, forcing Stanley to get a job, (2) CFFN has had little program recently. (3) People in CFFN want to work. In the past month, since Stanley has been inactive, there have been several meetings of the hard core of CFFN, about 10 people. They have set up an urban renewal committee. That committee has decided to become an independent anti-urban renewal group in order to fight urban renewal with the United Citizens for Self-Help. It is possible that UCS may want to dissolve its urban renewal committee to merge forces with the CFFN group.

We are still doing groundwork for a JOIN type organization, and have started to tap the DPA constituency as a single issue group. Deb Volente, we will develop several single issue groups with overlapping concerns. We had hoped that the net for these new groups could be the urban renewal issue, but we're not certain now. They might have to be developed completely independently, with overlapping membership as the interlocking force. Perhaps this concern with 'interlocking' is unnecessary at this time.

In the last two weeks the project has been operating at a slow pace. No new organization has been created, as the organizers have been primarily involved in discussions about future direction.

One final note that may send ripples of anxiety throughout the organization-- there has been another marriage. Don Jackson has married Mary Stoddard. Though Mary and Don will live on another side of town, Don will continue to work in the project. Mary will probably help organize school mothers with Ruth Sephes from Chester. She may also help to keep Don alive with her salary from a job in Philadelphia. Bless women everywhere.

CHICAGO REPORT

This week has been a rather busy one for the JOIN project in Chicago. This has been for several reasons. First, we have been discussing the goals of the project to see what our program should be for the coming Winter. The issue of expanding our base from the unemployed to what we have been calling the working class as a whole has been kicked around quite a bit and is yet unresolved. We have decided to use more door to door anti-Goldwater campaigning as means of putting us in contact with people who may be interested in JOIN. Finally, we have been discussing JOIN's relationship to the Freedom Democratic Clubs in Illinois under the assumption that something viable will come out of the convention they are holding Friday, Saturday and Sunday (Oct 9, 10, 11). As it stands right now, the FDC is primarily a Negro organization inspired by the Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi. The leadership is quite interested in enlarging the white membership and there is the possibility that the FDC may eventually develop into a reform movement in Illinois. JOIN has been asked to participate in the convention. The staff and several of the people in the JOIN committees are going to attend.

Academically we have been discussing what JOIN's role should be in the FDC. We have decided that JOIN should definitely remain a separate organization. There have been differing opinions about the role of JOIN in helping the FDC's organize. Some feel we should let them organize themselves and then try to influence them with our organization. Others feel we should organize the people we contact into an FDC of their own. There are advantages and disadvantages to both and the results of the convention should help us to see our role more clearly.

As usual money problems plague us so we are again attempting to raise money to keep the project alive. Selling apples just doesn't do it.

Most of this time we have been helping two new staff members move into our apartment. They are Glen and Ann Thureson and their daughter, Sarah. This addition of staff is greatly needed since we are badly understaffed. Now that they have moved in, our apartment is beginning to take on an air of permanence which is a great boost to morale.

Last Sunday, we sold apples at the Pete Seegar concert in Chicago. We did this both to get publicity for what we are trying to do and to put us in contact with the liberal sort of people who attend Pete Seegar concerts. We sold about a hundred apples and made about \$32.00.

We have divided the 48th ward in which we are working into three sections, each section to be manned by one staff member. Starting Monday, we will begin anti-Goldwater campaigning in these areas.

We had a meeting Tuesday of all the active SDS-niks in the Chicago area to discuss most of the problems outlined above. These meetings will now be held every Tuesday night to help us analyze what we are doing and to decide what we should be doing. These meetings will also provide an opportunity for the ERAP staff to discuss what other SDS people are doing in the area.

There was a meeting of the Albany Park Committee last Wednesday which, in view of the fact that only six people attended, was a good meeting. There was much discussion and disagreement over the issues which we hope will get the members of the committee more involved.

