

ERAP NEWSLETTER

March 4, 1965

1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Michigan

CONFERENCE REACTIONS

For so personally, there was a lot of things that happened there that were different than what happened all my life like black and white together. I was always against it, but I saw it there, and I don't know who to give the credit to: BSB, the Conference, NRP? I never thought it would happen. In the South, we always had to beg or stand back and get things later. Here we walked up and asked. Newark is just like the South, right here they look down on you, give you a funny eye, make you feel you're not wanted. But Cleveland was different - it made me feel like I didn't have to be scared or nothing. I could say anything I wanted. Deep down in my heart I feel we are one and not two or three kinds of people. A lot happened there that made people feel that they could talk for themselves and didn't have to feel that they were being pushed around no more. So much happened there, so many good things, that's how I feel about it. At the convention, the way we went into little rooms and talked about our own needs and realize the need to work for real control in New Jersey. We've been talking about it in the neighborhood, but I know now that we can work and fight for it. It's not for me because I can go out there, but my friends and neighbors, they have to see this important building. It's important.

*"Nisjord like
the South"*

0.27

MY VIEWPOINTS OF THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

I cannot speak for everyone, but I feel safe to say that this was one of the most interesting and touching things that has ever come about.

At this conference each and every one were given the opportunity to communicate and understand one another and their problems from city to city. Besides this, one was allowed to see and feel the love that people have for one another, even in this troubled and corrupted world. We were showed that regardless of color, race, or creed we all can live together as one. Just as God intended it to be.

This conference gave me a stronger desire to do my part to help towards this long and hard struggle for our rights. No one should be able to say now that we can't fight the various high authorities. We can. That is, if we do it together. Anyone that talked with and listened to Mrs. Esser and others from Mississippi and other places from various parts of the country should now feel that all things are possible. But first of all there has to be unity. We may not accomplish every task we go out to do but this should not discourage us at all. We will move out discrimination. We will lessen all of this unemployment, we will make it so that we the Negroes and poor whites will not be looked down on and pushed aside, we will put into office who we all want and not just a few. These and all other things I feel we can do united together. After all, the power of the government is divided among the nation, states and the people. Most of all, all of the people, which is best illustrated by the Preamble to our Constitution.

No one can tell, and no words can express the real true emotional feelings that the conference brought about. God was there among us all of the time. All I can say is you should have been. No one can really tell you in words their emotional feelings. It is great.

BARBARA LOIS JACKSON
Newark

A VISIT TO CLEVELAND

... The most wonderful thing about the conference was that the poor whites and poor Negroes were working together to fight for a better life. Everyone was amazed to see the warmth and love between whites and Negroes who had been working together on the problems of the poor. The whites I am talking about are not student volunteers from SDS or SCCC, but poor community people like ourselves. The importance of this conference was to show the rich and the powerful that the poor white and the black man want to live not just exist and will organize to fight together for their rights.

... There are organizations of the poor in all the cities I mentioned; if you want to know more about them you can by coming to the Action Center.

So you see that Boston isn't the only city with these problems, but other cities have begun to get on the ball to organize and do something about their problems. So again I ask you: Do you want more jobs, better schools, a better life? Then let's all join together in a CONSUMER UNION and help fight for our right to a decent life!

BARBARA LOIS JACKSON
Newark, N.J. Action Center

Boston welfare

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Last weekend I went to the Cleveland Conference. While there I met with people from other projects. I was overwhelmed at this conference because there were poor people, black and white, who had come together to discuss the public enemies, such as bad housing, unemployment, and poverty that existed in cities much like Newark. I listened to people from the Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi telling of police brutality and harassment when they tried to register to exercise their voting rights. When I heard these things and saw the people involved, it pierced my heart, and made my eyes swell with tears. I could go on and on telling the testimonies of the poor and forgotten. But this is my decision. I will work harder than ever to organize the blocks. We must find strength, and we can only get it through a strong, strong organization.

HARRY ESANNASON
Newark

MY HEART

I know that I was in a dream world,
Until I went on this trip
To a place call Cleveland, Ohio
With people from all over the strip.
We have a Community Conference
With people from different part.
We meet with Fanny Lou Hamer
Who won the people heart.
The thing she said you never forget
They went right to your heart.
You cry with joy and sadness
For the thing said torn you apart.
With all this joy and sadness
She, Fanny Lou won my heart.

TERRY JEFFERSON
Newark

Poor people from all over the country marched together in downtown Cleveland last weekend. People came from San Francisco and Boston and all points in between. We carried signs protesting "inadequate everything" --- jobs, welfare, housing, schools.

For too long, poor people have had no voice because they have been divided by lies and hatred. Politicians and businessmen have had their way because they know that black poor and white poor were too busy fighting each other to get together to fight the common enemy.

But in Cleveland last week it was different. JOIN members found that poor people everywhere share the same problems. And out of the Cleveland Conference came a determination to be united. We pledged that we would fight together to make this country a real democracy where poor as well as rich have a right to a decent life.

