

ERAP NEWSLETTER

April 26, 1965.

1100 E. Washington Ann Arbor, Michigan

CAIRO REPORT

The ERAP meeting has given new vigor and direction to the Cairo project. Staff morale is at an all time high and programs are developing very well.

Food Stamps: Approximately 300 signatures were collected at the surplus food distribution point in Cairo. These petitions asked that the Food Stamp program replace the surplus commodities program for low income people. Many signers were white giving the project its first real entry to the poor white community. George has begun follow ups in the 12th precinct which is almost totally white. Thursday we intend to bring a mixed group to the county commissioner's office outlining the type of food stamp program we want.

Housing: At the last city council meeting four residents of Cairo complained of Building Code violations. The reaction was to have inspections the next day and numerous repairs were ordered. Follow-up includes bringing in a larger group of complaints as well as repeats by the first four that the repairs were inadequate. In this case, at least, the distinction between staff and community people is erased since we will be complaining of Building Code violations in Freedom House. The Cairo Evening Citizen lifted its paper curtain and gave publicity to the activities of Freedom House people for the first time in the history of the local free press.

Police: In September 1964 numerous complaints were filed about various police violations of the rights and dignity of various people. The city refused to act on them and they lay dormant awaiting some follow through. The Police Chief got

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publicly drunk and went to the Negro "Oasis Bar and Hotel" and purchased his entertainment and rented a room above the bar, where he remained while his officers searched for him, and left only when the bartender awoke the couple and told them they had better get out while they could. This typical case of exploitation aroused community indignation and it was decided to use this as a focal point for a demand for the removal of the chief and a general straightening out of the department. The whole array of complaints are being revived and being presented with this one at the next meeting of the City Council. Handbills explaining the complaints were enthusiastically received by community people many of whom had been relatively cool up to now. The Chief's blunder was topped by a general department blunder.

T.R. Flowers fell down a flight of stairs while visiting a friend and was seriously injured. When the emergency unit was called the police followed and decided to arrest Flowers and throw him in jail, although no complaint had been lodged, and although he was seriously injured. In the morning he was brought before the judge in a semi-conscious state and was fined \$19.50 and was brought back into jail to "lay-out" his fine, about four days. The judge and the chief first decided that Flowers should stay in jail. Then they decided to release him so he could be treated, largely as a result of the protests of Mrs. Geneva Whitfield. In addition to being covered with blood his head was swollen, an eye swollen shut, he was unable to walk unaided and was semi-conscious. Preliminary x-rays showed fractured jaw and ribs.

General, other complaints, relief, public housing, need for county hospital, dental clinic, etc., are being channeled into the appropriate governing agency. The variety of complaints brought together in a single meeting should confound the officials, deeply impress the people with the specific responsibility of various government bodies, demonstrate the interconnections of the system, and goad officials into blowing their coolness.

Vocational school: A handbill was distributed to the students of the vocational school exposing the school as a farce mocking the hopes of people to get an education and training which would provide a living wage. A protest is planned of upcoming pullout of students to chop cotton.

Solidaridad!!

FREEDOM NEWS

April 18, 1965

Cairo, Illinois

CHILDREN BEATEN by Alberta Wilson

My son, John Wilson, was arrested along with three other boys, Joe Jr. Thomas, Lloyd Johnson, Willie Earther's on suspicion of burglary. While they were being questioned, my son was hit by officer Earl Wade and beaten by officer Charles Williams. They have been picking the boys up since August 31 and have been threatening to send John to an institution without a trial. When I go to the police station to ask about my son they tell me it is no use in my sitting there they will keep my boy in questioning. They never notify me when they pick my boy up. I think it is a shame the way they beat the Negro children with rubber hoses. They treat Negroes here worse than dogs.

SHOT TO DEATH by Gerald Flannery

My nephew, John Wheeler Russell, was shot during a break-in at the V.F.W. in Cairo by police officer Gerald Flannery. According to the reports of the

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boys involved, there was no warning given and the shot fired seemed meant to kill, since according to Dr. Robinson if it had not been deflected by the shoulder blade the bullet would have entered the boys heart. In an interview, police Chief Enloe Jones said that the policeman did not need to account for each shot fired and did not have any definite limitations on his right to shoot. No man should have such freedom with a gun.

NOT SAFE AT HOME by Rice Whitfield

My son Herman was home watching TV alone with a friend of his. When Herman walked to the back door, the police were outside picking up some Negro boys. One of the boys had just walked out of my house. Herman told officer Williams this boy, Jewell, had just walked out of our house and hadn't did nothing. Officer Williams told my son Herman to shut up and that he was crazy. Shortly after, Mildred Smith, mother of J.W. Parnell who was shot by a policeman, asked Herman to walk with her to find her son. It was pretty late so Herman walked with Mildred to the jail to see if her son was there. The police started asking Herman questions, and then locked him up saying when they were in Pyramid Courts, Herman cursed the Officer, Williams. So they had no charge they could pin on him so they put it "disorderly conduct" \$100 fine.

So having trial Sunday at 10:30 A.M. with Judge Williams speaking so low and having Herman plead guilty to the charge then telling him it was a state charge. I asked the Judge for a word with him and after I told the Judge the charge against Herman wasn't true he told me to tell Officer Williams not him. I told him I would. Judge Williams told me to shut-up, don't tell me what you will say in my courtroom or I will thrw you in jail too. So, the charge was false and the fine was excessive even if it was true. There was a man fired a gun in the Housing Project and was fined \$19 for disorderly conduct and I feel it's because we work with the "Freedom House".

JUSTICE BLUES (tune similar to Crossroad Blues by Robert Johnson) by Chas. Bauman, Cairo staff.

I
Down at the Court House in Cairo town, (chords are general)
Down at the Court House take a walk around,
You can see the Cops and Judges,
And hear the Justice sound.

II
Well, I'll tell you of a friend,
T.R. Flowers was his name,
I'll tell you of a friend,
T.R. Flowers was his name,
He got justice,
And he ain't never been the same.

III
The Cops picked T.R. up,
He'd fallen down the stairs.
He needed a hospital,
But they didn't take him there,
They took him to the jail.

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Then they left him there.

IV

Now the Judge found him guilty,
And he was fined,
The Judge found him guilty
And he was fined,
Drunk and Disorderly,
Nineteen dollars for his "crime".

V

They left him in the jail.
For to pay his fine,
They left him in jail,
For to pay his fine,
They forgot about his broken bones.
Figured they'd heal in time.

VI

The Cairo Cops treat (poor) people this a-way.
Yes the Cair Cops treat poor people this a-way.

Justice never comes to Cairo,
The Police keep it away.

