

February 11, 1965

1100 E. Washington Ann Arbor, Mich.

COMMUNITY PEOPLE'S
CONFERENCE

For the first time in recent history low income and relief people from all over the country where the poor are organizing are coming together for a Community People's Conference. Over 100 poor people from organizations in over a dozen cities will meet in Cleveland, the weekend of Feb. 19-21, to join hands and hearts to deal with a problem they know best, the problem of poverty.

The conference will give people a chance to exchange and share experiences and ideas, to find out how various organizations of poor people are dealing with the problems facing people from poverty areas: basically, the lack of democracy in American society, which is reflected in bad housing (public and private) and urban renewal programs, unemployment and token retraining programs, rotten educational systems, police brutality, inadequate welfare systems.

Since the emphasis of the conference is on the concerns and interests of poor people, all the speaking as well as the programming and planning for the conference is being done by community people. While a group of Clevelanders, Negro and white, has been coordinating the arrangements, all final decisions are based on the suggestions and criticisms from poor people from the other communities to be attending.

Since community people feel strongly that this is a conference for, by and of poor people only, professionals, students, and other non-poverty people are being asked NOT to attend.

The large number of requests for permission to attend the Conference has made it necessary to issue the following statement:

Dear Friends,

Since the Cleveland Community People's Conference of Feb. 19-21, 1965, is for welfare and low-income community persons from many cities in which the poor have organized, we cannot invite persons who are not

SERIES 4.A - NO. 8

directly involved in organizations that are striving to better the lives of the poor, both black and white, by the poor themselves. We cannot invite those who are not welfare and low-income community persons. We appreciate your interest and hope there will be another time that you can be with us to express your interest.

Sincerely,

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR CLEVELAND COMMUNITY PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE, FEB. 19-21, 1965

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19: evening: arrival; reception; introduction to host family.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20: breakfast in host's home.

9:30 A.M. General session. Welcoming statement, Gloria Ransom, Cleve.

Speakers: 1. Alonzo Brown, Chicago: General problems poor people face with the government or people who have power.

2. Jessie Allen, Newark: What the future can be if the poor people organize.

3. Millian Crsig, Cleveland: Need for inter-racial and inter-faith organization of the poor.

10:15 Coffee--Gob

10:30 Small discussion groups; general topics; give everyone a chance to find out what is happening in the other cities.

12:30 Lunch.

1:30 Small discussion groups--specific topics. Examples: welfare, urban renewal, employment.

2:30 Switch to second specific topic group.

3:30 Free time; tours of Cleveland; other suggestions welcome.

6:30 or 7:00 Banquet. Tentative speaker: Fannie Lou Hamer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, "What MFDP is doing in Mississippi in relation to what can be done all over the U.S."

8:00 Social hour--party.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21: Breakfast in host's home.

10:30 Church--Non-Denominational service at Fidelity Baptist, by Rev. Paul Younger of the Inner-City Protestant Parish.

12:30 Dinner

1:30 General session: report back on Saturday's meetings, discussion of future meetings, activities, etc.

SUNDAY afternoon: departure

SERIES 4.A - NO. 8

February 8, 1965--one in a series

The augmented full-time staff of the CCP (old-timers plus Art Learnard most recently from Ann Arbor and Lillian Craig, a CUF^{AW} sparkplug) have held numerous meetings over the last 2 weeks to chart new directions in the community and in our own internal operation.

CCP STAFF ITSELF

A number of changes have been made:

1. A community person was put on the full-time staff. The basic discussion was not about whether or not this was desirable, but rather the problems associated with such a decision. Most hesitations stemmed from the fear that a community person's being on staff could potentially isolate him or her from the community. We all agreed that the problems could be solved, and that there should be more full-time staff from the community.
2. Recognition was given to the fact that primary direction for the project must be provided by the full-time staff. Part-time staff will be encouraged to attend staff meetings when possible and to work on the project whenever they have spare time.
3. Full-time staff will rotate in the "project keeper for a week" plan. The keeper will be responsible for providing an overview, for coordinating staff activities, for reports and other communications.

COMMUNITY UNION

The need for a thorough discussion of what we are doing in the community was forced by the decision, for a variety of reasons, to "put on ice" the U-JOIN and housing project groups, leaving only CUF^{AW} as an actively functioning group. (An analysis of the problems of the two dormant groups is too complex to be included here but hopefully it will appear in future Newsletters.) It was considered essential that an activity begin that: involves men, deals with community problems, reaches low-income families, helps develop a sense of community on the Near West Side, and integrates the welfare mothers into a larger group. The assumption during the summer was that the three issues groups would develop and eventually become part of a "community union." Individuals in each of the three groups with which we've worked see the need for a broader group but particularly in the case of the welfare and unemployment groups, the nature of the issue argues more for a city-wide group than for a Near West Side group.

We decided to begin extensive canvassing in the 8th Ward to determine what direction a community union should take. The interviews will be very open-ended and loosely structured. We hope to find support for a political community union that is rooted in action directed toward solving specific community issues such as street safety, poor housing, school guards, etc. Over the next couple of months there would be various forms of direct action under the community union but (hopefully) organized on a very localized basis. The alternative is to emphasize one or two broad issues, such as urban renewal.

or education, and develop community-wide protests around them. In either case, initial recruitment would be around a specific problem, and would be done by CCP staff with community people whenever possible. The community union would coordinate and pull together the various activities centered on specific problems. One possible choice is to run a protest campaign in the fall Councilmanic elections. By raising relevant issues such as welfare, employment, education, housing, as well as specific neighborhood problems (street safety), the protest could directly challenge the meaningless nature of city campaigns.

During the next few weeks we hope to test our hypothesis through talking with people who have been active in one or another of the community groups, people who were contacted during the summer but never became active, and people who have never been contacted.