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CLEVELAND

REPORT

Sept. 28 - Oct. 4

This week was one of those weeks. Space makes it difficult to do much more than list the more important activities:

TRAVEL

Carol, Paul and Ken spent the first three days of the week in Washington with Rennie fundraising and establishing contacts within the agencies dealing with the War on Poverty. In actual money the take was quite low, only \$50, but the possibilities ranging from a \$50 pledge through setting up a fund raising party for post election to federal research or action money all appeared fairly good. In the latter area much more work and thinking must be done. The overriding question is whether or not we wish to become entangled with the federal system and if so on what terms. Perhaps the most interesting discovery was the number of fairly highups who warned us of the dangers of federal money but then talked of ways of getting it virtually under the table.

Paul left late Thursday for a four or five day trip through the south to talk to SNCC and take part in a SSOC meeting. More when he returns.

FUND RAISING

Apart from what was mentioned above, fund raising work proved quite fruitful. A visit and a dinner resulted in \$110 in cash and a \$5/month pledge. Perhaps more important, a number of adults expressed real interest in doing personal fundraising for us. The financial scene was further brightened by Dave beginning a two day a week 9 p.m. to 9 a.m. job and sharply increased button sales (i.e. disposing of 400 of the 1500 that Clark has sold!).

AGIT-CORP

The latter part of the week in the liberal-radical community of Cleveland has been quite busy. Churches, civil rights groups, CCP, CUF/W and other organizations joined forces this week to stop the city establishment's War on Poverty program before it was approved in Washington. Objections centered around an unrepresentative board of directors (corporation), inadequate program and lack of involvement of the poor. Various strings were pulled and the program ground to a halt. While CCP largely is playing an advisory role, one of the leaders of CUPAW is on the agit-corp's executive board. The coming week will be spent in negotiations with the local powers that be. Most are fairly optimistic that good revisions in the program will be made. The only question is how far we can go towards creating a halfway decent program.

The issue has been quite valuable in drawing together the various liberal, labor and community groups in a common fight. With work and luck it could develop into an ongoing radical coalition in the city.

CAMP'S ORGANIZATION (or how SDSers found themselves in contact with colleges, high schools and temples)

The key advances made during the week were on the high school front. Nearly 50 students were brought into intensive work with CCP. After a week of work by Sharon and two college-age people in the community a highly successful orientation session took place for roughly 30 suburban and inner-city high school tutors. The half-day session involved introductions to SDS, CCP, the Near West Side and tutoring; contacts with tutees and families; and discussion with CCP staff. The actual tutoring will begin this week with the tutors coming over afterwards to discuss their experiences. In two weeks, seminars on economic, social and political problems of the Near West Side and society in general will begin. The tutors will also research and explore the problems of public school education with special focus on the inner city.

Today Dave and Carol met for three hours with an old STU high school chapter in Cleveland Heights. The group of 15 will take part in a 2 1/2 day work-study program run by CCP over the weekend of Oct. 16-18. As now planned, the weekend will involve seminars, leafletting, survey work and probably door-to-door political campaign work with peace and war issues stressed. They are also interested in a peace conference to involve Cleveland high schools as well as further involvement on the Near West Side.

Earlier in the week, Dave St. auss and Ken McCohen talked to a local rabbi about ways in which he and his youth group could become involved in our project. It appears very likely that there will be extensive fund raising and community work performed by the high school groups of this temple and others. He warned us that we might become a regional project, in other words a central focus in an area broad enough to include Toronto.

Carol and Ken also visited Western Reserve and Case Institute and here too discovered real interest in our work. A real possibility: a Student Christian Union work weekend run by CCP. Also seems to be real potential for recruitment and development of SDS members.

We are beginning to feel loved.

INTELLECTUAL STIMULATION

The whole staff was treated to dinner at the home of a key person in the Inner City Protestant Parish. Last year Cleveland hosted the annual conference of inner city parishes from throughout the east and midwest. The conference is planned and run by the community people from the different cities with only minimal paid staff involvement. His comments and the subsequent discussion were very valuable in forcing us to consider what we really meant by a community leaders conference and how it should be planned and run (for further details, see Sharon/Carol letter regarding conference). The discussion was stimulating, profitable, and soul warming.