NEWARK REPORT

CARL ARRESTED IN DEL MAURO'S COURT

A strange thing happened in court on Monday! Landlady Mamie Hayes said that Tom is not Tom, Carl is Tom! So Judge Del Mauro arrested Carl instead of Tom for a crime that neither of them did and they sent Carl off to the Newark St. Jail. Here is how it happened.

BACKGROUND Last October, Tom, Carl and Mrs. Watkins signed an agreement with Mamie Hayes, who was Mrs. Watkins landlady. The paper said that Mrs. Hayes would fix up. A few days later Tom met Mrs. Hayes on Ridgewood Ave. He had the paper with him and she tried to grab it away, and hurt his arm with her thumb nail. So he went up to the 5th precinct to file a complaint. They wouldn't let him, so he went back to Ridgewood. Mrs. Hayes was there with the police, and they arrested him for assault and battery and threat to kill. The case has been waiting ever since.

IN COURT This Monday in court, Mrs. Hayes stood up for 15 minutes pointing at Tom and saying he beat her and stomped her. But when they started to question her witness, the witness said, "That's not Tom Hayden". And Mrs. Hayes changed her mind. She pointed at Carl in the back of the courtroom and said, "That is Tom Hayden, that's the one that beat me." So the judge arrested Carl, putting Tom's charges on him. They dropped them against Tom. They sent Carl off to the Newark St. Jail under \$500 bail.

This treatment of Carl made us mad so we went over to see the Mayor. He's the man who appointed Del Mauro. We wanted results and here's what happened next.

10 SIT-IN AT MAYOR'S OFFICE by Betty Moore

All of it was mean! Time - they didn't give us any time, they were all talking and running their mouths. They just told us to get up and we wouldn't get up. They talked to us about how we were wrong - to get up and go out. Did we want to get arrested? and we said, "No we don't want

to get arrested, we just want to see the Mayor." Then some of them said, "Let's arrest them! Let's get them out of here!" One of them hit Jesse and knocked him back. Jesse was sitting and he hit Jesse and then smashed him back. All of the policemen were hollering, "Let's get them out of here!" They seemed like they wanted to hurt us. Then they started dragging us out like dogs. They dragged us down the elevator. They broke my two teeth, because they smashed me back from Barry and when I rolled over my mouth was open and I dropped my teeth. My shoe came off, and when I went to get it a policeman grabbed my arm. When he did, he struck my side and it started to hurt. But I got my shoe. Then the elevator came, and they got us all downstairs and outside. Some of us were laying in the dirt, and they threw us on top of each other, just like we was - I don't know what - just threw us out there! Then the wagon came and they just grabbed us and threw us up there on top of one another and carried us to jail. (note the ten that were arrested are Betty Moore, Betty Moss, Jill, Barry, Corinna, Al Johnson, Fred Wilson, Beth, Jesse, Marty Gallanter).

TOLD THE MAYOR

Twelve of us from NCUP met with Mayor Addonazio and his men on Tuesday afternoon. First Billie reminded Schiff, the Mayor's counsel, of 8 promises on housing he made to us last August and had done nothing about. Other people asked about other housing problems, about police brutality and about Judge Del Mauro. Schiff and the other City Hall people kept saying they didn't have the power to do what we asked. If they don't have the power, who does? It sure isn't the people!

WE TRIED TO GET THEM OUT

NCUP is used to getting the run around from police and city hall - but we got the biggest one ever trying to bail our people out of jail. They sent us from court to headquarters, to third precinct, to Newark St. Jail, back to headquarters then back to traffic court. It took us seven hours to bail Carl out.] CG

MARY GRACE

When we arrived at the Mayor's office we went up to the door. They met us - about 6 met 2 of us at the door. Some news reporter, he just walked in. Big deal, he's a news reporter, but no we're colored, we got to sit and wait because we're a few minutes late. No, you can't get in, they said. Why? Because my face was black or what was it? You know what makes you sick to your stomach? When you put those guys in office and they get down there and they can't see you! They can see you before they get into office. Before they get in they're little men. But put them in and see what you get --- you get nothing but promises. Even some of our people that go down there to work, they even turn their back on you.

DORA HOLDER

What really upset me was when I saw how brutal the police were treating those girls. They dragged them out there like they were dogs! Seemed like for the men it wouldn't feel so bad, but the girls -- they dragged them out there and it seemed like they had no pity -- they were enjoying it! And they just dragged them and threw them in the elevator and then, after they got them downstairs, after they threw them on their backs and dragged them to the paddy wagon like they were animals, they didn't have any pity or any-

*protest (S)
part (S)*

thing! You see those things on television and read about them in the papers, about Selma, Alabama and the way they treat them down there. You wouldn't have any idea, until you actually see it, that it could happen here. It would really upset you. And the secretaries, and all those people that work at City Hall, the things they were saying! You would think that they would have a little pity, but no! They were saying "Kick them! Beat them! Club them! They don't deserve anything!" You wouldn't even think the people thought that way.

PHELORA NEWSOME

The Mayor we have down at City Hall is no good! Because he just sits, talks in circles. He says he never received nothing, no letters, from NCUP. And he said, all those demands we put up, they could take care of some of them, but some of them they couldn't. But I thought that the Mayor could take care of everything. He's supposed to be the Mayor of the City of Newark. And we sat there to talk with him Tuesday, but he didn't do the talking, he let his deputy talk for him. And the things we asked -- he just sat and smiled and the deputy twisted things around -- what he hadn't received, why we didn't come to him from time to time, and asked him to come to us. But they always put us off with excuses.

No, we didn't get no respect whatsoever from him, because he considers our group I don't know what -- less than human. The few words he did say, he said, "Well, the meeting is over, I'm tired, I'm through with you people. You all are running around in circles, letting somebody lead you on."

THURMAN SMITH

I was present at the trial of Tom Hayden and I was amazed to see the type of justice that took place -- or should I say, the miscarriage of justice. The author of Perry Mason should have been there; it would have been good material for one of the stories on TV. I also went to the Mayor's office. The people were locked inside the room, and the Commissioner of Human Rights was denied entrance -- he was barred. I also was shocked to see a very vicious thing: a microphone was grabbed out of one individual's hands (Norman Fructer's) and thrown on the floor. I still ask: Is this the kind of thing that's going to go on in Newark?

When they were taking the demonstrators out, I heard very bad remarks. Police were discussing what the young ladies were wearing. Talking about their undergarments -- whether they were dirty or clean, or if they had them on. I was also very much insulted when they called the white girls trash. I regret that very highly because to me, when an individual calls a white person trash because they associate with a Negro, they have a tendency to think the Negro is trash and might contaminate the white person.

