ERAP NEWSLETTER

February 25, 1965

Ann Arbor, Michigan

COMMUNITY PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

On February 19 through 21, 1965, a Conference of Community People was held in Cleveland to try to find ways to solve the problems that confront the poor people of America. Poor people who are fighting for change came iron Mass., New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Miss., Onio, Illinois, Michigan and California. The Conference is over, but I am still overwhelmed by the atmosphere and real sense of concern and love one had for another. This conference was not a conference of Negroes and whites, but truly a conference of community people. True, all kinds of people, but most important these were just equal and concerned persons together. The concern I spoke about was very evident right down to helping clean the Church on Sat. night.

By accepting the participants of the Conference for themselves, we could then focus on the basic problems we all face, Poverty! The one really great aspect of the "meeting of the mind" was that no one bothered or noticed what color hand they were shaking or what color fame they were kissing.

The discussions that were held were on topics that are problems to the poor-not just to the whites or just to the blacks-but to imericans! The togetherness was very svident. Don't get me wrong, this conference was not all brain-stemming, but was a happy time also. We got together at my home for a social time. This was needed too, for as the old saying goes "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy".

The conference started a little late, but still turned out wonderful.

Alonso Brown, from Chicago talked on the problems the poor face. He was
followed by Jessie Allen, from Bewark who speks on the reason the poor should

organize. In the middle of his presentation he called upon Fannie-Lou Hamer to lead us in song, which broke a lot of us up. I, in turn talked about the need for all the poor, regardless of color or creed, to organize. By that time, it was time for lunch, but we wanted to talk, so talk we did for about 45 minutes in small groups. After lunch, we then gathered together to talk about whether we wanted to march on Downtown Cleveland. A few negative replies were made, as it was very cold and snowy. One man from Baltimore, David Smith, said that we would have to march eventually so why not now. An ovation was reised. So march we did. The March was to prost the inadequacies the poor has had to suffer across the nation. We marched across the Detroit-Superior bridge to a monument on Public Square in Downtown Cleveland. The length of the March was about a half mile. We rallicate around the monument and Mrs. Hamer led the group in songs such as "Go Tell It on the Mountain". We had excellent T.V. coverage.

The afternoon of Saturday we had specific topics which were discussed—The War on Poverty, Urban Remewal, Public Housing, Employment, Welfare, Organizational problems, education and others. Mrs. Hamer spoke at the dinner that night. Her talk was very touching, moving, and powerful. Some of the things she said was that all races and all poor have to organize together. The powers that be will always try to keep us fighting among ourselves, if they can so that is the reason we have to keep together. There was a tremendous amount of seling all during her talk.

On Sunday there was Church Service at which Rev. Paul Younger, a Minister at large for the poor of the Inner-City Protestant Parish in Cleveland, preached a really terrific sermon on "God-given Power". The content of the sermon was that man should have dominion over the Earth, not just the few influential men that have power across our nation, but for all men to have power and dominion over their lives regardless of the amount of money they have in the bank. At dinner that afternoon, a person from each city at the Conference stood up and very spontaneously told their feelings arout the previous day. The feeling was that each city had to go back to their homes and to continue to organize and they also told how impressed each of them wer that all different people from various backgrouds could get together and really understand and love one another without thinking about the superficiel differences. The emotion waws very strong. Opinions had changed overnight for many of the people involved. Good-byes were made with tears flowing down many cheeks, hopes were expressed for another Conference soon! Addresses ware copied : down many times in order to keep up the friendships that were ride during this wonderful week-end. Finally the bus carrying the Newark, Chester, Pa., New Brunswick, New York, Roxbury and Baltimore people left, and you felt like a real part of you had left. Dresms are forming in many people's minds about the next time all of us can get back together again.

Lillian Craig, Cleveland Conference Committee

UDLEY ST. REPORT

First, we want to tell you we're glad to be among you. The ever-present question in the neighborhood of "Who are you and what are you doing here?" can be dealt with now with less ambiguity and more honesty: "We are from SDS. We would like you to join with us in building a democratic, inter-racic. movement of the poor for political and economic change..."

In an attempt to think through what we are doing in more depth than . possible in the confusion of office activity or in the time-limited staff and volunteers meetings, we held a workshop the weekend of February 6-7. Originally we were planning a retreat to New Hampshire with participation limited to staff and volunteers. But after a good bit of debate we deci . to have it in Roxbury at a large home owned by the Episcopal Diocese, in c in: that particularly interested community people could join us. A few did. So did several observer-participants from other organizations, the director and a student volunteer from the Washington Street Action Center, and Vernon Grizzard. Noel Day, the coordinator of the three action centers in the Boston Community Union, was out of town.