OTHER WORK

1. CUFAP has mounted an ever-growing offensive against the school board and the county commissioners on the issue of free school lunches for ADG children. Weekly demonstrations at meetings of the county commissioners finally resulted in irresponsible outbursts by the commissioners; the finale came when the chairman slammed the meeting to a close and stalked out of the room. Nearly 90 people were crammed into the meeting room--mostly welfare mothers as well as many sympathetic people from other organizations. The protest is having visible effects, and the city's officialdom is no longer presenting a united front. Yet the possibility of victory is still uncertain. The protests have resulted in people all over the city knowing about CUFAP's activities, and has increased the membership some; at the same time, in the last week, the news media have been restricting CUFAP news to the extent of complete blackouts. Regardless of the outcome of the school lunch issue, there is strong feeling that the protest has been an important learning experience in that it acquainted many of the mothers with the ins and outs of city politics.

2. The battle for a decent War-on-Poverty in Cleveland has reached a new level, with the apparent approval of the Establishment's revised proposal by Washington and the co-optation of a co-chairman of the Citizens Committee into a slightly increased Board of Directors. Most of the Committee rejected the compromise offered by the city as tokenism, but it is now possible that this particular battle has been lost. Protests will continue, however, and there is still some chance that the Establishment can be defeated. Our strategy is now being mapped out... A report will be written (soon, hopefully) on the history of our involvement with the Citizens Committee and its implications for other projects.

3. Conference planning and work has involved a few new people although most of the brunt has been borne by CUFAP. Community people have been most active in determining program (on the basis of communication with other cities), and arranging meals and housing.

"Before we hear the report of the committee I would like to read this statement which describes the thinking that went into the decision made by the staff of the Cleveland Community Project after a long period of thought and discussion among ourselves and with many people here in the Project.

For the last two meetings of the Lakeview Terrace Residents Council and now at this meeting, the CCP has been a main topic of discussion and heated debate. It is clear that the issue of whether or not we should work with the tenant council has divided this group and although we sincerely believe that this should not have been the case and that the suspicions that people had and have about us are unfounded and uninformed, we cannot deny that the division exists. It also seems clear that regardless of the nature of the report this evening and regardless of the outcome of a vote on whether or not we should work with the Council, that division exists. It seems to us that that is an intolerable situation that would seriously limit our effectiveness if we were to work with the council and would continue to limit the effectiveness of the council. That is not our desire; nor is it the intention; and it is largely for this reason that we have decided to withdraw our request to work with the council.

When we first came into the Project, almost 6 months ago, our goal was to assist a low-income community organize to deal with the special problems that confront such a community--and through that kind of organization to see develop in the community a capacity and desire to speak out forcefully on its own behalf. There are many obstacles to that kind of expression. Some of them are in the people themselves who have, for one set of reasons or another, given up the effort to defend their own interests and strengthen their own community. Other obstacles come from outside the community, from public officials and others who are more comfortable and secure if people who have serious grievances and problems, such as the people in this community, remain unorganized.

Thus, for example, the manager of this project told this group that she would not tolerate any kind of group action regarding the quality of maintenance in the Project. Or, for example, the people who administer the War-on-Poverty funds for Cleveland still refuse to give significant representation to low income and poor people in the development of that kind of program.

These kinds of problems and issues were what motivated us to come into the project and they are still our primary concern. If there is to be division and debate, it should take place around substantive questions and issues such as recreation, maintenance, democratic management, better schools, and not around the question of whether or not the CCP should work with this group. It was with the hope that substantive issues would be debated that we worked with some of you to organize a tenant council. It is still our hope that you will be willing to accept these kinds of debates as important--that you will, for example, face squarely the implications of the management's statement that you cannot pressure for better maintenance.

In our own turn, we would like to say that we have made many friends here during the last six months. We are anxious to maintain those friendships and hopeful that we will be able to work with many people from this project in other ongoing activities on the Near West Side. Perhaps as the Council develops its program and defines more clearly the role it wants to play in the community, there will arise another opportunity in which we could assist you without rancor and division. That of course is something for the future to determine.

In the meantime, we want to thank you for your concern and interest and wish you luck and courage in the program you develop."

(Note: after the statement was read, the CCP staff members were asked to leave so that the "investigating committee" could give their report. The consensus was that no vote had to be taken since we had withdrawn our original request. Tenants attending the council meeting confirmed our suspicions that the report was incomplete and inconclusive. And, as we might have devoted to Miss Maher's scolding the tenants who have been working with the CCP.)

CUNY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT'S STATEMENT
AT COUNTY COMMISSIONERS MEETING

"My name is Molly Staurch. I live on the Near West Side. At West High School I am in the 10A. I'm on ADC. I am supposedly receiving a FREE school lunch. This card was sent to my mother at the end of the summer, by the Welfare Department.

(Read card--stated all junior and high school students could receive free lunches if they returned this card to the City Welfare Department.)

You stated that the county knew nothing about the school lunches, but in black and white on this card, the county in fact did know about the lunches.

How would you like to sit across from a student who buys a hot lunch every single day? She had fried chicken last Thursday. I, in turn, had nothing. The reason I don't buy the lunches is I have younger brothers and sisters who have to eat! I can stand the pangs of hunger---they can't."

Despite the cold weather the NCUP seems to be becoming more and more of a vital force in Newark. This is indicated by the flying glass and the increased interest the press has shown us. Stories about us have or will appear in the Newark Evening News, The New York Times, the Guardian, the Village Voice, and of course, Studies on the Left. Positive consequences of this is that we have begun to work closely with civil rights and labor groups around the state. Also the case against Tom has been dismissed by the Grand Jury.

In spite of all this it remains clear that we don't spend anywhere near enough time on the blocks. Here the weather has clearly gotten the upper hand along with staff absorption in administrative tasks and a certain amount of disorganization and inertia.

Ida Brown has moved into her new house and seems to feel much better although the sentencing on March 3rd worries her and us very much. We've been talking about a large demonstration at city hall around Ida's case and our housing demands, but we've had to put it off until the trial. Now we are reluctant to take any major action that the Judge could misconstrue until the sentencing. In the interim we plan to deluge city hall with housing complaints and heat visits. Besides that we are worried because the charge against Ida of assault and battery on the cop was sent to the Grand Jury, involving a possible sentence of 3-5 years. But Ida is a soldier.

