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August .27, 1965

46 Arch Street, New Haven, Conn

taken from a letter by Casey Hayden

"Welfare work here has consisted largely in taking people to the welfare office to try to get problems straightened out, making calls to try to straighten out various bureautry of velfare records which the welfare thing, really buildings group of women whose allegiance is to us and each other against the system and who can form the core of a larger group as we recruit. This is one meeting of welfare people which drew up the "welfare bill of rights." We've worked some with a newly

forming caseworkers union and have gotten some help and information from them, although there are varying views on the staff as to whether caseworkers are enemies or potential

Not a lot of long-range strategizing has gone on on the welfare issue. We've been thinking more about things like getting a couple of the women we're now working with going around full time and beginning to do organizing, setting up an office in a new neighborhood which and each other against the system and who can form the core of a larger happening, I think.

A problem we fase now is that of locating welfare people. Thus far introductions have come through other welfare people we know. Dieve-land was able to build largely because they have the food stamp program distributed through two centers twice a month, which means that all the recipients are there on the line and CUFAW can recruit there. Lecking

this, building is slower. One idea we had been talking about was the possibility of legal action thatlenging the basis of welfarism. That is the welfare system works on the assumption that welfare people (continued page 2, column 2)

Some recent developments, briefly noted:

1. At the Housing Commissioner's meeting last Monday, after putting nown the tenants, they voted 3-2 to take a poll of all tenents on the fence question. This would presunably be taken into account next month of kids in this program. when they decide whether to put them back up.

2. The tenants league had a rummage sale that carned 70.00.

3. Two members went in yesterday to find out the details of the poll, and to ask that it be a secret ballot. They didn't get any satisfaction from the Housing people. They also asked permission for having a rummage sale in the backyards, and were told it would take a couple of days to approve.

4. We showed the novies of Newark and the Celvland Conference last night; mostly kids showed up. Theres discussion of trying to send one of us to the Newark conference but it looks questionable right now.

Bob Mandel has been working with a group of rank-and-file members of construction Laborers locals. There's a large Tunnel being built for the rapid transit, and it scems the district council of the union agreed with the contractor that the contractor could hire non-union labor as long as they joined up within 8 days. This led to hundreds of out-of-town whites being hired for the mining, and no Begroes from the local union. The Unemployed Rights Committee leafletted at the employment offiece for a demonstration which seems to have scared the contractor but not enough to get him to change his practices. The fight is now being conducted within the union to get the bigwigs to heed the needs of the members.

VIETNAM We've also been involved in Viet Nam activity. A lot of the kids. around here are worried about the draft -- as well they might be -- and

we (with the Vietnam Day Committee)

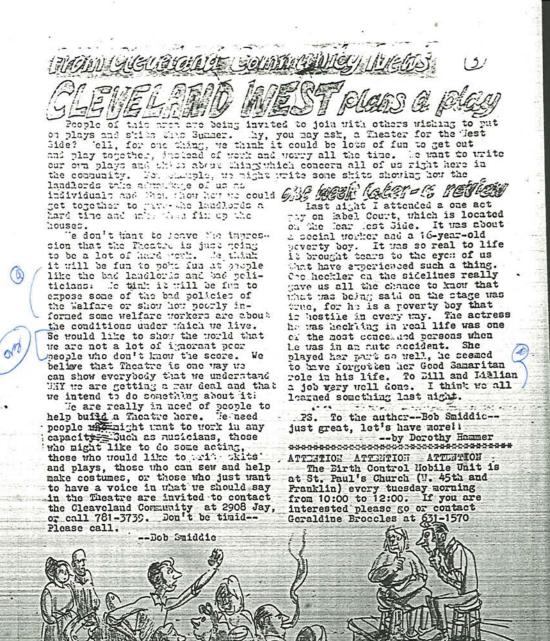
have been working on weekly rallies in the local playground about the war. Now we're going to start explaining to draft-age kids how they can keep the draft away through filing for conscientious objection to the war, and we hope to organize large numbers

Oakland is also where all the troops go through on their way to Vietnam, and all the supplies are loaded. The students at the University of Calif. have been having demonstrations as trains carrying troops to the Army Terminal.

Efficiency of children of the state. Caseworkers act as agents of the middle class values of the state in a parental or policing function. Recipients are supposed to be reshaped to meet society's demands and norms and then pushed back into the system. The result of this assumption is that recipients aren't guaranteed certain constitutional rights, the most notable being search and seizure withnotable being search and seizure with-out warrant and right to confront an accuser. As the legal suits for the FDP challenged en masse Southern assumptions about voting and qualification I think we can raise en masse has to be thought and talked about, someone found who'd be willing to questions about welfare. This still stand up to the system to this extent, ctc.

