

# ERAP NEWSLETTER

October 26 - November 2

1100 E. Washington, Ann A

## Ann Arbor Report

(1) ERAP-PEP-PREP meeting. The executive committee meetings of the three SDS projects is now set for November 6-8 and will be held in either Ann Arbor or Cleveland. A majority of those attending definitely favored the mid-West and most agree that the decision was justified given the fact that the December NC would be in the East. Paul Potter is trying to locate a camp in Cleveland. If nothing suitable can be found outside the Cleveland Community Project area, but within Cleveland, the meeting will be held in Ann Arbor. A special mailing will go out on Monday, November 2. It will include directions to the meeting and tentative agendas. Clark Kissinger will arrange for any needed rides from the East.

It has been proposed that the PREP committee meet all day Friday and early Saturday; that ERAP and PEP begin Saturday morning and run till Sunday noon simultaneously. Several people face the problem of having to choose which committee to attend during overlapping sessions. However, it is felt that this allocation of time is crucial to each project discussion and that simultaneous meetings are needed.

The agenda that will be proposed for the ERAP Committee will deal largely with political and strategic problems facing the projects. Such problems will include:

*agenda*

(1) our relationship to the Administration's War on Poverty--should we try to get government money? Is it possible to build a community organization around this program and demand a radical and comprehensive approach toward poverty which will not be coopted (as Chicago is now contemplating); how does the program work from city to city; etc. (2) whether JOIN?--what kinds of short-range programs can be built for organizations of unemployed during a period of relative prosperity; should we be moving beyond our constituency of unemployed in JOIN projects; what kinds of organizing techniques are proving successful; etc. (3) in what directions would we be expanding--in particular, consideration will be given to the idea of a state-wide project. Also, major time will be devoted to a discussion of the Cleveland Community Conference--what are its purposes; how many non-community people should come; what kind of agenda?

(2) New ERAP paper for student researchers. The ERAP office has quantities of a new paper called "Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown." It is particularly suited for campuses interested in beginning new projects and for ERAPers doing basic research on the power structure of their communities.

(3) Leaflets Can Be Printed. The offset machine in the NY office is able to do simple printing. Costs include \$2 for each plate plus paper (\$.90 a ream). Projects can have standard leaflets made up in quantity. Send layout to ERAP or the NY office (c/o Mark LScher)

*From NY*

(4) Notes from PREP. As for the PREPEC meeting, several major items will have to be disposed of in fairly short lengths of time, even for SDS meetings. So com prepared to be succinct. The items are another discussion of the underlying assumptions of PREP programming, which will be the first item and for which Liort Proctor will make a presentation; a discussion of problems of the Boston project, which Jim Morey will outline; a discussion of the allocation of Ann 'Arbor staff time, in the light of reports from Todd and Booth. Also, Seymour Melman is presenting (probably by proxy) a proposal for student action aimed at defense-dependent universities, complete with specific program suggestions, for PREPEC to evaluate and assign a priority to.

(5) Ypsilanti There is little new to report since the last ERAP newsletter. On November 9, federal officials will visit Ypsilanti council members to discuss the local urban renewal program. ERAP and Ypsilanti Property Owners Association hope to have a mass demonstration protesting the present urban renewal designs and demanding that the people who will be affected have a determining voice in the administration of the program. We are also exploring a new area for possible work. It's a small community of Southern and Appalachian poor whites. From Ann Arbor, it is necessary to cross the interstate expressway illegally just to get to this community. Poverty in the area is acute. People live in chicken coops; houses are collapsing. There will be little difficulty in finding issues and building a program. We are presently debating whether we can take on a new commitment.

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We have reached an agreement with TFP on the terms of their \$2400 grant to Boston PREP. They'll give us \$600 per quarter, starting November 1st, and we will pay them \$462.50 in office expenses. We'll have our own listed telephone (UN 4-3177). They will allow us \$40 per month in telephone bills, paper, and stationery and probably \$10 in postage. They are providing the office, of course, and all office equipment, including an IBM electric typewriter. The phone is now installed and the new phone book, just going to press, will list us as Bos. Peace Res. & Educ. Proj.