Chicago

APPALACHIA

PICKETS VISITS MINES
reprinted from THE MOUNTAIN EAGLE

Mines of two Letcher County coal companies were picketed this week by large groups of men and women in an apparent renewal of the "roving picket" movement of two years ago.

One of the firms, Elkhorn-Jellico Coal Company of Marlow, obtained a temporary restraining order from Letcher Circuit Court against the United Mine Workers of America and some of its members, and the number of pickets at both mines has declined.

The picketing began Monday morning at Elkhorn-Jellico, and about 60 miners left their jobs, some to join the picket movement. (Elkhorn-Jellico canceled its union contract last spring and reopened as a non-union mine last fall.)

Berman Gibson, leader of the roving picket movement of two years ago, was present at the Elkhorn-Jellico picketing, but was not with the pickets who visited the Polly Mine of South East Coal Company the following day. He denied leadership of the current picket movement.

South East employees went to work and did not leave their jobs to join the pickets.

There were conflicting reports of violence among the picketers. One police officer, who went at both mines, reported one man was held to a fire and burned. Hall visited the Mountain Eagle office and said he was burned accidentally on the leg when he backed into the fire. These incidents allegedly occurred at Elkhorn-Jellico.

A picketer was arrested at the South East mine after he and a state trooper exchanged words concerning the trooper's driving of a car past the motorcade to Letcher County from Hazard where many of the pickets live. He was Ashford Thomas, who was charged with breach of the peace.

Troopers were armed with carbines and shotguns. A picket spokesman denied that he or his fellow pickets were armed.

There were reports that the UMW would issue coveted "welfare cards" covering hospitalization and other benefits to those who joined the picket lines.

A UMW official said the union will provide subsistence vouchers for all workers who succeed in closing down any mines. The UMW recently announced that it plans a nationwide drive to unionize all coal mines.

Appalachia/2

A PLEA TO RETIRED MINERS
By R.H.

To the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment and the United Mine Workers of America. This letter is to all both small and great.

First I urge each and every miner that works in and around the mines to come on in and sign up with the UMWA for their own good and the welfare of their families. The UMWA is coming back regardless of what the company, the gun thugs, state police, or any yellow dog union says. The UMWA is coming back so the people can earn a decent living, which they are not doing under the present wages. These pickets shouldn't have had to be out asking you miners to join the UMWA.

As you all know, the greatest organization in the world is our UMWA. Each and every retired miner that has applied for his pension should be on the picket line, if he is able. If he isn't able, he should talk and help in any way he can. If it wasn't for the UMWA your pensions surely would not go on. Therefore I urge each man to do his share to get the program through, and back to a decent living for all. This I wish to see as soon as possible and I hope possible is "tomorrow".

Thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Gibson for what they are doing for the people and what they and the Committee have done in the past. They are doing and have been doing a wonderful job in the past. Most of the people are pleased with their wonderful work. Most all that is except the "Hazard Click", most everyone knows the clicks and thank God we don't need their help.

by Mr. ISHMAEL BAKER
Leslie County, Ky.

I have worked in the coal mines most of my life, I have loaded coal in the Hazard fields for 18 cents a ton in the near 30's, yea thou say the bases would lead you by sides of black pillars of coal they would say to you, clean this cut of coal up before you come from this place. If you don't bring your tools we have no need for you. It madest me to lay down on the floor or hard beds and setdith me down by the side of my children to the most of a empty table, but God heard the cries and the mourns of the coal miner and their children and prepared a man to bring them to freedom again. Also as he did when the children of Israel were in bondage in under Fairo, and he has led them through the dark edge of time into a coal mine of plenty. But many scabs in bondage in the coal fields for a small sum and a pat on the back, with guards standing with guns watching them defrod their fellowman by his job for a lower price that he was cut off from.

by KIRBY WHITAKER
Blackey, Ky.

I have been a miner 30 some years and most all that was under the United Mine Workers of America. I worked a while without it, and I know I would do anything before I would see my family live like me and my wife had to. My family had anything they needed while I worked at Blue Diamond No. 1 under the UMW. I worked there 17 years and we had money and paid all our debts as they came due. But now my kids needs and want things I can't give them and my debts are going unpaid. This burts me more than anything.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Appalachia/3

Men now is the time for us to forget our differences and stick together, stand up for what is right. I know if all would, we could get anything we set out to get.

Men don't be afraid what someone will say about you, stand up for what is right if it kills you. Don't forget to love your brother in the union, churches, or blood brothers. I feel like this is our trouble. Now we have been blinded by the good easy life for so long we drifted along and let these coal operators gradually bring in machinery and their non-unions, and promised us all kinds of things, but I say they can never come up with anything better than the UMW.

So Brother remember UNITED WE STAND AND DIVIDED WE FALL. A member of the UMW.

