

ERAP NEWSLETTER

November 16-23

1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Ann Arbor Report.

ERAP National Committee Meeting. Cleveland, Ohio. November 7 and 8

Sessions began Saturday morning with representatives from Baltimore, Chester, Chicago, Cleveland, Newark and Philadelphia. Most of the discussions were geared toward strategic and programmatic questions faced by organizers and did not try to reach formal consensus or pass resolutions. Debate covered (1) problems faced by ERAP programs (particularly how to employ volunteer or part-time staff and how do we organize unemployed?); (2) the Administration's War on Poverty; (3) the Cleveland community leaders' conference; and (4) SDS expansion. *agenda*

I. Problems Faced by ERAP Programs

(a) "Volunteer" and part-time staff *Staff*

A distinction needs to be made between volunteers who work in the community for a short period of time (including a summer), but are full time while in the community, and part-time people who live in the community for an extended period of time, but who work with the project only a few hours a week. The chief distinction between these two categories is the relative possibility for part-time staff to build and maintain personal relations with those in the community whom they bring into the organization. *Process*

Underlying this distinction is the feeling that individuals attracted to the organization by a particular organizer need to be followed up by that organizer, and cannot always be "transferred" to some other person for more intimate contact. A volunteer who does not intend to live in a community is limited in his role as an organizer insofar as he is not able to continuously follow through his initial contacts.

At the end of the summer (or semester) or the beginning of exam periods, volunteers are forced to leave the communities where they have worked leaving behind them a number of demoralized individuals who think the organization has sold them out.

It was agreed that the presence of a stable, well working project with a full time staff outnumbering the "volunteers" reduced significantly the problems of follow-up and transfer. Still, the role of the volunteer organizer has serious limitations which needed fuller consideration.

The central point in the argument against the use of volunteer organizing staff was that the organizer is in the community to serve the people

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and not primarily for what personal education or value re-orientation the organizer may derive. From this it follows that the presence of voluntary staff, no matter how personally beneficial, is undesirable so long as it works against the optimum success in organizing the community.

Philadelphia people reported that they had met with some success by pairing part-time students with full-time organizers, although they had only been attempting block work with volunteers for a couple of weeks and therefore could not judge fully the dangers in this approach. Other projects thought that a number of alternative uses for volunteer people should be considered which would not require long-term community commitments. The two most obvious jobs are one-shot surveys in the community and research work related to understanding the neighborhood and city-power structure, relief system, planning programs, etc., which effect the neighborhood and city.

Cleveland reported some success in tutorials, notably involving high school students as tutors.

The second category of part-time staff, the person who is a part of the community and offers some specific service a few hours a week or month, deserves more favorable attention. Because he is in the community for a long time to come--years--he is able gradually to build up personal rapport, even though he is part-time. Such a person can organize, run a legal aid program or regular workshops on relevant issues which the community confronts.

(b) Organizing in JOIN projects. Richard Rothstein noted that JOIN, working primarily with unemployed people, found radical perspectives common among members. Rothstein saw the central problem for JOIN in the development of significant tasks for radicals to do. He suggested that many of the projects were committed to programs that served only to develop radicals by working first on non-radical issues. This distinction was vigorously disputed. Rothstein asked if the tendency in JOIN projects to revert to "immediate grievances" as the major organizing program in JOIN wasn't a step or more backwards, since JOIN already had the radicals and didn't need "GROIN-type" organizing. In his view the introduction of small issues into Chicago and other JOIN projects (Philadelphia and Baltimore) occurred simply because of a dearth of meaningful actions radicals can take in the city in the pursuit of jobs.

Rothstein contended that in Chicago, at least, the unemployed were not primarily concerned with day to day problems of housing, recreation, clean-up, etc. but felt and were deeply articulate about social alienation and political powerlessness. This poses a difficult organizing situation when the group is still weak: on the one hand, the unemployed respond directly to the most radical approach, but have not been able to develop any continuing radical program; on the other hand they are not terribly excited by the less radical GROIN issues.

Responding to this viewpoint, Carl Wittman and others insisted that organizing around the so-called "immediate" grievances was not a method simply to provide people with a "radicalizing experience" in order

to make them bona fide radicals. He agreed that radicals exist at the bottom of society, in Newark as well as Chicago, and that they are willing to make radical demands. But that does not mean that the specific issues of housing, recreation, education, police brutality, welfare, and clean up cannot be fit together into a radical program of demands. These issues are the tangible manifestations of people's alienation. Around them programs can be built that both give people day to day tasks and apply pressures at central nerve points of the society which created the issues. It is the intellectual task of the organizers and the community groups to understand how the issues interrelate and to plan programs that dramatize the interrelationships.

debate
JOIN-
GROIN

Unresolved in the discussion was the initial problem of developing a specific comprehensive program for JOIN.

(2) War on Poverty. - various cities

In every city where SDS is organizing, plans are underway among business and public bureaucrats for getting federal funds from the newly created Office of Economic Opportunity. Most of that money will go into creating new employes of professionals and social workers. But some will flow into programs which will effect a few of the people with whom we work.

WOP

We will be fundamentally opposed to the top-down service approach of the city anti-poverty drive. In some communities, where the "Poverty Boards" have programs which blatantly perpetuate existing political power, ERAP may work to fight the representative nature of these Boards. In Cleveland, for example, the Mayor's Board has been challenged by ERAP community groups, church, civil rights and university representatives. The challenge has temporarily stalled consideration of the Cleveland poverty proposal in Washington while Cleveland's program is investigated.