This certainly doesn't present a very deep analysis, but will give some . idea of the kind of welfare stuff idea of the kind of welfare stuff
we're getting into. Probably have about 25-30 welfare people closely involved with us now, maybe more.





SERIES 4A NO 8

reports on Clareland's that mouch

1071: The Cleveland LRAP projects of a not sponcer the Rat March, "Ithoughhanny staff reabter participated. We have hele as interest in the activities of the Citizen's Committee over the last in another, and share commity people close to up have become involved in the activities of Citizen's Committee—Cleve Proj

Jorking on the idea that the 0.0 Board in the city of Claveland is intentionally setting aside Federal Anti-Poverty Law which states that catipoverty programs shall be developed, administered and conducted with the maximum feasible involveacut of poor and poverty residents we decided to do somethin about it. Something that would show then what poverty really is. Something that would show them what we have to live with every day -- the anguificent legless chairs, the forgeous air conditioned clothes and let us not forget the Roaches and Ants we pay to share our 75 to 90 dollars a month apartments (?). To show then

this, we decided, would show them what we con't just ride down a street

and not see again.

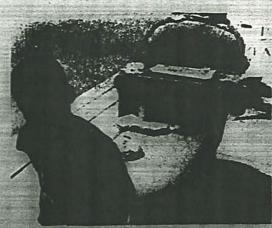
I believe the reaction of most people, at first, was one of disbelief and disgust but after they thought about the actual reason we put these things on the steps of City hall they seem to agree it is true that our CLO Board doesn't had what powerty is or what to do about it.

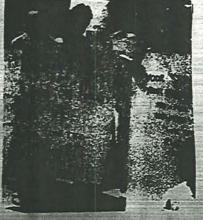
Ja know what it is and we'll keep picketing and giving samples of our everyday life until we get what we want. Yes, ClO Board, we'll be back again and again.

--Alice Aarons

Everground of March

In October of 1964 several different groups of peoble became very concerned into Cheveland's Council for Leonomic Opportunities board which is inde up of 17 suburbanites and only 3 people who live in the city. This group of people only consisted of 1 poor person who was selected by councilien who in return was a (continued next page)





kids bring trash to City Hall ---- while mothers picket

BAR ARREST WELLE BEREIN CONTILUED Mayor's aan. This disturbed people very such. Three sinisters-Re. iilan Brenkus, Rev. Paul Younger and Rev. Jacobs -- people from CORD and CUFA! plus other interested people combined to try and make decisions on what should be an adequate board and adequate plans for communities in Poverty. After the Citizens Committee for an Adequate Blaveland Community Action Program had tried for 10 months even through 'ashington just to get ir. Fandley, director of the anti-poverty board, and other or the anti-poverty board to converse and take ideas from us, we decided to demonstrate with symbols of Poverty. These sysbols were as follows: torn winter coats, rats, shoes with holes, broken down chairs, piece of sofa and people who suffer because of America's inadequacy to take care of lowe first. We started marghing at Public Square and went straight down Euclid Avenue (which is loaded with rich businesses) to

6th Strect.

When we arrived the storm troopers were in front of City Hall waiting for us. The Citizens Committee had written a proposal the month before and presented it to the CEO board. After going in the chambers where their monthly meeting was being held, where they turned down our proposal, we decided to continue our picketing and demonstration. Te then retrieved our Rats, Furniture, Clothes and Shoes and started picketing again. Because several had volunteered to place these articles on City Hall steps Louisc Gaston, Margaret George, and Hattie Mae Dugan were arrested. Grady Robinson had previously been arrested on what we felt were trumped up charges. He is the President of Cleve land CORS. I feel we have made a great impression on the decisionmakes on what poverty is like, because we took it down to City Hall to them and more important left itii -- by Carole King

To my cwn belief I think a person who is of low income and on welfare is more capable of knowing their circumstances than one living on a substantial income and above average basis. A poor man earnin about ,450 a month can't live to the standards of one making ;2000 a month. Isn't this a



fact? They have added 5 more members to the Board and the public doesn't even know who they are. This is suposed to be the land of Democracy but I haven't seen it in 29 years of my live. Every City official is put in office by people whom they call ignorant, illiterate, uneducated, and immoral women which is what they call those who are on welfare. The people should know some of their candidates before they are endorsed and before they go to the polls to vote fore them. I think Cleveland is very far behind in everything to be living in the 20th century, it has a very long way to catch up. Until everyone thinks of each other as a person instead of looking at the color of skin, the world will never be like it was intended to be. God created all of us equal but man is going to destroy himself and all people. I know what I stand for but does the CEO know what they stand for and what are their plans and goals for the coming year and the years after this to follow? I am glad I don't have to sl

sleep on your conscience because you people don't have any.

We poor people understnad and know what poverty is and accept it to a certain stand point and are willing to fight for it in verery way including going to jail. Love, Understanding, Respect is more important than all the money in the world.