BETTY MOORE

When we went down to the Mayor's Office to see him, I didn't think that I would ever be dragged, kicked, teeth knocked out, just to see the Mayor. I voted for the man to get where he is; I work hard in the schools and on the post. I never did think that I'd get dragged and thrown around and looked down on like some dog who never should be down there, just to ask the Mayor for what we want in our neighborhood.

C.G.
Sim + Nixon
Approve!
Football

5

76 elec
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CLEVELAND REPORT

COMMUNITY UNION: The Abbey area had a small but good meeting. We are trying now to find the best way to bring together interested people whom we have met from all over the Near West Side, who have a wide range of concerns. We are in contact with these people but haven't been able to involve them in ongoing programs.

CUPAW held a meeting, at which the conference film was shown, to attract new members, and a lot of new people did show up. CUPAW is now organizing to get another East side food stamp issuance center. Last week by 7:30 in the morning the food stamp line stretched back for many blocks, yet the city doesn't want to pay the administrative costs of another center.

The new SDS staff arrangement with CUPAW (1 person working 1/2 time, 2 others 1/4 time for 2-week periods) seems to be working well; most of the time is spent working with new members, or helping out the officers.

We're also working on trying to get 100% welfare, by pressuring the state legislature in Columbus, but we may be too late to get anything changed this session.

SUMMER PROJECT: We are meeting regularly with the 2 East side CUPAW mothers whose neighborhoods are being considered for a summer project. Our assumption now is that we'll have an East side community union project (which will continue on past the summer) and the West side project will be expanded. Regardless of which East side area is selected, the CUPAW people there will be part of the staff, along with the SDS students, and they will provide a lot of guidance for the project. We are also beginning to get out information to summer applicants are beginning to plan the May 8th conference for summer staff.

CAMPUSES: The March on Washington has really touched off a lot of action. This week Western Reserve University-Case Institute had a teach-in. Lots of SDS people were involved, and many other students got introduced to SDS. What concerns people now is thinking of creative follow-up programming after the March, to channel all the interest that has been generated.

The March has also created a lot of interest in the community. One of the keynote speakers at the March was Iva Pearce, of the Cleveland Community Union, who talked about how the government treats poor people in Viet Nam and poor people in America. (Note: due to an auto accident involving her son, Iva was unable to attend the March, but her speech was read by a friend, Carole King, of CUPAW).

Weekend before last a statewide campus gathering of SDS people was held in Columbus; it was small but there is a lot of interest in really developing the Ohio region and moving towards some form of regional SDS office structure by next fall.

An exciting part of the past week was the weekend visit of Bob and Connie Smiddie, from Nashville, who are seriously considering coming North to work for ERAP, to develop a community theater project. We had a series of stimulating discussions about what a community theater would do, how it would relate to an ERAP project, and how such a project might be viewed as a

national ERAP experiment.

CLEVELAND INITIATIVE ON NATIONAL THINKING:

We discussed the effect a national-type office (ERAP, SDS or both) would have on the project here, and what relationship was desirable. Our concern is with the people who would be working in that office and living within the project commune. There is already one person who will be living with the project but not organizing, and there may be others. A real tension would exist, it seemed to us, when we have people working part-time with the project and part-time in an office: how do they establish priorities? and how much will the project be brought into decision-making affecting the office? (Those should be concerns for Chicago, too--how will Uptown JOIN relate to the regional ERAP office.)

On the other hand, what is the effect of having people living with the project but not really being part of the communalism? That situation has created undeniable problems with the part-time staff living with the Cleveland project this past year. It's created somewhat less tension for people living here who are "no-time" people (Paul since he's been acting as full-time SDS President). But even no-time people create tensions: if they are good people we want them, to be in on our discussions and decision-making, yet since they're so far removed from the daily reality of the project, should they be involved in those discussions (can they be)? Doesn't that create the kind of dependency on accepted SDS thinkers that we are trying to avoid? Again, that has been a problem for the Cleveland project in the past, and is likely to continue to be one. But we'd like to stimulate discussion on this topic within other ERAP staffs, and among the people working for the movement in non-organizing roles who want to and should relate to the community organizing projects.

'Neath a snowy white sheet I see the dirty ole feet
of a skunk where a man ought to be...
A dirty old bat? no! a white hooded rat,
with courage the size of a flea.
His heart's made of gizzard,
eyes like a blizzard...
Just as cold, and blue as the sea.

They call him a wizard, but he's really a lizard,
With guts where his tail ought to be.
The devil's his brother;
He'd kill his own mother,
If she wasn't what he thought she should be!

He creeps through the land making murder his plan;
He's really a snake in disguise.
By his fiery old cross will his soul be a loss,
In hell he will lift up his eyes.

--Carnell Ransom

Carnell Ransom is working with the Cleveland SDS Staff on the possibility of starting a community union project in the Hough area (East side) this summer.

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CHESTER REPORT

VICTORY FOR JOBS - DON'T BUY WHERE YOU CAN'T WORK

There was a picket line set up at Marie's Market by the New Independent Committee for Jobs, Schools, and Homes, March 17-19 to insure that the community peoples' rights were protected. In other words, if community people spend their hard earned dollars at an establishment, they should be able to work there. The owner of the store came to see this after a long cold picket around his store.

Let me tell you about this. In the three days that we picketed in the worse weather conditions, we were joined by many people in the area who came to believe that we were on the side of right. There was a small group of people who crossed the picket line with down-cast eyes. This was because deep in their hearts they knew what we were doing was really for them.

There was a lull in the line for about ten minutes for a strategy meeting and coffee. Out of this meeting, came a deep concern that there was not more participation of other civil rights groups in this fight for equality. Nevertheless, in the negotiations at Marie's Market, Stanley Branche, a member of the Steering Committee of the GCM and Chester civil rights leader sat in on the negotiations along with Donald Jackson, NIC executive director and John Chambers, NIC chairman.

We came to an agreement that at least one Negro cashier and four other Negroes in responsible positions would be hired within thirty days.

We wish to thank the participants in this victory.

Yours in Freedom
Reginald Freeman, Treasurer

DPA FIGHT GOES ON

We of the NIC organization feel as though the people who are on DPA should complain because their DPA allowances are inadequate. Children go lacking because of this and drop out of school. Besides, proper medical care isn't given to people on DPA.

NIC has complaint forms for people on DPA. We will be out to talk with people on DPA and hope they will file a complaint.

NIC is out to help you. Please help yourself. We can't fight this battle alone. It's your fight too.

Mrs. Naomi Whitaker, Co-chairman

Some Unanswered Questions

In reference to the recent honoring of the persons who have contributed to the Chester Civil Rights struggle March 26, I have this to say. First, I would like to ask the Chester Civil Rights Committee, the criterion upon which this selection was based. I will acknowledge the fact that the members who were honored played a significant role in our fight for human dignity. Nevertheless, certain questions need to be answered.