JOIN

SOCIAL DROPOUTS?

The "Edgewater Uptown News", a local newspaper, attacked JOIN this week in an editorial. It said that the JOIN pickets in front of the "war on poverty" center did not live in this community.

This charge was a lie --- the "News" own front page picture showed that every picket but one was a poor person from Uptown. The other picket was a student from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) who lives in Uptown and works with JOIN.

The "News" went on to call these SDS people who are working with JOIN "the professional type of 'social dropout' ". Now it is true that the SDS staff are "dropouts". They have gladly dropped out of middle class life in order to work with JOIN.

But this country has some people who are getting richer and richer, and others who are so poor they don't have enough to eat. It has lots and lots of hatred, and most people don't seem to give a damn. It spends billions of dollars sending rockets to the moon, but can't put unemployed men back to work on earth. It kills thousands of peasants in Vietnam, but can't afford medical care for the poor at home.

Who wouldn't be a "social dropout" in a country like this? It seems to us that the sad people are the "social stay-ins" who don't care about the conditions around them. The SDS is proud of being "social dropouts", and is happy to be able to work with the poor people in Uptown to build a better America.

MACHINE POLITICS

While Oscar Perez was picketing the Urban Progress Center a few weeks ago, a local machine politician came up to him and tried to talk him out of it. Then the politician offered Oscar a job. But a political job doesn't solve the problems of poor people, which is why Oscar was picketing! So Oscar handed the politician a leaflet.

The problems of living on a welfare budget are innumerable; there are almost too many to know exactly where to start in describing them. First of all, let me give you a typical budget set up by the Welfare department according to families' needs, four persons including one adult and three children.

I receive a total of \$139.00 in a monthly check. From this, \$50.00 goes for rent, \$18.00 for gas by a budget billing plan and \$8.00 goes to electricity. I also get \$42.00 in food stamps which adds up to \$118.00. This leaves in cash a sum of \$21.00 to buy whatever I may need including toilet articles, coffee, clothing, school supplies, transportation, laundry, newspapers, haircuts and many things too numerous to mention.

The apartment we live in has an allowance of \$40.00 per month rental, so I have to make up the difference from cash earmarked for other things. Let us say it is taken out of the \$21.00 mentioned above. This then leaves \$11.00 cash. As it stands at the present, the budget is 70% of the minimum for health and decency for family.

The effect of the welfare system on children is what I worry most about. They all look forward to the check each month knowing that at least for a day they will perhaps get what they so badly need or want. "Mom, when your check comes for I have this or that," is heard often from all three of the children. Also, there is a lack of understanding in the teacher which causes embarrassment to the children. No child wants his whole class to know that he lives on welfare, that he may not get his lunch or mile free. This happens often and I'm sure the teachers do not mean to hurt the child. They are just thoughtless or too busy to think about it.

I guess inadequate housing, clothing and other necessities are the biggest problems. All of our clothing is purchased at rummage sales or whatever another child outgrows. Shoes are really the biggest problem. Adult clothing is much easier to obtain since the ladies and men give this clothing after the styles change and not when they're worn out. But even the middle class child wears out his clothing before they are usually sold in rummage sales or given to the people.

Dental care is not available as far as I know for the welfare children with the exceptions made for extractions. Almost all of these children need extensive dental care which is largely due to their diet. Medical care is good, because of the large out-patient department at the Metropolitan General Hospital and the neighborhood clinics. Even these are not utilized as much as they should, because of the long waiting period or lack of carfare necessary. It sometimes takes over six hours to get to see a doctor when you finally get the money to get to his office.

Since food stamps have been issued for over a year in place of surplus food, this has been a great help to many of us. I know of several families who do not take advantage of this because it would take all of their cash money; or, simply because after paying their rent, gas, etc. there is not enough money to buy food stamps. It is a case where you have to rob Peter to pay Paul.

At times you lose your identity and feeling of worthiness as a human being. There is a feeling of depression and defeat in most of these families because in most cases they know there is no way out. It becomes a vicious cycle, a way of life. Supposing the mother would find a job, then a new set of problems present themselves. She would need an adequate earning to cover all the expenses. Babysitting, carefare to and from work, decent clothing are just a few that would suddenly occur. Most of the children are growing up with one parent.

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They need me and this is the reason why I get ADC payments, to be with the children. Another thing that discourages me from attempting work is that most of the money I would earn would be deducted from the original \$139.00 I receive each month.

One last problem that should not be overlooked: loneliness. Mothers have no recreation of any sort; movies, occasional hamburgers, malts, meals eaten out or a day or shopping in town would be a great, great occasion. Anything to relieve the monotony of a month in, month out, never changing existence. Please don't think me bitter or resentful. I am not. Terribly bored and concerned for my children, yes. I am concerned for their future in this type of life.