P.S. I love my children, do you love yours?

SERIES 4 A NO 8

The organ will feel all the world of -- by John Bancroft, New Haven

In a discussion last night about whether the How Haven Project should continue to put out the Newsletter through the winter, one staff member said, "It's silly for college-type organizers to keep putting out the newsletter. If we're really trying to organize a movement of the poor, we ought to go the the Hewark Conference with the idea of handing over the newsletter to poor people so they can put out their oum newspaper. The ly a publication for organizers which of having their own national newscommunity people area't interested in".

But a letter we got from another project this norming said they decided not to submit a piece (explaining their relationship to a local group) "Because it was felt that this was something intended primarily for staff people across the country, and we feel that the Newsletter has become a community oriented publication. There are things which we felt were true that we do not feel we can discuss in the community at this time."

HARKIST SLAUT? To add to the confusion, a letter came in the mail this morning stating "The newsletter should have more of a Marxist slant, more meat to it, and a definite political direction. Finally, we got a letter from Knoxville saying that a new newspaper was being started because "Our assumption is that a poor person, Megro or white, is better able to get an idea across to another poor person than

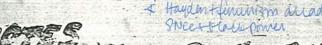
an organizer is. It's certainly obvious -- in case one can't gather it from these comments -- that the newsletter has been a hodgepog. Material has been written by different people for quite different audiences. Generally, the material (usually in the front of each issue) taken from local newsletters has been largely written by community people, and from what we can gather here is faily boring after a while to organizers. The material in the back-reports, correspondence, and some analysis -- has been written for the most part by organizers, and from what we can gather is not read

by community people.

The question in my mind is whether this juxtaposition has been a healty thing, or whether it has meant that both community people and organizers have been inhibited from writing things because they feel that the main function of the newsletter is communication among the other group of people. If, as the New haven staff member said, community people way it is now the newsletter is large- are being blocked from the experience paper, and if organizers are withholding reports because they are afraid of offending community people, then one might think--as has been suggested many times -- that there should be 2 publications, one for organizers, one for community people. TARMFUL?

But I think this could be harnful , because it would seperate these two groups of people even more than they already are. In our work-when a community person joins a project staff, for instance-we should be working to close this seperation as much as possible. As it is now, at least, the two groups probably . skim the material which is said to be written for the other group.

In any case, more thought must be given to the question of whom the newsletter is going to, and what function it should serve (I've ignored here the fact that 450 newsletters go to people who are neither organizers nor poor people, because our feeling has been that most of these people just want to read what we're doing, and that the content of the newsletter shouldn't be affected by thea). Certainly, if the newsletter is to be part of our organizing, the people putting out the newsletter will have to think about these things as each issue is put together.



by Casey Hayden Chiemo

A summer's work with white migrants in Chicago left me with numerous questions and some tentative conclusions about the extent to which the SNCC pattern of organizing and analysis can be used to organize this group of people. It's important to ask this, I think, since SNCC has been my experience in the movement and has certainly had a big influence on others.

ASSUMPTION OF HORK WITH SHCC Patterns of work and ideology grew out of working in the Deep South in rural areas with Negroes. SECC staff

-- The power structure cannot and will not yield to even the most cleuental political demands.

-- The enemy is clearly perceptible: He is the white man, the man downtown, each other: "Anyone can make it who the boss man-almost always identified in terms of race and thus always felt or Indians or niggers) are to blaim." and seen.

-- Given the oppressor is clearly felt and even the simplest demand are radical ones, the task of the organiser is simply to get people togehter to voice their feelings and demands and to support whatever action people want to take.

-- Deepening and broadening political ewareness is not difficult as people learn from the actions in which they become involved and can begin to sec and understand "the power structure" rapidly.

-- The power structure's reaction is nearly alway one of oppression: programs can be developed indefinately each other, around which people can simply in response to this clear oppression. Increased political awareness will happen more rapidly than concessions will come, so that people will reject tokenism.

-- There are no allies to be trusted finally. Ofen organizing will involve overturning established leader- work to one group I felt I could unship in the community so that masses can be mobilized. Allies in any national sense are political who will support organizing SNCC docs. There is enough support in the North to provide adequate funds and political pressure around given programs if the support can be mobilized. SNCC's task is to organize, not to build coalitions.

wrong in specific situation, but they felt need for help. Mearly all of are the working basis of day to day activity in community organizing.

I. In applying those assumptions to work in Chicago the major problem, I think, is that of identifying an enemy and finding a basis for solidarity. For instance, instead of identifying an oppressor, people identify problems: "Teenagers drink. The neighborhood is dirty. Cops don't give protection." Then people blaim really tries. Hillbillies (or spicks



What is a basis for identifying with be organized: class, ethnic group, neighborhood, prople with similar problems?