Even a general description of the discussion would be too lengthy for this report, but we can list some of the decisions made.

1. We want political power within the Boston and Massachusetts political systems, as against a utopian island around Dudley Street built through self-help. Therefore, no building our own day care center, playgrounds, neighborhood center, and no direct, personal services. No clearer idea of how to achieve political power was in evidence after the discussion than before it.

2. If we expect community people after an initial contact with an organizer to be movced to joint action with their neighbors, we must give them reason to respond to the organizer. It is not enough to say, "What are your problems? Mrs. Jomes next door has the same problems. Wouldn't you like to come to a meeting with several of your neighbors to discuss what to do about these problems?" Our reluctance to introduce issues or suggest methods of action in the past -- even when we did have some ideas -- has not contributed to the development of a movement cantered around the Dudley St. Action Certer. It has gotten a few neighbors together at small meetings to gripe and to feet as powerless as before. We decided, therefore, that we should have a good : : of what we want to do before we knock on someone's door, especially a stran door, or before we call a meeting. We believe that our four months of listening has given us a pretty good idea of what issues are uppermost on people's r..... so we wouldn't be trying to organize around irrelevant issues. As for ! we decided to do more systematic research on Boston schools, urban rené housing code enforcement, the welfare system, Action for Boston Community Development -- our War on Poverty Agency -- employment, and city and state politics. Much of this research is being done by the volunteers, but as the organization grows and our involvement expands into a larger number of issues, it becomes more and more necessary for program development and strategy to come from the staff and a few community people, that is, people who are in constant touch with the situation.

3. Organizing block groups went to the bottom of the priority list in organizing objectives. The blocks in the neighborhood have only between 10 and 20 femilies living on them, so that even a high percentage participation produces groups too small to be effective in doing most things they have been trying to do. But when block or other small groups appear meaningful, they will be encouraged. And organizers will continue to be responsible for certain blocks.

4. Regular block meetings on most blocks, and the volunteers' meetings we

had been having in Cambridge will both be discontinued in favor of a periodic neighborhood meeting -- probably every two weeks. The first of these will be held tonight. In addition, we will continue the welfare mothers! club, and encourage the formation of other special interest groups.

- 5. Organizing will expand out of the twelve block area to which we have been limiting ourselves, with special emphasis being given to white and mixed blocks.
- 6. Local fundraising should be for both Dudley Street and Washington St. Action Centers. Additional volunteers recruited by SDS should also be stared.
- 7. More attempt should be made to keep channels of communication o. .: with civil rights and social service organizations.

It is our expectation that our impact on the neighborhood and the entire city will now begin to increase considerably. In addition to our continators working about 40 hours a week each and a group of student volunteers putting fin anywhere between 0 and 12 hours a week — all living in Cambridge—we now have three full time staff organizers who will be living at our new head-quarters. We have rented a first floor apartment which will double as office and living quarters for John Mendeloff and Mike McClatchey, and will probably take the vacant apartment on the second floor of the same building for Elaine Plaisance. Barbars and Dick Skillin, who were there before us, are also working full-time, now without pay.

Pat Hammond Dudley St. Action Center

APPALACHIA

Reprinted from "Voice for Jobs and Justice" , February 12, 1965

200 PICKETS CLOSE DOWN LETCHER COUNTY MINE

Hazard, Ky. February 16.

Yesterday 200 pickets mostly from Perry County closed down the Elkhorn - Jellico Coal Company's mine at Camp Branch in Letcher County. Fifty-two of the mine's workers signed UMW membership cards, and no one crossed the line. After all the cards had been signed and the mine closed down, for carloads of State Police arrived and took down the license numbers of all cards beonging to the pickets.

Today the picket line went to another large mine on Camp Branch owned by the Southeast Coal Co. Eleven carloads of State Police followed the picket line. According to one of the pickets, "The State Police took orders from the mine superintendent and forced all the miners to cross the line can go to work".

The State Police kept tear gas guns, automatic rifles, carbine rifles, submachine guns, and sawed off shotguns pointed on the pickets. None of the pickets showed guns. There were no shots fired.

Ashford Thomas, one of the picketers was taken into custody by the police for two hours but no charges were brought against him and he was released.

A REPORT ON THE PICKET LINE by Walter Gamble, R.R. 1, Box 456, Hazard, Ky.