If the criteria in the case of Walter Bryant is that he stood steadfastly during a time when apathy in the Negro community was overly apparent, and that during the course of the demonstrations last year, he was brutally beaten, if this is the criteria, then he should be honored. However, along with him we should honor Richard James, Wilbur Johnson, Barry Walley and many others who took similar roles.

If the criteria in the case of Nathaniel Polster, is that he was fired from the position of executive director of the Greater Chester Movement for no apparent reason, then every person who has ever been fired from any job should be honored.

Finally, I would like to direct this observation to the Reverend Ifill, who has been in civil rights for only five minutes in actuality, and who should be at the far end of the line on the honor role. Reverend Ifill should consider that in his quest for power, which is his quest in actuality, that the people who he is trying to lead are human beings. This should be his first consideration. He should realize that hypocrisy and degradation will not accomplish his ends.

It is time that he realizes that we are all fighting for the same cause and that cause is the freedom and dignity of all men.

It is with regret that our more militant leaders have been swayed from the path by which all our goals can be found. It is time that they wake up and begin to work!

John Chambers, Chairman

Our deepest sympathy to Lois Gélzer, of Cleveland, on the tragic death of her son and our friend, Larry.
April 16, 1965

JOIN COMMUNITY UNION

OUR VISIT TO THE URBAN PROGRESS CENTER

by Phil Braun

On Wed. night at our stewards meeting we got together and talked about the food stamp plan and day care center and decided to present our demands to Mr. Woodward of the Urban Progress Center. The Urban Progress Center is part of the War on Poverty and is supposed to help poor people of Uptown.

We met with Mr. Woodward and presented the problems to him to find out what he could do about them. We felt that the stamp program was of no use to the poor people because you had to buy the stamps instead of being given free stamps or surplus food. If people need money for rent and can't buy food, they'll go hungry. If people buy food instead of paying their rent, they'll have to eat it out in the streets.

Mr. Woodward was concerned with our problems and willing to help but there was nothing he could do. We asked him isn't the War on Poverty supposed to fight poverty. He said that the War on Poverty couldn't fight poverty because they didn't have enough money. The War on Poverty was in poverty itself. The War on Poverty could help you to learn English but couldn't really feed the people. If you want to change things you have to change the laws, Mr. Woodward said, like getting more social security and more pensions. Mr. Woodward said change depended on politics.

Mr. Woodward promised to set up an appointment with a welfare department official, Mr. Levitt, so we could give suggestions to improve the stamps. Anyone interested in meeting with Mr. Levitt should let JOIN know.

We also handed in our petitions calling for a day care center. We found out that not one building in the North Side had passed the city rules for a day care center. I feel that if the city spent a little money on fixing up a building like fixing up the wiring, we could have a day care center. The city doesn't seem to care about giving us a day care center.

The War on Poverty seems really to be one big nothing. The training program will not give the people food, clothing, and shelter. You have to go through the same welfare agencies and face the same problems as you've done before. Nothing's really changed. Mr. Woodward said that the more members a group had, the stronger its voice was. We believe that the people of Uptown should get together if they want to change their community and fight poverty.

ORGANIZED ACTION GETS RESULTS

by Mary Karas, Wilson Ave.

(This article was translated from the Greek)

I was employed by the shipping department store. I, and a number of women hired along with me, had been "temporaries" for about two years. This meant that we were ineligible for regular wage raises, hospital pension, and other fringe benefits. In addition, we were generally given jobs that belong to other departments; regular union employees refused this work, as they properly should have because it was too heavy and not that for which

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employees in our department had been hired. Because we were temporaries and had no union protection, we could be fired if we refused such work.

A crisis arose just before Christmas, when the rush was at its heaviest, because we were assigned heavy metal trash cans to pack. The women grumbled and staggered under the work. Finally, I suggested that we refuse to pack the trash cans. "But we will be fired," protested some of the women. "Not if we all stick together," I said. I suggested that if the bosses tried to separate us by calling us in for interviews individually, we should refuse. If we didn't, we would be sure to get fired.

The bosses did want to interview us separately. "We will not see you individually," I said. "You can say what you have to say while we are all together."

The outcome was a good example of the value of united action. The bosses asked us what our terms were. "We want to work on a permanent or regular basis," I said. "We want all the benefits we would get as permanent workers. And we want a raise. New workers for the Christmas rush are being hired at an hourly wage higher than ours. We, as experienced hands, should be getting more than they are. We also don't want to do work that is too heavy and work that should be properly assigned to another department."

The bosses agreed to all the conditions we asked for. We became permanent employees, eligible for the regular benefits. And we got our raise. Most important, we learned that it is best to take united action. When people are disorganized and disunited, they are at a disadvantage. They cannot achieve any kind of progress, social or economic. Collective organized action gets results.

WELFARE SAYS:

Little children of the poor
Must have mothers who are pure
Noble fathers, pious aunts
Or we cannot give them grants.

Boys and girls of tender youth
Must be taught the simple truth:
That we cannot give them checks
If their mother thinks of sex.

Let the undernourished child
Kee his mother undefiled
And imbued with right belief,
And we'll keep him on relief.

If the mother falls from grace,
Let her offspring's little face
(Pinched with hunger and with pain)
Call her back to grace again.

This ingenious device
Keeps un-wedded mothers nice,
Neat and tidy and polite
And will keep them home at night.

Little children of the poor
Thus will keep their parents pure.
If the treatment does not take,
Let the little brats eat cake.

ERAP CORRESPONDENCE

STAFF RECRUITMENT

Dear ERAP Staff and Friends,

A combination of the discussion at the last ERAP meeting, plus the fact that summer is close upon us and decisions about summer staff must be made soon, has made me think a lot about the way in which we recruit staff for ERAP. The consensus at the last retreat was, I think, that we should and are moving towards regional development in ERAP. But when we recruit new people (or distribute old people) I think we want people who are willing to go where the organization needs them. Not that personal preferences should be ignored... but there should be a balance, and people who go to work in one place should feel responsibility to other areas as well.

What I'd like to suggest we adhere to is the principle of non-competitive staff recruitment: all members of SDS-ERAP should take upon themselves the responsibility of recruiting as many people as they reasonably can for the national organization, recruiting people to work for SDS (or the ERAP organizing committee, or a Movement for a Democratic Society), but not recruiting them on the basis of working for one particular place; and they should be able to look towards the national organization to meet their needs.

I see two reasons for dealing with the needs of individual projects relative to the needs of others. One is simply that I dislike ferocious competition. Right now serious competition for staff exists because we all have a strong need for experienced (or inexperienced) people who will make a long-term commitment to a movement and a particular area, and there is a limited number of people in that category whom we know now, for example, the "Swarthmore children." Rather than compete for those resources (and we all have a great need for them) I think we should try to meet all--or as many as possible--of our needs out of a common pool of resources. What that says to me is cooperation in the distribution of limited resources, not competition for them.