Baltimore and possibly the Chicago projects will be using the war on poverty issue for developing new organization and expanding the existing program of JOIN. Plans are to organize in the community against the unrepresentative nature of the program, to encourage city people to attend JOIN meetings to defend their approach to ending poverty, to send delegations to Mayors and other officials demanding copies of the secret drafts and to attempt some formulation of alternative poverty programs within the community groups.

The Committee discussed the possibility of getting money from the official poverty program. Because of the nature of our work, it was agreed that not much would be available. Newark people thought that some money might be available for social centers (new and old offices) under Title II and for hiring indigenous community people onto the staff (Title II). In Newark, the poverty board is much more open to private groups and individuals than in most cities and the city seems eager to display a great proliferation of activity and projects. It was generally agreed that if government support could be gotten

Chicago
notes

without inviting smear and investigations, without jeopardizing SDS tax status, and without seriously diverting resources and energy to get the grant, money (however dirty) should be taken.

IV. Cleveland Community Conference

About 15 Cleveland people from Citizens United for Adequate Welfare, CORE, and the Lakeview tenant's council attended. ERAP project representatives briefly described their city's program, the size of their organization, and the expected number of representatives to a national ERAP meeting of community people in Cleveland. The major part of the meeting was devoted to determining the date of the conference. The Cleveland people felt that the early December date did not give them adequate time to prepare for housing and food for the participants. Others from different projects said that preparations for the conference had been underway for a long period in their cities and that people had made arrangements for babysitters, job substitutes, etc. for the first weekend in December. It was finally agreed that the Cleveland people had to make the final decision since they had the major responsibility. In meetings later in the week, all of the Cleveland groups would meet and set a date.

V. SDS Expansion

The rapid growth of the organization in recent months and the prospects for even greater development in the immediate future raised a number of issues and problems which concern not only ERAP but the entire organization. A special session was set aside in which the PREP, FEP and ERAP committees heard Paul Potter outline some of the issues central to the growth of the organization and propose a conception for the expansion of SDS.

Paul suggested three central questions or problems. First, he asked what kind of expansion do we want to see? Is it to be primarily organization of one class of people such as the poor? Are we to spread out horizontally with new ERAP projects and community groups and perhaps a major concentration in a single state? Or should we emphasize incorporating new groups of people -- reaching up vertically to professionals, scholars, artists, students and so on. Second, what should be the nature of our expansion? Should SDS expand into new areas with untested organizing techniques? Should the organization continue, as it has in ERAP, to emphasize the experimental quality of its organizing activity? Or should we be putting resources into projects which have "proved" themselves? Third, what type of organization are we becoming? Paul pointed out that the three major projects in the organization were primarily adult projects dealing with "adult" problems. The organization increasingly is looking beyond the campus for new relevancy. Its national leadership no longer belongs to the campus. Its program has great appeal to adults around the country. What are the implications for the increasing adult or non-campus emphasis in SDS?

The proposal Paul made for SDS expansion was based on a conception of regional or area organization. Where there are major centers of SDS people (an ERAP project, a national project office, a strong chapter or group of chapters), new organization at all levels should be sought. The organization could not attempt to build chapters in areas where they cannot be serviced or where a multitude of campus and community programs cannot be supported and extended. This is not meant to discourage a group of people who want to start an SDS program in a new region. It is only to say that priority in terms of staff time should be devoted to building up areas where SDS already exists.

evg

Paul also called for recognition of the growing division between the adult and campus arms of the organization. He thought eventually the two divisions would split into fraternal but separate organizations. A separate adult organization of older SDS members and others is needed, both for the greater appeal a distinctively adult organization will have for people over 25 who haven't been able to identify with a student organization and for the campus (and younger) base of the organization which has looked to older people in SDS for leadership and have not felt in a position to assume it themselves with more experienced people around.

CA

leadership

The discussion which followed was short because of time limitations. It was pointed out by Carl Wittman that any effective community organizing project needed to build coalitions with organized people outside of the poor neighborhood. The distinction between horizontal and vertical organization when applied to ERAP was not valid. Todd Gitlin expressed concern that planning the organization's growth could lead to stultifying spontaneous developments and could impair organizational flexibility. Richard Rothstein said that it would be harmful to split SDS into two divisions. There should be no distinction between students and "adults." Many students came into SDS because they wanted to fight paternalism and be a part of society now, rather than play let's pretend for a period of time. SDS should be allowed to grow naturally -- to include community people, professors, adult organizers, students and anyone else committed to a movement for a democratic society. It should not separate students from such an organization because they are younger or have "special interests."

SDS-ERAP

The CCP has been delinquent in failing to submit weekly reports lately. This, therefore, will be a capsule summary of the past three weeks.

CUPAW: Over the past 3 weeks the major activity for CUPAW has been trying to get free lunches for high school students of parents on relief. This has entailed going to the local schools to talk with principals and to see exactly how the present program operates, gathering petitions, and talking to school officials downtown. The week before the election CUPAW sponsored a public meeting where a guest speaker discussed the candidates and issues in the presidential campaign. There were nearly 40 people from the community who attended, including some from U-JOIN and the housing project.

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The women from the East side of town who have been attending meetings are now organizing a CUPAW chapter on the East side (Negro side). This will ease some of the transportation problems that have arisen; it will also enable the group to grow at a faster rate since the meeting places for Eastiders will be more accessible.

BYJ

This week one of the neighborhood "clusters" will hold its first meeting. The group consists of about 8 mothers living within 6 houses of each other. Most of them are on relief, have attended at least one large CUPAW meeting, have problems about which they are interested in talking. The direction and structure of this cluster will be decided by the participants.

