

# ERAP NEWSLETTER

January 20, 1965

1100 E. Washington. Ann Arbor

## Ann Arbor Report

New staff working full time in the Ann Arbor office have dramatically changed the range of opportunities for campus programming, fund raising, publicity, publications, conferences and staff recruitment. The enthusiasm here is no less than that of many of the projects which are moving with activity and buttressed with more hands and minds.

A major campus mailing has been sent to SDS chapters sketching out a program of support to ERAP organizing projects. And more than 2000 letters have been sent to campus, labor Negro, and church and liberal newspaper editors announcing a weekly news service of articles on Northern organizing activity. Early responses to these mailings suggest that an enormous appeal may be generated on the campus in ERAP projects. The earlier prediction that 500 students will apply to work this summer may be too conservative.

Applications for summer work are coming in. And, as yet, no satisfactory recruitment procedure has been worked out. A few letters from projects indicate a desire to hold small meetings in project cities with applicants. Some have said that a large conference, similar to the April Ann Arbor conference last year, is also needed for new staff. I would think that we could suspend any decision about a large conference until the ERAP staff retreat, but would suggest small conferences in each city be immediately considered.

If each project would agree to hold a meeting sometime between the 2nd week of April and the 2nd week of May for prospective staff members, the following procedure could be followed for staff applicants.

Applications will be acknowledged as they come in. Literature and a how-to-raise-money-for-ERAP brochure will be sent out with letters telling each applicant when a prospective staff conference will be held in the project of his first and second choice and in the project nearest him. If an applicant cannot attend the project conference of his first or second choice, he will be encouraged to attend the project meeting in a city close by. Carbons of all letters and duplicate applications will

Ann  
file

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be sent to projects in which the applicant has been told of the conference dates. Carbons will also go to the ERAP interviewer nearest the applicant and the interviewer will arrange a meeting with him. The interviewer will send a written evaluation of the applicant to Ann Arbor which will be duplicated and sent to the relevant projects. Projects which want applicants to visit their city individually should write each of their prospective staff or notify the ERAP office to write them. What is needed immediately from each project are the following:

- names of people close to ERAP who can interview
- an exact date for a project meeting with prospective staff
- comments on this procedure for processing applications

Projects should also put a new folder in files for prospective staff. Decisions, of course, for new staff will be made by the projects. The ERAP office will do its best to coordinate the process and attempt to encourage applicants to consider projects which appear to have the greatest staff needs or are having difficulties attracting new staff (unlikely in any area)

We are trying to move as rapidly as possible to work out the overall ERAP conference schedule. Conferences will definitely be held in Chicago, (with Core), Cleveland, Rutgers and Ann Arbor. Dates have not been set. My guess is that we will provide speakers and working papers for about 15 to 20 campus conferences on poverty this spring. New SDS papers which are needed to pick up our sagging list of publications include:

- critique of the liberal's urban renewal
- critique of govt-backed community organization with emphasis on Mobilization for Youth and Community Progress Inc.
- our view of the welfare state and how it crushes poor people (1)
- analysis of Saul Alinsky, his organizing techniques and politics
- statement on why the new coalition in the country must grow out of a radical political movement
- evaluation on the new possibilities opening in local unions for political insurgency
- Organizing the Unemployed Chicago: updating the Flacks' paper
- case studies on organizing (public housing projects, rent strikes, welfare mothers, poor whites, block groups, etc)
- statement on red-baiting as it is used to separate support from developing movement
- annotated bibliography on readings on poverty
- detailed development of Potter's paper on research and education in a community action project
- analysis of the present direction of civil rights movement in the North and its implications for SNCC and SDS-type work
- notes on the intellectual steps needed in order to construct a r-left ideology in America
- collection of writings from community people on poverty and community organizations (1)

Comments and suggestions for additions to this list are needed (Send to David Bernstein).

Our family is big. Full-time are Tina Schragger, Lenore Belsky, Leni Zeiger, Don Cole, Dick Holding, Walt Miliken, and Harriet Stulman. Evelyn Friedman and Craig Livingston are full time until February 19. Staff

--Rennie Davis

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# DETROIT NEWS

(Taken from the newsletter of the Adult Community Movement for Equality)

## BELVIDERE BLOCK CLUB Progress Report Number 1

Two months ago, people living on Belvidere between Kerchival and Vernon, began meeting together to discuss their problems. It soon became obvious that many residents were concerned about the vacant houses on the block, for the following reasons:

If houses are available to children or vandals, trouble is just around the corner. Children could be hurt in houses that are no longer safe, or could easily set fire to the structures. The presence of unsightly houses will also induce neighborhood people to move elsewhere. There will be few people moving in to replace those who move out, and therefore property values will drop. Then insurance rates reach such high levels that residents can no longer afford protection. This, we feel, is the anatomy of blight.