Unsigned

MY PERSONAL VIEW

We welfare mothers have been working for free school lunches through our organization C.U.F.A.W. Believe me, it's been a job. We have worked, we have walked, we have stood in the cold working for our cause and all we ask for is food for our children. Instead we have been called lazy, incompetent, negligent and some insinuations that if said in laymen English it wouldn't be printable. Now who has said or implied all this? Well, two of the most educated, world-wise, efficient and self-supporting men who hold offices that are supposed to be forbearing and understanding. These men are Mr. Day of the County Commissioners and Mr. McAllister of the school board.

INCOMPETENT:

Them--Because we can't handle our budgets properly.

Me--What budgets! a few figures and you've had it:

1 adult and three children--\$120.00 a month.

\$45--rent public housing

46--food stamps

2--electricity

\$93

\$27 cash to buy soap powder
face soap
cleaning articles
toilet paper
other necessities
clothing
coffee, tea or cocoa
school supplies
school lunch and etc.

Simple arithmetic.

ILLITERATE:

Them--We are dumb and uneducated because we can't handle our money.

Me--I'd have to agree if I couldn't figure my budget but I understand the 1/10 of a mill ontaxes they haven't used and have access to.

NEGLIGENT:

Them--We don't take care of our children properly--like getting up in the mornings for breakfast.

Me--Maybe a few. But we don't have maids and housekeepers to do our chores for us or nurse maids to take care of our children so they aren't legally neglected.

It's terrible for a welfare mother to leave her children for a short time as she doesn't have money to pay reliable sitters but it's legal to turn children over to nurse maids and housekeepers for weeks or months for extended vacations etc.

IMMORAL:

Them--Too many illegitimate children.

Me--Poor people can't buy heavy doors or legal rights to hide their sins.

not the immoral single or married, middle class, poor or rich men who use these favors but the poor immoral welfare mothers that are criticized and penalized all the time. IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO. Dorothy Hammer

BOSTON REPORT

THE WELFARE BUDGET HEARING by Mrs. Rosetta Robinson

Welfare Commissioner Lally was called before the City Council to answer questions about his budget in a surprise evening session on Feb. 19th.

Councilman Langone thought that Mr. Lally should be able to cut the budget because he has "heard so much about prosperity lately" that he couldn't understand why so many people were receiving welfare. He felt that a lot of chiselers were on the Welfare Rolls, but Mr. Lally assured him that there were very few because the recipients were very carefully checked by his "devoted and sincere" social workers. Mr. Langone then asked Comm. Lally "How long has this racket been going on?" meaning ADC which was the highest of the welfare budgets. Mr. Lally did not challenge this remark, but merely replied "since the Social Security Act of 1914."

Councilman George Foley asked the Welfare Commissioner if he was familiar with the "philosophy" of welfare in Newburgh, N.Y. and whether this "philosophy" could be put in effect here in Boston, meaning that they tried to cut out welfare there completely. (The man who was head of Newburgh's Welfare Dept. quit after that and became head of the White Citizens Council for the State of Maryland.)

Comm. Lally mentioned the Surplus Food program, which we at the Action Centers have been working for. He said that one or two distribution centers would be opened sometime in March, although the Mayor has promised us six centers by March 1st, which is a lot less than we asked for. It looks like we have a lot more work to do on this program!

WELFARE QUIZ TOO POPULAR (reprinted from the Boston Herald, Feb. 17, 1965
Hearing on Budget Becomes a Forum by Robert F. Hannan

The first night-time public hearing on Boston's budget turned into an unexpected public bull session in the City Council chambers last night.

Most of a crowd of 40 persons in the gallery came down to the floor at the end of the meeting to put questions on welfare problems and inquiries about the proposed surplus food distribution program to Welfare Director William F. Lally.

CALLS FOR CHANGE

Council Appropriations Committee Chairman Frederick C. Langone, overwhelmed at the influx on the floor in response to his invitation, had to call for a change in procedure.

He asked the group to write out their questions with names and addresses and assured them that Lally would give individual answers by letter.

Langone himself became a center of attention as a dozen citizens - many from the Dudley Street Action Center in Roxbury - brought to him the oral complaints about the welfare program inadequacies and the plight of low income families who will be evicted under a crash demolition program Langone has urged to Boston of unsafe dwellings.

Earlier Lally, testifying on the \$6,800,000 jump in this year's welfare expenditures in the city budget, told the Council Boston will "not lose a nickel" in federal reimbursements because of a tightening of qualifications on welfare social workers. Lally said for 10 years the Boston welfare department has required a college degree of social workers, a stipulation the federal government is making effective July, 1967.