HOUSING: The housing group has decided to concentrate this month on recruitment, with a particular emphasis on meeting all the new people who appeared at the most recent tenants' council meeting. Our hope is to win over these people to a position supporting the proposal that the CCP work cooperatively with the council. We have made some progress, established some new good contacts; but a discouraging factor is that many of the people who attended the meeting are "golden agers"--as is also true for the entire project--and these people are philosophically resigned to their lot and many of them are perfectly content with their housing and with the management. We fear that this is the rule rather than the exception for older people, at least in terms of building a viable organization in the project. Our stress will have to be on finding younger people. We will be expanding the size and conception of the "rebel caucus," to bring into it more housing project people and to introduce non-project issues, e.g. schools. We are also going to experiment with the neighborhood "cluster" concept, similar to block clubs.

Age

The housing group recently has been working with CORE, which is doing community organization in housing projects on the East side. There are, of course, the same problems of poor maintenance, inadequate recreational facilities, and above all, a paternalistic, dictatorial management. A meeting this week brought together some CORE and CCP organizers, and tenants from 3 different projects. Our hope is that we can build up cooperation and support among and within the different tenants' councils (CORE is trying to form some) which can ultimately result in a city-wide assault on the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority. More immediately, we would like to involve the Eastiders in the community people's conference that will strengthen our own organization and it will be a positive step towards the necessary coalitions for political action. (The East side projects are heavily Negro, compared to those in the EWS.)

GENERAL DIRECTION: We have begun to discuss in depth the concept of building a community union on the Near West Side. Such a union is still very loosely defined, as is our strategy for developing it. While there is consensus about the importance of involving low-income people in a NWS movement, as opposed to or in addition to the dispossessed, we have not agreed upon the issues around which to organize of the organizational structure of the union. Possible issues include the spring councilmanic elections, schools, or, in the more immediate future, the community peoples' conference (more on this later). Several possible approaches are being tried on an experimental basis: doing a survey of neighborhood bars--there are well over 100 in our neighborhood--to obtain more information about where, how, and when men in the NWS congregate and spend their time; speaking to people in the NWS who have been suggested to us as persons concerned with education. There are many unanswered questions which we will continue to raise in subsequent discussions and reports. For example, what role should the existing groups of CUEAW, U-JOIN, and the tenants' council have in a community union?

The Election: The CCP--staff and community people--and the Meatcutters Local constituted THE political organization in our Ward. About a dozen of our community people worked in varying capacities in an election day: distribution of literature at the polls, telephoning, etc. Whenever possible, our focus was on the Young-Taft race rather than the presidential contest which we knew wouldn't be a real contest in the city wards. (As an aside, we again discovered the power of propaganda: many of the people in the community had swallowed the line that a young bad man is better than a good old man. "Steve Iping is old and should be retired" is what we were told over and over again.) What we did learn from this election is that neither party has any organization in this Ward, at least not for State and Federal elections--we don't know what kinds of people will spring to life for the councilmanic elections. Our guess is that we could easily take over the Ward. An exciting related development is that the Meatcutters Union is interested in independent (labor) political action in our Ward.

Community peoples' conference: The ERAP et al. meetings in Cleveland this past weekend were a tremendous boon to the project as a result of their involving community people. While community people were specifically invited to participate in the discussion about the conference, several people helped us out on meal preparations and took part in other discussions as well. We all found it a mutually beneficial experience. The CCP staff was admittedly irresponsible in not having begun to talk about the conference earlier, though we did feel reluctant to do so (1) because we didn't know what other projects were thinking and (2) because of the shaky state of our own programs. At any rate, the members of the Cleveland groups felt that they needed anywhere from 2 to 4 months to plan a conference (many of them drawing on their experiences with the laymen's conference of the Inner City Protestant Parrish) though everyone was very excited about the idea of a conference. The discussion with the community people and the ERAP staffers was a spirited one, and after polling the other projects for their preferences, it was agreed that the conference should occur no later than February (exact date will be determined by groups meeting this weekend). Our expectations and desires for having the ERAP meeting here, so as to involve community people, were very much realized and it was an exciting new change for us all.

War on Poverty program or the "agit-corp": We continue to participate in the meetings which become more and more discouraging. In attendance are some good and some not-so-good liberals, many of whom are apolitical and have little if any comprehension of the essential need for politics in such a group. Several of our community people have been involved in the meetings: some have sensitively

and sharply perceived the problems of the group (basically that it is a group of non-poor people who want the poor to be represented on the poverty corporation board, but don't want to or know how to put the control of the rebel group into the hands of the real poor people; to the poor people, it is still "their" group, i.e. the liberal rebels; others have been less critical of the agit-corp though they are nevertheless learning a lot about politics. We will continue to participate on a nominal basis since we, by and large, are the only political people involved on a regular basis and the only ones who really criticize the agit-corp from the left. We feel that our involvement is necessary and desirable now, since the Establishment corporation is beginning, apparently, to feel threatened by the agit-corp, and has begun to make some overtures to it; this perhaps suggests that the agit-corp, and therefore we, will be able to exert some influence on the nature of the Board and the final program.