The agit-corp discussions, intra-staff and with outside people, has also been valuable in forcing us to confront in a very direct way the political power of the establishment in Cleveland. Debate has centered around whether we should engage in this political power struggle and if so what is the most effective way to do so. The result has been a much greater awareness of the political scene and the possible power of a coalition. To a certain extent, we have had to rethink portions of our long-range strategy and certainly the timing of our direct involvement in city politics.

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COMMUNITY WORK

To an extent, last week was also the last week of transitional chaos and the first week of fall work with the public housing tenants and U-JOIN. Until now, much of the work with these two groups has been relatively unplanned and there has been little real consensus on what amount of activity could be expected from the part time staff. Things just seemed to fall into place over the last few days.

In the housing project, work centered around a meeting on Thursday of the St. John's caucus of the tenants' council. There was a good discussion of the problems of racial violence and lawlessness in general. Vandalism and racial incidents have, to a certain extent, been on the increase lately and the tenants want them controlled. Although some came to the meeting with preconceived notions about the racial aspect of the problem they were able to have a fairly good discussion of the underlying causes and possible solutions. Other discussion centered around maintenance problems and the fact that a private housing project had gone out on rent strike to demand that repairs be made.

Recruitment for U-JOIN increased during the week and plans were made for fairly extensive work during the coming week. The spot labor petition will be circulated at the food stamp line on general relief day and at spot labor offices in Cleveland. Discussion is also being carried on to determine exactly what role U-JOIN wishes to play in Agit-Corp. Members of the group are very optimistic about the petition both in terms of it being a step towards killing spot labor in the city and as a good mechanism to recruit new people to U-JOIN.

CUPAW moved into two new areas as a result of changes in school lunch regulations and the existence of the Agit-Corp. As a result, two petitions are being circulated but more important a member of CUPAW is serving on the executive committee of Agit-Corp. Both groups are benefiting by the exposure to different ideas and approaches. It is difficult to determine exactly what the long range effects of this will be out there is little doubt that working in Agit-Corp will broaden the political sophistication and involvement of CUPAW.

FLAP + anti-Goldwater by

"Taking Goldwater Seriously," a recent paper distributed by SDS and ERAP, urges SDS people to join the campaign against Goldwater by working for Johnson. We oppose this. In its place, we propose that SDSers do not vote in the presidential election and that they organize in working class communities, universities and hometown neighborhoods for others to oppose Johnson by not voting for either candidate.

The Flacks argument rests on two assumptions. First, a factual one, that Goldwater might win. And second, a strategic one, that it is imperative to defeat him resoundingly.

If the first were true, Flacks' proposals might make sense. It is not, however; there is no indication of a Goldwater victory. The possibility of carrying several mid-western states or leading in some working class neighborhoods does not spell national victory.

The strategic assumption, evident also in the Political Education Project statement on the campaign, represents, we believe, a misreading of the whole significance of this campaign. Many SDS people, and others of liberal and radical vintage, hoped for the nomination of Goldwater. It would provide a choice, it would clarify the issues, it would encourage a realignment in both Democratic and Republican ranks, and it would force Johnson to look to the left for support. We should take pause that so many could be so wrong so completely.

Goldwater's candidacy has done just the opposite of our earlier prognostications. It has eliminated issues and produced a campaign of mutual vilification, rhetorical generalization and appeals to what we know deep in our hearts. It has not produced significant realignment, ala Surin Thurmond, and indeed has set the leaders of both parties on guard against any such tendency. And rather than giving Johnson a push to the left, it has made him the leader of a coalition of internationalist business and moderate status quos. The labor liberal remnants are lapping at the feet of their fallen hero (JFK) whose vice-presidential selection was Johnson's sole token to his left.