Jim Morry met with Bob Laufer of Brandeis on Sunday and discussed plans for an SDS chapter. An independent peace group, called "Peace Group," has existed there before and is already organized this year. We met with Marc Sonnablick, their president, and talked about cooperation. The P. G. would like to lend a hand to Boston PREP, alongside the SDS'ers from Brandeis. Jim Morry will give a talk on campus this Thursday. Laufer has made the arrangement at the last minute because he thought timing was quite important in getting a chapter going. The talk will describe national PREP and the plans for Boston PREP activities, preceded by some brief comments on SDS in general. The specific pitch to Brandeis will be to have a weekly seminar on conversion problems, with one week on national aspects, one on regional (i. e., New England and Greater Boston), one on community direct action in general (using the Oppenheimer-Lasky report), one on community action on conversion, one on the formulation of a questionnaire for use with Arsenal employees, and one on the contents of an Alperovitzian speech directed specifically to communities seriously involved in the Arsenal's fate. Harvard SDS'ers are also going to work on an employee questionnaire and possibly assist in its use on the Shipyard workers. (These details are apt to be changed some upon more detailed planning with the people.)

The ordering of subject matter will depend partly upon how quickly we feel we can use a questionnaire for Arsenal employees. I've had a telephone discussion with Ken Lyons, local head of National Assn. of Gov't. Employees, and expect to see him later this week. Because of the extremely wide scattering of employees among towns we may be forced to work through the Union on getting the questionnaire filled out. But in any case, we will need their concurrence (or at least lack of active opposition) if we are to succeed in getting worker cooperation in the survey. It seems more likely that NAGE will support the survey than that they will argue on what the timing should be. The preceding comment is based on a guess that Lyons won't want conversion (including the survey) pushed publicly until the present onslaught from town and city majors against Washington has subsided. It is hoped that a talk with Lyons can replace these speculations with some facts about NAGE's attitude toward our efforts.

A good planning session on the Regional Conversion Conference was held with TFP Coordinator George Benollo. The tentative thinking is to line up two "PRIME CALLERS" of the conference who will sign a letter to a long list of "CALLERS," who in turn will act as a committee and allow their names to be used in the rest of the organizing work. We have thought of a possible keynote speaker being Keyserling, Benoit, Molman, and Gordon Brown, maybe in that order of preference. We'd try to get N. E. Mutual Hall on a Friday evening for the keynote with the panels and workshops on Saturday and (maybe) Sunday at one of the local universities, hopefully one whose sponsorship can be gotten. Benollo knows a professional PR man who can probably be lined up. A peace intern will spend half-time for at least two months. George will allocate maybe  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{5}$ th time for up to three months as required, and all the staff and interns will be available

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to help man the conference sessions. The presently conceived details on who we'll try to get as callers and as sponsors (i. e., organizations) and what the program might be will be passed along in our next report, along with ideas on promotion, etc.

Jin Moroy has been invited by A. J. Muste to appear on the program as a "commentator" on the talks to be given on "The Triple Revolution: Values and Goals in a Cybercultural (gulp!) Society." The speakers are: Alice Mary Hilton, N. H. Forry, Robert Theobald, and Robert Davis (the latter of System Development Corporation). The date is Oct. 23 and 24; the place is Columbia University. Jin Moroy has been brazen enough to accept Muste's invitation, in spite of not being really qualified at this point.

Fund raising action is still lagging due to lack of time, but ideas and plans are not stagnant, and more time will soon be available.

Work on a prospectus for B-PREP fund raising is moving, and conversion conference and Conversion Report (expanded) prospectuses are formulated well enough for near-future first drafts—which will be forwarded post haste for reaction.