The second reason for practicing non-competitive recruitment is that as long as projects develop at unequal rates--and as long as we're adding on new projects--it seems clear to me that we cannot operate in Darwinian fashion on the basis of survival of the fittest. If one project is wobbly or is just getting off the ground, we all should assume that perhaps they'll have less time to do effective staff recruitment they'd like, but that's no reason for them to be jeopardized. And assuming that other areas are well on the road to regional development (which suggests greater resources at their disposal) it's not desirable that they have "first grabs" all the time. Particularly since many of us face similar problems and are not at all alone in our frustrations (and Joys) it's important to feel a responsibility for others and to operate on the "sink or swim together" principle.

Perhaps what's most important is sharing our concerns about national responsibility, or an attitude that's been called "internationalism," with potential staff. That's a delicate task--I suspect an insistence that a visiting potential staff person go see another project might scare him away, but I'm convinced that if we really believe in "internationalism," that we'll

contribute
C.G. says...

Phyll
Staff

be able to express that concern to new people and bring them into our community, on those terms. Specifically, it's desirable to encourage potential staff to visit at least two places, making it clear that you'd like him to work with you, but that other places might like him, too, and may even have greater need for him.

There are a number of specific things that could be done, by individual projects and the Ann Arbor office, to really make recruitment non-competitive.

1. individual projects: each project should commit itself to recruiting as many people as possible to work for ERAP, not relying on other projects to do that for us. That requires some work with the campuses, with the recognition that it will take away from immediate community work. It also means that each project must feel a responsibility towards finding out what other projects are doing and planning to do, so we can talk to recruits in our area about the total national program. One way in which Cleveland has decided to do this is through travel: we've agreed that every other project should be visited by at least one SDS staff and one community person by the beginning of June, that the visits should be seen as a time in which we really learn how others are organizing, what their problems are, how and what they are planning for the summer.

2. national office: it will have a critical role, since a large number of staff applicants will come through the Ann Arbor office. It is important that the ERAP office preserves and develops in others "national perspective" on relative project needs. What that suggests to me is that as many Ann Arbor staff as possible travel and really get to know the needs of projects, so that this burden doesn't rest on Rennie alone. The office will significantly influence staff applicants in several ways:

--by the literature it produces on recruitment procedures and the explanation of the philosophy behind non-competitive recruitment.

--by the way in which the office staff talks with prospective staff, and the stress placed on concerns with and commitment to "international" ERAP.

Specifically, by the extent to which the office tries to provide new SDS people with a perspective of relative national needs.

--by the kinds of recommendations the national office makes to new staff people who may be unsure about where they should work and therefore seek advice from Ann Arbor.

Particularly with new staff, the right kind of literature, discussions which seek to give people a clearer perspective on relative organizational needs, and the way in which project recommendations are made can substantially influence the degree to which new staff develop "international" concerns.

Applicant conferences: these can be important in creating a spirit of concern about the needs of other projects. I'd like to suggest that in each city a conference be held (in most cases they are already being planned) that serves two purposes. One, that the conferences really give the host city an opportunity to show what it is and what it is doing (taking people out into the community to organize, etc.), all of which might and perhaps should bias people towards that project; but, two, making every effort possible to talk about ERAP nationally. Specifically, each project should be represented by an SDS staff person and a community person (when possible) at all recruitment conferences, and time should be set aside at the conference to talk about the other projects. That might also serve to reduce some traveling time and expense for applicants, for example, if someone in New Jersey really

wants to work with southern whites (Chicago or Cleveland) it'd be desirable for them to know that they could find out about these projects by attending a potential staff conference in Newark rather than having to travel to the Midwest (if that's not possible).

This is especially desirable with summer staff: to the extent that summer staff goes back and really works on their campuses, it is important to have a geographical spread on summer staff, for example, we'd prefer to have 10 summer staff in Cleveland carry back the gospel to, say, five campuses in other states and two in Ohio, than all of them going back to the same place. This is with the obvious exception of summer staff who plan to relate seriously and meaningfully to the project on a year-round basis. For example, someone going to school in Chicago who intends to work with JOIN part-time during the year shouldn't be encouraged to go to Hoboken for the summer. But since many summer staff people will be coming from areas in which projects don't exist, that kind of exception should be rather infrequent.

Adherence to the principle of non-competitive recruitment might also ease some of the tensions and problems in ERAP. Adopting this policy should stimulate us all to learn more about the problems, programs, etc., of other projects. To the extent that this creates an on-going dialogue, it might help minimize the tensions at ERAP meetings that are often due to lack of communication between retreats. And a serious effort to broaden the commitment of people beyond a single project--through literature, conferences, discussion--may make it easier to integrate people who come into ERAP on the local level and don't initially feel responsible to and part of a national organization.

There is at least one interesting question that this principle raises for me: for this to work each project (and staff person) must really believe in the other projects for which he or she is collectively recruiting. But will a staff person who lacks faith in project X honestly suggest that a new recruit should work for that project X? If not, that may force us to re-examine the criteria by which a project become part of the ERAP community, and that may be a good thing. It's certainly something that I think needs attention.

It's my own feeling that the effectiveness of non-competitive recruitment depends on a commitment by all the projects to respect it. Carl argues that a project that recruits competitively will glut itself, and die of evil... I'm not sure. But I'm eager to try it out, and I'd appreciate responses from other project staff and potential staff.

Peace,

Carol McEldowney

SERIALS 4 A NO 8

PROPOSED PROCEDURE FOR STAFF RECRUITMENT AND ALLOCATION: NON-COMPETITIVE
(menshevik)

Dear Friends,

In response to Carol's recent letter about non-competitive staff recruitment, I agreed with all of the conclusions, but not all of the reasoning. I also felt that people could agree with the proposals, and not really change their behaviour at all. The basic problem is not in telling ourselves over and over to be nice, or to perfect old ways of doing things. In particular I disagree with the discussion of the national office: as long as people see the national office as a 'balancing' organism which has 'national perspective' they will continue to prioritize themselves vis-a-vis other projects, and will be prioritized and ranked in the eyes of that national office; it is this prioritization which is competitive and destructive. There is no such thing as 'relative' project needs in any way which we have been able to agree upon; we say that New Brunswick has the highest 'need', and nobody goes there; some big project has the least need in our priorities, and more people go there. Although the proposal of collective decision-making within the organization looks like communal rather than Darwinian process, actually it is quite the reverse, for all it does is make projects compete within ERAP circles, and since decisions are never really arrived at and stick, competition continues all the time. I'm most concerned that we not break down the community of trust that exists within the staff as a whole, and that other considerations are secondary. The temporary solution I see in the short run is that new staff people should decide for themselves where they will go, with a minimum of pressure from anywhere and a maximum of information. Again paradoxically, this seems to emphasize individualism, but in reality, I think, it depends almost completely on the degree of trust and cooperation that exists within the organization, and breaks down when those break down. For if we all trust each other and communicate, decisions will be made in the interests of the body as a whole, even if everyone doesn't have to fight it out toward a 'collective decision'.