The State Police checked each car before we started the line and also after the line was started. No charges could be made, so they followed us all the way to the picket line. The police signaled us off the road and were giving order how for us to park and in the process of this lecture the other members of the police force had come to the scene with every make of gun from a pistol to a tommy gun and had us surrounded.

The superintendent of the mine was giving the State Police orders which was carried out to the fullest extent.

The Police would not let us talk to the miners. They were assembled in line between the mines and our picket line.

We even agreed to form a committee composed of three to enter and talk to the men. The police would not agree to this.

AN INVERSION OF DEVELOPMENT reprinted from the Whitesburg "Mountain Logie"

It is one of the great ironies of the century that President Johnson's Appalachian development program is to be the vehicle by which Frankfort and Washington bureaucrats will consign tens of thousands of mountain families to perpetual poverty, with no hope for themselves or for the areas in which they live.

We don't believe for a moment that President Johnson ever intended it this way. But this does not change the situation. Acting upon advice of a group of state and federal bursmucrats who knew little and cared less about the area, the President has asked Congress to approve a bill that simply substitutes the image of a program for development itself. Worse yet, the program as drafted

and as it will become law simply will accelerate the rape of mountain resources for the benefit of the wealthy few and to the neglect of the area's poverty-ridden population.

Our disgust with Congressman Carl D. Perkins and with Senators John Sherman Cooper and Thruston B. Morton for allowing such a thing to happen is total. They have done Kentucky a disservice that is virtually unequaled in the state's history.

For as the development program currently is being shaped up, every single county in Eastern Kentucky will have to compete for dollars with Pittsburgh, Pa., Charleston and Huntington, W. Va. and dozens of other large, wealthy and politically powerful centers of wealth. It is an unequal competition, one Eastern Kentucky cannot win.

Worse even than that, the law itself requires that federal funds b. E. ont on those areas where the return per dollar invested will be the highest. This means simply that as a matter of law the funds will be directed to the metropolitan centers of Appelachia, to the appearent total exclusion of almost all of Eastern Kentucky. (It is similar rules on other federal programs which have helped put Eastern Kentucky in its present-day misery. We don't have flood control because economically we are not worth saving, etc.).

And there are alarming reports that the Appalachian Development Commission plans a deliberate course of investing its funds in what it calls "growth centers". We have heard it said that a "growth center" will be a mountain town with one of the former UMM hospitals. Another report is that a growth center will be defined as any Appalachian city with 10,000 population or more.

Either definition would be grossly unfair to 90% of the problem counties in Eastern Kentucky. The 10,000 population test automatically would exclude evertything in the nountains of Eastern Kentucky except Ashland (located in a county with one of the highest per capita incomes in the state) and possibly Middlesboro. The hospital criterion also wouldexclude all but six Kentucky counties. And either definition would exclude from development funds the problem counties of most Appalachiem states.

As a matter of fact, if a "growth center" is the best place to spend Appalachian development funds, it would make sense to spend the entire one-billion dollar appropriation in California since California is the growth center of the nation. And to do so would make just as much sense as to concentrate the funds in a select handful of mountain counties. California is no farther away from Lee and Letcher and Owsley and Martin and Wolfe counties in Kentucky than are ashland, Ky. and Pittsburgh, Pa.

The whole idea, in fact, is an inversion of development -- a system under which funds will denied counties needing them most and poured into places needing help the least.

As if the situation were not bad enough, along has come word that Kentucky is about to be "left at the post", in the words of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in the matter of getting first crack at the money.

Courier-Journal Washington correspondent Richard Harwood reports that while several other states have plans ready for spending the money to be made available by the Appalachian bill, Kentucky has not plans, except for highways. Harwood quotes John Haisman, Governor Edward Bresthitt's: man in charge of Eastern Kentucky, as saying Kentucky has no detailed plans as yet for taking advantage of the Appalachian appaidies and that it would "be a mistake" for

Kentucky to develop plans of that sort until an "overall regional plan" is produced by the ll states included in the Appalachian area?

Whisman has been in charge of planning for Eastern Kentucky's development for almost 10 years. He has not stated how many more decades will pass before the completes a plan.

Meanwhile, Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton says his state is re 'y right now to start spending money...that detailed plans have been drawn up to take advantage of the Appelachian bill. Harwood also quotes a federal of sial as saying about a half dozen states "will be lined up at our door when the bill is passed. Pennsylvania is one, Tennesseee is another. They'll see ready to spend the money and they'll get it".

But not Kentucky.