Belvidere has 7 vacant houses out of 50. If nothing is done, the neighborhood will continue to deteriorate.

The Block Club felt that they could stop the trend toward delapidation only through united action. If all the residents met to discuss this as well as other problems, then no situation would be too much for us.

--Marc Anderson

## 43 ARRESTED Police Give No Explanation

Several weeks ago, 43 members of ACME were arrested at the home of the Belvidere Block Club's treasurer. They had been holding a party. With the exception of the hostess, all were arrested. The hostess was not arrested because she was in the ninth month of pregnancy. The baby was born the very same night.

ACME property was confiscated by the police and has not yet been returned. We went to see Mr. Girardin, the Police Commissioner, a week after the incident, but we received no answers to our demands. We then formed a picket line at the 5th Precinct. Mr. Girardin has been deliberating the case ever since--and it is now a month and a half later. Mr. Girardin remains silent.

--Gerrit Nelson

## LAFAYETTE PARK

The Lafayette Park area is a section of Detroit that is undergoing urban renewal. The very poor were removed with the understanding that their houses would be replaced with modern buildings that they could afford to live in.

This hasn't happened yet. Instead, luxury apartment buildings have sprung up like flowers, with prices ranging from \$140 to \$600 a month. It is very clear that no person out of a \$3000 income range will ever live in or near the downtown Detroit area again.

--Wilbert McClendon

## Some Strategies for JOIN and Community Unions Working with the Unemployed

(These notes are taken from a larger paper prepared for the Institute for Policy Studies by Paul Jacobs)

No need exists any longer to recite the horror story of Negro unemployment nor how stubbornly it resists solution. But, barring another war, Negro unemployment will continue at an unenviable level unless the Negro unemployed join with the white unemployed to solve the problems which affect both.

Today, in the United States, most of the people who work steadily are reasonably well paid and reasonably well protected from discriminatory treatment at work. But if the unemployed, white and Negro, are to take the first step towards bettering the conditions of their lives by getting jobs, they will have to do it themselves, without any dependence upon any other institution in the society. An alliance between the unemployed, both white and Negro, and the unions would be a great step forward. But such an alliance would be useless if the present economic order. The real victory over urban unemployment will come only when the unemployed act for themselves, with allies if they can get them, but alone if necessary.

Except for the defense industries, which are basically in the public sector, only one certain source of employment for whites and Negroes alike now exists -- the public sector of the economy. Private industry has not been able to generate the jobs necessary to employ the million Negroes who are now out of work. Even the so-called service trades which have been the hope of the optimistic economists as a source for jobs are now being automated. However, there is a demand for labor in building, equipping and staffing hospitals; building, equipping and staffing schools; ending the housing shortage for lower-income families and providing social services.

The creation of jobs in the public sector can be financed in only one way -- through taxes. And since taxpayers are reluctant to pay additional taxes, it must be assumed that the politicians who depend for their existence upon taxpayer votes are going to be equally reluctant about raising taxes.

It seems clear, too, that arguments on a moral plane are of little use in convincing taxpayers that they should be willing to pay the cost of a real program to wipe out poverty. The anti-poverty and anti-discrimination programs are "sold" to the business community almost exclusively on the basis that wiping out poverty and discrimination is good for business. Presumably, if the converse could be proven true, then poverty and prejudice would be equally appealing.

Thus, the unemployed face a world which will not, voluntarily, provide jobs for them in the public sector. And Negro unemployed are handicapped twice over for not only is the proportion of unemployed among them higher than among the whites, but they have fewer opportunities for finding work than do the whites. If unemployed Negroes and whites are to get jobs, they will have to force the community to make jobs available.

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To do this, I propose that the unemployed Negroes and whites stage "work-ins." The "work-in" would take a variety of forms and could be adapted to many different situations. Three illustrations follow.

The public hospitals of the United States suffer from a serious shortage of nursing assistance, created by inadequate budgets. To alleviate this shortage, they have come to depend more and more on practical or vocational nurses and the nurses' aides. The latter are generally poorly paid, poorly skilled, and receive little or no training. As hospitals increasingly utilize technology, the nurses' position grows managerial. At the same time, nurses have less contact with patients.

I suggest that unemployed men and women be recruited and trained for six months to become assistant nurses. Their level of skill would be higher than a nurses' aide, but lower than a practical or vocational nurse.