Because this seems to me to be the crucial question in community organizing and because noone seems to have any answers, I confined my derstand best: women, mostly on welfare, mostly southern. In this particular group I think there is real potential although we need to meet particular problems they have by searching for ways to pull thom out of their homes and away from the kids. sotting up centers of operation in their inmediate neighborhoods wheih they soldom leave, building a group Some of these assumption have prove based initially on their immediate them have some other woman to whom they can turn (continued next page)

gamen a some some some some

or help when some guy bents them up, the hide are sick, the check is late. hay can understand the aced to caarge that group, pool resources, tand together. And because they real- on welfare, will bring someone to a of are on the bottom in this community neeting perhaps and will certainly and know they are perceived that way, they are not so ready to blain others be the condition of paople the are form. They are thed to the state brough the welfare system, and thus their gripes are ensily polivicized.

GROUPS AND THEIR HLLDS . I don't have any real knowledge of my other group, but my general inression from scattered conversations with adult men and techagers is that their acces, activities, and perceptions of cuases for their condition offer chough from each other and from used to refer to fist fights when one the that work with differengroups will have to be so what specialized. A commercy union framefork may be adequate, if the basis for the building of the union is clearly problems that adhere to different groups rather than problems of the neighborhood as a community area. I found, I think, that it was only as I organized around the problems of rough and welfare people and really jot involved in people's lives through only when there is already a sense of those problems that I could begin to even think of talking with people on my other broader basis in any way that made sense to them

of identity and organizing basis is that the people we're been working rith don't have any reference point for organizing: no novement that can be pointed to, no group experience of torking together on problems. Thus people initially consider JOH a charity group--their only reference point for dealing with problems. My feeling is that starting with people there they are will allow he to build

on their initial perception. That is, service actions can create strong ties: getting food for someone whose husband just left her, getting someone open her up tocontinued conversation and introduction to friends with sinilar problems. Key to one who area was servicing one person in this way this summer. Given this, however, t the problem of building an organization rather than a staff who service people remains. The need is to-find reference points for helping people understuad organizing themselves. The existing ties in the community can be used. Another is to talk in terms of backing each other up, a term on; will step in if his buddy starts getting beaten. The Durothy Perez arrests can be explained that way: People went to jail with her and went down and picketed with her and backing her up in this way got her demands. (This is a very different use of arrests than is often made of them in the South, where a community can sometimes be mobilized around unjust arrests. That can happen, I think, identity with each other.)

ORGANIZING TACTICS Given that people have no sense of identity or opporession clearly focused and that they don't have experionee with organized effort of any kind, there is a real need to find patterns in the community through which people alreayd relate to each other and to build on those. For instance, one woman's husband works at a charity store. There are lots of these little second hand stores around which give things away and sell enough on the side to make an income Another problem in the general area for several people. This woman is interested in having JOIN start such a store, ad they are widely used by really down and out people in the neighborhood. This notion goods from her victing us as trying to help people on a very clementary level, but the store could well be used to introduce us to people, provide some income for the project, involve community people in working with it. (continued next page)

It is at least seriously considering whether we can utilize this way people try to solve immediate problems for what we want to do. Another instance is that people continually ask for membership cards. The idea that people who do work are mambers certainly fits our values, but it doesn't answer people's needs. People in this area don't belong to anything and nothing belongs to them, but one way they can understand being a part of something is a card or something that says they're "ia." If this helps them see th organization as their rather than ours, then it should be seriously considered. X Another instance: the leadership question. The SECC position on leadership grew from pragmatic considerations about how to bulld a movement. One of the things that had to be done to build a movement was to free people from uncle tom leaders. Another was to create a sense among people that they could do and act, to battle inferiority feelings. Pragmatically, poor Southern whites need one of themselves. who can be seen as heading up the organization, as a leader. That is, there are plenty of white leaders, but none who express their class and ethnic group in any positive way. It may be that instead of titular heads and spokesacn, potential leaders in the community can become organizers. At any rate, the "we have no leaders" position does not seen to me helpful in organizing with Southern whites. I am less sure what to do about that. DIFFERENT FORMS

The above is to say that forms of work among this group may be Aifferent than those forms that were usefu in the Regor community and people who are organizing have to spend a great deal of time figuring out what will work to build the kind of novement we want, that will take the lid off....imposing ideas from sonewhere.