Campus organizing: Our tutorial project is booming in size and in troubles. We have already had an orientation day for a second group of tutors and held our first seminar on social issues, which opened our eyes to the fact that the political views of our tutors ranged from one United World Federalist, to one Goldwater fan, to one good potential radical, to many potential reactionaries. We were, however, impressed with the openmindedness of most of the kids and their willingness to talk and discuss controversy; and noticeable changes in attitudes among the most dogmatically conservative have begun to appear. Most of the problems with the tutorial stem from the fact that there is a right-wing movement in the suburb where the tutors live, and the distribution of our newsletter among the kids and eventually their parents and others in the area met with strong opposition and some suggestions of red-baiting. Their school has been badgered by calls and some of the tutors have begun to encounter parental resistance. A new complication arose from the tutors' visit to the public housing project where, by arrangement, they met with the project director. She was not told that the tutors are connected with us, though she was aware of it, and began a series of rumors back to the kids' schools, to the effect that they were involved in a hassle while in the project. Fortunately, the tutors' school adviser is backing us, and interestingly enough, none of the tutors has dropped out of the program. Most recent development: the school wants the kids to disassociate from SDS, since SDS does not provide "a firm basis for continuation or expansion of the tutorial." The kids, on the other hand (we learned from a long discussion with them) would prefer to continue working with us and they want to disassociate the tutorial from their school. There's been much talk, disagreement, and some hard feelings resulting from this conflict; hopefully things will be resolved within the next week.

Other campus tidbits: we have had two work-study weekends with kids from a high school SFW chapter, 2 kids each weekend. They did some in the community and got introduced to the CCP and SDS. These are the same kids who tentatively plan a city-wide high school conference on peace issues. . . Hope springs high for a chapter to soon begin at the Western Reserve-Case Institute complex (by the December NC?) We've talked to a substantial number of people there several of them are now doing the groundwork for starting a chapter. . . Also hopes for an Antioch chapter in the near future.

Staff: part-time help: We've been facing the problem of having lots in the city interested in our work and wanting to help in some way, on a regular or a sporadic basis. The problem has been our inability to devise meaningful work for volunteer help of that sort. We are finally--slowly but surely--beginning to find the answers. A local musician who is very interested in our work may join the staff; his job would be to devise a service program based around music for people in the neighborhood. . . A graduate student at Western Reserve is beginning to do

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research for us on the political, economic, formal, informal, etc., power structures of the city of Cleveland and the 8th Ward in particular. We hope to involve other students with him, and perhaps some faculty politics as well. (Such information gathering is essential if we plan to enter politics) A young guy in the neighborhood is a writer, also very interested in our work, and may be interested in doing some writing for us. Finally, we're beginning to develop ways in which volunteers can do organizing work, probably through work-study weekends, such as surveys or contacting names we've been given.

Unusual item of the week: The CCP house will soon become the first ERAP project house to host a wedding ceremony. The directors of our tutorial are getting married, in our house, this weekend, and the total community is a-coming. Beat that, fellow ERAPers!

DISCUSSION OF THE BOSTON PREP PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

THIS PAPER IS NOT A PROSPECTUS FOR THE BOSTON PREP PROGRAM.

Rather, it is a discussion of various possibilities open to B-PREP and the implications of these possibilities. The chances of success associated with different courses of action are considered from three points of view: (1) Is the situation in question and the climate of opinion (actual or potential) toward that situation, such that the chances for success of our efforts, objectively viewed, are reasonably favorable? (2) If the chance for success is acceptable, does B-PREP have the resources to carry out the steps that must be taken to achieve success? (3) If adequate resources are available, is this particular activity, as it fits overall PREP and SDS aims, the best use of those resources? Since we will be considering several different activities, whose resource requirements and chances of success are only vaguely known at this time, the discussion and the decisions which conclude it will necessarily be complex.

The different activities to be discussed are (1) expansion of the scope of the Conversion Report - a relatively straight forward issue, (2) the organizing of a Regional Conversion Conference, (3) community organizing, (4) a concentrated effort to push for conversion of the Watertown Arsenal, (5) direct B-PREP research work, using SDS members, and (6) the development of research prospectuses which can serve to attract research grants.

In discussing B-PREP (and national PREP) resources one issue we must face squarely is how well a particular activity taps the motivational roots that drive most SDS members. It is clear that ERAP generally has a clear cut advantage in this regard. I fear that there may sometimes be a divergence between courses of action that are apt to be effective in meeting conversion problems and courses of action that will elicit enthusiastic participation of SDS members. If so, effective compromises must be worked out.

I shouldn't close the discussion of B-PREP resources without mentioning the obvious fact that a staff of one full-time person is an extremely severe limitation on any program of activities and serious thought must be given to augmentation. For reasons I will discuss later, I don't think SDS chapter can possibly take up all the slack.

EXPANSION OF CONVERSION REPORT

There seems to be a good chance that we can get independent funding from businesses and possibly (some) from labor unions in the Boston area. We have a personal introduction and endorsement to the presidents of several Boston banks through a friendly and prestigious Boston business executive.

The pitch to make to potential supporters, I think, is that B-PREP's program of activities is broadening into other areas and we need special funding if we are even to continue CR in its present form; moreover, it should be expanded to fill a strong need for coordination of individual, diverse efforts being made on conversion. We will state the case for expanding it, in contents and distribution, and for using a better production process, such as photo offset. The proposed budget will provide for a full-time CR staffer and also cover 20% of my time. The proposed contents will include: (1) conversion clearing house - a calendar of relevant meetings, events and who's who in conversion of New England (2) out-of-state reports on creative efforts on conversion, a discussion of proposed or needed legislation - state and national, (4) a discussion of conversion alternatives - areas for example, in which developing technology converges with important social needs, (5) background articles on the international setting for arms contracts, etc., (6) reviews of relevant books and articles, (7) specific company experience with conversion, (9) reports from community groups working on conversion, such as the Bedford Fellowship for Social Action, (10) progress reports and planning of Boston PREP, particularly activities in which participation is wanted from local "conversion people", such as the Regional Conference.

A prospectus for the expanded CR will be ready any moment - may be available for review at the EC meeting.