Reporter: Jin Moroy

Further notes on financing, from a letter to PREP:

"I think we've come up with some reasonable ideas on a Boston PREP budget, with a key feature being a scheme to allocate some of my time (say, 1/2) to the conference, for which separate funding and bookkeeping will take place; another quarter perhaps to the Conversion Report, also separately funded; with the remainder being part of the normal B-PREP budget and funding. We'll push hard to get support from private donations and churches for B-PREP proper and look more toward organizational funding (business, labor, and churches and foundations) for the other activities. The same approach (with another 1/2 of my time) might be applied to research work proper. (Sumner Boston says Rabinowitz trustee was negative.) The B-PREP activities would then be oriented primarily toward community and campus. The same allocation scheme should allow us to get a full-time office staff and a full-time editor, writer, researcher, contact-man, and expeditor for the Conversion Report—ultimately—maybe.... (October 20, 1964)

# PHILADELPHIA REPORT

October 20, 1964

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In mid-September we made a major change in approach, going from JOIN to block organization. We have temporarily discontinued the jobs committee and are putting our efforts into organizing six block groups in the predominantly Negro area near our office. We are also organizing a tenants' council in a nearby public housing project.

Our doubts about the future of the jobs committee were similar to those expressed in the Chicago report a couple of weeks ago. We were having great difficulty in working out a program of action that would seize the imagination of the men, that was broad enough to make all the men feel that it concerned them directly, that was specific enough to have a relevance to their immediate problems, and that was felt to be effective rather than symbolic.

We are not convinced that the idea of the jobs committee is a bad one. It was clear, however, that we had reached a dead end, had run out of ideas, and had no faith in what we were doing. It was with a great sense of relief and a renewed optimism that we decided to concentrate on block organization around local and specific issues.

## Block Organization

We started organizing on the weekend of October 10 with three of the full-time staff and fifteen college students. At the time we had chosen to work on only four blocks. All were predominantly Negro, except for one integrated block--Negro and Italian. The Polish community near our office was deliberately avoided because of our previous experiences there. We felt that we could not make progress there without the support of established neighborhood people. So we decided to stay away from the Polish area until we could convince a few Poles to help us organize. We will be able to work on this while the other blocks are being organized. We have the possibility of support in the Polish neighborhood from a neighborhood civic association, but as yet they have been hesitant about giving us formal support.

The main physical problem of Queen Village is vacant housing and vacant land. This results in blocks which are sparsely populated in relation to the blocks in Chester, for instance, where blocks with less than thirty families did not succeed. None of our blocks is significantly more than thirty families, and some are less than thirty. To us this points up the need to unite the different block organizations as quickly as possible.

One of the blocks which we started to organize was given up after the first day because of second thoughts on the strategic location in relation to the surrounding Italian community and to our other block groups. Three new blocks were then chosen, making a total of six. Work on the last two began only last weekend.

So far three block meetings have been attempted. Two have been successful beyond expectations, while one was a complete, utter, dismal failure. We don't as yet know why no one came to the one meeting, but we are not despairing over the situation. There are good people on the block who have promised to help us organize. The other two blocks have held successful meetings, at which it was decided to petition the city government to tear down vacant houses on the blocks and to take steps to get rid of the rats which have infested the block.

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On the integrated block, only one white person out of a total of eleven attended the meeting. This block went on to have a second meeting on its own initiative. More people attended this one. In addition, the whites on the block are now organizing to take part in the block group.

All in all the outlook for the blocks is bright. The two blocks which have already held meetings will probably be able to unite almost immediately. This could form the nucleus for an organization of united blocks which could be formed in the near future on community-wide issues, such as vacant houses, garbage collection, schools, or whatever. We are in the process of thinking about what would be the best issues around which to unite the blocks. We are also trying to deal with the problem of how to move from block issues to wider issues, such as welfare payments or unemployment compensation.

Tenants' Council

The idea of the tenants' council grew out of the day care committee of JOIN. Some of the mothers in that group have helped to start organizing a tenants' council in the public housing project in our area. We now have one full-time staff member and about twelve students working on the council.