II. the second major problem in applying Southern assumption to North ern work with whites is probably the reaction of the power structure I don't really doubt that the intent here is to stifle radical politics anymore

the South, but we are handled than in differently: ACCOMODATION -- There are numerous organizations providing "help": Hull House, the War on Poverty, officials who will give audiences, precinct captains, etc. This differs from the South largely in that in areas where SMCC has the most experience there are literally no institutions to provide relact to Negroes. That means that comerous institutions in the North aust be learned about and coped with. We should at least understand the politics of the area -who are the potential allies (if any) who are the real enemies to be avoided, who has real power(ie, who do people go to for help), what institutions are operative. While the system is attempting to accomedate poor people more in the North power structure can yield any more readily to radical demands here than in the South. As in the South, radical demands are those which ask power for a dispossessed group--real power over their lives. It seens faily clear to an that the welfare burcancincy is too screwed up and anti-democratic to most domands for fair treatment to racipients, the hospitals are too Pererowded to provide decent emergency care to the poor, the police are a corrupt to provide protection without or decent treatment to people arre-ted. I don't think the issue is which demuds are radical, but how we organize people to make demands. SUPPRESSION-Kigh fines, false arrests can suppress activity rather than providing a mibilizing issue as they do in the South where there is already a group organized. Besides the fact that the community doubts us more than in the South in a Negro (continued next page)

CONTINUEL

community, here is the fact that we have no source of funds and noral support "up Horth." Besides oppressive fines in the Perez case and the false arrests, organizers in Chicago are already having to deal with red baiting in the community. The need for any help that could be obtained in Southern communities made the clarity of the issues SHCC was reasing delayed redbalting for SNCC, and now that it is coming it is coning from outside communities being worked. In Chicago, questions are already being raised in the community, probably indicating among other things that people can't understand who we are and what we're doing and have no other my to identify us. In addition, there is the question of harrassment of community people who identify with JOIN (evictions, questioning by welfare offices), without the infticl support in the community for the newly recruited community people any more than for the organizers. I don't know what the implications of all this are, but probably the nost positive attitude to take is simply that we have to organize faster than they can get us.

ALLIES AND COALITIONS III. The question of allies and coclition building is more complicated in the North largely, I think, because the liberals who give noney to the reneved Southern movement are right there in Chicago, judging

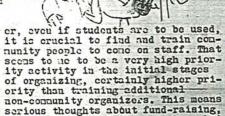
and periodically threatened by our work. Aside from this, however, the SACC position on coalitions is probably fairly true for us. This is not because there are no liberal groups around, but because we probably have as such real power against the Doly machine and the prevailing politics as any of them, (or so it seemed in view of the lack pf help any of them were able to give in the Perez and other arrests.) IT is probably more important to think of help from them. A political novement in Chicago will eventually involve working relationships with other groups, especially the civil rights movement, but for the time being organizing where we are seeds much higher priority.

ORGANIZER'S ROLE IV. The role of the organizer requires more real writing than has been dont on it. Somebody should try to do a long essay on community organizing that goes beyond slogans about letting people decide for themselves. I feel fairly certain that the organizer working with poor whites nust be auch more active and directing, at least initially, and probably nore persuasive than the organizer in rural Southern Hegro areas. This is the rusult of the problems of identity outlined above. Another difference in the noor white neighborhood is that students there are not viewed, as in (continued next page)



the Megro community, as an elite educated group which should be expected to provide leadership and are thus accepted. Traditionally, mountain people are suspicious of outsiders, although this breaks down somewhat when they enter the urban environment, I think. But that factor, combined with the fact that it's very hard for the people to understand what we're doing it is crucial to find and train conthere causes us to question whether students can organize on a large scale scens to ue to be a very high priorin poor white areas on the pattern of ity activity in the initial stages Southern novement work.

Cortainly I don't think anything like a summer project should be considered for Unicago again unless full time staff is willing to spend a great as community people have to be subsideal of time planning for how to use students and training then when they arrive. Middle class college educated non-Southern people have a hard . enough time understanding and relating ganizing with Southern poor whites to Southern poor without the added complication of youth, I think. Howev-



dized in some way if they're going to work full time. MON-VIOLENCE

One other problem occurs in orthat is not thus far a question in the Negro areas of the South. Violence is much a part of life for these people, and the organizer has to be ready to receive it and deal with it. Monviolence as a tactic is even further from these people than from the Negro and the vislence in the commity is-directed against organizers as well as anyone else around.

Based on my experience with women. I think Southern poor whites can be organized , but it will require auch more openness to organizing foras and much more work to build leadership from within that group than I had expected. Sure ain't casy.



(The following is an exerpt form that's Happening, a new Newspaper in which

teenagers of Mor York express their views. the address is c/o Mr. F. E. Campbell, 32 Mest 131 Street, How York, New York)

"Our paper, "hat's mappening, is written mainly for the tecnager of today and for those caults who are interested in the welfare of the youth of today. The paper was founded by a group of Harlen's toenagers who were interested in the welfare of their follow toenagers and feel that they know what's happening.

One of the major reasons for this paper is to express the opinions and beliafs of young people. Too often the teenager is written off as bad; as a person whose ideals are not worth-listening to. The newspapers of this (continued next page)

city clearys print the trouble which the tronneger goto into. They rarely

tell of the important and valuable acts of young people in the greater New York community. School newspapers so not fill the gap. They only print what they feel will make them look good. Dissenting opinions are, as a result, left out and all criteian of the schools is avoided.