People here talk about the Mayor a lot and see him as responsible for rats and roaches as the slumlord. We also talk about rent control and developing our own plan for urban renewal. Good discussions take place in the housing committee around all these ideas. The other night we developed our latest strategy. It's called the cockroach barrage. You'll be hearing about it.

Clyde Wright goes to trial Tuesday, February 9th and by the time you read this he will have been tried and possibly sentenced. Monday, February 8th we plan to hit Klein's hard with picketing, shop-ins, and leafletting. Klein's has continued to refuse to meet with us and apparently is prepared to press their contentions that Clyde was shoplifting and that no beating took place. The ways of justice are dark and mysterious.

Another trip to Shugard Shelter got us a change in their line. They are now willing to give Mrs. Grace a letter of recommendation and have returned her six uniforms, but still have nothing to say about her disability payments. The exciting thing is that the Hospital Workers (1199) are considering organizing the Shelter with us. So far 1199 has been tied up in one strike and another and as soon as they get free we should move ahead on Shugard Shelter.

Plans for the Cleveland Community Conference look good. We will be chartering a bus for Newark, Chester, Philly, New York, New Haven, and New Brunswick. So far about two-

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people from here plan to go. Jesse Allen, rent strike leader and NCUP-SDS staff member will be one of the key note speakers. We talk a lot about the conference and are all excited about getting together with our brothers and sisters across the North and the South too.

We have started Friday night "things" (for want of a better word) that so far have been movies. Future plans also include speakers, movies followed by discussions, or just provide coffee and chairs for people to talk. The response so far has been good in spite of the weather.

This Saturday will be NCUP's second fund-raising affair. We're selling dinners at \$1.25 each with free delivery. People in the neighborhood are donating the ribs, chicken, greens, etc. Anything over \$10,000 we'll send to Ann Arbor immediately.

Our staff has grown to eleven but that is really deceptive. Of the eleven, three may not stay in Clinton Hill and one is on staff in name only. This may sound like a lot, but it takes a minimum of six to maintain what was built in the summer. We're talking about expansion and a decision will happen soon. We're getting together with New Brunswick more and more, especially since one of our block groups is thinking about setting up a day nursery. We have visited their nursery and asked them to help us. In return we share some of our experiences in organizing around housing problems. Their need for a staff person still remains unmet. We look forward to seeing Y'all the 19th.

DUDLEY STREET NEWS

On Jan. 12, 1965 tenants from Roxbury, Dorchester, and CORE went to the Mayor's office with four demands about the housing code. They were:

1. place cards on apartments or buildings that are unfit for human habitation.
2. block renting of apartments if repairs have to be made.
3. city-wide inspection.
4. have the city make repairs and charge them to landlord.

Three of them he had said he had put into effect the day before. He said the fourth was impossible. Allen Gartner (chairman of CORE) suggested that in Philadelphia they have workshops set up for such problems. He thought Sam Messina, head of Office of Neighborhood Improvement, should go there. Messina said, "Mr. Mayor, if you would let me go there and study their workshops, then maybe I could come up with something." The Mayor then said, "You will leave here on Monday." The Mayor promised that he would give us an answer on February 12.

I invited the Mayor to go on a tour of Roxbury slums or to some of our housing meetings. He said no. I was not at all impressed by the Mayor. His actions were very cold.

Reprinted from Voice for Jobs and Justice of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, Jan. 29 and Feb. 5.

APPALACHIAN COMMITTEE 1 YEAR OLD

The Appalachian Committee For Full Employment is celebrating its first anniversary. It was just this time last year that a bus load of men went to Washington to begin their own war on poverty. They came back and formed the Appalachian Committee For Full Employment. Some of the year's events are told in the form of a poem entitled "The Battle of Poverty" which appears on page 5.

The purpose of the Committee remains the same: "We are working to bring jobs with honest pay 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."

WAR ON POVERTY IN KENTUCKY

U.K.R.A.D.C. MEETS, ELECTS OFFICERS, APPROVES PROJECT

On Tuesday, January 19, the Upper Kentucky River Area Development Council held its monthly meeting, elected new officers, and approved an anti-poverty project. The new officers are: Chairman, George Wooten, County Judge, Leslie County; Vice Chairman, Robert Morgan, a Knott County Attorney, Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Mary Pauline Fox, Knott County Health Officer.

The project endorsed by the Council is a request for \$17,560 from the Office of Economic Opportunity for a summer recreation program in the four county area. The Hindman Settlement School is the sponsor of this project, which, if approved, will hire recreation supervisors and purchase athletic equipment.

The Area Council has given City Planners an Illinois consulting firm, which offered to do the planning for the poverty program, only ten days to complete a rough draft for the plans. If they fail to produce, negotiations with the firm will be broken.

Four representatives from the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment drove to the Hindman Settlement School to attend the Area Council meeting, but were informed that it would not be held because of the hazardous driving conditions due to ice and snow on the roads. The meeting had been set for 10:00 A.M., but had not started by 11:00 when the four ACFE members left. At that time there were only four other people present.

The endorsement by UKRADC of an anti-poverty project submitted by a separate group marks a change in policy. When the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment asked UKRADC to endorse its "Community Organizing Program," Mr. William Miller (resource development specialist with the Univ. of Kentucky extension program at Quicksand), who was presiding over the meeting, stated that the Area Council could not endorse or approve any project, but could merely receive it.

SERIES 4 A - NO 8

SCREENING FOR JOB CORPS

The Hazard State Employment Office has begun screening for the Job Corps which was established by the Economic Opportunity Act. The initial quota for the four county area (Perry, Knott, Breathitt, and Leslie) is 14 youths to be picked in two groups. Married or single youths between the ages of 16 and 21 who have no criminal record are eligible. An average of 3.5 youths will be picked from each of these four counties.