There are 886 units in the project, so it is taking time to talk with everyone who lives there. This creates a problem in that it is difficult to call a meeting while everyone's enthusiasm is at a peak. We are trying to remedy the situation by involving more interested people in our organizing activity. But there will still be many people for whom the interval between speaking with us and the meeting will be fairly long. This should not greatly hamper our success since we are finding a great deal of interest among the tenants.

The main issues are those typical of a public housing project--the rules and regulations, the recreation programs, adequate maintenance, etc. The issues which will provide the impetus for action are yet to be determined, but it appears that there will be no problem in finding issues which people will want to act on. We have only covered about half the project so far. The meeting should occur in about ten days.

Miscellaneous

We have not lost sight of the original aim of our organization. While we have temporarily laid to rest the jobs committee, we have not given up the idea, though it may emerge in a different form.

We are now preparing a proposal for a group of city planners at the University of Pennsylvania who have expressed interest in us. They said that they would be willing to make their research talents available to us. We are hoping to start a full employment committee for Philadelphia with them.

Soon we will begin to put out a community newspaper along the lines of Newark's. It will tell of the activities of the blocks, but will also include articles about events in other parts of the city and about economic problems of our area and of Philadelphia in general.

Finally, we met Sunday with a young and energetic lady who works for the Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement (PCCA). PCCA is the "community organization" arm of the mayor's anti-poverty task force which is administering the poverty funds. She talked with us about her feeling that nothing is being done to ensure benefit from the poverty money for the people who really need help. She realizes that PCCA is no more representative of the community than the Ford Foundation which finances it. As a result of our meeting with her we are calling a meeting of all people who we know would be interested in bringing pressure to bear on the city government to make the administration of the poverty money more representative. Our thinking is still young on this problem, and we

need more information. We are also getting a late start, but what can we lose? We are all quite excited about the possibilities arising out of this. If nothing else, we should gain a closer working relationship with groups working in other parts of the city on similar issues.

We are now feeling the need to think about strategy in more creative terms. Nothing new has come yet, as we are too busy with blocks. We might come up with some new ideas shortly, though. Our spirits are up mainly because of our recent successes and a brightening financial outlook.

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# CHICAGO REPORT

This week has been one of important search, discovery, and decision.

The Albany Park committee's regular meeting Wednesday night was a failure with some lessons. Paul, who normally attends these meetings, was still in New York, and the other staff people were needed at the re-establishment meeting of a Chicago at-large chapter of SDS, so we asked the leader of our high school group (Renee Goldberg) to show the scheduled film and lead a discussion. Only four people attended. Renee handled the film showing well, but the discussion went badly. And the people expressed much dissatisfaction with staff assistance of the committee, the basic criticism being that we talk over their heads. We were glad to receive this feedback, which could apparently be expressed only in our absence. However, the greater significance of the meeting seems to be that this committee, which had developed its own dynamic and leadership, can now no longer function without staff support. This makes it easier to decide to disband the committee (and invite its active members to join the Broadway-Wilson committee if they wish), a decision we had been wrestling with for several weeks. Albany Park is lower-middle class Jewish, including some people of the old, old left. Because of their age, there is much more concern with improved social security than with JOIN's main interest in jobs and improved unemployment compensation. And because of their middle class identification, they tend to much less radical than many of the working class members in JOIN. (This last is obviously a mixture of observation and analysis.) Anyway, for a number of reasons, we have not been able to see how this committee relates to either the "movement of the unemployed" or the "community organization" (Uptown area) notions with which we are now experimenting; and staff shortages make it imperative that we concentrate our energies.

As mentioned above, Wednesday was also the night of the first meeting of a new (yet old) Chicago-wide (non-campus) chapter of SDS. Attendance was good. The response to Rothstein's organizing talk was quietly enthusiastic--i.e., most of those present will join and have committed themselves to a year of serious study and discussion if not action. However, these people, mostly working college grads, have other important commitments and expressed some concern that they must limit their time investment in SDS. It seems that young radicals have even less time after they leave the campus (because of a deep involvement in their jobs and in other important activities), and we suspect that this will be an increasing problem as SDS grows up.