After they have completed their training, they would go to the public hospital in their area and present themselves to the nurses supervising the convalescent wards. In some cases, they might even begin to help the convalescent patients by making them comfortable or carrying out other tasks which could not possibly interfere with the patients' health.

What would the reaction of the ward nurses and hospital supervisors be to such a situation? I don't know, but I suspect it would range from incredulity to anger. But it doesn't matter. If the hospital orders the assistant nurses to leave, they should refuse. The hospital would then be confronted with the alternative of either calling the police or letting the assistant nurses continue their work.

If they are arrested, they will have to be arrested for wanting to work and the insanity of such a process would be obvious. If they are arrested, they should return to the hospital as soon as they are released and once again go back to work until the process is repeated.

If they are not arrested but are allowed to continue working, they will then present themselves to the municipal offices at the end of a week or two week period and ask to be paid for the work they have been doing. If they are told they cannot be paid because no funds are available for such payment, they will stay in the municipal offices until they are paid or arrested. If they are arrested they will return to the offices to wait until they do get paid, repeating the process as long as necessary. Eventually, there will be results, and I suspect that somehow funds will be found to pay these people.

A second illustration is found in the teaching profession. Every city suffers from a great shortage of teachers and the Peace Corps experience has demonstrated how that shortage can be alleviated to some extent. The Peace Corps has found it possible to take people of all ages with no more than a high school education. These people, with eight to fifteen weeks training, were competent "teacher aides" or "assistant teachers" for elementary schools. In fact, the hardest element of Peace Corps training is the necessity of learning a foreign language. But since that is not required in the United States, teachers aide training might take less time than the Peace Corps allots.

The unemployed who have the equivalent of a high school education should be given proper training for such work. Then they should report to the elementary schools and begin working in the classrooms, particularly in overcrowded, slum-neighborhood schools. Once they are in the classroom, the city or state will face the same problem as the hospitals discussed above. Again, the fact that their work is needed and that they want to do it will provide the strongest arguments for formalizing

the jobs they have created.

The third illustration of how the "work-in" might be conducted is linked directly to the housing problem faced by most urban Negroes. At present, a rent strike movement exists in some Negro slums, such as Harlem, where tenants refuse to pay their rent until the landlords repair the buildings and provide decent facilities. In some cases, the rent money has been placed in escrow accounts where it is held until the landlord makes the necessary repairs to the building.

This process should be carried a step further. The rent money could be paid to a non-profit corporation, which in turn would contract with the tenants to make the repairs themselves, if the buildings can be rehabilitated. What is essential in this proposal is that the tenants learn how to do the work and do it cooperatively. Although the building trade unions might resist at first, the difficulty might be resolved by developing new categories of union membership for these people.

Until now, urban redevelopment has mainly consisted of razing slums, bulldozing the lots and building apartments which the former residents of the area cannot afford. But often, these slum areas could be rebuilt and neighborhoods preserved. If slum dwellers learned to repair their own homes with their own rent money, they would also learn some skills that could be used to rebuild other homes. They might then be employed at such work.

Probably, the landlord, backed by the authority of the state, would attempt to evict the tenants. Such evictions should be resisted by "rent-ins" in which the tenants refuse to leave and demonstrate, by their work, that what they are doing is pursuing one of the most elemental rights of all men -- to have adequate housing for themselves and their families.

If the landlords do accept the notion that slum dwellers have the most interest in fixing their own homes, the non-profit corporation could expand its operations and take on the responsibility of changing over entire neighborhoods, including doing street repairs where necessary with money which could be withheld from city or state taxes in due proportion.

A lack of dependence upon governmental assistance is implicit in all these programs. However, this does not imply that assistance should not be demanded. But the experiences thus far with governmental programs, ranging from the anti-poverty bill to the Manpower and Training Act, make it clear that federal programs are designed to help unemployed people who are most likely to succeed without help. The Job Corps rejects youth with certain convictions and the manpower training programs select people for training who have the best chance of finishing, although the job for which they train may not exist at the end of the program.

Any effort at job creation of the kind I have described will meet with opposition from the government, for these efforts are not requests for work, but attempts to wrest jobs from society. And in the cities of the North, as in the South, good leadership will be needed if the assault is to succeed.

The leadership will have to come from within the unemployed group or from those who identify themselves closely with it. Leaders might emerge from a "work-in" or a rent strike, and the likelihood increases when the projects are extended into broader areas where more self-government is of prime importance.