JOB CORPS INADEQUATE by Mrs. Berman Gibson, P.O. Box 514, Hazard, Ky.

Last week the four county area Perry, Knott, Leslie and Breathitt started taking applications for the Job Training Corps. They are allowing 3 1/2 young boys or men from each of the four counties. I am wondering how many, many young boys and men there are between the ages of 16 to 21 that are in need of jobs? I am also wondering how the ones responsible can possibly pick out the ones to be eliminated here? Who will accept the responsibility of saying you don't qualify? They build up the hopes of our young people only to leave them hanging in mid-air like a balloon and then let them drop with a thump only to burst the bubble and kill the hope they had built up.

Why can't we get some of the factories to locate in Perry Co. so our children can stay home and earn a living. The cream of our generation is having to leave Perry County for parts unknown in order to locate and get jobs to support families they are starting or planning for in the future.

Let's fight to help all our children not just a drop in the bucket!

THE YOUNG PEOPLE by Walter Archer, Diablock, Ky.

I am 17 years old and one of the many that has to drop out of school because of no clothes and no money for books and lunch. Mrs. Hager that lives at Lothair came around to my house with the anti-poverty proposal that the Appalachian Committee For Full Employment had drawn up. She explained it to me and I thought that it was a good thing and I know it would help people in the Appalachian Region. I decided that I would help Mrs. Hager to get signatures and to tell people about the Appalachian Committee For Full Employment, and I have been going down to the office and helping with the newsletter "Voice For Jobs and Justice".

I went with some of the Committee people to a meeting at Knoxville, and I am trying to organize a young people's group of boys and girls that have dropped out of school because of financial reasons. We can't get jobs, and I am sure that there are many of boys and girls like me who would like to get back in school if they had the money to go back on. If we could get this group started we could get some thing done.

I don't really remember the depression, but I believe this Appalachian Committee For Full Employment is one of the best things that has happened to this area, and the other

is the UMW. If a lot of the older people will think back to those days you will know how good you were when the WPA and the CCC started in this country.

To my way of thinking the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment represents something of a new start for this area. At Christmas some families would have went without food or clothes or toys for the children, all of which the ACFE made possible. I know some of you don't see things the way I do, but we are trying to do more than just bring in food and clothes. I hope in time everyone will help us to get something done for the people in the Appalachian Region.

The reason I see things this way is because of what the Appalachian Committee For Full Employment is trying to do. ACFE is trying to get jobs in here that pay decent wages, and clinics and medical care such as doctors, specialists, field nurses, and grants to repair our homes, and grants for students who can't pay to go to school, and factories, and community centers.

I have been looking for a job now about 7 months and every place I've went to and asked for a job here in Hazard they said they have nothing, so if all the people of Perry County would help the ACFE we could get jobs in here in Perry County. So if we could organize a young people's program we could go to Frankfort or to Washington and try to be able to go back to school, because as you know people now a days are not able to get a job without an education. If any of you young people are interested in organizing a young people's program, you can come to the ACFE office or call me at 436-5624 or you can come to my house at Cornett Hill and see me. Thank you.

THE KING OF THE MUSKRATS by everett tharp

The King of the Muskrats in all of his fright
Held a meeting by day--or was it by night?
He selected a few of the greedy and sounkle
And went up to Washington to see his Grand Uncle.

He visited his uncle and his uncle was sore
Because the King had shoved his program out of the door;
If you had the knowledge of Joshua and his ram
You would have asked for an increase of the dollar program.

My WAR ON POVERTY is not just a pun
For cheap politicians to have a little fun.
I sent in the lettuce that made your finger tips glow,
You have slit me wide open from my tongue to my toe.

You have sent in a program endorsed far and wide
By the Appalachian Committee with all of its pride.
Your program was late--your arrival was tardy.
Your actions have crippled the Democrat Party.

If you will take council from the leaders so wise
I have up my sleeve a little surprise.
I will give you a note that will open the door
To the one who will give aid to the lame and the poor.

SERIES 4A NO 8

So the King of the Muskrats in pomp and galore
Set his compass to guide him to the MAGIC door.
That would give him a formula that would wipe clean his slate
And erase the mistakes that would heal up his fate.

The King returned with a plan of great Novelty
To wipe out disease and to end all poverty.
If his subjects would only kneel down at his door,
He would discard the MUSKRATS and fight for the poor.

My authority is final--my word is supreme
If you are to sip out of the Federal stream
You must throw up your hands and humble your pride
And "SALUTE" THE KING OF THE MUSKRATS or I'll tan your dog hide.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Muskrat Gang is a name the man on the Unemployed Fathers' Program were given locally because the men are sometimes made to clean up creek banks. They are also called the Jobless Fathers, the Stickweed Gang, and the Dollar an Hour men. The supervisor of the program on the county level is the County Judge. The poem refers to Judge Noplis' recent trip to Washing on after which he announced that he was incorporating an Advisory Council which will plan and implement all anti-poverty programs for Perry County and receive any funds that come in from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

SAN FRANCISCO

FACTS CONCERNING THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM FOR SAN FRANCISCO:

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provides that a Community Action Program is one which is "...developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served..."

The initial poverty proposal of the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council states the philosophical position: "It is no longer possible to convince the people in these trap ghettos (sic) that they will be allowed to participate except by having them participate. Their participation, therefore, must be structural rather than rhetorical..."

Some weeks ago the Council requested 55,000.00 from Washington in order to assist such participation in the development of proposals. The money has been approved but has not yet arrived.

The people of the Mission District, stimulated by the Council, have begun a voluntary effort to understand the Act and how it might help the area. Other Communities have done the same. The work is in a preliminary stage, but interest is high and people are working to improve conditions.

But the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council, through its executive committee has proceeded to develop a massive program on the basis of "expert" advice and preliminary reports from the communities. This has been done in order to meet certain deadlines announced by the Mayor.

Mr. Brandon, director of this program, states that its core is the Neighborhood Action Center which shall co-ordinate programs in a particular community. It shall have a director, several staff persons, and a "Community Action Committee."