To support Johnson is to support this move to the right and the de-issuication of presidential politics. The larger his victory, the stronger will be his mandate to continue leadership of a moderate coalition in which the left has no place. The larger his victory, the more resoundingly will the middle have defeated the edges--Goldwater's edge and our edge too. The larger his victory, the more resoundingly will our position be defeated: "Extremism in pursuit of liberty is no vice, moderation in defense of justice is no virtue."

The smaller his victory, the greater will be the pressure for a rapprochement with the left. Perhaps--or perhaps not. But in either case, there is no utility in the left supporting Johnson.

Is there value in the alternative we propose: that we organize wherever we can for voters to withhold support from Johnson? We think so.

In that case,

- (1) When we raise issues that are important--automation, corporatism,

interventionism, etc--they would be raised as alternatives to the status quo--reactionary framework of the current "debate," not as minor appendages to that framework. To oppose Johnson from the left is to build toward a felt constituency.

(2) We are asking the target of our organizing for a rational act that is consonant with and follows from the issues we are raising--rather than an act which does not follow from the issues but is rationalized as a pragmatic necessity. A vote for Johnson will mean support for Johnson--whatever the complex theorizing that says it only means opposition to Goldwater and protection of democratic institutions. The act will call forth the justification for the act: "For Johnson" will ratify in one way or another that Johnson stands for. "Against Johnson" will reinforce commitment to protest organization and to the issues on which the left stands.

(3) It would allow us to focus our attention on local campaigns where occasional liberals are running and where local issues important to Negro and white worker constituencies can be raised. The anti-Goldwater campaign -- distracts attention from these efforts. Indeed, the community organizing strategy current in MAP suggests that it is more important to develop local issues (or local implications of national issues) on which Negroes and whites can eventually unite, than it is to prevent irrational or racist defections to Goldwater on the national ballot. Such defections should not surprise or worry us; they represent no new set of interests of which we have to take account.

(4) It is doubtful that we have the kind of strength, or day-to-day sophistication in dealing with people, organizations or issues, or special advantage in communicating with working class whites, to both support Johnson and make clear that we oppose him. And if we do have that strength, sophistication or advantage, we could use it to better advantage than the anti-Goldwater mania.

In short, we are proposing that SDS-ERAP-FEP carry on its business as radicals. Our job is not to defend a right wing social movement (presuming that we hold the balance of power); the middle will do that. Our job is to build a left wing social movement. That means: (1) opposing the values of political moderation, (2) maintaining focus on the issues where the left opposes the mainstream of American politics, and (3) building local community organization which can educate on long term issues and which can act on immediate issues.

Notes on Dealing with the 'War on Poverty'

--Mike Miller

One thing ought to be clear in any organizer's mind about the War on Poverty: it isn't. It suffers two inadequacies and one danger. First, the amount of money to be spent is so woefully inadequate that we cannot even consider this a skirmish. Second, the direction of the program is toward education and training, not toward the creation of new jobs. The assumption is that joblessness is a function of not enough training, rather than not enough jobs. Third, and the danger of the bill, is the possibility that monies made available from the bill will be used to strengthen those agencies in Negro and other impoverished communities which have done the least to create the kind of indigenous organizations in communities necessary to deal with community problems. This is the political problem which must be faced by organizers, whatever their opinion of the inadequacy of the bill.

In most cities I know of, there is now this very fight going on. Will the poverty money be spent through agencies with no roots in the community, whose Directors live outside the community and who are not responsible to the community? If the answer is yes, then the program can become a device whereby the power structure of any given city penetrates the Negro community in particular, or other ghetto communities, using the funds of the poverty program to buy and control segments of the community, dividing them against those who are more militant and active in the civil rights movement or other movements for social change.

Another possibility is that the money in the program will become the carrot used to play one indigenous organization off against another--forcing fights within communities and concessions from those organizations which finally qualify for the money.

Finally, the program can be controlled by a broad-based community organization, representing different community organizations: churches, unions with membership in the area, welfare recipient organizations and so forth. This is the least likely possibility because it demands of the powerless that they organize, and not only that they organize but that they resist individual offers from city poverty councils seeking, instead, the less probable though possible approach of a united community deciding how money will be spent in its neighborhood.