Friday night the Broadway-Wilson committee met to view and discuss "The Awesome Servant", a film on automation. Only nine members attended, thought the small meeting room was made quite full by the attendance of the full JOIN staff (including baby Sarah) plus Rennie Davis and Jim Williams. Discussion was very lively and quite radical. High point of the evening was our rediscovery of John Karas, a relatively young, shady, very articulate, character with an extremely radical outlook. Rothstein spent an exciting couple of hours with him in a visit two days later.

Rennie's visit prompted a lot of serious talk about strategy and tactics and, inevitably, renewed our sense of family. In line with our impending to neighborhood organizing, Rennie, Richie, and I (Glenn) lounged around a corner in the neighborhood tavern district on Saturday morning to make acquaintances and become visible. Our surprising success in meeting people there convinced us to continue in the future--on the corner as long as the Indian summer lasts, and in the bars when it gets cold. We spent the afternoon looking over the area for "GROIN" issues and for possible contact points: physical signs of poverty are almost invisible in this area, and we are clearly going to have to talk with the people to locate issues.

On Sunday afternoon Rennie and staff plus Bob Ross, Dick Flacks, and Lee Webb gathered for an intensive session. The following decisions resulted:

1. Paul Millman and Anne Thureson will each spend three days per week in the office (complemented by JOIN members and U.C. students) to continue our leafletting and recruiting function on a regular basis. In addition, Paul, who is our best-qualified Comp. System challenger, will begin compiling a record of complaints and will train a grievance committee of JOIN members to assist comp. recipients who are having difficulties with the System. This could conceivably lead to direct action and the first real confrontation with the power structure.
2. Richie and I will begin concentrating our recruitment efforts in the Uptown (Broadway-Wilson) area using the newly discovered techniques of street corner standing, bar slumping, and the house-to-house visits. Two possible strategies were conceived: formation of a protest group demanding a hand in the local "War on Poverty" decisions, or formation of a "freedom army" which will act on grievances of all kinds.
3. University of Chicago SDS members will be asked to research questions of vital interest to the community project.

As part of our "get-acquainted-with-your-community" work, Richie and I visited three local agencies the first of this week: Hull House, Council for the Southern Mountains, and the Uptown Planning Commission. The latter is the most exciting of the three. As the name implies, it is a group of civic-minded individuals (who just happen to have a major financial interest in Uptown's becoming middle-class) who are attempting to "prepare" the community for urban renewal. The latest part of their program is the formation of block clubs to inspire pride of community and all that, so that the property will be upgraded and the rents will be up-graded and the "hillbillies" will have to leave and a "better class" of people will move in. (Not surprisingly, owners outnumber tenants by about ten to one in these block clubs.) This is an all-too-familiar story; however, we may have caught this one early enough to use it to advantage. This may be the enemy we have been seeking--if the cops, the landlords, and the unemployment are tolerated, this might conceivably provide the key to a class consciousness and a sense of immediacy. If this in itself doesn't do it, there is still hope: one member of the Commission is talking about getting this district voted dry and running out the taverns (and thus, naturally, the "hillbillies"). It would be a funny issue for us to start on, but...

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On the other hand, this block organization may make things quite difficult for radical organization. They are interested in getting the housing code enforced, in cleaning up slum dwellings, in finding children's play areas, etc. It is precisely these things which raise property values. They want to do all the right things for all the wrong reasons and are doing it as a "civic duty" from the top.

Speaking of strange bedfellows, our Democratic precinct captain stopped by last week to convince us to vote for Johnson. When he saw a CORE poster on the wall, he knew he was home safe. Saturday he asked me to be a voting judge, for \$45, and I accerted--you've heard of white mercenaries--we'll do anything. Besides having political acumen, this man is talkative; and, in his truly delightful manner, he passes on much valuable information about the area.