I would propose the following procedures, which would be published so that current and prospective staff have some guidelines both on how they should act, and how they should expect others to act, and how they should interpret the acts of others.

- Projects: should continually define and redefine their actual needs; what we need, what we could do with more staff, both experienced and inexperienced, with such and such skills, with such and such qualities, and communicate this both to all other projects and to the national office.
- Current staff: should try to induce anybody who might be good to work for as long as possible with ERAP (or other good projects); they should explain what that person might do if he worked in each project, to the best of his ability (this would be facilitated by the definitions of actual needs which projects are issuing regularly, and by grapevine, visiting, etc.), without putting any pressure on him to go to any particular place, especially his own project. Encourage him to visit those places where there are actual needs which he might fill. Be as honest as you can in this.

Prospective staff: visit as many projects as possible where there is alleged need; don't ask people to prioritize relative needs, or put staff in a position of possible competition. Don't say you are going to any one project until you have decided, and then stick with that decision.

National office: recruit for all projects by describing needs of each one; put applicants in as-much touch with current staff as possible; explain to applicants, either personally or in some written form, the particular needs of projects, and have them write or contact the project(s) where they want to work; don't make judgments on relative need, and use the stated needs of projects, not your own. Information on the number of people who are interested in working on particular projects for the summer, relative to the number who can actually work there, is 'game' information which will help people decide where they want to work.

Final decisions should be made only by prospective staff members, and accepted or rejected by project staffs.

PS We should include in our community of discussion of actual needs the actual needs of projects other than the ones on the ERAP financial books: New Brunswick, Cambridge Md, New Haven, Cairo, San Francisco, Hazard (or W Va) and anybody else who tells us what they need: we shouldn't be afraid of adding projects to this list: if people are to go where they think they want to go and are most needed, then we shouldn't withhold information which would make them go elsewhere if they knew it.

welcome comments

Love, Carl Wittman

To: Smiddies, Chicago Project,
ERAP office, and other
interested folk,

COMMUNITY THEATER

Last weekend Bob and Connie Smiddie came to Cleveland to discuss with us the possibility of developing a community theater project in ERAP. What follows is a summary of our discussion--questions raised, conceptions, possibilities. We'd like to see this stimulate more discussion in ERAP, and help us all make our decision.

1. What is community theater, what would it do?

Specifically, we discussed theater as a method of organizing and as a way of creating community life. What would the effect of theater be on the various participants--the actors, the audience?

We agreed that theater can be viewed as a teaching device for the people involved, as a changing influence for the actors. Through theater we can enable people to articulate and express their problems, frustrations, joys...

For the audience theater should be generalizing personal problems, getting across a message with social content. Theater should get people out into the streets to get that message.

The goal of community theater was seen as both entertainment and propagandistic. That dual goal raises the question of art versus content, of quality versus reality. We want a theater to be a good theater, which means that acting ability is important, as is the quality of the script. But we also want theater to be related to reality--it is important that content is a theatrical form of social message. (If acting is important, what happens when one can't find good local actors from the community? does one bring in suburban people, etc., who can act?)

What is the role of class in community theater? Is the goal to have a poor people's theater, or a theater for people in the community to attend? Is it desirable to bring in good actors if they are needed to assure a quality theater? or should there be a greater emphasis on developing local talent? (There was a lot of discussion of this point; the only consensus we reached was on the need for balance, e.g. between local and non-local actors.)

Specific forms of community theater, assuming that the goal is to get more people involved, as actors, or as audiences, and to get people out of their houses, could include:

- street-corner lot plays; folk-singing, dancing
- children's theater (as a way of reaching out to adults?)
- organizing the audience by having discussion groups following a play, leaf-letting about the plays and follow-up meetings.

2. Where should community theater be located? Can we develop criteria for determining the location of a theater project? Are there specific conditions conducive to the success of a theater that we might isolate?

How much and what kind of local movement is needed? In places where community theater has been tried, there has been a movement or a common consciousness (e.g. Tent City in Fayette County, East Harlem, Mississippi). That movement or consciousness doesn't exist where ERAP projects are, specifically where poor Appalachian whites are (Cleveland, Chicago). But there nevertheless

seemed to all of us to be good reasons for experimentation...

Are there reasons why Chicago rather than Cleveland, or vice versa, might be a better place to test a theater project?

--Which area needs a theater more, and for what purpose? that might be one way of deciding if in fact there is a difference.

--do both Chicago and Cleveland see the theater as an on-going project or merely a summer experiment? The Smiddies are interested in at least a year-long commitment to experiment. Cleveland agrees and assumes the same is true for the Chicago project.

--The Chicago Uptown area has a higher population density, maybe fewer homeowners, maybe a more homogeneous population. Density may be an important factor (proportionately one can get more people out of a block) but what about the other factors, and additional factors? Is it meaningful to talk about a potential pool of actors in the community?

We discussed this more after the Smiddies left, and decided that we couldn't think of meaningful ways to compare Cleveland vs. Chicago in terms of criteria for a theater project. One feeling was that we should decide that Cleveland either wanted or didn't want a theater project, in terms of Cleveland, that Chicago should decide in a similar fashion, and then maybe we could use comparisons. Maybe.

3. What should be the relationship of a theater project to the local movement, to the local ERAP project? Should the theater project be viewed as independent? or as a better framework of organizing?

We all assumed that there would be a flow of ideas, actors, etc., between the theater and the local movement: the theater for example, will come to the community union to get a plot for a play, or it might ask CUPAW mothers to talk, with tape recorders, about problems and use that conversation as the basis of a drama. The theater would serve as a stage for the concerns of the people in the movement (political), but would also express concerns, problems, values, in ways that community unions might find difficult. (For example: one might dramatize the personal tensions within an organization in a general way--this would be possible while talking out the problems in the organization itself might not be realistically possible.)

The Cleveland staff and the Smiddies agreed that the theater project would take some direction from the SDS organizers--experimental steps taken by the theater would be partly determined by organizers, e.g. organizers might say that we weren't ready for a particular venture at some time. Similarly, the theater would bring plays to the community union and SDS staff for comments, before and after they are staged.