The creation of such community organization may be aided by the SDS staff workers in an inner-city area. This is especially true if they have done the homework of developing good relationships with local ministers, informal leaders, trade unionists and so forth. A community leadership conference would be called to discuss what could be done with the poverty money--and those attending would be real leaders, people with a following in the neighborhood. Here a unified plan, worked on by students and others who are familiar with the poverty program, could be presented. It would recognize that all groups in the community can play a role in administering the poverty money. There is no reason why professional staff cannot be attached to local churches or other community institutions.

What might such a program include? It would recognize that many programs have a place. It could include tutorials, adult education, job-training, street delinquent work, theater for youth built around civil rights themes, Negro

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history classes for Negro communities, and similar programs for other areas, the use of store-front space in the neighborhood for such things as in-migrant centers, recipient of welfare programs, senior citizen programs--especially those which made use of retired workers involving them in the training of youth, and other programs to reintegrate the aged into the community, day-care centers and co-op nurseries, and whatever else the imagination of the reader might conceive.

Such programs can be decentralized and placed into existing community facilities. In this way, people in the neighborhood become not only recipients but participants. Local boards could supervise the administration of the program. For example, tutorials could be scattered in churches, store fronts, and even in the homes of interested people in the community. So could other programs be placed in local institutions, strengthening that institution in the community and giving it a new role to play in community life.

The key job in the days and months ahead is for organizers in the communities to talk to local leadership about these possibilities, to argue that there are two ways of getting the poverty money: one is to fall into the rat race where community groups will end up fighting each other; the other is to go with a united approach to those administering the program saying that this is the way we want to establish a poverty program in our neighborhood. Your suggestions would be welcome, these community leaders could say, but we are going to make the decisions. Organizers with ties to campuses could play a key role in drafting proposals and aiding local community groups to apply for aid. If the aid is not forthcoming, it will be another political lesson for developing local leadership--a lesson that they must learn through their experience, not through the abstract argument that might be made to them by a campus radical.

Funding for community conference

It is coming to be acknowledged today that any effective war on poverty will require the creation of indigenous community groups in poverty-stricken areas--groups that give people inspiration and opportunities for changing their conditions through their own efforts. Virtually all anti-poverty measures now contemplated either require the stimulation of new attitudes of hope among low-income people; or depend upon an organized community. "Outside" groups, be they governmental or private, are widely distrusted in the American ghetto; rather than raising hopes they actually increase dependency or hostility as their anti-poverty measures are begun or intensified. Retraining and other educational programs designed to aid the poor can have only minimal impact if there are no native organizations within a community through which they can work.

Essential to the formation and success of such community organizations are finding and making "indigenous leaders"--otherwise ordinary individuals with organizational skills who live in the blighted community and are trusted by the people in it. Every major community organization in the country has laid great stress on techniques that

"find and make" leaders who are able to organize people. Few, if any, have had impressive success, for the barriers are enormous: Not only is it hard to find such people, but once they are found, it is difficult to keep them in the ghetto when they have skills that allow them to leave.

The training of indigenous leaders in low-income communities is a unique problem in education. The difficulty lies in developing their skills as organizers and enlarging their understanding of social problems, without having them betray the interests of the poor. Programs that pay high salaries to indigenous leaders to participate in work-study programs run by middle class people have little chance of developing the skills, political consciousness and "lower class" identification needed by leaders of insurgent community groups. Social workers are frequently not the best people to teach the low-income leader how he should work with his neighbors. Weekend conferences in places far from the ghetto may be more destructive than helpful to those who have to return to the ghetto.

An Approach To Training Indigenous Leaders

One virtually untested approach to leadership development among the poor is to let potential leaders "teach themselves" with minimal assistance

from "outsiders". This technique rests on the assumption that the leader's consciousness and imagination can be broadened by structured discussion with people of similar backgrounds doing similar work but living in different locales. That is, people with limited experience as organizers can find new possibilities for themselves through discussion with others who are only beginning to acquire organizational skills.