SERIALS 4A NO 8

CORRESPONDENCE

Cleveland, Ohio
February 18, 1965

My dear Mr. McAllister:

If you have the intelligence you think you have you will read this through and will not throw it in the waste basket. But my idea is that's where it will end up. Why? Because it's from one of those terrible Welfare Mothers, that's me! Well, let me tell you how terrible that is. I get up every day with my children for breakfast. Now about those beautiful breakfasts I'm so proud to make. Once a month they get bacon and eggs (that's the day I get my stamps). The second day they can have either egg or French toast. Third day--by then we are already on oats or cornmeal. This continues till the next month. You see I feed three growing children with three growing appetites on &78 worth of stamps a month. Believe me, we don't eat fancy. So maybe you should think about giving us breakfast. As for our children eating detergents, let's not be dreamers. We can't even afford detergents to clean with, let alone feed to our children.

As for Welfare Mothers' smoking I know a lot of mothers who don't and still can't afford 15¢ lunches. It's really a shame when a person who doesn't have to worry about a \$15 item can sit in judgment of mothers who have to worry over a 15¢ item. My budget for a month is: \$120.00 for myself and three children.

\$45 for rent in public housing
2 " electricity
46 " food stamps
\$93

Cash--\$27 to buy soap to wash clothes
" " " bodies

sanitary items for three
toilet paper
cocoa, coffee, or tea
car fares
school lunches
school supplies

Clothing that is
bought at r. w. age
sales, maybe you
donated some of
these but I doubt it.
Shoes, bed clothing,
etc.

So Mr. McAllister, do you really think I'm asking you for the world with a fence around it. You see we haven't all lived or are now living a sheltered life. We just weren't born that lucky.

If this just one little bit tugs at your heart
"God Bless You"

Dorothy Hammer
2577 W. 6th Pl. Apt. F
Cleveland 13, Ohio

Swarthmore College/Feb. 22, 1965

Dear Paul,

When you visited here last weekend, you mentioned that several people, among them Bob Moses, thought that many more students would want to work for SACC and SDS this coming summer than could be involved directly or indirectly in major field projects. The following proposal grew out of an attempt to find effective ways of involving this flood of people, and is based on the assumption that the flood is not merely a figment of our hopeful imaginations.

We should set up a school. Designed to give students a clear view of the broad problems of American culture and society, it would serve a number of other functions. Through studying contemporary American problems, and subjects necessary for their comprehension, the students would be held close to current movements. A curriculum relevant to the present world and incisive in its description of it would challenge both scholastic and ivory tower approaches to education. If to a challenging content we add a challenging method, along the lines Flacks has been developing in Chicago, students could return to campuses in the fall with a new standard for education. The program of the school should include suggestions for attempting to implement the changes this new standard will show are necessary. In addition to these functions, students and faculty of the school could carry out a number of other projects, some of which are outlined below.

Relevancy to current problems and teaching in its finest sense would be the two cardinal principles of the school. It has been suggested that the program run for two consecutive four week terms. Student-faculty ratio would be at most 10:1. Suggestions for total size run from 200-800.

The program would be divided into three parts. 1) Each student would carry one to three classes, either seminars or lectures. Material will depend on the faculty, but we should not hesitate to use resources from the community (field workers, community and union people) if they are relevant. 2) Everyone attending would participate in a number of special projects. These could include:

- Research on subjects relevant for the movement and field projects.
- Preparation of graded material for tutorial projects
- Development of working papers for winter conferences
- Bunining of rhw NO and BRAP and PEP PRFP offices
- Publicity for current projects, involving the production not of first hand news but of longer articles and muckraking material, as well as grafics

Faculty would be drawn from across the country. Almost everyone has met at least one exciting teacher who should be asked to participate.

Swarthmore/?

(Dividing the summer into two terms allows teachers to be absent for half the summer to get some vacation.) P. Booth is worried that if we try for too star-studded a faculty we will end up with a circle of prima donnas, and so perhaps a large part of the faculty should be more recent graduates who have less of a reputation and more concern for teaching.

Requirements for school location are living and teaching facilities and a library. A college at which there is no summer school and which is fairly accessible to visiting lecturers and field workers would be ideal. Haverford? Swarthmore? It is important that the facilities allow the students and faculty to form a community.

The school would have to be financed by a large grant. Estimates have gone above \$200,000. Tuition would be set at cost, but only so all could afford to pay would do so. Full and partial scholarships would have to be easily available.

A provisional board of directors would set up the school; a joint committee of students and faculty would run it. Those jobs such as cleaning and dining room would be performed by those in attendance.

The main point of discussion has been whether such an undertaking can be organized in four months, and what kind of manpower it would take to do it. There has also been discussion about the figures suggested for size, class load, and length of sessions. People on this campus have liked the idea, but would others, who have not had so much contact with the movement, be willing to go to such a school if they were not accepted on a project? Or, and this too has been raised, would the school tend to distract potential staff from the field?

Nick, for Swarthmore SDS

included because tie-in w/ ERAP at end

PREP CORRESPONDENCE

The following is an exchange of letters between Arthur I. Waskow, Resident Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, and Todd Gitlin.