While Mr. Brandon and the Council talk about structural rather than rhetorical involvement of the poor, he stated to me, upon questioning, that the director of the Neighborhood Action Center will be responsible to the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council and that the Community Action Committee will be an advisory committee. Decisions on staff and other matters will not be made by the advisory committee.

On Friday, January 15, 1965 Mr. Brandon stated to the Council that a community meeting in the Western Addition had approved the project as a basic program. Yet the chairman of the contact committee for that area told me that he did not know what group or groups had met and that as far as he knows no one in that community has even seen the proposal.

While saying that local communities will make the basic decisions, the Council, under the direction of Mr. Brandon, is planning to proceed immediately with conversations with various social agencies as to what portions of the centrally drafted and adopted program they can provide!

SERIES 4 A - NO 8

numerous community groups have requested opportunity for public hearings. It has been suggested that there be public hearings on the proposed program. It has been suggested that the program be released to the press. Yet the Council is rushing headlong toward submitting the program to Washington for funding.

Recommendation:

I recommend and move that the following resolution be adopted:

WHEREAS, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 calls for maximum feasible participation of the poor; and

WHEREAS, the San Francisco Economic Opportunity Council of San Francisco has adopted and expanded this principle in theory; and

WHEREAS, significant community groups are ready and able to be consulted and to participate in anti-poverty planning; and

WHEREAS, funds for the support of such indigenous planning have been requested and approved for San Francisco; and

WHEREAS, such funds have not been received and spent; and

WHEREAS, without adequate consultation with the communities to be served the Council has drafted an anti-poverty program for the City; and

WHEREAS, without exposing that draft to such community groups in full detail, and without permitting opportunity for study and amendment, and without supplying technical staff to the communities, the Council now proposes to work up the details necessary and to submit the proposal to the Federal Government for funding; and

WHEREAS, such a process is in direct conflict with the stated provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, _____, do now take exception and object to the application for funds so made; and further

That we do request and insist that no such application for funds shall be made unless and until the original amount of \$55,000.00 has been received and put to use to help local community planning under local community control; and further

That we do request and insist that no program money be requested or granted, and that no negotiations with sub-contractors or preparator conversations be conducted unless and until local community participation is organized and secured; and further

That a copy of this resolution be forwarded at the appropriate time and in company with any other similarly minded communications to the following: Dr. Paul O'Rourke; Mr. Everett Brandon; and the Community Action Section of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

James Christensen
January 19, 1965

1. The guiding principle of the plan: Disturbance of residents and businesses will be kept to an absolute minimum. All who live here or have businesses or churches here and who want to stay must be allowed to stay. This guiding principle will be accomplished through the following programs:

A. A program of absolutely minimum clearance of land and demolition of existing dwellings. We propose that the Redevelopment Agency buy and demolish only those residential and non-residential buildings totally unfit for people to live or work in. If any vacant buildings are in such dangerous conditions that they cannot be rebuilt economically; or if their removal would add to the livability of the area by providing sites for parks or playgrounds, these should also be purchased by the Agency and torn down.

New housing is to be confined to the abovementioned cleared sites and such sites are to be used for small developments of new flats, small low-rise apartments and single-family row houses.

B. A program of maximum use of remodeling or rehabilitation under the long-term low-interest finance now available through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA).

- 1) The Redevelopment Agency should acquire enough existing housing which requires rehabilitation to be used as relocation housing in Area-2 for those who will have to move because of demolition of unsafe buildings. The Agency will acquire such housing and sell it back to nonprofit developers for the land price.
- 2) For an additional remodeling program, the Redevelopment Agency should acquire buildings (except for expensive old Victorian structures) and resell them to nonprofit or cooperative developers for the land price, under strict rent or cost controls.

C. Except for those buildings owned by residents, all new and old rehabilitated housing is to be done through nonprofit developers after Agency acquisition and price reduction.

D. All housing, new or remodeled, will be guaranteed for a range of rents or cooperative monthly charges which are within the means of the people who now live in the community, or people of like incomes from other areas of the city.

E. No expensive new housing will be constructed in Area-2.

F. We request the Board of Supervisors, in its capacity as a Board of Tax Equalization, to set a policy of no tax increases on new or remodeled housing in Area-2 developed for low and middle income families or single persons.

II. We urge the adoption of the following general policies:

A. Before any land in Area-2 is touched, vacant land in Area-1 should be developed.

B. The Redevelopment Agency should reacquire vacant land in Area-1 for low and moderate cost housing.

C. The city should postpone highways and widening of streets in San Francisco until we know how much low-cost housing is needed throughout the city.

D. Any public housing in Area-1 or Area-2 should be different in design, density, and preferably in administration, from that put up in the past.

III. Some conclusions:

Our preliminary studies have convinced us we can prepare a plan which will provide for a predominance of remodeled or rehabilitated housing and new housing which will rent for 60 to 90 dollars per month for remodeled units and 90 to 125 dollars per month for new units--if all the principles set forth here are accepted by the Board of Supervisors. To complete such a thorough and detailed plan will require time; therefore, we will request that the Board of Supervisors delay hearings on the adoption of a Redevelopment Plan for Area-2 for six months.

Submitted before the Community Assembly, August 30, 1964.
Ken Simmons, Architect, City Planner

SERIALS 4A NO 8

CORRESPONDENCE

NIC
The New Independent Committee
for Jobs, Homes and Schools
425 West 3rd Street
Chester, Pennsylvania

February 4, 1965

Mr. Harold M. Bailin
Office of Economic Opportunity
1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bailin:

I am sending a draft of the Ghetto Against Poverty (GAP) Program of the Committee for Jobs, Homes and Schools (NIC).

This is the proposal of which I spoke in our recent telephone conversation. In light of that conversation, the GAP program should be self-explanatory.

We would like to add a few objective notes on the status of organizations in the Negro community and in the "community of poverty" in Chester. The two overlap, of course, but are not one and the same.