To develop this notion concretely, SDS proposes bringing approximately 100 leaders from Northern and Southern community protest "movements" to discuss community organization in a conference that will draw almost entirely from the experience of the participants for its content. Each community group would have a representative describe its program for the other participants. Smaller discussion seminars would examine the issues and problems that each organization is working on. Major time would be given to discussion of organizing techniques, methods of recruitment, financing, and program.

This conference would offer white welfare mothers from Cleveland, Ohio an opportunity to learn what Negro mothers in Newark are doing to get better housing. It would allow organized unemployed in Chicago, Baltimore, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Hazard, Kentucky (representing

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in toto several thousand men) to learn for the first time of each other's work. It would bring Negro citizens in Chester, Pa., deeply involved in a movement for civil rights and economic change, into contact with tenant farmers in Mississippi who are also organizing for freedom, but in a different way.

The site of the conference will be a poor white ghetto on the near Westside of Cleveland, Ohio. Three groups are active in this community through the SDS program (the Cleveland Community Project). One group, Citizens United for Adequate Welfare, has been primarily involved in pressuring the Cleveland welfare administration to be more just in its administration of welfare benefits. A second group, U-JOIN (Union for Jobs or Income Now), is organizing unemployed men with no hope of secure employment in their lifetime to protest corruption in day-labor hiring agencies. A third group, of public-housing tenants, is organized against the management of the housing project to secure better facilities.

One afternoon of the conference would be devoted to touring the Cleveland communities where these groups are active. Representatives of the Cleveland groups would travel in each car. Conference participants would visit the areas where the Cleveland Community Project works and

hear community people explain their programs. This facet of the conference would allow people to get a sense of the community's problems and the ways they are being attacked in one concrete instance. It should promote more natural discussion of organizing techniques and serve to give people from other communities new ideas for expanded programs.

The attached agenda, which is currently being reviewed by the invited community groups, explains the conference more specifically. The budget, also attached, is based largely on transportation costs. Since all of the people who would be attending live on extremely low incomes, it is necessary to provide complete transportation costs. For the Mississippi and Kentucky participants, plane fare must be provided.

Proposal

Students for a Democratic Society is requesting \$4,849 to develop this conference program for leadership training among low-income community leaders. The conference is intended for those who are currently active in community organizations. Careful attention would be given to the success of the techniques being applied. A detailed report of the meeting would be prepared and distributed to governmental and private anti-poverty organizations and other interested groups so that this approach to leadership

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training might be considered by others.

Sponsoring Organization

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is a national student group of over 1200 members dedicated to liberal education, civil rights, civil liberties, peace and economic progress. In September, 1963, SDS developed a community organizing program called the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). Last summer, ERAP supported nearly 150 full time organizers developing community groups in poor areas of the North. The full time field staff is currently 40 and is working in Chicago, Cleveland, Hazard, Ky., Newark, N.J., Baltimore, Chester, Pa., and Philadelphia. SDS is able to develop this conference program by virtue of its close relationship to local community groups in the North and the South.

All contributions to SDS are tax-deductible, through its affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy.

Estimated Budget

Conference meals @ \$2.00 per person daily	two days	--\$ 400
Housing @ \$6.00 per person for two nights (a limited number of places are available free in the community)	80 people	--\$ 480
Allowance for baby sitters @ \$5.00 per day for 20 people (estimated)	three days	--\$ 300
Rent for conference building @ \$25.00 per day	three days	--\$ 75
Conference preparation costs phone, materials and mailings (estimated)		--\$ 150
Transportation Five people from Mississippi @ \$130 (round trip from Jackson to Cleveland)		--\$ 650
Seven people from Hazard, Ky. @ \$92 (bus from Hazard to Knoxville; plane from Knoxville to Cleveland)		--\$ 644
Ninety other participants (estimated) @ \$20 per person (car and bus)		--\$1800
Reproduction Costs for Conference Report offset for 30 pages (estimated) including pictures		--\$ 350
TOTAL BUDGET		--\$4249