REGIONAL CONVERSION CONFERENCE

This activity still has much uncertainty surrounding it. What should be the primary aim of the conference? Should it serve an outlet and forum for discussing detailed (and, in some cases, technically oriented) conversion problems and proposals - so that economists, marketing people, engineers, some directly concerned businessmen and labor people would be the main participants? Should it focus more narrowly and appeal only to a few of these groups - for example, labor people only or businessmen, engineers, and economists? Should it orient primarily toward community groups and community action? (For example, the National Association of Social Workers has offered to be a sponsor and have suggested Dean Shotland of Brandeis as a well-qualified speaker on the impact of conversion on community welfare and services). We don't know yet whether the National Association of Government Employees (who represent manufacturing and maintenance workers at both the Arsenal and the Navy Yard) will participate in a conference. We know they have fought strongly and recently with AFL-CIO over who was to be bargaining agent and would be sensitive about other labor groups that were involved. Is the large amount of man-hours of effort required to organize and carry out a Conference worth the potential return at this point in PREP's efforts - assuming a February or March date for it. I think a Conference would require at least the full-time effort of one capable person for two or three months as the prime mover, plus some other part-time assistance. Is it better to schedule a Conference for next fall so that one or more full-time summer staff could be responsible for the organization work?

If we hold a winter Conference I would propose that two aims should guide it: (1) create a sharp and educated awareness on the part of labor and business that defense cutbacks are already hitting greater Boston (Massachusetts and New England) hard, will soon be hitting even harder, and will seriously

aggravate economic weaknesses that already exist and (2) furnish a few specific proposals that can furnish the basis for organized action to meet the local conversion problems. Under (1) we would analyze from a local, prestigious and informed economist, business leader, and labor leader. Under (2) we would want specific proposals presented on (a) converting the Navy Yard as a renovator of the New England fishing fleet, (b) converting the Watiston Arsenal (a part of it) as a Conversion Technology Center and/or some other alternatives if they appear more promising, (c) what a community group can do as a study and survey effort to isolate the degree to which their town is dependent on defense contracts and how vulnerable they are to cutbacks, the latter based on the composition supporting of defense projects and how these fit current trends in defense expenditures (the Bedford effort might serve as an example here), (d) areas of conversion for defense electronic firms, oriented possible toward small firms, (e) the need for a Regional (state-wide, at least to start with) Conversion Committee, its composition and organization, and its function in initiating and coordinating regional work on conversion -- presented by some one like Harry Ellis, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

Probably some SDS chapter members can be drawn into the work required to set up a Conference. Such work, however, will not have very strong appeal (probably consisting of material preparation, mailings, some telephone work regarding attendees and other arrangements, and possibly a little personal contact work.). Nathan Riley is going to sense the reaction of the Simmon's chapter to such activities when he speaks to them in the next few days.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Bedford is the one place where something fairly tangible has been accomplished. Even here, we do not know if the present Study Committee will recommend a positive course of action for the Fellowship or whether it will adopt a positive program if one is recommended. But, in any case, it is proper to leave direct control in their hands and our future actions in Bedford must depend upon what they do or don't do. The group seems to be leaning toward a fact-finding study on Bedford's present dependency and vulnerability to future cutbacks - if they do anything.

Lexington is ready for an organizational push, I think, based on the summer work there. Nathan Riley is going to get a group of 2 or 3 SDS members from Harvard (and maybe MIT) to formulate and describe several specific research topics that should be interesting to a group of predominantly professional people to work on collectively -- meeting one evening every two weeks perhaps. Riley and company will do much of the personal contact work and correspondence required to set up the research group and meet with it. The output of the group could be published as a Supplement of Conversion Report; or, if it is oriented toward the Watertown Arsenal, for example, it might be presented at the Regional Conference. Salvation Luria, a well-known biochemist at MIT and an active member of SSRS, has said he'd like to talk with me about Boston PREP, and I hope to interest him in leading or participating in the Conversion Research Group.

There is plenty of room for other community organizing approaches on conversion but I'm not sure that Boston Prep, staff-wise or chapter-wise, has the resources to try other things before next summer.

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Clearly a major possibility that should be pursued is the "organizing" in some fashion of defense workers who are unemployed or scheduled or expected to be. There are some indications that "pockets" of defense unemployment may be cropping up. I talked last week with a defense production manager for G.E. in Lynn, who was recently discharged after he had completed the process of laying off 138 of the 151 members of his production team. He described a whole series of defense projects of G.E. that are folding up in this area. He must have been making \$ 15 - 20,000 a year, and can't find a thing so far. He knows several others in the same boat. I'm going to ask him to write up his experiences as a case study for Conversion Report.

Unfortunately, worker organization is going to be very difficult because of the wide geographic scattering of workers in any one installation. For example, there are 52 towns with 10 or more Water Arsenal (WA) employees and only five with more than 100; 35 towns have less than 35 employees. It may not be quite as bad at the Navy Yard (NY) but still bad. In both cases, the Union (NAGE) has in fact taken the leadership in reacting to the projected cutbacks -- even though their sole thrust has been to gain public support for pressuring Washington into retaining both installations, unchanged. I doubt if we can do anything effective that is not through NAGE or sanctioned by it. We will probably know in a couple of weeks what the unions true attitude is toward conversion. I suspect a rather long educational program will be necessary if any significant number of workers are to be convinced that conversion, rather than business-as-usual, is desirable or has any possibility of amounting to anything. Meanwhile, at least at WA, a Personnel Placement Team is operating as a permanent fixture of the 2-year "phase-down" with the announced purpose of assisting workers in retraining, in finding new employment, or in relocating within the government. The firings are gradual (250 each 3 months), the workers' residences are geographically scattered, and undoubted some placements are being made. So there seems little chance that any insurgency will appear spontaneously or be easily prompted. In general, the system is well designed to encourage individual suffering and fortitude through the long, lean days.