Dear Todd:

....What is bothering me is that I think that for an increasing number of people, the detente with the Russians has contributed to an arrogance toward the under-developed world that says we can substitute "police" action and high firepower for economic aid or other ways of dealing with the threat of revolutionary nationalism or Communism. Since the Russians will not dare or bother to do more than protest, we are free to do as we like--and that's naked coercion. By this argument (or tone--it's rarely articulated into an argument), the strikes on North-Viet-Nam were a sort of very rough final hazing for the Russians before they're allowed to join the club. If they take the paddling, they're in.

What has also contributed to this feeling about American relations towards the under-developed world is the realization that bringing about development through economic aid and reform-from-the top is extremely slow and difficult, if it can be done at all. Someone at AID with whom I talked last week said that there and in the Alliance for Progress, more and more people were developing this argument: Since the Alliance's New Deal style reform from the top in Latin America had proved so difficult, and since the United States could certainly not sponsor and probably couldn't stomach SNCC-style reform from the bottom, and since we can deal with Communists or proto-Communists by police action or a quick buy-off, the hell with economic development. After all, wasn't the only reason we were so interested in it the belief that without it Latin America would go Communist?

All this reminds me uncomfortably of Ken Boulding's old fear that the developed world had just about made it over the hump of needing to worry about raw materials or markets in the under-developed world, or of fearing revolutions there, and therefore could simply afford to let Africa, Asia, and Latin America stew in their own juice--forever. We go to Mars on synthetics and well-managed internal economics, while they get poorer and poorer; and we knock out or buy off any approach they make to the revolutionary politics and the nuclear weaponry which would be their only possible levers against us.

Trying to think about how to deal with this--which I am not saying is now the dominant mood here, but increasing--it seems to me to pose a very difficult problem for those peace groups and for those liberals or radicals that would be disturbed by such a policy. Those which have grown on nuclearphobia are simply not relevant to this mood; those (like the pacifists) which always had an ethical commitment to the under-developed world have also been those with little direct political relevance to or effect upon the mainstream of American thinking. Will the increasing political power of the Negroes make a difference (as in the independent pro-black-Africa line that the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa is taking)? Where else would there be a political base? As you know, I have thought that appealing to the decent strain in American anti-Communism and the best part of the American mission spirit--the libertarian dream--could energize economic aid, with major social reform, for the under-developed countries. And a competition among America, Europe, and the Soviets for influence and ideological victory in the under-developed world still seems to me to be the likeliest way of allowing the hungry nations to choose their own path. (When oligarchs fall out and appeal to the people for support they soon lose their oligarchy.) I suppose those in SDS who dislike this approach would say that

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Waskow/2

someday--when the new society is emerging from ERAP and SWCC--there will be ethical and political commitment to the hungry world. But that's a long time--I think. And South Africa may be amenable to what you are planning--a project I heartily approve--but South Africa is a fantastically clear and special case, which--so far as most Americans are concerned--the rest of the under-developed world is not.

Meanwhile, for the under-developed countries themselves, it seems to me that the paralysis of the General Assembly is the worst possible situation. That is the only place they can focus their power that also holds some legitimacy in parts of the developed world--especially in the United States. Because of this I would be very reluctant to see all peacekeeping operations returned to the Security Council; but on the other hand, to have the General Assembly able to set up a peacekeeping operation of infinite size and power over the objections of one or more of the Great Powers is simply political nonsense (and especially to imagine the Assembly can then tax a Great Power to pay for an operation it is bitterly opposed to!). So I would use the Quis Custodiet approach--two-thirds of the General Assembly should be able to authorize a peacekeeping force of less than x men, costing fewer than y dollars, and using less powerful than z weapons--and all the states which vote "yes" for any such operation should be responsible for paying for it. But above the x - y - z level, only the Security Council should be able to authorize an operation and then perhaps the Great Powers should have to pay a disproportionate amount of the cost.

Where else but the Assembly could a sort of World Populism emerge? If the Indonesian pattern is followed--leaving the UN rather than transforming or using the Assembly--then the developed countries will be encouraged simply to shrug off the hungry nations: they will have no legitimacy here; whereas the UN does and will. All of which suggests to me that one--just one--current line for those who care about the Third World is to focus support here for the General Assembly, and opposition both to the Soviet theory and the American practice which has now totally paralyzed the Assembly.

I tried saying some of this at a Collegiate Council for the UN "Model Assembly" meeting for Southern students from all over, meeting at Chapel Hill on February 12, and got a stormy response. About one-third of the audience (mostly students) gave me a standing ovation, and about one-third refused to applaud at all and gave me a stony glare. One student from a military college frothed at the mouth. I got an anonymous note calling me unpatriotic, a number of kids came up almost in tears to tell me how grateful they were, and eight foreign students came up separately to say how they know America was a great country, because of such a speech had been given in any of their countries the speaker would have been arrested at once.

Regards,

Art

(A portion of the speech follows).