1. The NAACP in Chester has not functioned actively since the latter part of 1963. It has, however, given birth to two other groups: the Young Adult Council and the Committee for Freedom Now.
2. The Young Adult Council is primarily a summer-season activist group that includes during the summer months, about 25 young adult and student Negroes. It is not active at this time.
3. The Committee for Freedom Now (CFFN) came into existence in the fall of 1963, under the leadership of Stanley Branche. CFFN was the principal group in the mass movement of fall 1963 and spring 1964. The organization, as such, faltered in the late summer of 1964 when Branche apparently left the forefront of local activity for about three months. CFFN met sporadically, then ceased to function as an organization in the early winter of 1964. Branche has continued some activity in the name of CFFN; however, he has devoted the bulk of his efforts -- since the fall of 1964 -- to the anti-poverty fracas in Chester.
4. NIC (formerly the United Committees for Self-Help) was, until the end of the summer of 1964, the community action and neighborhood organizing division of the Committee for Freedom Now. This group (and with it, a students' SNCC type summer project) split from CFFN on the issue of Branche's misuse of authority in September of 1964 and became United Committees for Self-Help. Later, it renamed itself the New Independent Committee and took into its organizational fold much of the "poor Negro" and "ghetto" membership of CFFN. NIC is not a civil rights group -- per se -- but an anti-poverty group whose specific appeal is to poor and "lower-class" Negroes.
5. The Chester Civil Rights Committee is another offshoot of CFFN. The Civil Rights Committee was formed by Dr. Felder Rouse (Branche's erstwhile first vice president) with the assistance of myself and other NIC members who felt the need for reorganizing the "professional" or "middle class" Negroes who had been formerly involved in CFFN and were not quite "at home" with the program and constituency of NIC.

Unlike NIC, the Chester Civil Rights Committee is particularly a civil rights group which has filled the vacuum left by the inactivity of the NAACP, the disorganization of the CFFN, and the specific nature of NIC.

To capsuleize, the Chester Civil Rights Committee, the New Independent Committee for Jobs, Homes and Schools, and -- sporadically -- the Committee for Freedom Now are the active organizational representatives of the Negro community. The New Independent Committee is the only specifically poverty-oriented organization in Chester's Negro ghetto. Through the GAP anti-poverty program, NIC membership would like to consolidate and extend its efforts, test new approaches, and integrate poor whites into an on-going people directed program.

Day to day developments are too rapid to recount in correspondence. However, the information above may help to clarify the organizational picture in the Negro community here.

Please contact us for any more information. We will do our best to provide an unbiased view of Chester in the best interest of the entire city of Chester.

Sincerely,

Donald W. Jackson,
Chairman - NIC

Chicago Project
c/o Richard Rothstein
4402 North Racine
Chicago 40, Illinois

Dear Richie,

In organizing we have to understand how to convert frustration into motivation. Hunger, for example, is a frustration, not a motive, as evidenced by masses of people who starve to death yet do not take any significant action to alleviate their misery. To convert frustration to motive or action we must name the cause, suggest a means of eliminating the frustration and encourage self-confidence so the frustrated person will attempt to solve his problem.

The problems of the poor in this context could be called a generalized lack of confidence in ability to solve problems which is evidenced by a passivity and dependence on others to solve problems for them.

Haggstrom's answer of organizing the poor in conflict organizations, begs the question of how to do organizing.

Perhaps if we discuss how to organize engineers, eg. in a defense conversion program, we can see the differences amongst these engineers, say we would find a general confidence in ability to solve problems, a certain aggressiveness overlaid with a confusion about the specific problem, i.e. the plant closing. To organize these people we need an analysis of the national scene showing what factors led to the closing and what resources remain, pointing out avenues of attack on the problem. If our analysis is astute, we can direct their energies toward a "good" solution. But even if the problem demands a political solution, i.e. votes, we can effect only a temporary alliance with the poor, i.e. voters, because the engineers will most likely see the whole operation as in the public interest thus accruing no sense of obligation to those who made

SERIES 4A - NO 8

The poor on the other hand lack what I call a personality structure--here is the dangerous part. As a moral philosopher I have developed a fairly thorough theory in which almost all the usual terms have been subjected to analysis and redefinition--it's almost impossible in short scope to cover all redefinitions, thus certain criticisms of my positions should be phrased, "if you mean by... what is usually meant by...then." To which my usual reply would be--"I don't mean precisely that on closer examination--really involves etc. etc."

Communications thus will involve infinite patience plus the realization that both of us have given our lives to the same sort of thing which is a greater testimony than any adventitious cluster of words.

But enough.

People in the projects tell me their rent is too high. This I call a felt need but since most people in the project (Public Housing) are on aid and the aid includes a full allotment for rent, the amount of rent has no influence whatever on their standard of living, thus we must point out what the source of their frustration is--the aid doesn't provide a high enough allowance for food, clothes, and personal expenses.

Having named the frustration, we must plan how to overcome it. Here the difference between the recipient and the engineer becomes crucial. The engineer can understand and perhaps implement a program calling for a sustained action, leading ultimately to a solution. Here too lies the difference between a large and a small community. In a large community one can write off those who fail to approximate the personality structure of the engineer and still have a loyal group which is active enough to mask the failure to reach the really depressed person.

The point of Haggstroms articles returns, if we assume that the poor share the personality structure of the engineer, then it is somehow his fault that he has failed to achieve. If we say that there is a difference we must detail this difference and base our activity on it.

To return, having named the problem we must couple the steps to overcome it with the ability possessed by the person with the problem. Ability must not be confused with potentiality. A person with perhaps great potential has only the ability he has confidence enough to use. We enter in after a life of continual frustration or attempt to instill confidence, many times our mere presence and naive faith is sufficient to promote activity, but unless the activity is such as to produce further confidence (it really solves the problems it set for itself) we are likely to leave a greater frustration than we found.

Call it manipulation if you like, but I don't feel that we can allow certain myths, such as the efficacy of the sit-in to obscure the real truth that if you raise hope and can't deliver, hope is harder to raise later.