To feel that this is wrong. Hemograpers give an unfair impression of us. It is our belief that if we print the truth, which will include the good things which the youth of today to, as well as the thoughts and ideas of the city's teenagers, there will be greater understanding between teenagers here and in other parts of this city, as well as between teenagers and adults. So our paper will be about the teenagers and adults who live in New York City. "E will work with our fellow teenegers to makeus known and respected.

Our paper will be published every nouth for your enjoyment. I hope

you will read it and behefit from it.

-- by Frank Compbell

(the following poen was sent to the Fewsletter masigned from a project)

He keep working in spite of the odds. We know what would happen if we quit. Students in 5 years would come along and try to organize. They would see us as the older generation who broke the faith. They would start from scratch.

But we don't quit. We are the first generation that will never sell out.

When we are 50 we will still be working. - ... and we will share power equally with those who are 20.

(unlike Walter Routher. Un like university administrations) Society asks us, will we succeed?

"Success" is a standard we Rearn from society.

We ask ourselves, will we be human with each other for all our lives? Do we trust it? Then we stop trying we stop being huma.

If we stop trying -- when we chase personal success -- society has won. I don't know if we will ever "win."

I don't have the power to determine that.

But we have the power to quit if we want.

Quitting is defeat. IF we keep working, society can never defect us.

It hurts to keep trying. The world is blood and brutal to itself. Bautality causes us pain. To quit is "peaceful." To endure is painful. We accept the pain. In 30 years, we will still be facing the pain. That will be the measure of our humaness.



The body of a young man, who had participated in the early stages of the McComb movement, was shipped hose last wonth from Vietnam. Two persons working on the project there (one of thea as out-of-stater) composed a circular which they thought reflected local Negro sentiment about the wa. . The text.of the circular was printed in the last newsletter, and its appearance in the MFDP's neveletter caused a mational stir, encuies of the AFDP using it to support their charges of subversion.

A MISSISSIPPI REACTION Regarding the circular, a share-cropper from Amite County, Miss. has something to said to the discussion: only a few days after the flood of newsmen crowded into the Jackson office to demand a statement ifom MFDP leaders, I accompanied a CORE worker out into the countryside. Leaving Clinton, Louisiana, we drove out the main road north, turning onto a side road, and after ten

miles onto a dirt road through pine forests and little openings of farmland.

After twenty more minutes on isolated dead road, we turned sharply, entering Mississippi, and within another hundred yards there appeared a fare. He drove up the house, which tuned out to be a headquarters of the Amite County movement, and

the home of the Staptoe family. SMALL TALK

We sat down with J.E. Steptoe, the head of the household, Amidst preparations for the daily Freedom School, we engaged in polite conversation -- the latest acppeaings in the government. He enthusiastically showed me the new voter registration form, with no interpretive questions, and told of the scores of new registrants. He compared notes on the ward-level agricultural committee elections, in which Negroes are running for the first time, throughout both Louisiana and

Hississippi. Among the piles of the Intest copies of "movement" and leftist publications there, I noticed the HTDP newsletter which had printed the HeCoab circular. AN EXCHANGE

Having gotten over marvelling over the communications system the movement had brought to rural Southwestern Mississippi, I assumed Staptoe might know about the McComb circular and the controversy it set off.

That co you think about this thing in McCoab?" I asked.
"Jell," Steptoe said slowly, "I agree with the people over there about the war, but I'm not sure that I like the petition they wrote

up." He paused, and I quickly ran through my head the reservations he might have. The damage it has done to the hard-worked-for congressional challenge? The lever it gives to anti-movement propaganda? The complications of adding new issues to a fight with so many fronts al-

ready? I responded: "now would you have written it, if you'd been there?" "Well, it seems to me that Hegroes aren't the only people against the war, and when it talks about Vegroes boycotting the draft and having hunger strikes, it cuts off working with other people, de should try to get everyone to stop



Response to Countryman On Race -- by Samuel Leiken of MSM

(The following article, from Samuel Leiken of Northern Student Novement, was written in response to Peter Countryman's article on "Race and the Movement" which appeared in last week's EMAP "empletter. Leiken says, "This represents a personal reply to what Countryman has written, and should not be taken as an organizational statement.")