I want to speak to you as what in truth I am, an American. An American who does have all the complex mixture of pride and distress in his country's behavior that I mentioned at the beginning of my talk. An American who does have an emotional tie to the decency and worth of his country in general and who--precisely for that reason--also has some deep and painful questions about his government's behavior on particular occasions. I ask myself, does our government's behavior in the Viet-Nam crisis measure up to the high standards of decency, vigilance in the defense of liberty and vigor in the pursuit of peace, that I expect my government to uphold? I must in all good conscience answer, no.

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Waskov/3.

I do not believe our government's behavior these past months and weeks has advanced either the cause of liberty or the cause of peace.

The political freedom of the Vietnamese people cannot be advanced by a military policy that relies on burning villages with napalm and on torturing the villagers for information. Tactics like this can produce chaos or advance totalitarianism, but they cannot protect or advance liberty. Only a policy that years ago approached the problem of Viet-Nam as a political problem to be solved by political means could have advanced liberty. Revolutionary guerillas do not flourish where social reform is going on and liberty is advancing. Guerillas only flourish when, as Mao Tse-Tung put it, they can live among the people as fish swim in the sea. Our government's attempt to put down political subversion and revolution with military suppression was doomed to failure from the start, and could never have advanced liberty. A program of massive economic aid and massive social reform might have done the job, but we did not try it.

And now, beset by the frustrations that were bound to result from our mistaken effort to advance the goal of liberty by using anti-libertarian means--beset by those frustrations in the south of Viet-Nam, our government has resorted to a military strike across the border into North Viet-Nam. We have not made clear whether we are retaliating for particular acts in South Viet-Nam, or for the whole process of defeat and frustration we are suffering there. Indeed, if you will examine the lead story on Page 1 of the New York Times of Sunday, February 7--this past Sunday--you will see that there is considerable reason to believe that Mr. Bundy and our Embassy people in Saigon had already decided to approve a strike-north policy before the attack on Pleiku occurred. This puts the United States in the most unfortunate legal position of doing what we condemned the Israelis for doing in 1956--striking across the border because of infiltration this side of the border. We have scarcely contributed to the peace of the world.

But I want to focus on something that runs deeper than a legal question and will run longer than this particular incident will run. There is an arrogance of might and power that seems to be growing in America, a suffocating arrogance that says: "Since the Russians will not dare to use their bombs on us in order to defend China or North Viet-Nam, we are free to do as we like to these and similarly annoying under-developed countries, whose people have skin colors different from ours and whose governments have a philosophy hostile to ours. Let us not bother with economic aid to end the long night of poverty and despair that afflicts 2 billion human beings in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Let us simply use our superior firepower to shoot down any troublemaker who arises from that night, who bursts into our well-lit, well-upholstered living rooms."

That arrogance is deeply corrupting. As an American, I protest it. It is by no means universal among us, and perhaps it does not yet even represent the majority opinion. But I believe that this arrogance is increasing among us, and I suspect that something very like it is increasing among Russians and Western Europeans. When I meet it, when I hear it, I can only remember what one great American, the greatest of all Southerners, Thomas Jefferson, said of a remarkably similar arrogance that afflicted our domestic life 150 years ago. He was talking about the arrogance of slavery, and he said, "Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Tonight, my fellow Americans, I tremble--I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.

SERIALS 4 A NO 8

Waskov/4

Dear Art,

I think your analysis of the New Arrogance is all too credible--and frightening. I'm not able to judge whether imperialism is economically unnecessary yet, but is that really the question? Isn't it rather that industry by industry, company by company, you will find investments that are either already in place or projected for reasons of corporate, industry-wide, or other special rationality, not economy-wide rationality? I don't know, but I think that's a good guess. In any case, it tells only part of the story. The other theme, piping all the time, is, I agree, a sense that there are Employment Opportunities everywhere for the gendarmes: that the American Century is possible after all, to be known by stability (terror if need be) if not by the shells of "Western Democracy".

What to do?--I cannot see beyond exposure, unremitting, noisy, informed, exposure. Exposure must loom beyond the simple amalgamation of facts, since there are always facts on the other side. The White Paper, for example. Although there are internal inconsistencies in the accounts of "defectors" from North Vietnam, much of the factual material in that document is credible. Can North Vietnam, though, be condemned for having aided the Southern guerrillas? I don't think so. We know enough about Diem not to be so callous. Doesn't North Vietnamese aid make sense given what we know of a long history of South Vietnamese incursions into the North? The point is not only, as the Times editorialized, that the White Paper facts are "miniscule"; it is also that North and South Vietnam are part of the same country (a creature of French colonialism, true, but nonetheless a country); that the insurgency predated Northern aid (by all accounts) to it; that the scales of aid sent in by the U.S. and by North Vietnam are of qualitatively different magnitudes; indeed, that the U.S. effort is patently unjust, while the guerrillas get some of the benefit of the doubt.