Coming at it from another angle, there is no community of interest among the who are almost completely atomized and isolated. The interest, or felt need almost any poor person can be met with a fairly small amount of money--evidence the \$1 vote. "The poor" don't need jobs, this one needs a job, and can easily be singled out by a promise of a job or threat to lose one, organization presupposes in addition to the former problem of motivation, finding ways to tie together the needs and abilities of two or more people, thus the work of organizing involves less "workers of the world unite" and more bits and pieces ad hoc operation selecting out of an infinite number of "service" operations--those that bind in a "positive" direction.

possible to organize--separated into those which do or do not create strains on the system which might lead to a general solution.

About "guilt," neither in my written nor in my oral reports did I attempt to delve into my own feelings. I set forth a program which would, I believe, tend in a certain direction. It of course is open to criticism as to whether it would tend in that direction and if that direction were worth while. My feelings are relevant only insofar as they tend to help or hamper the program. I felt that much of the emphasis on the subjective aspects of the program was morally wrong. And I would have spoken out more strongly had I been free of the need to get finances. I almost had to laugh at this talk of "community" in ERAP. It was a mistaking of form for substance, I am in the community--of those who have given their lives for the movement, this community I share with some in ERAP, with Casey and Courtland, many in SNCC, and others. Some in ERAP are not ready to be in the "community." I think those of us in the community knew it, unfortunately the issue of money and resources was allowed to overshadow what was real.

Indications are that as we continue in Southern Illinois we will uncover resources presently lying fallow. Several SIU students have talked about dropping out to work on the project, the campus SNCC group has pledged \$20 a week for Jim and I to live on, also members of the faculty donated \$85 to help us out of a recent financial crisis. The SNCC group is beginning community organizing in Carbondale and we hope this summer to cover three downstate counties using about 50 people.

I hope that you will persist in the Chicago project. It seems you have a primary problem which is how can you confront the Daley machine, on however small a scene, and beat it, and how to draw other groups into a meaningful alliance. I would have to see you give up a foothold in Daley's country because we cannot survive politically in this part of the state unless we have hopes that Daley can be broken.

Solidad!

George ?

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ERAP BOOK SHELF

I. The hearings of the Congressional investigation on economic concentration are slowly becoming available. The investigation, which was begun by Senator Hart (D. Mich.) on July 1, 1964, is expected to run for two years. The first volume is now in print and is being distributed through the Subcommittee on Anti Trust and Monopoly.

The hearings are concerned with "concentration and its economic effect..". The drift of the testimony will eventually get around to concentration and the control of manufacturing, finance, public utilities, and the transportation industries. This first volume is concerned with the economics of monopoly and the new phenomenon of "conglomeration."

The testimony should yield much good information, although the participants do not usually get much representation in a lefty movement. For instance, Gardner Means,

SERIES 4 A - NO 8

think Big Business is very desirable."

One of the best studies in the first volume (only one published to this date) is by Willard F. Mueller, an economist with the Federal Trade Commission. In one section of his testimony he says:

"The 20 largest manufacturing corporations (all of which had assets of more than 1.5 billion in 1962) had 73.8 billion in assets, or an estimated 25% of the total assets of all US manufacturing companies. The 50 largest corporations accounted for 35.7%, the 100 largest for 46.1%, the 200 largest for 55.9%, and the 1000 largest for almost three-fourths (74.8%) of the total assets of all manufacturing companies. The data demonstrates quite clearly the high degree of concentration in American manufacturing. In fact, whereas the 20 largest companies held 25% and the 1000 largest held 74.8% of all manufacturing assets, the 419,000 smallest companies accounted for only 25.2% of total manufacturing assets. Thus, the total assets of the 20 largest manufacturing corporations were approximately the same as those of the 419,000 smallest." p. 113

Other good papers presented include Gardner Means on economic theory, Harrison Houghton of the FTC, on conglomeration, and Dr. Irwin Stelzer, of the National Economic Research Associates, on the economics of merger and conglomeration. Finally, the Fortune Directory for 1964 lists the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations and the largest 50 of the following: commercial banks, life insurance companies, merchandising firms, transportation companies, and utilities. These tables have been reprinted as an appendix. This Fortune directory should be suppressed by business, 'cause it tells all.

Every project and SDS chapter should get a copy of these hearings. It is FREE. Write to Phillip Hart, United States Senate, Washington DC. Ask him to place you on the permanent mailing list--the hearings are expected to run for two years.

II. Another good government publication is Chain Banking: Stockholder and Loan Links of the 200 Largest Member Banks. It is published and is available FREE from the Committee on Banking and Currency, Wright Patman Chairman.

Some of the chapter headings indicate potential uses for research of community power structure. Some of the chapter heads are: concentration of ownership in 200 largest banks; concentration of ownership in 20 stockholders; mergers and changes in banking concentration in Philadelphia; stockholder links among Chicago banks; and stock holdings in closely held banks.

It's a good book to have. It tells who owns what banks, what banks own what banks, and connections between the big banks. This is one of the reference books mentioned in The Care and Feeding of the Power Structure (Minnis). It's free.

III. A revealing booklet (90+ pages), the Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1963, on American trade unions, is available from the US Dept. of Labor. Although this publication will not be of immediate relevance on the community level, it can be valuable in fund raising, publicity, and research. Further, it has a wealth of facts on American trade unions that will make interesting staff reading. It's worth its price--50¢.

There are three sections in the booklet. The first includes the addresses, officers, newspaper editors, research directors of all American trade unions (185), including their total membership and number of locals. The second section deals with recent developments (since 1961) in labor. The last section gives a breakdown of member-

ship by trade union, skill, state, average wage, etc. There are also figures on the extent to which each union has organized its jurisdiction, and the percentage of white collar workers in each union.

There are a number of additional graphs, charts, and so forth, on other subjects. The most interesting is an eleven page comparison, listing the officers and committees of the AFL-CIO. But only one sentence was necessary to say that they have lost 487,000 members in past two years.