Peter Countryman raise some innortant questions for the novement in his recent article "Ance and the Movement." I would like to add to that discussion a few observations

The question of race and racism is first one of analysis. Does one believe that all people, poor, working class, students, middle class, and wealthy are victims of the same powerlessness? Although we all live under the same system, it behaves differently towards us, depending on our position. To assume that everyone has the same problems, it seems to se, ignores the 400 year history of the Pegro in America. Although alicuation may be a commondenominator, and that is questionable, the fact remins that whites have exploited Magnoes in every phase of their lives and that no other group has ever been held in slavery in this country. The entire psychological relationship between whites and blacks in America is unique. The effects are a two way street. Fegroes are victims of the oppressed's outlook as such as waltes ere victins of the oppressor's

MOVEMENT A HEARS
To the Regro in this country life
is a matter of survival and the
novement is not a way to change
the society to participatory democracy but a means to end oppression.
Thus white students and Regroes come
to the movement with a different
outlook and notivation. Students can
though leave the ghetto or the field,
but Negroes still nust survive where
they are. Thus country an can say,

"Bosides, it is a question of hunar beings, and it is irrelevant, except in terms of tactics, whether people one starts with are black or white."

Certain the TRAP projects make it clear that whites can organize Fegroes. The question is the nature of that organization and its permanence. If we recognize the self-hate and ambivalence of Megrocs as a result of racist oppression, we must then realize, that black people can never be free until that problem is dealt with. Organizing Negroes simply on cooncide issues is a process that can go on forever -- for issues are herely manifestations of larger contradictions in the society. What needs to be done is to eradiente racisa form America. That is a political not personal problem.

COALITION
The history of the Negro struggle
is marked by attempts at coalition,
be they called a popular front or
an inter-racial movement of the poor.
Alliances from the radical Republicans
to the Populists, to the Communists
Party have ultimately sold out
Pagro interests. Negroes were told
that their interests were the same
as x group and therefore Negroes
must sacrifice their orn struggle
(continued next page)

for the greater good. All of the conditions were marked by lack of real Negro organization with real independence. Black people stand in a different way in this society—a way in which whites to not stand. To organize them together denies that. That is needed, if we are speaking of a Negro novement, is an independent novement of black unity free to take its own alliances from a base of power which represents its own interests.

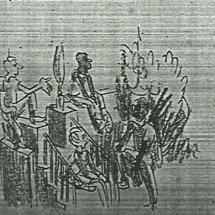
TO ORGANIZE

To organize around black unity requires not the collection of people who perceive common economic plight, but must be based upon the common life experience of all black people in this country -- the fact that they are black and what that means to the rest of society. Thite students have no place organizing such a movement. For black people to be free, they nust free theaselves, not continue to rely on a good white person to make them free. Unless black people can be confronted agnestly with all the myths they use to avoid the reality of their situation, they will not be free. For freedon is as much a psychological fact

as an economic fact. Thus we can see African nations, which have fought for political freedon, still remaining economically dependent. Malcola X represented that force of reality which forced Megroes to fact up to theaselves. He took a position of absolute black unity, because whites, no matter how friendly or benign, still represent to black people, the oppressor. No matter what kind of personal relationships are built, the effects of racisa are with such that every Hegro in some form or another hates the white system. MILITE RADICAL VIEWPOINT

The difficulty with Peter's article is that he is looking at race and the lovement from the viewpoint of a white radical. He is concerned with personal, no political, problems. If we recognize that the situation we find ourselves in requires political power and necessitates a political solumtion, then personal problems must remain just that—and they are not vital to the task at hand. Being

hung up with race comes only from being in an unreal situation. Ttois the problem of that particular organizer, who must make his own decision about reality. Being hung up with race is a state of life for whites organizing in black ghettees.





OF CHURCHER

FROM: Pail Hutchings, 194 Ridgewood, Fewark, Jew Jersey TO: Casey Hayden, JOIN, 1100 Vest Ainslie, Chicago, Ill.

"here in Temark, 3 full time organizers are talking to mothers on ADC to find out what they think can be done and the types of action they would want to take. Beliare in Sound is different here because there are 2 seperate addinistrations: the city and the county. City volfare is for energencies and has few requirements. Standards for case-wrokers are not very high. The entire program is very but and out-dated. Host of the people in our area of Clinton Hill are on county welface (actually it is the state but adminastered at the county level) and standards here both for case-workers and e tento are more rigid.

CONFUSION The state administers 5 welfare programs, the largest one being ADC. Payments are higher than city relief and rany people shift form city to county welfare after their poverty status is clear. So far we have talked with a fow welfare officials and inven't gotten too much help. No one has an overview of the entire welfare situation in Memork because it is divided among too many different agencies. If the administrators are confused you can imagine the client reactions. In the last week I have gone down to the welfare department with a couple of women and have talked at length with several case-workers. (they admite that they don't like the jobs and that

the dudgets are enough to exist but no live on).