I am seeing the Chief of the Personnel Placement Team next Tuesday. He seemed thrilled to hear of any interest in studying conversion possibilities at WA and wanted copies of our CR. I hope to find out how many workers are taking advantage of the Placement service, how many placements they've made, how many people are actually being retrained, what financial assistance they can give, etc. I will try also to get access to some of their information on the employees, since I know the Application Form includes items on their skills and their interest in retraining, retirement, private employment relocation, and accepting lower grades of employment.

CONVERSION PROPOSALS FOR WATERTOWN ARSENAL

As mentioned previously, NAGE has published a 90-page report in which they proposed that the Arsenal be converted to a Conversion Technology Center. The proposal was quite brief and general, but much of the remainder of the report was designed to indirectly support the proposal's feasibility. It is quite clear that the Union Head, Ken Lyons, is presently applying no pressure at all toward conversion -- the proposal has never been reported in the press, for example. So far, I don't know what Lyons's strategy is, and whether conversion fits into it at some point or not. It hope that in my next meeting with Lyons I can find out what his game is. For all I know, he may have

reached some understanding with DOD that if they cooperate in the Arsenal Phasedown (1800 jobs), the Navy Yard (7000 jobs) will be kept open. If this should be true, we may be seen only as trouble makers.

I expect to find out from those in charge at the Arsenal (via the Public Information Director) how much technical data Boston PREP can get on the facilities, equipment, and capabilities of the Arsenal for use in evaluating the feasibility of the Conversion Technology Center Proposal; and, if it is feasible, in formulating it in greater detail and assessing its implications for employment, required skills, and phase in vis-a-vis the phase-out of other work. If I find that the information will be available, I think I can then determine for sure whether any of the faculty members I've contacted are willing to put in some serious work on the Proposal. Understandably, they have been rather noncommittal so far.

Unfortunately, each of the Boston PREP activities mentioned above, as well as the two which follow, consists of a long series of steps which have to be taken pretty much one at a time, with a considerable time lag (writing for appointments, other commitments, etc.) between the successive steps.

I think it will still take a few weeks before enough is known about the Arsenal to decide if it seems wise to try to develop a detailed conversion proposal or try to organize the workers to push for conversion. I doubt if the latter is wise, unless the former has good prospects and is already being worked on by qualified people.

Any prospectus that gets written before we decide about going ahead on the WA has to be pretty vague and instastial in what it says about our future program. To say the least, the prospectus will sound much more impressive when we know what our actual program is going to be.

B-PREP'S OWN RESEARCH WORK

There are several research jobs we should be able to accomplish on our own. We've had an offer from the State House to tabulate from the 1963 Mass. Industrial Census the percent of manufacturing sales resulting from defense contracts for different towns. We would need SDS members to man most of such work and are in the process of testing for interest. We may have a similar job in compiling and tabulating employee information (skills, etc.) from the union files and/or the files of the WA Placement Team. There are many other relevant tabulations that can be made from available economic reports on the New England Region.

We need some effort (that comes closer to being true research) on what information you need (and how you get it) to assess a community's defense-dependency and cutback-vulnerability. We are trying to determine how much interest SDS members have in such efforts as have just been described.

DEVELOPING PROSPECTUSES FOR RESEARCH FUNDING

Such proposals break down into two classes; (a) those that might bring in a few hundred bucks from someone like the Committee for Full Employment and consist of systematic record-keeping on what the project is doing, and (b) those that involve a substantive technical program of research and might

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possibly receive larger-sized grants, involving the services of outside people as well as part of the time of regular full-time staff (like me). The existence of the latter depends upon whether sufficient time is available to seek out collaborations and to formulate such proposals.

COMMENT

I guess my preference at the moment is as follows: proceed with community organizing in Bedford and Lexington, proceed with the CR expansion effort, proceed to assess at all possible speed how favorably circumstances are to the developing of a feasible conversion proposal for WA and for organizing employee support around that proposal, develop research proposals as quickly as time and priorities permit, and hold off on a Conversion Conference until next fall or earlier only if its potential should begin to look very strong before then.

HAZARD REPORT - THE NEWSPAPER AS A DEVICE IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In the hills of Scotland fine wool is woven into cloth by small family units. The loom is usually found in the home and much of the family's productive efforts are directed towards making cloth. Several times a year an agent travels through the Scottish Highlands to collect the family's product, along with that of hundreds of similar families, so that it may be taken to a central clearing house where the cloth is matched and joined into the final product.

A similar process takes place each week with the publication of Voice for Jobs and Justice, the newsletter of the Hazard, Kentucky based Appalachian Committee for Full Employment. At each weekly meeting of the A.C.F.E. members are asked to write an article for the issue of the newsletter that will appear the following week. Each Wednesday and Thursday, Kay Moller, field worker for the Committee for Miners and ACFE, rides up and down the hollows and creeks in the Hills of Perry County collecting the articles for Jobs and Justice. During a day of collection Kay drives up the old road in the northwest part of the county to Krypton, 'cross Cambell's creek, then climbs up the hill to the two room house where Beige Hensley lives. Her trip takes her south to Lothair to see Ashford Thomas, then back to town and across the long swinging bridge and up the hill to the Yards, where Minerva Naylor (and most of the Negro families) lives. She travels up the mud and rock road through Darfolk Hollow to the little cluster of log and frame cabins where Bill and Emma Holland and the kids live, then over to Bulan to see Opal Napier and finally out the road from Christopher, past the mined-out hillside, to the quiet hollow where Everette Tharp lives and works.