Are we being bought off by this precinct captain? It is hard to say. He has visited us three times now, has developed warm personal relations with the staff. How this will affect, say, an attempt on our part to organize a Freedom Democratic Club in this ward is uncertain but it worries us greatly.

This precinct captain business brings to mind the fact that we live under the jurisdiction of the strongest political machine in the country. There is, for example, not a great shortage of social services in our most Democratic of precincts. If someone is sick, the precinct captain gets him into the hospital; if he has a ticket, the captain can fix it; and if he needs a job, the precinct captain can very often speak to the city factory inspector who can pass over a violation in return for a job for a good Democrat.

A final note. There seem to be a large number of school dropouts in the neighborhood who, hopefully, could be recruited as a activist wing of JOIN. While Richie and I see no natural means of approach open to them, the second-youngest ERAP organizer in the country (Paul) is a natural-born teenager complete with blade and hooded jacket. He decided, in conference with staff and Rennie, to attempt contact. His first night out brought home to all of us just how serious was this decision: the kids here play very rough, probably as rough as any city gangs in the country. He's having to walk a tight-rope between complete involvement and observation-exclusion. We all think the involvement of these kids is very important, but are wondering seriously if the risk is worthwhile. We will appreciate information (direct and immediate) from any of the projects concerning detached worker techniques and experiences.

And one more final note: Our participation in the Cleveland Community Conference now seems more likely. Not because our questions have really been answered, but because we feel that we really have nothing to lose if the people we take are really excited about it. We still haven't talked to very many people about it, but one woman already has her bags packed.

Reporter--Glenn Thureson

In trying to define the relevant contexts in which we work, it has become clear that all of Newark and all of New Jersey must be confronted if our small movement in Clinton Hill is to be more than a dramatic uprising. Here we want to spell out the questions and the arguments that brought us to this conclusion, and propose that ERAP consider investing greater resources in a New Jersey Project.

At the very outset we knew that a potential majority of Jersey citizens are poor Negroes, poor whites, or industrial workers, the groups we see as basic to social change. In taking stock of our situation after five months, we think we must reach that potential majority if we are to survive.

This is immediately true of Newark itself. This is the largest city in the state, and the concentration of poverty here is immense compared to any other. The Negro ghetto is nearly the size of Harlem, and contains at least half the residents of Newark. The majority of two of the five wards is Negro; the majority of a third ward is working class and poor white. Official unemployment in the city is over 10 percent, housing conditions are seriously dilapidated and deteriorating, the schools and welfare systems are the usual inadequate and cruel links in the cycle of poverty.

The major Newark response to these problems is urban renewal, pushed seemingly by local politicians, insurance and financial capital, commercial interests and real estate operators. It is a program to remove or gerrymander the poor, and create a favorable situation for business. Newark takes on particular significance if one sees urban renewal as a major national issue because the city prides itself on being a pilot city in the field. The other measures to handle the poor are equally dubious. The local war-on-poverty funds at present are being fought over by politicians who mostly will pocket the money and further their patronage empires. The small liberal coalition of Negro politicians, civil rights groups and maverick individual liberals with various aspirations will make a relatively sincere attempt to deal with poverty, but will fail in our opinion because they are trying to shape the poor to fit the system.

The bleakness of the picture in Newark seems to be repeated in the other major cities of the state: Trenton, Camden, Paterson, Jersey City, Elizabeth and Atlantic City. But a characteristic of the state is that there are not metropolitan centers spreading out into suburbs and then farmland, but instead an urban strip down the middle of the state with large and small concentrations of poverty throughout. Thus Englewood, the Oranges, and Asbury Park have fairly robust civil rights movements; automation and bad working conditions spark wild-cat and independent union strikes in Linden, Toms River and Hoboken; and pockets of poor whites are found in a string of industrial suburbs around Newark, as well as in Hackensack, Union City and South River. Proud as it is of its diversity, New Jersey's poverty spread even into the rural areas where only 15 percent of the people live: the migrant labor camps in the south are among the worst in the East; and cow farmers in the farm-intensive areas along the upper Delaware River participated in the farmers holding action this fall.