So far we haven't had a strategy. Two summer staff and Bob Heifitz from the Mational Committee for Full Daployment are doing research and we have the cooperation from 2 high officials of Core who work in the welfare department. The 3 organizers work protty auch on their own. I am trying to talk a lot to the momen on an individual basis was orger for them to get to know ac well. I think welfare is very personal to them and much harder to talk about than housing and recreation. Later I hope to have 2 or 3 come together and share experiences and have the group get sheadily larger. Once a group is formed, they can enter into the structure of NCUP or be close but independent of it. I haven't though too much about what kind of action we can take yet because there are lots of thing I want to talk with them about. I just have a couplof ideas and I'll share those: A. Have the nothers get together and draw up a budget of how much they think they need to live on and make a political issue out if it by getting SCUP add other civil rights groups to support it. B. Use official condittees of our apea-board of the Maron-pwerty(which we control) to investigate the welfare dept, and other city agencies that deal with welfare. The mothers would be on the committees and could formulate proposals for anti-pwerty in Washington. C. Publish a brochure on welfare in Newark from statements tape-recorded from talks with mothers on ADC and send then across the nation to other BRAP projects and groups doing similar work. (Do you know of anything outside of CUFAN add the AFDC mothers in Detroit?) D. The mothers could put pressure on the welfare dept. |pickets, sit-ins) for sore money, surplus food, etc. E. Mount a campaign to have welfare mothers or mothers once on welfare to goaround as/with caseworkers.

FROM: J. Matthew Sizon, 4181 Contro Ave, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

"Ne have a permanent Progressive Teighbor's Union (PMU) meeting now in a small store front church every Jednesday at 7:30. The PHU is presently trying to get the city to demolish vacant hours which have been or should be condemned. It planned to have the people take a city safety inspector on a tour of the district to show him exactly what they think should be done. Unfortunately, the City Safety Director now informs us that due to the vacation schedule it is impossible to send an inspector out. He are having a student necting tonight to decide what should be done

about this change of events.

I will also mention your letter tonight. As soon as possible, I'll send you a more detailed account of what's going on out here."

From Sandra Bernert, c/o LRAP Revalether (address withheld on request)

"I'm working as a Vista Volunteer. It sounds terrible and could be even worse if it weren't for the man who is my co-worker/immediate superior/sponsor. The bureaucracy doesn't really give a dam what we don and I suspect they would be very happy if we did nothing. So I feel some what eleated about the prospects of usigg the burcaucracy's money to supply the people with information and strengths and encouragement and strategy

to fight the monster I'm supposedly working for. I have general obligations to 4 H Chubs ... which heretofore have done little other than offering children a mibble of phoney middle class experience one or two hours a week. They descrive a lot more than that. This whol community would have a chance if an ERAP project word started here. It isn't a ghetto yet. The leaderSaip is so weak, Al the so called leaders are making wild bidg for respectability, accept money from the Poverty Program and shut up. There are 3 of us here who could us a lot of

advice and would be very grateful if you would write to us."

FROM Gerald Gross, 226 %. Girard Blvd, Kenmorc, New York

I sm working at the ERAP project here in Buffalo, New Mork. He have just finished putting a nice now coat of paint on the walls of our headquarters, at 239 High Street. Fow we have to figure out just what we are going to do here.

The ERAP Newsletter helps us a bit but actually there can be no substitute for trail and error and getting the experience right down here in the Ghetto. I do think, however, that the Mewsletter should have more of a Marxist slant, more meat to it, and a definite political direction.

It is important to go careful with the slogans. To must not alienate the people here with leftist slogans, and, on the other hand, we dare not put up slogans that will send the people in a non-Marxist direction. What has been your experience in this matter. Perhaps you could write up on it in the Newsletter.

Mississippi Yeung Dems

FROM: Hunter Morey, P.O. Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi

"We just had a Young Democrats convention have in Jackson, Mississippi and what a fight it was. Young people from all over the state had gotten tegether last year after the Freedon School convention to start the Young Democrats but so far we haven't been able to get the national group to recognize us. It is like the fight the Freedon Democratic Party is having on the adult level. This Young Democrate is where we young people can get together and find out about government, do vote registration, and participate with people from other states.

Well, last Saturday the FAACP came with many people who had not participated before to try to take us over. About mid day when we had the majority votes, the MAACP kids walked out because they could not have all the say so. The MAACP kids walked out because they could not have all the say so. The did not set like they did. When we elected officers we put some of them on too. The are hoping that they will come back with us so that we can be together when the national Young Democrat convention comes up in New York this October 12-16. They (MAACP) tried to frighten us off by having the convention in a white hotel here in Jackson. We weren't frightened though So con't you be frightened off by the Motel New Yorker where we need you to code and nelp fight for us. P.S. I work for SNCC"



The LRAP NEWSLETTER helps to maintain contact among community organizations associated in some way with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and its Economic Research and Action Project(ERAP). It also contains news of any other community projects it can contact.

For the moment it is compiled by the Hew Haven Project, 46 Arch Street, Mew Haven. Community projects receive it free. Others can subscribe for 34. a year.

FROM: ERAP NEWSLETTER
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THIRD CLASS HAIL

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