During a day's collection Kay drives through communities such as Busy, Viper, Lower Second Creek, Slemp, Vicco, Backwoods, Wolf Den, Daisey, Yerkes, Ajax, and Troublesome. She stops at Grapevine and yells across the creek, "Rachel, got anything for Jobs and Justice?" Rachel Brewer comes 'cross the creek and up the road to hand Kay a sheet of paper with a handwritten narrative article on it. Rachel's article talks about the ACFE and local law officers: "...Charlie Combs, the High Sheriff, says he don't know just what that Committee is for. I'm sure he knows as much about the Committee as he did about what the Roving Pickets were trying to do. And he sure knew what the pickets were wanting, since he is a coal operator."

After, the articles are collected the work of putting together the week's issue of Jobs and Justice can start. Kay types the articles on mimeograph-stencils, making only an occasional spelling change. The mimeograph machine is old and in poor condition. (Among its troubles is a bullet hole that was part of the damage caused on October 6th, when the ACFE office was shot up with six bullets from a high power rifle.) In spite of the condition of the machine, Charlie Moore, a member of the ACFE'S executive committee, manages to get it to print one more edition. Lola, Charlie's wife, organized members of the Committee to collate and staple the pages together so that copies can be handled out in downtown Hazard and distributed throughout the hollows and creeks. Over 1500 copies are distributed.

In a community with only one newspaper, the Hazard Herald (published by Martha Nolan, the coal operators' friend), Jobs and Justice is like a breath of fresh mountain air. To the area's unemployed, underemployed and poor, Jobs and Justice provides a voice for a long brooding, silent discontent. For the ACFE, the paper has been a great boost towards the organizing of the people of Perry County.

very Strategy

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Note:

As an organizing tool, a paper such as Voice for Jobs and Justice offers great potentialities. Among the benefits we find are:

- The distribution of a paper goes a long way towards making the Committee a reality in the minds of the people of the community.
- In a tightly controlled community, such as Hazard, a paper gets across ideas that could not be transmitted, due to the fear of talking to an ACFE organizer that has been built up by the local officials.
- The committee takes a more organized form since its members must meet a deadline in the publication of the paper. The paper also helps members to think through issues as they write and read the paper's articles.
- In the collection of articles the field worker has a chance to visit members' homes on a regular basis and discuss issues.
- The paper is seen by people in many communities, thus making the job of expanding the committee into other counties less difficult.
- Because the paper is written by the members of the committee, and not the organizers, the membership has a real pride in the product and in their committee.

As each issue of the paper circulates we learn more about the organizing benefits of such an undertaking.

-Arthur Gorson

SHORT REPORT OF SOME HAPPENINGS IN CHICAGO SINCE CLEVELAND - Richard Rothstein

KSUS
We have a master plan for the next month and a half which includes a study of the agencies and organizations in the Broadway-Wilson area; our own attack on, and proposals for the War on Poverty; an activity for JOIN members; involvement of students; making new JOIN contacts.

We are going to do a survey of the community, not a methodologically rigorous survey, but one in which emphasis is placed on knocking on doors and then having extensive talks with the people behind those doors for the purpose of (1) probing into what the real problems are, and (2) making contacts for JOIN.

We have about 30 plus students from the University of Chicago who are anxious to do the survey. The idea is to try to team each student up with a JOIN member and operate on the JOIN member's own block. This Saturday we will have a workshop at the University of Chicago on the organization and mechanics of the survey. We hope Join people will attend.

WOP
Our hope is that the survey will be completed in one month. Christmas time will be spent writing up our study of the Broadway-Wilson area, writing and planning action for criticism of the War on Poverty, and drawing up our own proposals for the Poverty money. Our alternatives include the following possibilities: tutorial program, day care center, playground facilities, cleaning up glass; also demands for public money for Uptown for such things as health centers, creation of a folk school in North Chicago.

This weekend we attended an AFSC non-violent workshop. It was quite a disappointment: the time was spent discussing how to integrate a lunch counter and what to do if someone tries to rape your sister. Regarding Chicago, most of the discussion was concerned with how to get a laundry to hire Negro truck drivers. The most interesting group there were the CORE people from the Chicago CORE feedem houses who are primarily engaged in community organization of the same sort that we are doing. They are working mainly in housing: rent strikes, et al. I had some preliminary contact with CORE; my hope is that more contact will follow.

WOP
Fortunately I was given an opportunity to talk about JOIN and SDS this weekend: I was thereby able to make some important contacts. The chief contact made is Peter Boehmer, the new field secretary for FOR, i.e. Fellowship of Reconciliation, who proposes having the 300 or so members of FOR in the Chicago area assume financial responsibility for the JOIN project; indeed, he sees no reason why FOR should not support ERAP projects all over the country. Once the projects I delineate to Boehmer are put into action by the members of his organization in conjunction with JOIN, Mr. Boehmer is confident that the money will be forthcoming.

In essence, Mr. Boehmer seemed interested in JOIN and enjoyed reading our new pamphlet, "What is Join?", a statement of JOIN's activities, its supporters, its locations--all written for new workers.

My proposal to him will include: (1) participation of FOR people in survey; (2) FOR people doing research for JOIN: researching the power structure of UPTOWN, e.g. who holds the mortgages, etc.; (3) FOR people drawing up plans for the needs of Uptown, e.g. health center, folk school, etc.; (4) FOR people manning the JOIN offices; (5) regular talks by JOIN person to FOR meetings and sharing of ideas.