On a statewide basis the response to problems is no more effective than within Newark. The aftermath of rioting in Jersey City, Elizabeth, and Paterson this summer was the training of local policemen in riot control by state policemen. The priorities for state spending in the public sector are those which benefit business interests: interstate highways and expansion of the Turnpike, giant port facilities, luxury apartments and the replacement of slums with state-subsidized light industry and office buildings. In the private sector investment goes into new automated factories outside the cities, and particularly into the massive and depraved culture of the highway: Holiday motels, restaurants, gas stations, discount centers and retail outlets. Only editorial concern is devoted to the poor: the incidence of school budgets defeated by

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referendum is extraordinarily high; the smaller towns ignore their pickets of poor, rather than make use of the federal funds; and the larger cities turn the liberal programs into cruel jokes against the poor: urban renewal, welfare, retraining and cultural improvement.

Since the state is both economically diversified and the people are divided into separate cities, we are not faced with the phenomenon of a single liberal institution dominating state politics--such as metropolitan machines or labor unions do in several Northern states. Indeed, the liberal machinery seems as fragmented as the poor white and Negro groups we want to reach.

This power-fragmentation creates a smokescreen hiding the basic power relations in the state, making it very difficult for a neighborhood movement to identify its enemies. However, as one begins to consider himself in a state context, or even a Newark context, for Newark is the financial center of the state, certain enemies become very visible: 85 of the top 100 American corporations have making operations in New Jersey. At a state level, too, the general liberal crisis becomes visible: the modern urban politicians countered by petty-conservative forces in the Legislature and wedded to the interests of the corporations, banks, investment and insurance companies. The central issues of "liberal corporatism" here take on concrete form through men and institutions.

The assault on the whole system, and consequently the beginnings of a democratic movement within the city and the state, are thus made certainly as difficult as such an assault in a deep Southern state. But these conditions also require that a movement's vision be large enough to see the adversaries and to weld enough elements of a coalition to make a challenge realistic.

The way the Newark project has faced these considerations is 1) by organizing in a small area a democratic movement which quickly confronts politically that part of the power structure which is most real to them, and 2) at the same time beginning to build a statewide network of communication through which insurgent and sympathetic forces can begin to weld a statewide program and strategy.

There are four major tasks which the Newark project must perform in order to do this.

1. service properly the local movement here in Clinton Hill, building a politically-oriented multi-issue organization.
2. initiate similar movements in nearby areas of poverty, so that the concept of an interacial multi-issue movement with statewide significance is a real one to people in Clinton Hill.
3. research more thoroughly the political and economic structure of the city and the state, so that insurgent movements have programs which strike at critical points.
4. communicate with and pull together the various elements in the state which conceivably could have a common program. Within the state, most progress has been made creating a functioning relationship with Local 1199 (Hospital Workers), the Community Action Project and SDS at New Brunswick, and Bergen County High School SDS chapter, a group at Rutgers Law School, and in-state ADA. But this work must be done on a much more intensive level and with many more groups.

In Clinton Hill, there has been a serious deterioration of morale, and in some cases a collapse of operations, because of the steady decline in number of staff. There has been no addition to the basic core group which existed at the end of the summer, and two people, even if it were their only task, could not service an organization this large. In order to maintain the summer's work, many hours work must go into each of six block groups, both keeping up participation, and helping to carry out activities. A much larger portion of work must be done to service the Program Committee, also meeting weekly. Increasingly it is becoming evident that a block group has certain limitations; and that active and meaningful

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participation must go beyond that. It seems equally evident that the Program Committee, the central coordinating and action group for the neighborhood, cannot fulfill this need. One solution may be the organization of issue groups: an unemployed council, a welfare committee, a schools committee. If some innovation is not made, the expansion does not occur, the core group becomes frozen in its leadership position, and more of a social clique.