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Date: December 4-6, 1964

Host: Cleveland Community Project; 2908 Jay Avenue; Cleveland, Ohio

Purpose: To bring together leaders of developing community organizations working for freedom, full employment, better education, decent housing and shared abundance in various parts of the country. The conference will examine the problems and possibilities of building grass roots political organization in poor communities. Participants will include representatives from the United Citizens for Self-Help (Chester, Pa.), the Committee for Jobs or Income Now (Chicago), Philadelphia U-JOIN, Baltimore U-JOIN, Cleveland U-JOIN, the Newark Community Union, Citizens United for Adequate Welfare (Cleveland), the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment (Hazard, Ky.)

Tentative Agenda

December 4
Friday

--arrivals between 6 and 10 pm. Light sandwiches and coffee. Set up displays on each project. Informal get togethers.

December 5
Saturday

9:00 am. A short welcoming statement by the SDS President--the purpose of the conference with an explanation of the agenda. Introductions.

9:20 am. Brief reports about each local organization given by a community person. Reports should touch on (a) the area's problems generally, (b) the main issues that the group works on, and (c) the program of the group (what is being done). Each speaker should take about 15 minutes.

10:30. Break for coffee.

10:45. Continue reports

12:00 noon. Lunch

1:30 pm. Discussion groups on issues. The conference will divide into eight groups to discuss welfare, housing (including urban renewal), education, and unemployment. Four of the participating community groups are asked to be responsible for developing a set of questions for discussion in each of these seminars before November 15. All groups are encouraged to discuss these issues before coming to the conference.

--Citizens United for Adequate Welfare--responsible for discussion on welfare

--Newark Community Union--responsible for discussion on housing and urban renewal

--Citizens United for Self-Help--responsible for discussion on education

--Baltimore U-JOIN--responsible for discussion on unemployment

Each discussion seminar should consider the magnitude of the problem and ways of organizing in order to solve it. Organizations dealing specifically with the issues should describe their program in detail. The slate of questions developed for discussion should include: are action and education programs working at the causes of inadequate welfare, lack of jobs, poor housing and poor schools.

3:30 pm. Trip through the near West side community of Cleveland to show the creative and destructive attempts of the city to solve social problems.

6:00 pm. Banquet. Delegate from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party speaking: "Freedom through a People's Movement"

8:00 pm. Discussion Groups on programmatic and organizational questions. Before the conference is held, each organization should decide if the following suggested questions are the best questions to discuss. They should change the questions however they want and send their changes to the Cleveland Community Project.

Each group should try to discuss both programmatic and organizational questions during the evening.

Programmatic Questions--

1. What does our organization hope to accomplish in the next year, five years, ten years?
2. How can our organization deal effectively with the "power structure" (the people who make important decisions for our community and nation)?
3. What kind of city and nation do we want to create? And how do we work toward it?
4. What are some of the "forces" in our communities which don't want us to succeed? Why do "they" shoot at Jason Combs in Hazard because he asks for jobs? Why do "they" evict Ida Brown in Newark because she wants an end to rats?

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Organizational Questions--

1. Recruitment. How do we now recruit members? How can we recruit more effectively? How can we make our meetings and activity more interesting and relevant to people?
2. Education. What kinds of facts and information do we need to have in order to be more effective? How do we get that information? How do we teach ourselves and our members?
3. Finances and Publicity. How do we raise money when people have little to give? How do we spread the word about our organizations?
4. Friends and Allies. With what groups in the community do we work? On what issues? How do we first interest them in our program? How do we secure their continuing interest?

December 6
Sunday

10:30 am. Nondenominational church service.

12:00 noon. Dinner

1:30 pm. General meeting to discuss any coordinated plans the conference may wish to make.

2:30 pm. Depart.

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