These are some of the ways in which the unemployed can develop their own ways of changing society rather than accepting the existing structure as if it were forever immutable.

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# NEWARK NEWS

(Taken from the Newark Community Union Project Newsletter)

*Link Struce*

## THE IDA BROWN CASE

Mrs. Ida Brown of 406 Clinton Avenue, Newark, has been a rent striker for the past five months. Now she faces fresh troubles.

Mrs. Brown was evicted by her landlord, Mr. Shustack, late in December. Mr. Shustack, the owner of many other tenements in the neighborhood, evicted the Browns four days before the eviction date set by the court.

Mrs. Brown moved her family to an upstairs neighbor's house. She could not move further, since 2 of her 5 children were sick.

The following Wednesday, Mrs. Brown was confronted with an officer from the Board of Health, who told Ida that she had to move. She refused to talk to him. Then Mr. Shustack got a policeman to testify that Ida had punched him in the mouth. Meanwhile, landlord Shustack got the Liberty Trucking Company to start moving Mrs. Brown's possessions, although this was against her wishes.

A little later, detectives broke into the apartment where Mrs. Brown was staying. After a scuffle, Mrs. Brown was held seven hours on \$1000 bail.

Judge Del Mauro warned Ida that her bail would be higher in the future if she or anyone "directly or indirectly" connected with her should do anything to threaten Mr. Shustack.

406 Clinton Avenue is not a new issue. Mayor Addonizio inspected the building in August, and then promised action. Numerous visits to City Hall since then have yielded nothing.

## KLEIN'S PICKETTED

Last week, 16 people sang, marched, and passed out 1000 leaflets in a snowstorm in front of Klein's. They were protesting the smug "nothing happened" attitude of the store whose private detectives beat Clyde Wright.

On Friday, January 8, Clyde and his witnesses went to court to try to get a dismissal. Judge Barret refused after hearing the testimony of some Klein's employees.

# HAZARD VOICE

(Taken from Voice For Jobs and Justice, January 8, 1965)

MINE OWNERS USE SCABS  
Leatherwood Picketted

Leatherwood, Ky.

Perry county lost its last union mine on April 23, 1964, when Blue Diamond Coy closed its Leatherwood operation. The mine was reopened on November 9, but it is no longer unionized.

Late last year, the United Mine Workers negotiated a nationwide agreement with the coal operators. Included in the agreement was a daily wage of \$28. According to local sources, the men working the Leatherwood mine now receive \$18-\$20 a day.

Under the supervision of the National Labor Relations Board, the men at the Leatherwood mine voted unanimously in favor of UMWA representation. Three months later, the mine was closed.

Willie Couch, president of UMWA, Local 8280, announced that there the Leatherwood mine would be picketed because the mine has hired scabs.

According to Mr. Couch, "The Blue Diamond Coy has been hiring men in the last few weeks to take our jobs at #1 (Leatherwood). All the men on our Local are ready and willing to work, but the company won't sign our contract."

JOBLESS FATHERS GET FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE

Hazard, Ky.

More than 1000 jobless fathers in Perry and Knott counties will be getting a minimum of \$1.25 per hour, and maximum earnings will be raised from \$160 to \$250 a month (a net gain of \$90 per month).

The increases are possible because the Office of Economic Opportunity granted \$9.6 million to Kentucky. The anti-poverty funds were given to the state two weeks ago.

Only about 14 per cent of the "dollar an hour men" will get the maximum monthly wage. In addition, there has been no mention of how the program is to become a training program rather than a make-work project.

LETTERS - -

Hazard, Ky.

I am one of the Appalachian Committee For Full Employment. I am all so one of the twenty eight men went to Washington to get these programs started.

I have delivered food and clothing to many needy families out over the country and also the union hall for over two weeks and the committee, giving out toys to the children, as well as food and clothes. I was door keeper and I came in contact with around five hundred people all seemed to be pleased with their food and clothing. I all so was pleased to help serve them. Many of them I did not know.

We want to thank every one for their contributions for making this possible to carry on this good work. And again we want to thank Berman Gibson and his wife for they are the poor class people friend.

We pray GOD will serve us with Berman Gibson for high sheriff for the next four years.

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Many evenings after I come in from work I have delivered groceries to needy people, just Friday night I came home late and tired, news came to me a woman and five little children were hungry that they had nothing to eat, two babies on bottles. I delivered them a box of groceries from my store and I could lay down and sleep much happier to know they had food to eat. The Committee gave me a check for them. I myself never tired to go to the needs of needy and hungry people, the woman said she thanked all with tears and words from her heart.