It is an immediate necessity that four full time people see their immediate job as servicing the Clinton Hill movement. It is important that a Negro be among these four when increasing a staff of whites in an all-Negro community. The hiring of community people as staff is certainly desirable, but there are two major difficulties: being on the staff is usually a substitute for a paying job, and we must compete with 20th century American wages, which on present budget we cannot do; and community staff often cannot put in as much time on the project, due to other commitments. At present, one community person, Terry Jefferson, considers herself staff, and a few others devote a major (more than 10 hours a week) amount of time. Norman Fruchter puts in two days per week collecting and reporting housing violations. Barry Kalish may return in November, although his legal entanglements in Detroit are not over with. In addition, Stanley Aronowitz probably is moving back to Newark where the central office of his union is located. If this happens, he will put more or less fulltime energy into the project.

Part-time help is needed. We want to broach with ERAP and Clinton Hill people the prospect of a dozen or two students coming here for the Christmas period to conduct a massive canvass, or perhaps leaflet for a major rally. Probably a similar program can be developed around college spring vacation. And there presumably will be a summer staff, of 15 or so, for Clinton Hill in 1965.

There is pressing need to begin projects elsewhere in the area. The most likely places at present seem to be in two white areas: the Ironbound section of Newark's East Ward, which is a working class area, which together with the southeastern section of the minority ghetto make up the whole ward; and sections of Jersey City, the state's second largest city (275,000.) In addition, extension of the Clinton Hill project into the Central Ward, the center of the ghetto and unemployment in the city, is necessary if the potential of the Negro majority in the city is to be utilized. Two alternatives exist for initiating new projects: either we recruit someone capable of initiating an organization in these areas, or the Clinton Hill organization become staffed well enough for one of us to leave. Our proposal is to begin these three projects by the Spring with exploratory work such as that which occurred in the Spring stage of the Clinton Hill project. This means that the directors or responsible people in these new projects must be known, if not already available full-time, by about March-April. We would suppose approximately a dozen people in Jersey City, East and Central Ward projects, bringing the total summer staff, including Clinton Hill, to around 50. Probably the summer plan could be enlarged to cover more cities and involve more students but we assume that other ERAP projects will need staff we could use here.

Besides block-organizers and all-purpose people, we particularly need those who will take on continuous "intelligence" and research work as their role in the community organization. An immediate need, for which we have almost no time, is to uncover the holders of the mortgages for slum landlords. Dozens of similar investigations, each revealing new facts about the web of city power, are remaining undone because of lack of staff. Needless to say, these are not investigations we indulge in for fancy but because we immediately need to understand those who we are up against and who are trying to undercut our organization. This need is closely related to that of propaganda and exposure, which currently is carried on through a weekly mimeod newsletter which we do on Friday nights. The potential of this instrument is immense; what it lacks is sustained attention to its content. Besides the newsletter there are a variety of community education projects which are stalled because of

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staff inadequacies; one of the most immediate is the need for a handbill or booklet explaining the present stage of the whole urban renewal fight, especially the efforts of the City to pretend the fight is over.

In the "intelligence" area Carl is maintaining a modest file on landlords and both of us study the newspapers and pick up gossip. Bob Heifetz is beginning to attend Tuesday night meetings regularly, and is a useful source on questions of housing program. That's all there is.

A major portion of time is spent among potential allies both in Newark and around New Jersey. We have made some progress at this even while keeping up a haphazard schedule. But of course a statewide movement will not spring up because the two of us run in circles around students and professors, civil rights and liberal groups. It will spring up as we build a structure by adding actual staff and starting new projects among the unorganized constituencies. We do not at this point conceive of any formal statewide organization except for the SDS staff. Instead we now look towards the development of a state staff plus a "network" of loosely-connected people and groups which finally come to be an independent political institution. The bones of this must be the full-time organizing staff and the people they are directly organizing; around such a developing movement we feel the major needed middle-class elements can be brought in: the unions, churches, faculties, etc. The point here, as with all the preceding, is that literally everything depends on the creation of the independent statewide staff, for it is only this which mobilizes the new constituencies and makes whatever alliances are needed with already-existing groups.

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