MINE WORKERS WANT UNION CONTRACT

United Mine Workers of America Local Union 8280 District No. 30 Leatherwood, Kentucky February 11, 1965

Dear Sir: Mr. Delegate:

I'm writing you this letter concerning the membership here at Leatherwood, Ky. The members of local union 8280 have been out of work ever since Blue Dismond Coal Company canceled their contract and closed down their Number 1 mine on April 27, 1964 at Leatherwood, Kentucky.

We, the members of local 8280, are asking for your support from the _er rs to help us while we are trying to get a contract back at our mine where re worked so long. If this mine goes down Perry County is gone.....

Yours truly,
BOYD COUCH
Recording Secretary
Local Union 8280
Box 14
Delphia, Kentucky

BALTIMORE REPORT

In spite of U-JOIN's critisicms of the Baltimore anti-poverty plan the Baltimore city council passed Baltimore's proposed program without one dissenting vote. On the final day people hardly knew that the poverty program had been raised as a question before it was passed. U-JOIN has been waging a constant battle to improve the Baltimore program by (1) testifying at public hearings on the local war on poverty (2) involving the poor in criticizing the program (3) drawing up an alternate plan that was presented to the city council (4) circulating a petition in the proposed action area which was presented to the city council with between 800 and 900 signatures (with the petitions still being circulated) (5) and by becoming involved in a local group called the Auti-Poverty Action Committee.

Our fight with the war on poverty has brought us a fair amount of policity, a lot of criticism, and a fair amount of respect in the liberal—community. While gaining a great deal of respect in the liberal community (for what, that's worth), the same liberals have criticized us for openly attacking the program before it was passed by the city council and have accused us of being rather reckelss. The liberals of course have been telling us that we would be more effective if we were working inside the program rather than pressuring from the outside because we possessed skills that were badly needed by the anti-poverty program. What we have gotten out of our attack is that we will be asked by the people who run the program to refer community people to them sincd they are having a hard time finding poor people who are capable of filling some of the lower positions in the Baltimore war on poverty.

Our involvement in the Anti-Poverty Action Committee has brought about what could develop into a large split in the Negro community over the local war on poverty program. The group is composed of Baltimore Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, C.O.R.E., several political clubs, several Negro sororities, U-JOIN, and several block councils from around the city with pretty much the split occurring between U-JOIN, the political and neighborhood clubs on one side and the established Negro leadership minus C.O.R.E. on the other. The left wing faction has control of the group at this time with the ministers threatening to leave the grown because of a motion passed by the committee to send a telegram to Sargea Shriver requesting the holding up of all federal funds until the mayor reconsiders the eleven man board he has just appointed to run the anti-powerby program. The position on the board rests on the fact that the board is no. representative of the poor community. That is that there are no people on the board who are poor or with whom the poor can identify. However, sto pink the funds looks very doubtful at this point.

We have been working and organizing around slum housing, and we have been working with a man named Ashby who is being evicted from his house because he has too many people living in the house. Mr. Ashby's problems didn't begin until he complained about the holes in the floor that his kids were falling through and the case worker almost fell through one of the holes. We have been trying to rally people around Mr. Ashby. Our organizing has been expanded to now include a nearby public housing project with Goucher college girls having begun the organizing in the projects around our petition on the war on poverty. There has already been one meeting in the projects and at present Josh Berezin and Eboshana Arai are along with a Mr. Brahm who lives in the projects, drawing up a prospectus for the housing projects. Charlie is back and Shoshana Arai has joined the staff so that brings the full time staff to seven having lost one of our community staff people at least temporarily.

LLFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

A couple of weeks ago we commented on the financial dealings between Sec't. Dillon's banking firm, Dillon, Read & Co., and the government of the Republic of South Africa. Intrigued by that connection, we looked further into the business affairs of Douglas Dillon and his family. We found that Mr. Dillon has not only aided the government of South Africa by floating their bond issues in this country through the family investment banking firm, but that the Dillon family is heavily involved in the economy of South Africa.

The vast fortume of the Dillon family appears to be centered in the investment bank, Dillon, Read & Co., an investment fund (in effect, a holding company), United States and Foreign Securities, Inc., and in various foundations -- including the Bertha Dillon-Susan Douglass Foundation, and the Dillon Fund.

One of the larger American operators in South Africa is Charles Engaged of New Jersey. Engelhard Industries, Inc., controls wast gold and dier and other metals deposits in South Africa, and a number of metal processing plants in N.J.. Engelhard Industries, Inc. is owned (80.05%) by Engelhard Hanovia, Inc. We have no information on the ownership of the latter. Charles Engelhard is chairman and president of Engelhard Industries.