There was also consensus that the theater project staff would in some ways begin as organizers with the project, would work their way into theater. That's an important way for the theater people to learn the neighborhood, to meet people, especially before beginning to write plays. That would also unify and keep close together the theater staff (specialists) and the other organizers.

4. What would a theater project look like during the summer?

The goal during the summer is especially to create community life. We probably wouldn't be able to have--or even want to try to have--more than one act skits; but we would look to other forms of entertainment--street-singing, street-dancing, bazaars, etc. By the fall we would have to begin looking for a permanent site (a storefront?) and work towards producing more extensive drama.

The summer staff might be part of the regular summer project staff. Certain aspects of theater work (e.g. leafletting an area to announce the arrival of a street lot skit, leading discussion groups with neighborhood people who attend the theater, singing, etc.) might be seen as tasks to be divided among the full staff, not just the theater specialists--and this would be a very good way to integrate the staffs. A possible exception would be a "technical" person who hopefully would be a full-time permanent staff member.

5. Most of the discussion we had about the theater per se--are we ready for it? If we take on a theater project as an ERAP experiment, how do we develop criteria for judging the validity of the experiment at the end of 6 months or a year?

After the Smiddies left, the project talked about the question of readiness for a theater project in one particular way: we assumed, for the purpose of discussion, that artistic standards or judgements might at times conflict with organizing standards or judgements. For example, artistically, to produce a particular play well might require extensive outside help; by organizing standards one might argue that the play shouldn't be produced until there were enough community people to provide the majority of the roles. We say that we should be flexible, that Bob should be open to the organizer's suggestions (with the full awareness that our artistic judgements wouldn't be worth beans); but does that mean that we too, as organizers, are open to Bob's judgement as an artist and playwright?

The question that that seems to pose is whether we are willing to accept art for art's sake? are we willing to say that a theater project should be an arts project (and that means having to measure its success in terms other than those used for organizing a community union, for example)? We all agreed that if we ask the Smiddies to come here, and specifically ask Bob to come here as an artist, that we can't refuse to measure his work by the standards of an artist. An interesting question is then posed: assuming the inherent value of an arts project, at this time, given a limited number of resources for ERAP, do we want to invest large amounts of staff time, money, energy, into a special experiment project that legitimately should be fairly free from the standards and expectations attached to an organizing situation? When our resources are meager--as they are now--we judge more by organizing standards than by others...Is that likely to change with an arts project in the area? (Note: the Cleveland staff didn't reach absolute conclusions on these questions; we're interested in responses.)

6. We briefly discussed readiness for a theater project within the specific context of the Smiddies and problems related to their being a family.

Is ERAP ready to assume a commitment to families (financial and otherwise)... willing to assume the cost of the kids, but more than monetary cost? The staff would have to assume certain responsibilities for the children. Our general staff consensus on this was that if ERAP wants a community theater, then there is almost no doubt about taking on a family (financial problems are seen as secondary, and if we want to seriously expand a growing movement, we have to be able to accept families in full-time capacities.)

There were several interesting questions that the addition of a family does raise, particularly for them:
--they're very concerned about their kids going to school in a neighborhood where the schools are downright lousy, and would feel the need for lots of personal attention and help for the kids.

--they are concerned with maintaining a tight family unit. Even though they would live separately, how realistic, how possible is it to preserve that tight family unit within the context of an organizing project, given the demands such a

situation makes on those involved?

7. Other specifics about a theater project:

If Cleveland did have a theater project, we would fund raise specifically for it: foundations, local "improve-the-arts-of-Cleveland" type places. And we would probably ask the organization to do some national fund raising, which is how we would think it should be financed regardless of location

Let us know your reactions to all the above. We tried to touch on most of the relevant points and any and all of our individual and group concerns, but may have missed some. Our final conclusion in any case was that the weekend was extremely exciting and rewarding for all of us, and hopefully for the Smiddies.

Love,

Carol McEldowney, for the
Cleveland Staff

* * * * *
STAFF RECRUITMENT
COUNTER-COMMUNITY
SOCIAL CHANGE

Dear Ken:

You've probably received Stevie's letter by now. My thinking has been along different lines, although I certainly share her concerns about flexibility in the movement and feel that more discussion needs to take place about the various roles people can play in our counter community and how these roles are both politically and humanistically relevant to the movement. But let me dive into my thoughts and visions about the summer and return to this point later:

Recruiting for the summer: If you haven't heard by now, Stevie is in the process of planning a conference for the first three days in May.* The purpose of the conference is to introduce prospective summer organizers to the philosophies of organizing, everyday problems, etc. We also hope to get community people involved. Gene Tounour, from Chicago CORE is planning the conference with us, since he's involved in an organizing project himself. The important thing about recruiting people is that projects should think in terms of having organizers or community people speak at nearby colleges to recruit people to do organizing.

This doesn't mean recruit people for one's own project. I think the conference will give students a chance to evaluate the various projects themselves. However, I think staff discussions in the various projects should begin as soon as possible about how many people they conceive of having and the things these people will be doing before the conference. Of course, built into the conference will be a flexibility that can allow prospective organizers to explore new roles they might play in the various projects. I could really expand about recruiting other people for projects, like middle class adults (i.e. movement oriented social workers and profs) but let me save that for below.

Summer institutes: I can envision all sorts of research potential in a summer institute. I think that important research has to be done into the idea of counter

* NOTE: DATE OF CHICAGO CONFERENCE HAS BEEN CHANGED TO MAY 7-9.

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community, especially looking into past counter communities in this country as well as exploring some of the substructures in countries like Italy. Perhaps the most vital question is how to insure these substructures against isolation. Can a "counter community" exist as an isolated form? If it can is it desirable? What this question implies, among other things is when is a movement or a project ready to bring in things like community theaters and other creative ventures without the danger (if people consider this to be a danger) of establishing an apolitical project. Research or activity should begin to deal with the middle class problem; that is I think certain criteria has to be established as to which elements of the middle class are "organizable". We know there just aren't enough poor people around to create a movement. Perhaps what we should be aiming for is the creation of a lumpen proletariat made up mostly of non-proletarian people that have pushed themselves into this "class" in order to fight for social change. What about involving community people in the summer institutes--either in a teaching capacity or learning experience. What about having community people and students involved in city planning drawing up both micro and macro counter plans for the city in which the project is working.