SERIES 4A - NO 8

SOME FRIENDS OF MINE (tune: San Francisco Bay Blues)

Oh, well, I know some people and they living in Clinton Hill,
They're all friends of mine and here is how they feel.
You got to fight for right and never, never fight for wrong,
Take your place, side by side, Oh, Lord, we're gonna rid.

They talk about the landlord, talk about him like a dog.
If he don't fix up, don't pay him at all.
Give you rats and roaches, give you peeling paint,
Here he come, right on time, looking for his pay.

So we hold the rent and put it in the bank.
Slumlord come around, Lord, how he sounds,
Slumlord come around, looking for his bread,
Offered to pay him in rats and roaches, Oh, Lord, did he get red.

Oh, well, now we come to the hardest time of all,
Its the time, the time you got to walk tall,
Its when you get that dispossess, and you're feeling low,
That's the time you got to shout, I'm sticking it out.

Now we got to see it from the slumlords' point of view,
He ain't gonna fix up and why do you think he should?
City come along and told him, gonna tear your building down,
This whole neighborhood, in '61, we called it Blight.

Oh, well, I know some people and they living in Clinton Hill,
They're all friends of mine and here is how they feel.
We're gonna fight these slumlords; we're gonna fight the Blight,
We're gonna fight Urban Renewal, with all our might.

WORKING FOR THE SDS (tune: Penny's Farm)

Come you ladies and you gentlemen and listen to my song;
Tell it to you right but you may take it wrong;
I know you're busy, but take a little rest;
It's all about the organizers, work for SDS;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

Oh, well, you go to your block and you work all day;
Til way after dark but you get no pay;
You talk about the meeting, the people say they know;
You come to the meeting and three or four show;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

You go back to the block and you talk some more;
You're knocking on a door, it's on the second floor;
Lady says who's there and who you looking for;
I ain't got time, slip it under the door;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

Apartment building, it's very tall;
Knocking at a door, while standing in the hall;
Nobody answers so I knock the next door;
Both doors open saying who you looking for;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

It's been a long day, you been walking around;
You're stomach making noises, just like a hound;
You go to the kitchen and you take a little look;
Then you recall, it's your day to cook;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

Then you got a meeting, supposed to start at eight;
You told all the people, now don't be late;
You're starting to feel more dead than alive;
The meeting starts as usual, eight forty-five;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

Talk about the councilman, talk about the mayor;
Talk about the landlord, talk about what's fair;
Don't want it all, we just want our share;
If we don't get it, gonna fight like a bear;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

We'll picket and we'll vote and we'll go downtown;
We'll go to see the council and we'll run it down;
This is our country, you had it long enough;
Move on over or we'll start to play rough;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS!

Thanks a lot folks, you've heard my song;
I hope you didn't take it too wrong'
I may moan and I may groan;
But we're gonna win, just as sure as you're born;
It's a hard time in the North, working for the SDS.

TALKING CLINTON HILL (tune: traditional talking blues)

In the spring of '64 SDS came to town,
Came to Clinton Hill and we all settled down.
We divided up the blocks and was all feeling fine,
Before we looked around, we was on a picket line.

"THERE AIN'T NO LAW FOR YOUR KIND OF PEOPLE"

Now Lou Adams said, we got to do right,
And make the 5th Precinct see the light.
Then up stepped Phelora, Rev Welch, and Harry too,
They all said to picket was the thing to do.

"AIN'T GONNA LET NOBODY TURN ME ROUND"

Now where oh where can our kids play,
Bessie, George, Dottie asked the city to say,
We need a playstreet with no traffic going through,
We got that playstreet and baracades too.

SERIES 4 A - NO 8

"WE ALL GOT TO GET TOGETHER"

Now one of our ladies on Hunterdon,
Went to the welfare, but could't get in.
Rachel and Ethyl Sloan said what the heck,
They went down with her and she got her check.

"THEY SURE ACT DIFFERENT WHEN YOU'RE NOT ALONE"

Now don't forget about 207,
And Melba and Terry too,
They held their rent and told the landlord,
We're not paying you.

"IT AIN'T NO SENSE PAYING FOR WHAT YOU DON'T GET"

Then we met Jesse and Catherine, and Ida Brown was there,
And they all told their landlord, we just went what's fair.
Then Frances and Louise said, we'll be there,
Because you know we care.

"YES, I AM MY BROTHER'S KEEPER"

Then we had a little trouble at 26 Shanley,
We said we're gonna vote, do you hear me Stanley?
And at that Assembly there was Thurman and Ransom,
And Genevieve said, it's time to stop asking.

"WE DEMAND ONE MAN"

Now don't forget about Ridgewood and all that mess,
That was caused by the landlord and his dispossess.
Oh Lucy and Celeste, and Betty got mad,
And I can't say here, just exactly what they said.

"SOMEBODY LEANED ON THE LANDLORD, AND THE LANDLORD DIDN'T HOLD TOO FIRM"

Then I came to a Program Committee and there was Mrs. Grace;
Talking about Shugard. And Mar and Betty Moore was there, Marjorie and
Beverly too. They all said we're with Mrs. Grace, and then it came to the vote.
When Elizabeth, Mary, and Violet voted yes then NCUP stood behind Mrs. Grace.

"IF I LET THEM BEAT YOU DOWN, THEN I GIVE THEM THE RIGHT TO BEAT ME"

Then Clyde Wright came walking in the door, and he explained to everyone just why
he was so sore. He talked about Klein's and he talked about the chains, he talked
about the blood and he talked about the pain. Then a motion of support hit the
floor, If they don't do right, we're gonna picket that store.

"OUR NEIGHBOR WAS BEATEN BLOODY IN KLEIN'S"

I've told you about some people in the NCUP now, they're the kind of people who
just won't bow. When there's trouble on the blocks and the word gets around,
there is the NCUP, they're easy to be found. So tell all your friends and your
neighbors too, we got to fight for what's right and fair.

"AMEN"

SERIES 4 A - NO 8