Received a good suggestion from Bill Brown, a psychologist who is involved in the organizing of a folk school in a Milwaukee poor white area, that we have a program of this sort. I find the idea very exciting.

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Letter from Todd Gitlin to Richard Rothstein.

Dear Rich:

Your "What is JOIN?" pamphlet in all its excellence has jogged me from some slumbers to communicate some questions of substance that are not, it seems to me, being sufficiently discussed in the ERAP echelons. My particular concern is relatively abstract, namely one of program, but I think it becomes an organizing concern as well.

I'm talking about our ambivalent and often vague attitudes toward "The Triple Revolution," particularly what turns out to be the jobs vs income dichotomy. Some of my thoughts, not spelled out at all because of space limitations, are in the enclosed: my response to a Seezy-Huberman invitation to respond to an editorial and article they've printed on TTR. I think the main point for program is that traditional public works--when let out to private contractors running to the tune of profit--may not be labor-intensive. (Our attitude toward that fact is something else again, but for the time being, programmatically, I'm only talking about this crude fact.) The conclusion I draw is that we should be prepared to meet this argument with the counter that, assuming we are for jobs rather than income, and not all unemployed can be put to work in fruitful "service" jobs, public works intended for full employment must be bound to job-production rather than private profit-maximization (of the urban renewal type.) My guess is that as projects become more real this point will become less academic.

Anyway, I'm wondering how to carry on SDS and ERAP discussion of such matters--perhaps publication, perhaps an NC discussion. For one thing, what is academic for organizers is not necessarily so for students; for another, as I've said, and as you've found out, a wide range of "academic" but necessary concerns get drowned out by the nitty-gritty demands of organizing. So I have no glib solutions, and only want to pose the question.

Love,

Todd

Elaine Maramick, a member of Citizens United for Adequate Welfare, recently wrote a friend in Roxbury, Massachusetts about the activity of her organization. Letters such as these are important in maintaining contact among people with similar grievances and in stimulating an exchange of ideas. Her letter is here reprinted as an example of the sort of correspondence that might be published more frequently in the ERAP Newsletter.

October

Dear Pat,

Received your letter and was very glad to hear that someone else noticed what we are doing and, further, wishes to do something similar.

Some of the work we have done so far is:

- (1) Taking petitions for the food stamp program so as to make it a national program, as well as to keep frozen foods in our food stamp program.
- (2) Worked with the AFL-CIO to get mothers down to register to vote. We did this while the people stood in line to get food stamps. We had someone save their space. Then we took them down in cars and limousines (furnished by the AFL-CIO) to register.
- (3) We had a public meeting on elections - the pros and cons for the different candidates. There was a guest speaker and the whole community was invited.
- (4) We are presently working on free lunches in the high schools for ADC. Some of our members visited local schools; met with head officials in our town from the school and county welfare departments. We collected petitions on this as our children pay 15 cents for a "free" lunch.
- (5) We are also working on the poverty program. We have joined with other groups in the city to counter the city's plan because their plan is unrepresentative of the poor and because their program lacks creativity.

We are the West side branch of CUEAW. We have been active since July of 1964. CUEAW was originally formed by a minister on the East side by the name of Paul Younger. At that time most of the participants were colored. Now there are two chapters- the East and the West sides. We meet together once a month, but we have meetings weekly with representatives from the other group.

We have a grievance committee that investigates the problems that come up with mothers on ADC or Social Security, also with men and women who are on the work program that the county has here. Whenever a complaint comes in we follow it up by going to the case worker and finding out what is wrong.

Once we got a complaint that our children weren't getting regular milk and were getting bad meals at school. So we got permission from the school board to go to a few of the schools to investigate, which we did.

This sounds very easy, but it's not. It takes a lot of time and effort on the part of all the members to accomplish our work. Some mothers baby sit for others

CUEAW's activities

note

while they recruit new members. It also takes extra time going back two or three times to get these mothers to join. Now to tell you of the work it takes when you try to fight City Officials:

- (1) You make an appointment (if you're lucky)
- (2) Then you arrange for baby sitters and transportation.
- (3) You have a meeting beforehand to prepare the list of questions and arguments to be presented
- (4) Then you go and see them, if you're lucky enough to catch the person you especially wanted to see. But in the end you usually get the runaround...until we are forced to take action.
- (5) Then after every meeting with any official we report back to the whole group, and then we prepare action.

Sometimes we keep a Vigil such as we kept when Governor Rhodes was in our town. At other times we petition, or march on the Capitol.

To be specific, a Vigil involves the members of CUFAN carrying signs saying "Is economy great when children suffer." Then we had a typical ADC budget on the sign. We also passed out flyers pertaining to Rhodes poor administration. On a Vigil one just stands to the side of the entrance to the building. You do not block or make a disturbance. We were covered by the local newspapers, plus TV. We appeared on TV the next day and in the news. On a Vigil, one person acts as spokesman.

The food stamp program permits a family on relief and low-income to buy a certain amount of food stamps and then get a certain portion free. For example, if you buy 76 dollars worth of goods, you get a 38 dollar free bonus, which totals 114 dollars. The specific amount of money given is decided according to the number of people in the family and the budget as a whole. Almost all of the mothers on ADC use this program and like it. Of course there are a few drawbacks. You can not buy any kind of imported food, coffee, tea, or soap, nor any cleaning supplies. You should write to the Agriculture Department to find out how to get started there.

We also worked on election day.

Hoping this will help you in your mission. Good luck and let us know how you are coming along.

Sincerely,

Elaine Maramick

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