This letter is jumpy and really doesn't get too involved in one area--so perhaps it should just serve as a springboard for other people's ideas. I have other ideological and organizational concerns, and specially Chicago concerns. For one thing, when Carol was here, she mentioned a real problem and that is, how do you expand a welfare demand into a movement for social change. In Chicago, we've been doing "ideological" organizing; that is when we talk to people about issues, we try to tie one issue into another and show how the power structure should be changed. But there are problems involved in this kind of organizing and one of the biggest is that people become so overwhelmed at the changes that have to take place that they become frustrated. In fact, Chicago is experiencing at the moment a real lull in activity. I've found that there are just thousands of things I don't know about the people in this community; the clique structures, the power of the syndicate, what people are really thinking.What this means to me is that I will have to spend more time just talking to people in the neighborhood to find out what kind of movement turns out to be relevant to Chicago. But I think that people planning to commit themselves to build a movement in Chicago will have to think of this commitment as a long term thing and that they might have to spend months or more familiarizing themselves with the community.

There definitely has to be more thought given to other types of organizing besides block or community organizing. A dialog has to be started about what people are thinking involving democracy in a mass movement. What about organizing radical unions in nearby plants? Can an ERAP project mean that? Or, is it possible to begin a project this summer exploring the possibilities of organizing migrant workers (I'm especially thinking of the workers in the southern tip of Ill. or on border states--we've vaguely discussed this possibility in the project.) Perhaps there is room for a Mobilization Youth type project in various project cities staffed by radical social workers and students. Of course, the visions can extend indefinitely--the important question is where are we now and what can be done given that knowledge. I was extremely unhappy with the ERAP meeting because it didn't deal with this in concrete terms. Sure, we can create a regional Illinois structure, and we can get community people to work in a national office. In fact, if the location of that office is located in the heart of an organizing area, I think that people can become part of the movement by working in this office. But I reject organizing people to work in a national office, or a regional office. There's a real danger that people can come to view such an office as an organizing tactic instead of organizing people to confront the power structure. It sounds a bit strange but this can become a reality in Chicago. If projects are to assume national functions, I think it is important that these projects assume the function they feel they can do best and that at the same time assume these functions only

when it doesn't detract from local organizing or development..of local movements. To me decentralization means that a project becomes self sufficient and expands itself. It means that a project reaches the point where it can raise most of its own funds, put out national news, recruit its own people, etc. To take on any national function just because people don't want a national office hinders the local growth of a project if it detracts from organizing time. I would further argue that there are creative things a national office can do--put out films, write good literature--all sorts of things. Therefore, I think there is no inherent evil in having a national office with a national face, while at the same time projects can expand themselves regionally, take on the national functions that they feel they do the best and still leave room for a national office that can do creative things.....I do think its extremely important that people from the various projects visit one another...but your last letter makes this point....

The lull that I spoke of previously has forced all of us in Chicago to do some real thinking about strategy, tactics, ideology. What might happen in the next few weeks is that people will begin moving on their blocks and try all sorts of things---Personally, I find it much easier to organize the steady working class people around issues like getting rid of Daley than creating an abstract national movement, and organizing poor people around things like rent strikes. That doesn't seem to be too profound of a perception, for people will naturally organize around issues that affect them the most. But the real problem is getting these people together--the steady working class and the really poor--there exists a great antagonism between both groups. Only united action can break down some of these barriers. But we have yet to get such action. Chicago is the city which you've just got to take over completely in order to have any little bit of change...What I mean is, I think the greatest organizing issue would be something like getting rid of Daley. We would be crushed if we tried that. And of course, the third party idea in the traditional sense is out of the question since the political system is so screwed up and corrupt. So there's great work to be done here--new alternatives to be thought of-- new methods of organizing to be carried out and new criteria to be established for what makes a good organizer and when is a community organized.

Carol's concern must be thought about much more by every project. It's really a basic question to our methods of organizing. The process of creating radicals in a community and a radical movement must involve some kind of balance between specific issues and an embracing ideology. This balance has to be discussed in concrete terms, i.e. the successes and failures of the various projects and what these successes and failures mean in terms of the movement we are trying to create.

Freedom,

Judi Bernstein
Chicago JOIN

NEW PUBLICATION

THE END OF IDEOLOGY AS IDEOLOGY

by R. Alan Haber

Order from: ERAP

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Ann Arbor, Michigan

Price: 10¢

SERIALS 4 A NO 8

NATIONAL TEACH-IN AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM (May 15, in Washington and around the country)

The National Teach-in will be a confrontation between the warlords of administration policy making (McGeorge Bundy and/or Dean Rusk) and the critics from the university community (ranging from liberal to radical). This will be the first opportunity to systematically debate and dissect the government's position - in public.

The confrontation will be broadcast (via a telephone hook-up) to community and campus meetings around the country. The image is one of a nationwide audience of critics listening to the government attempt to justify itself -- and then responding to the failure of the government to convince the people. These meetings should produce further action demonstrations. They should also draft and send to the government a statement of protest.

Every ERAP project and supporting group should set up a local protest meeting and participate in the national confrontation. Points that might be made in the statement of protest:

1. We, citizens of _____ town or campus, have heard the administration and its critics. We believe the administration did not effectively answer its critics and consequently, we are forced to the conclusion that the current Viet Nam policy is wrong. (The meeting might take a vote of those who favor and those who oppose U.S. policy.)

2. We call for the following new policy: (specific alternatives should be demanded) e.g. immediate withdrawal, ceasefire, U.S. financing of UN peaceforce to patrol the borders and withdrawal of all foreign troops and military aid; negotiation with the Viet Cong without conditions; call for a conference for the neutralization of S.E. Asia -- or whatever range of alternatives are represented in the local group. There need not be agreement on alternatives. The important point is that the meeting and the statement represents a coalition from center to left.

3. If the government pursues its policy, we pledge ourselves to take the following actions: (Again, there need not be agreement on action; the issue of debate need only be that all these actions are legitimate and some people are committed to them) e.g.

- a) demonstrations of protest in our community -- many people feel that there is now no alternative to civil disobedience to disrupt normal governmental functioning.
- b) those of us who are Democrats pledge to raise the issue of this war policy within the Democratic Party, and to demand at all levels of local and state organization that the party debate this policy of its leadership, and reject the policy. If our local party does not express unequivocal opposition to what the administration is doing in Viet Nam, we will withdraw from the party and refuse to work for its candidates.
- c) we will refuse to support any political candidate who does not speak on this issue - whatever the office he is running for and whatever his party.
- d) we will certainly not support president Johnson in any subsequent election. He has shown himself irresponsible to his campaign promises, and to the wishes of the American people.
- e) we will establish a permanent Citizens' Committee on Foreign Policy, drawing on the resources of local universities, professional, church, civil rights and other civic groups. No longer do we have confidence that the government is honestly informing the people, or even competently analyzing the international situation. Independent citizens must assume that function.

For information call The Inter-university Committee, 305 South State, Ann Arbor, 313 NO 3-4242 or NO 3-4243.

SERIES 4A - NO 8

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THIRD CLASS

END THE WAR IN VIET NAM!

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