Mr. Walter Gamble  
R. R. 1, Box 456  
Hazard, Ky.

Bulan, Ky.

We are part of the Appalachian Committee that received each donation that was sent to our Xmas Relief Fund. We are both on the Executive Committee.

With the money we bought food for the needy people in Perry and surrounding counties. We served around seven hundred and fifty families. The people that could not come after the food we sent the food to them in trucks.

The people stood in rain waiting to be served with food clothing and toys. The members of our committee worked day and night to see the people were served.

Some people wouldn't have had a thing for Christmas if it hadn't have been for people who cared enough to send money food clothing and toys. Our committee is made up of colored people and white and everybody was served the same. They came back to give thanks for what they received and we told them it wasn't us they should thank but to thank the people that made it possible for us to be able to serve them.

We rent the basement in the Allais Local Union Hall. (UMWA). We unloaded the trucks there as we received them and this is where we gave everything away. Our men, women and children unloaded the trucks that came in.

On Thursday (Dec 31st) we were able to buy \$4,000 of food and on Friday we spent \$1,200 more. All this food has been given out. We bought the things we know the people needed most - meal, flour, coffee, sugar, salt, bacon, peaches, green beans, pinto beans, cream, powdered milk and things that we can't buy with food stamps like clorox, soap and washing powder.

One woman came to us with tears in her eyes because she had to take her girl out of high school. She didn't have shoes to wear. One of the committee searched in the parcel that came through mail until she found her shoes. The mother came back to the hall and expressed her feelings that the LORD was with her, that she could find clothes for her children, that she could keep them in school.

Again the Committee For Full Employment wants to express our thanks to all that made it possible for a happy Christmas for all the needy.

We the Appalachian Committee For Full Employment was glad we were able to help do this. Now that Christmas is over we have the new year ahead. We are trying to get jobs and decent wages here for the people. We want to be able to support our self.

Mrs. Rachel Brewer  
Mrs. Opal Napier  
Bulan, Ky.

## NEW YEAR RESOLUTIONS

The Appalachian Committee For Full Employment has been established for almost a year now. The Committee's statement of purpose has been printed in JOBS AND JUSTICE each week.

At the beginning of this year we give it special place

THE APPALACHIAN COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT IS AN ORGANISATION MADE UP OF THE CITIZENS OF EASTERN KENTUCKY. WE ARE WORKING TO BRING JOBS WITH HONEST PAY BACK INTO THE AREA. WE ARE WORKING TO BRING UNIONISM BACK INTO THE AREA. WE ARE WORKING TO SEE TO IT THAT THE "WAR ON POVERTY" GETS TO THE PEOPLE WHO NEED IT. WE ARE WORKING TO OBTAIN LOCAL GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS FOR US INSTEAD OF AGAINST US.

The following New Years resolutions were passed by unanimous vote in the first of our weekly general membership meetings to be held in 1965.

### WE RESOLVE

1. to expose corruption in the framework of our government Local, State and Federal so that we may enjoy equal opportunity, equal protection of the laws and equality of law enforcement.
2. to continue to organize the unemployed and give them courage to seek FREEDOM NOW from the shackles imposed on them by corporate controlled legislatures.
3. to test the constitutionality of every statute that tends to give to property greater rights than they give to humans.
4. to promote more equal distribution of the nation's wealth by taxing the machines that have taken our jobs to pay for better job programs, schools, roads, health and other facilities that we need.
5. to fight for the enactment of a tax structure, humane in administration, equal in burden and sufficient to put this state in par with other states.
6. to condemn the wasteful distribution of the taxpayers dollar by the federal government to state bureaucrats without proper federal supervision.
7. to conduct a registration campaign of the unemployed so that they can have a greater voice in electing public officials who sympathize with the common people.
8. to condemn the 'RIGHT TO WORK' laws as instruments of large industry to subvert the Constitution and prey upon the misery, sickness, and lack of education of the jobless now discarded by industry because of automation.
9. to take a vow ourselves to be men of courage and vision, to scoff at no brother because of his ideas and to unite without regard for color or creed the better to cope with our enemies.

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The Baltimore city council held a hearing on Baltimore's Human Renewal plan, alias Baltimore's war on poverty plan, in which U-JOIN testified.

