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ERAP PROJECTS: TOWARD AN INTERRACIAL THE RADICAL VOCATION AND MIDDLE CLASS MOVEMENTS

by Jeremy Brecher, Reed C.

Todd Gitlin recently raised the question of what it means to be a radical teacher, lawyer, etc., as one of the most important things for SDS to think about. He also raised the question of what kinds of movements with democratic implications are possible within various professions.

The area within which SDS has had most experience and success in dealing with this kind of problem is the university. Our analysis has had two constituent elements: first, the university itself must develop into a radically democratic institution which gives a radically democratic education, that is, an institution where the members of the community make the decisions which affect their lives; second, the members of the university community, faculty as well as students, must attach themselves to progressive movements for social change outside the university. This is necessary, however, not just because those movements are "good things" but also because their success is necessary to the attainment of the goals of the university itself.

It seems to me that this same model can be applied to most other professions. Instead of surveying them systematically, however, I will just list a few ideas to stimulate further discussion.

Recent research in anthropology and psychology indicates that the ability of man to have "full, spontaneous access to present and past experiences, one which easily unites the fragmented parts of personal history, one which openly faces problems which are troubling and unresolved (PRE)" is destroyed early in childhood, through the process of socialization whereby children are

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by ERAP Director Rennie Davis

The summer institute of the Economic Research and Action Project may be seen as a major turning point in SDS, as it marks the formal beginning of a bold new undertaking to organize poor whites and Negroes around common economic injustices. Organizationally, we have been building up to this point with phenomenal speed. Since January, SDS has helped community economic projects begin in Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Louisville, Newark, Philadelphia, and Trenton. In less than four months, a staff has been built of over 100 community workers, drawing from more than 200 people who volunteered to work. The projects themselves are becoming alive with support, even before the major activity of the summer begins.

We are a small force, by any standards, and yet most of us hold high hopes that what we are undertaking will influence the shape of the new period we are entering. Certainly there is conviction among us that without this effort to bring poor whites into loose alliance with the Negro freedom movement on economic issues, the country faces the alternative of increasing racial violence. In no major city today can one fail to find a steady strengthening of despair and anti-white sentiment among organized Negroes and a growing perception in the unorganized white ghettos that the Negroes are on the move for white jobs, white schools, and white neighborhoods.

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CHAPTER REPORTS

U OF WASHINGTON

by Joyce Bennett

The U.W. SDS chapter has been in existence for just a few weeks, and as a matter of fact the university administration hasn't given us official recognition yet. They took as long as they could, probably to keep us from doing anything this term. We hope to hear soon what they're doing. But anyway, we think we exist, and have 25 members so far. As for the composition of the group, about half of the members are graduate students, most of them in the history department. Some of us (like myself) are undergraduates who, after about five slow years, with interruptions like babies and jobs, are finally seniors, and about five or six of us are genuine undergraduates. We hope to get more undergraduates next fall. There are a lot of unaffiliated liberal or left radicals around who seem to have just emerged since the civil rights issue began. I am sure that SDS here will appeal to them.

We are all U. of Washington students or spouses of students. As for our activities, we have not been able to do things officially as SDS, but we have done things without giving the organization's name to it. About a month and a half ago (mid-April), the Subversive Activities Control Board held hearings in Tacoma, about forty miles from Seattle (UW's seat). They were originally going to hold them in Seattle, but two weeks before that 200 students rioted when they held them in Portland, so they decided on Tacoma, a small city. We chartered a bus and picketed all day, about 35 of us. The hearings lasted about three days and there were some of us there each day.

About three weeks ago, SDS, some members of the local Socialist Workers Party, and some people who aren't affiliated joined to form the Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in Vietnam. We held a demonstration downtown, passed out leaflets which didn't propose any solution but which said, in brief, that a peaceful solution and withdrawal of U.S. aid were necessary, and gave reasons why. We picketed in front

of the city courthouse for two hours. There were about 70 people there.

A week ago, a CORE member asked us to help them with a picket line and a sit-in at one of the most racist realtors in Seattle. CORE here has its radical element, but the moderates are in the majority. They resented us, I think, but about 10 or 12 of us helped them picket. As an example of the moderate tone of CORE here, we attended a meeting before the demonstration. The girl conducting the meeting began by saying, "It's raining. Do you still want to go out and picket, even if you get wet?"