There is little doubt in my mind that the U.S. bears the lion's share of the blame for what has gone on in Vietnam since 1954: we created Diem, we trained South Vietnamese commandos going into North Vietnam, we sabotaged the Geneva accords, ... and most recently we have made the "wider war" that rolls so effortlessly from hypocritical lips. All that needs to be exposed.

Amid all this, the demise of the General Assembly is indeed something to be deplored; but is a corrective approach via the UN going to make the points that need to be made? Even in a more limited fashion, can the UN make peace as long as the U.S. sabotages peace? I don't think so, and don't think you meant that. The value of the UN, potentially, in bringing about a just world development, is great; but that too is prohibited by the New American Arrogance. (We might also want to ask how new it is.) It is important, then, for some of us (=the Left plus peaceniks) to point out that the U.S. is the prime culprit; to expose the political motives of what U.S. aid there is in the Southern Hemisphere (for these political motives undermine, in many cases, the development possibilities); more specifically, to demand that the U.S. submit interventional matters to the UN. But this will never come about as long as the U.S. thinks it can own the world. That is why the facts are not enough, but perspective is needed too.

In perspective, I think, the future of the UN is a creature of American intentions. Don't misunderstand me: I think the UN needs to be saved, and I think the U.S. should be told what is required of it to save the UN. I'm glad that there is around to haul out the U.S. But the core of our critique ought to be that the U.S. prevents peace--among other ways, in undermining the peacekeeping possibilities of the UN in areas where it counts (Vietnam, for one).

Waskov/5

You know that I've been hostile in the past to the notion of a decent leftist destiny. Leaving aside for the moment the ethics of that position, and the question of whether it is good or bad for development and justice, I would argue now that it is an impractical position: that is, the decent anti-Communists (Morse, Gruening, Church) recognize that by tying economic to military aid whatever good effects the former might have are throttled by the latter; but that, on the other hand, containment policy dictates that the two be tied together. Only the slick amoral types in Washington, I think, are now promoting foreign aid; not to say that good people don't always back it, only to say that the reasons--and the results of, therefore--for Establishment foreign aid, prevail over decent motives, even decent anti-Communist motives. The situation has gone very far indeed.

But I do not despair of a base. I'm convinced that no issue in recent times has so seared the consciences and common sense of Ordinary Students than Vietnam; I adduce not only the rash of recent demonstrations and rallies, but also conversations with liberals and conservatives even of the apathetic cast here. The same is true of the South Africa project--which is, true, a special case, but not that special, I don't think, not in the minds of adherents of liberal persuasions. Thus I have not yet--except in an exchange with a racist South African and a State Department spokesman at a conference last weekend--heard about the danger of Communism should apartheid be shattered. This is significant.

6 // We need not wait for a SNCC-ERAP New America to build a base for an American movement against American arrogance. Several weekends ago, at a Cleveland rally called to protest the bombings, two of the three speakers were poor whites working with the Cleveland Community Project. At the Cleveland Community People's Conference, I'm told that "End the War in Vietnam" buttons were unavailably worn. Fanny Lou Hamer devoted much of her talk to American evil in Vietnam. As you know, SNCC, CORE, the National Student Christian Federation, and the Federation of African students in the U.S. are backing the March 19 action. Yesterday the SDS National Office got a letter from the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, from the students at them, saying that they want to attend the April 17 March on Washington. Thus the opportunities are great: to sharpen student protest, and to span the gulf of alienation and despair to bring poor people into a movement focused on poverty everywhere, injustice everywhere. This is something that will be talked about at the PREP committee meeting this weekend, and for a long time hence. I don't say it's an answer, but I do think it's a challenge that can be met.

I guess I sound pretty angry. Well, I am, and I fear that God may not be just.

Best,

Todd

PROPOSED ERAP STAFF RETREAT

I have talked with only several projects about dates for the upcoming ERAP staff meeting. Thus far, March 26, 27, and 28 seem most satisfactory. Anyone who could not attend a staff meeting somewhere between Pittsburg and Cleveland on those dates should notify the Ann Arbor office immediately. Hopefully, a date will be definitely set by the time of the next Newsletter.

Staff and community people who will attend the retreat can help prepare in several ways:

1. Notify Ann Arbor of any camp, union hall, church or civic building that might be available for our use. Without a meeting hall, we'll be forced into a Howard Johnson.
2. Send names of people who will attend in order that we can arrange for food and housing.
3. Prepare lists of problems and topics for the discussion. Those suggested so far are:
 - relation of ERAP to SDS
 - re-structuring ERAP
 - the constitution of ERAP staff (how to organize the organizers; relation of community people; role of non-organizers on ERAP staff
 - summer program (how many? what activities? etc.)
 - summer training sessions
 - role of community people in central coordinating offices
 - concentration in the mid-West?
 - organizing problems and techniques
 - next community people's conference. Role of organizers in future meetings.
4. Preliminary discussion, particularly about ERAP structure and its relation to SDS, should precede the staff meeting in every project.

Rennie

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