We arrived late for the hearing as could be expected and consequently missed the assistant superintendent of schools and the Baltimore Health and Welfare council's report on the plan. We of course felt awfully bad about missing the report they gave, but nonetheless we finally arrived busting up the end of the assistant superintendent of schools' closing paragraphs (we were looking for seats.) Most organizations giving testimony at the hearing gave un-critical support to the proposed program with the exception of the Citizens Planning and Housing Association and the Baltimore Urban League. The C.P. and H.A. criticized the plan for not having any housing proposals in it which they for some "strange reason" thought was a serious deletion (heaven please strike them dead for ever thinking that housing is a necessary inclusion in war on poverty programs.) The Urban League's fundamental criticism was that they, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance be added to the governing board.

The guys from U-JOIN, who could use some of those character building sections in the proposed program, gave the only un-qualified criticisms of the plan, as could be expected. Two community people and two staff persons were to give testimony. Bob Moore, though a staff member, has lived inside the boundaries of the proposed action area all his life. Bob was the first to testify on behalf of the poor, and he was able to stir up what had been an extremely boring hearing. (His sharp and well thought out criticisms along with his eloquent mannerisms and speech caused one councilman to throw his feet into the air while wildly applauding.) Emphasizing that the program had been drawn up in essentially an un-democratic way and the fact that youth job corps recruits were to receive only 85¢ an hour for painting police stations, he ended by telling the council in response to questions asked by the chairman, that he could draw up a better program if he were given the time.

Kim Moody gave the official U-JOIN position on the proposed program which is essentially that the present plan should be scrapped because the poor were not involved in drawing up the plan, the proposed plan is inadequate and it is only a duplication of already existing welfare services. One of the councilmen asked Kim whether the plan was designed to end poverty or to decrease poverty. Kim replied that he thought the present program was designed to do neither. The same councilmen also asked what would happen to our society if we removed the poorest strata in our stratified society (implying that all people would be alike if we remove stratas.) Bill Callimer, our first unemployed guy to speak, told the council committee that the government, two weeks after passing a Bill for less than a billion dollars to fight poverty, spent three billion on foreign aid. Then Bill added that the program would not really help the poor, because it did not create more jobs. The Chairman asked Bill whether or not he

thought people should have children if they couldn't afford to support them. Bill replied that he thought we ought to have an anti-poverty program that would provide more jobs, better housing, and higher wages so that a man could have as many children as he wanted. William Kessler, our second unemployed guy got a bad case of the butterflies and was unable to testify.

Our brief uproar brought us only a paragraph in the Morning Sun, but we created quite a stir, which caused the people in the Council chambers to come toward us wildly grabbing at copies of our written statement. One member of the City Council, John A. Pica, seems to be interested in our position on the program. He is particularly interested in our stand on the people in the Action Area having a decision making voice in drawing up a real War on Poverty plan and running it. We will probably have a meeting with Pica in the next couple of days and we are also requesting meetings with other councilmen and the Mayor. There will be another hearing next Thursday, Jan. 19, at which time we will have more neighborhood people go down and testify. We have also drawn up a petition which we are circulating inside the Action Area.

Thursday night Pica asked us to draw up an outline of an alternative Plan, to be presented under his sponsorship at next Tuesday's meeting. That should be interesting. Looks like we are coming alive.

submitted (modestly)

by Bob Moore

SERIES 4A - NO 8

# CORRESPONDENCE

Jan. 19, 1965

Dear Lee,

I don't want to take exception to Mike Lebowitz' analysis of the NFO; but any organization is diverse and I have a few impressions of the NFO which I gathered at a District meeting in Columbus Junction, Iowa, last month.

First, there is a heavy strain of populist tradition in the NFO. You may recall that at the 1890's Populists were obsessed by their public image, by the fact that in an industrializing society the yeoman farmer was no longer looked upon as a social ideal. It was Hofstadter, I guess, who tries to explain the whole Populist thing away by calling it a status-  
C.2  
Why?  
Staff

Today's NFO is concerned about its image in the same way. They are afraid that the urban society sees them as agrarian capitalists (The Way Mike described; I don't deny he's right); and are convinced that if the truth of their yeomanry were to get out, public sympathy would immediately flow to their aid. What they seemed to want most was press attention for their Jeffersonian imagery.

But this led them, in conversation with me and in speeches which I heard, to see the consumer as their strongest ally. They talked about tremendous middlemen mark-ups, and see the processor and retailer as making tremendous profits at the expense of the farmer on the one end, and the consumer on the other. I tried to test this sentiment by talking about the possibility that JOIN might boycott the large supermarkets sometime because they were getting rich off poor people; the NFO representatives with whom I talked responded somewhat enthusiastically to this suggestion: they promised help in such an endeavor.