As to the local political climate, I don't know if I can give you an adequate description. There is a lot of right-wing activity in the area. You probably know about the Canwell Committee (Washington's own HUAC) Hearings at the U. of Washington in 1948, and you've probably heard of the recent Goldmark trial. We've always had a large right-wing element here and it seems to be growing. Two city council candidates who were ACLU members recently lost in a city election because they were smeared by the right wing. The mayor and most of the city council members opposed the open housing ordinance, which failed in the election by two to one.

As far as the political climate on campus goes, there is a students' political union which consists of four clubs: conservatives, Republicans, Democrats, socialists. They mainly sponsor speakers. Almost all of the campus offices are held by sorority and fraternity members who run for office on platforms devoid of any content except for an occasional issue like seat-saving at football games. Most of the left wing organizations which have existed here have been bitterly sectarian and have been wrecked by faction fights. Even the campus ACLU, when I was active in it three years ago, had its factions and its attempted purges. SDS seems to be truly non-sectarian and issue-oriented, and it is a relief to many of us who were getting cynical about the success of any organization, after all the splinterings. We hope to launch a big campus reform program next fall. One

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candidate in the recent student elections ran on a campus reform program and won, amazingly enough. So there is hope.

REED

A YEAR-END EVALUATION BY Jeremy Brecher

The Reed SDS chapter -- though it has done some good things in the course of its one-semester existence -- has a good many of the weaknesses common among SDS groups elsewhere. To enumerate some of these:

** We have failed to make contact with the rest of the campus, have failed to recruit much beyond our original nucleus. This has in part been due to our inability to involve ourselves in any campus issues: if we can take the lead on a campus reform issue, this would be the ideal way to make ourselves known on campus. We maintain close contact at the top with the Young Dems, the campus's largest political group and our membership pretty much overlaps with that of the campus civil rights activists, and we keep in touch with the leadership of other political groups, but we have yet to make any impact on their constituency.

The chances of partially rectifying this next year are fairly good. We will run a real recruiting program in the fall, which we have never done before. If we can get our teeth into a good campus issue, we will be in pretty good shape.

** Many of the general disagreements within SDS nationally exist within the chapter, but so far we have not been able to deal with them in such a way that the creative stimulant of the tension created by multiplicity is present, without degenerating into faction fighting. The tendency of the leadership -- even those who disagree most -- has been to limit discussion of things which might prove disruptive. Disagreement among the leaders has tended to be dealt with by "personal diplomacy".

This is likely to be a long-range problem with the chapter, since most of us have an intense dislike for faction fighting. We have tentatively planned to set aside

part of each meeting in the future for discussion of an SDS paper or other relevant material. Hopefully, this will provide a good context for sharpening ourselves politically.

** Perhaps our biggest problem has been our inability to develop projects in which the full membership became actively involved. Our tendency has been very much to dabble: half-a-dozen people go out to seek signatures for a workman's compensation law today, a dozen others go out to do precinct work for a candidate a week later, a few others start a long-range study of poverty. Few of the projects in which we have been involved have created any long-range, steady commitment. None of them have really captured our imagination -- and to work at Reed, a program must really move people, since nearly everybody is liberal, to paraphrase somebody, but almost nobody wants to do anything about it.

** Another problem is that we have yet to develop a really good strategy for what local insurgency means in Portland, Ore. We've been feeling around for its element but until we can put together a cohesive program, we won't have any basis for deciding on the allocation of resources. The city's Negro population is miniscule, and the state has as advanced civil rights laws as anywhere in the country. The civil rights movement therefore has no real long-range focus without allies. But there is very little of the mass white ghetto common in other cities, either. While Portland is not as poverty-free as, say, Ann Arbor, we face the same general problem. Our logical focus is probably the labor movement, and we have begun to make fairly good contact with them, although there is a lot left to do. We have tentatively set up a plan to help the UAW do organizing in the fall; if using students for such work seems to succeed, we may well make such organizing a main focus of our activity. But this still doesn't solve the long-range problem of strategy.

Indecision over the question of centralism has been a problem, too. There is a constant tension in the organization between the desire to keep individual responsibility and self-direction along with the Tocsin model and the need for collective decision-making and action. Most of

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us really want both, and our problem has been our inability to create a working synthesis. At present I have no idea as to where that synthesis lies.