One of the ways Engelhard raises capital funds for his operations 'n iontal Africa is through an investment firm called American-South African Livestment Co. Ltd. In 1958 Millon, Read & Co. sold \$33 million in the shares of American South African, the money being used to invest in the properties of Engelhard Industries, Inc., in South Africa.

American-South African is operated by what is called an investment advisory firm, South African Investment Adviser (proprietary) Ltd.. The advisory firm "will investigate opportunities for investment and make recommendations as to acquisition and disposition of portfolio assets; furnish office space; provide accounting, statistical and clerical services and pay salaries of officers, etc." for American-South African (Moody's, 1962).

South African Investment Adviser, Ltd. is owned 50% by Engelhard Development Co. (subsidiary of Engelhard Industries, Inc.) and 50% by Millon, Read & Co. Thus the investment banking firm of the Secretary of Treasury owns one-half interest in the firm which operates one of the principal sources of capital for Engelhard Industries in their South African operations.

on the board of directors of American-South African Investment Co. are the found: Frederic H. Brandi, who is chairmen and a director of Dillon. The & Co.; Kingman Douglass, who is vice-president of Dillon, Read & Co. and Cip a director of Engelhard Industries (Secretary Dillon is married to Amme Douglass); J.B. Baldwin, who is vice president of Keswick Corporation, wholly owned subsidiary of the Dillon-controlled U.S. and Foreign Securities and J.F. Fowler, Jr., another Dillon, Read vice president.

New York Counsel for American-South African Investment is the law of Shearman & Sterling. G. M.P. Murphy, a partner in that firm is also board of American-South African. C.C. Parlin, senior partner in Shearman Sterling is on the board of the Dillon's U.S. and Foreign Securities. Print is also secretary of the two Dillon foundations mentioned above, both of which list their addresses as Shearman & Sterling, 20 Exchange Flace, New York, N.Y.

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When Dillon was appointed Sec't. of Treasury by Kennedy in 1961, he selected as his General Counsel for Treasury, Robert H. Knight, then a partner in Shearman & Sterling and since returned to that firm from Treasury.

Thus the Dillon banking house is heavily represented on the American-South African board, as is the Dillon law firm, and the Dillon holding company. Five of the eleven directors of American-South African are clearly Dillon men.

If, at this point, the question arises -- what has all this to do with the American civil rights movement? -- the answer lies in the fact that the Dillon interests in this country are quite similar to those in South Afr. A. Which is only to say that American finance and industry are pretty much the same, wherever they're found.

Following is a list of some of the securities owned by the Dillon having company which involve the racist South of the U.S.:

40,000 shares of American Cyanimid -- plant at Jackson, Miss.

35,000 shares of Hercules Powder -- plant at Hattiesburg and Greenville, Miss.

25,000 shares of Olin Mathieson -- plant at Gulfport, Miss.

44,000 shares of Middle South Utilities, parent of Miss. Fower and Light.

15,000 shares of General Electric -- plant at Jackson, Miss.

32,472 shares of International Paper -- plants at Natchez and Moss Point, Miss.

20,000 shares of Johns-Manville -- plant at Natchez, Miss.

25,000 shares of Westinghouse Electric -- plant at Vicksburg.

18,900 shares of Standard of Calif. -- refinery at Pascagoula.

130,000 shares of Louisiana Land and Exploration Co. which has substantial oil holdings in Miss.

These investments have a minimum total market value of \$20,000,000. Clearly Mr. Dillon and his family are heavily involved in the economy of the racist South, just as they are in the economy of racist South Africa.

Can we seriously expect Lyndon to act effectively against racism and poverty, when the perpetuation of both is in the interest of his cabinet members, and when the elimination of both requires his cabinet members to act contradictorily to their own material interests? If we can, then we must ignore the whole history of big business and politics.

On Jahuary 17 Lyndon announced that \$101 million of war-on-poverty money has been allocated. A total of \$22,670, .02% of the allocations, actually went to poor people in the form of small business and farm loans. The .c. acc, 99.98%, went to the poverty warriors themselves. A typical grant (no loans to the yarriors -- only the poor must repay) was the one to the Systems Development Corporation of Santa Monica, California. This corporate poverty warrior got \$85,000 to "operate a computer based information processing and retreival system".

It's a Great Society, Lyndon's is. Pity more people don't qualify to get in it.

Jack Minnis

ERAP-LITERATURE LIST

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.ut.nors who are SDS members are in camital letters. Especially recommended papers are asterisked (**).

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