My impression was that almost all of the NFO men with whom I came into contact were on one family farms. Many of them are on marginal farms. They kept on pleading for a coalition with the working men: a number of them are forced to "moonlight" with town jobs, part or full time, and they would emphasize over and over again that if they were to win a greater share for the farmer, the unemployment problem would lessen because the farmer would not be taking jobs away from urban workers. Of course, this is a coalition on their ground: they were not offering to fight for full employment, but were asking help from workers in their fight for "cost of production."

The NFO is not made up of an agrarian proletariat. They are farm owners and not agricultural workers, so that their interests are not identical to the interests of poor people.

But they are being screwed by the going economic system, and see many of the same enemies as we do (a Populist hatred of the Eastern big interests comes out occasionally). They are not part of our "movement"; but they are certainly a potential ally in a number of specific fights. If we are willing to organize research scientists in a defense application, we should certainly not write the NFO off entirely.

---Rich Rothstein

## PHILADELPHIA PROJECT CLOSURE

This will be the last Philadelphia report for quite some time. Rita, Carol, Connie, Nick, Vernon, and I met the weekend after we got back from New York and decided to discontinue the Philly project. We arrived at this decision despite renewed optimism about what we might be able to accomplish in South Philadelphia.

None of our reasons for leaving Philadelphia is new. Probably the most important reason was that no one on the present staff is able to commit himself to staying in Philadelphia beyond September. We felt it was not possible to expect the kind of staff which would be necessary from normal ERAP recruitment because of the needs of the other projects. It would be very difficult to fill staff needs from local recruitment since no one who is presently working with us will be available next year. At best this would mean that the Philadelphia project would struggle for 18 months, waiting for people to graduate; at worst the project would have to close at the end of the summer. It seemed to us that it would be hard to operate under such conditions.

In connection with this we also spent some time discussing what it would take to make a good project, and we agreed that it takes much more than originally thought when we started the ERAP projects. Nick listed what he considered to be the prerequisites of a good project. Among them were: staff members committed to settle in a place for a certain time, the possibility of gaining staff members from local colleges and the community, a staff whose members reinforce each other, objective conditions which make it possible to organize, a vision of how the project is to grow and effect real change in the city and state in which it exists.

All four of the people who would have made up the staff for the remainder of the year have personal feelings and commitments which make them uncertain of what they will do next September. It goes without saying that if we had continued and could not get staff for next year but had a good project, someone would have stayed. But we did not want to operate with such uncertainty, and we did not want to put ourselves in the position of having to stay because of conscience rather than real desire. The only other possibility of getting people with long-term commitments to Philadelphia seemed to be in convincing people now working elsewhere to live in Philadelphia or asking people to drop out of school. Neither of these appeared to be likely or desirable.

The possibility of getting staff people from either the local campuses or the community is largely unexplored. We argued the point of whether closing down Philly might not result in less people being available to work for ERAP in the long run. That question remained unresolved. It may be partly dependent on the feeling of permanence which only a staff committed for some time could give.

The problem of staff reinforcement was discussed. While some of the same concern which was expressed at the ERAP meeting was still there, we felt that this should not be a deterrent to our staying in Philadelphia. A more useful and realistic division of labor could have been worked out, for instance, which might have resulted in a more efficient use of our time. In addition we felt that much of the talk which had gone on at the ERAP meeting had helped our thinking. We felt that perhaps we were in a position to overcome the problem, to a degree. On the other hand, there was no assurance that things would be any better after we got down to business again. And experience has proven that Nick and Vernon cannot be of great help without working on the project full-time.

We briefly discussed the objective conditions under which we were

What would make ERAP work?

C6J

Staff issues

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working. For instance, Charlotte Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee had told us that rents in South Philly were among the lowest in the country. We had also been warned about expecting cooperation from unions in Philadelphia. But we decided that there was insufficient evidence to conclude that South Philly was a significantly worse place to organize than other places. Therefore, we could not close the project on that basis.

The strategic vision of the project was not discussed at length or directly, but was discussed as a part of the talks on staff reinforcement and objective conditions. In a sense, it was our new realizations about where we were headed which resulted in our decision to close. Some of our thoughts were specific, such as what it would take to make a dent in the Philadelphia Public Housing Authority. Other thoughts were rather vague, as, what are the implications of having the blocks and the tenants' council evolve into a unified community organization; what would be the program of such an organization; where might this program lead us in relation to other groups in the city who are doing related work. But in terms of the inertia of most of Philadelphia, and with our present resources considered, the task seemed too difficult.