** Related to this problem has been a certain weakness of leadership. A small group of students have a much greater political background than the rest of the membership, and they have ranged between dominating the group and failing to take enough responsibility for it. The solution to this problem, of course, is the development of a much wider base of leadership, in which, say, a dozen or twenty people are taking responsibility for various parts of the program. How we achieve this, however, I don't really know.

Though this account sounds like a universal catalogue of organizational sins, I have been unsparing merely because I think we have very great potential. After one semester of existence, we have been involved, although shallowly, in a wide variety of activities, we have made strides toward developing a political strategy, we have made contacts on a number of other campuses around the state, we have started to make very good connections in the adult community. Reed is a peculiar place; while its politics are generally marked by a radical but apathetic cynicism, the development of a program which captures people's imaginations will bring them out by the hundreds -- as when about 250 students demonstrated against S.A.C.B. It is to develop these various potentials into a cohesive political organization which forms our task for next year.

U OF WISCONSIN

by Carol Bloome

The Saturday after the April National Council meeting, ERAP Staffer Rita Koplowitz spoke before an informal gathering of our group here, and stirred a lot of response. Immediately the Menominee Indian Project as put into motion, beginning with research here and more contacts with Indian protesters. There is also a plan to get a group of young Christian leftists at Green Bay to help us -- hopefully, to work together.

Focus on Poverty programs have been publicized, and the initial one, at which ERAP Director Rennie Davis spoke, was very successful -- a lot of positive response and a packed, interested audience. As a result of the literature table we set up, an employee at the state research and development center came up and introduced himself, and was interested in what SDS was doing. He thought he'd like to attend the Illinois poverty conference, and offered to us the assistance of the facilities of his department.

As for the summer at Wisconsin, plans are still up in the air. Hopefully, next fall will see a program on housing in central Madison -- especially student housing. I have been talking to a graduate student who knows of any number of students suffering from poor housing at high cost.

The chapter here has drawn members with a leftist political view who were unhappy about a lot of personal and distant problems and who thought that SDS was dealing with, and not evading, those problems. But all of this is unspoken assumption -- in other words it is the general feeling that "we all feel the same way", so why waste our time talking and let's do something for a change. That's just where this chapter's own problem starts: we all do "feel the same way", but no one is really informed or articulate enough to communicate this personal knowledge to other people unfamiliar with the "feeling" and what has aroused it. We need to know how to plan a discussion meeting at which general problems and views can be defined and related to the specific projects being carried on.

What I'm getting at is this: that individual members do not see themselves or their chapters in the perspective of the whole organization and in the perspective of the wider interconnecting web of the socially concerned and active people of the whole community. Where and what are we and where are we going? and how are we going there at any particular time?

Esoteric questions? I think not, because it is the tentative answers that enable chapter members or any individual to plan farsightedly and to prosecute intelligently each small specific project. Problems do not get solved because we're indignant,

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but from reflective action. Reflective action can't hope to be effective unless it has some ordered frame of reference in which it sees and deals with problems. Frames of reference do and should change, but at any specific moment they should be there to refer to and not in some limbo of "flux" -- you learn by asserting, not questioning.

Of the 35% present members at UW, there are perhaps 10 to 15 who are concerned and working. This is good so far, something to grow from next year. Of the 3 or 4 original projects suggested, only the Menominee one is still going. The poverty program was successful in terms of audience responses to an issue; the audiences were, on the whole, small, however.

Let me bring up again that just as there has been a lack of discussion among members, so proportionately there has been a lack of personal involvement. We haven't spoken enough or listened intently enough to each other.

N.Y.U. UPTOWN

by John Roberts

What might have been an almost total failure of a year for the Heights Freedom Movement (of which the SDS chapter is a part) was turned into a successful future by some intense work in the last three weeks of class. The causes of the failure can be summed up by three things: lack of leadership, lack of membership, and lack of projects. Of the three the last two could probably be placed as sub-categories of the first.

The two semesters minus three weeks produced some basic framework to build upon. We first composed our own statement of principles which we felt was a pretty good document. We also threw together a constitution. The focal point of the first semester's work turned out to be a big rally which drew a fairly large and interested crowd. The problem here, as well as a couple of other times during the semester, was that the enthusiasm that we felt was present was not translated into either immediate action or commitment to an organization. The rally

had informative value, but at it we failed to make any demands, ask for any things to be done, or suggest any definite projects to join or even groups to sponsor. The rally turned out to be complete unto itself and not part of a continuing pattern of activity.