There emerged a series of interrelated questions about the Philadelphia project. And, in effect, what we decided was that if we could not take the first steps towards providing solutions to those problems ourselves in the form of insuring continuing experienced staff, we should disband. We did not feel that the urgency of New Jersey expansion required that we do this. We felt that it might be possible for New Jersey to expand and to keep Philadelphia open. But this was true only in the abstract, and it could not be denied that keeping the Philly project open would create some drain on other projects in the future. The argument for concentration was accepted, but it must be emphasized that it might not have been sufficient if we had been able to solve staff problems over the next year and a-half.

It isn't a pleasant experience to close a project which has become a part of you in many ways, but on the whole we are content with the decision. Connie will be going to New Jersey. Rita and Carol are unsure of their plans. I will be going either to New Jersey or to Chicago where I will be going to school next year. In addition there are a couple boys who have been working with us who may go to Newark. One of them is out of school and may come when the rest of us do. The other may come after he finishes high school in June. We will probably remain in Philadelphia ten more days or so, to let everyone know of our decision, and to give a last boost to those programs that can continue without us.

Jim Bundy

RECIPES FOR SEMI-STARVATION

(each serves 12)

Creamed Chicken

Boil two 5 lb. stewing chickens till tender. Cool in broth, then cut chicken from the bone. Cook a chopped onion in about 2 quarts of broth. Add celery and about a teaspoon of thyme. Melt 1/2 cup margarine, and stir in 3/4 cup flour; blend in some of the hot broth and stir this into the rest of the broth. Salt and pepper to taste. Simmer for 10 minutes. Add chicken. Serve over baking powder biscuits. (Allow at least an hour, probably more, for boiling the chicken.)

Biscuits

2 quarts flour (8 cups)	1 cup vegetable shortening
5 tablespoons baking powder	3 cups milk
4 1/2 teaspoons salt	

Mix dry ingredients. Cut in fat and add milk gradually; knead dough on a lightly-floured board for a few seconds until smooth. Then either roll dough to 1/2-inch thickness and cut into 2-inch circles or squares, and put on cookie sheet, or put dough on cookie sheet and roll to 1/2-inch thickness. Bake without cutting, in a 425° oven for 12-15 minutes.

Three Bean Salad

one no. 1 can each of:	1/2 cup onion, chopped
French style green beans	1/2 cup salad oil
yellow beans	1/2 cup sugar
kidney beans	1 teaspoon salt
1/2 cup vinegar	green pepper, optional

Mix all together and let sit for a while before serving.

Italian Meat Sauce for Spaghetti

Brown in pan:

2 1/4 cups chopped onion  
2 1/2 lbs. ground beef

in:

1/3 cup salad oil or bacon drippings

Add:

1 small minced clove of garlic  
1 small hot green pepper  
1 tablespoon Worcestershire sauce  
3/4 cup diced green pepper  
3/4 cup diced celery  
3/4 teaspoon pepper  
3/4 teaspoon salt  
1 1/2 cups tomato paste  
3 3/4 cups canned tomatoes  
2 bay leaves

Simmer over low heat, the longer the better (within reason.)

Spaghetti Sauce with Liver

Saute 1 1/2 cups chopped onion in 3/4 cup margarine or drippings, until lightly browned. Add and saute 3 cups cubed liver or chicken livers. Add 1 1/2 cups tomato sauce and simmer for 15 minutes. Serve over noodles or spaghetti.

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Cold Macaroni Salad

Cook 4 cups of macaroni and chill it (you can run it under cold water if you have a colander.) Add some mayonnaise and cut-up bologna and other cold cuts and cheese, celery, carrots and cucumbers. Add salt and pepper to taste, and anything else you have around.

Potato Salad

Potato salad is best made from potatoes cooked in their jackets and peeled and marinated while still warm. The small red waxy potatoes hold their shape and don't crumble when diced; furthermore they do not absorb an excessive amount of dressing or become mushy. Do not try to use yesterday's cold boiled potatoes - the salad won't be good.

Prepare:

6 cups boiled, sliced potatoes

Marinate them in:

- 1 1/2 cups heated French dressing (see note at bottom)

Just before serving, add:

3 tablespoons chopped parsley

3 tablespoons chopped chives or grated onions

Serve tepid.

The potatoes can also be marinated in soup stock or bouillon.

Any of the following can be added: chopped boiled eggs, onions, olives, pickles, celery, cucumbers, salt, paprika, horseradish.

After 1 hour of refrigeration, add mayonnaise or sour cream. Refrigerate for another hour.

(The French dressing referred to here is not the orange kind, but oil and vinegar dressing with salt and pepper. The proportions are 3 parts oil to 1 part vinegar.)

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