Throughout the year, we held meetings (though irregularly) and had at least one other speaker. We developed a nice-sized mailing list, but that was about all it was. Except for a few stalwarts we were unable to keep our "membership" coming back to meetings. Most of this problem was due to lack of projects or mass participation in the group. Since we had no projects, it took only about three people to do all the small correspondence and document-drafting that had to be done. We tried to start some projects, but these failed when some minor difficulties were hit and there was no enthusiasm to do any further research. An attempt to make a project out of making contact with other national and local organizations failed to generate much enthusiasm or response.

The only other thing worth mentioning is our Project Mississippi (see last month's Bulletin). At least in its beginning it was an active and involving project for many people. It brought together the groups which eventually formed permanently into the HFMM. New leaders arose and some old ones were revived. For once there was a feeling of immediacy to get definite projects with definite goals done. Within a short time a great deal was accomplished.

The last two weeks of the semester were about as active as the rest of the year put together. There were about six executive and subcommittee meetings, all filled with business. We tied up the loose ends of Project Mississippi; started budget negotiations with the student government; drew up a fact sheet, petition, and letter concerning Chester, Pa.; and started a Books for Birmingham (and SNCC Community Centers) Project. All of these projects were running smoothly and continually through the exam period. These also involved two mass mailings. To keep up with this late-blooming enthusiasm we will be publishing a summer newsletter for our members at least bi-weekly until September. We also hope to start some

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project during the summer with those students who will re in in the NYC area.

From this contrast I will try to pick out those points which I think were responsible for the success of the last two weeks. Undoubtedly the most important single fact was the projects around which the activity focussed. The importance of doing these either due to their own value or the value which someone convinced everyone else of overcame the poor timing. This is largely a leadership function. It is hardly worthwhile calling a meeting when there is nothing to ask the people who come to get involved in. We also found it wiser to use any project with value and give it importance than to wait for the "right" project to come along. Also, the democratic control and dialogue, that came about due to everyone being active and working on something, had an "accelerator" effect on enthusiasm.

One other tangible aid was somebody who could devote the time necessary to coordinate all this activity as part of his job. This is our case is the Director of Religious Activities who organizes student activist groups as part of his job, but there are probably others who can do this such as grad students who don't mind handing in their dissertation a year late, or deans of student activities.

Some intangibles should also be added. These include a room which was always available to our use; the ability to always find the Director in his office; keeping members up to date (the Director again), the use of the food to enhance long meetings. It is hard to say exactly what did make us come alive in the last two weeks; however, as soon as we got started and recongized it became contagious, and instead of our looking for things to do, and instead of us looking for things to do people started coming to us.

SWARTHMORE

by Vernon Grizzard

The Swarthmore Political Action Club will not have a chairman any more. This is the result of a structural change in the organization which was voted in at the

next to last meeting of the year.

Instead, the organization will function under collective leadership. An executive committee composed of five members elected for one semester and four members rotating each month will be at the head of SPAC. This change is both a recognition of what has been occurring in the organization and what we would like to see the organization become.

As we approached the end of the semester, it became apparent that there were a number of SPAC members who were capable of being chairman, and no one of them seemed to stand out above the rest. So the change was in part a recognition of the fact that over the past year a number of people have taken primary roles of responsibility in the group. But making formal this trend is indicative of our desire to see the organization function permanently in this fashion, so that more members feel they have a responsibility for the organization, instead of being able to assume that there is one person, identifiable as leader, whom they can always depend on. There will now be nine members leading SPAC, and ideally this change could result in nine times as much leadership being exercised in the organization. (Don't feel, however, that a letter to SPAC needs eight carbon copies; we plan to pass letters around.)

A major discussion within SPAC in the last few weeks has been the relationship we should have with the new nation-wide socialist youth organization which is holding a founding convention this June in San Francisco. This group will evidently include the DuBois Clubs, several groups of both students and other youths which participate in civil rights and other activities in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The DuBois Clubs are openly socialist in the work they do on the West coast.

Most SPAC members felt that affiliation was not a real possibility, both because we want to attract freshmen who might shy away from an avowedly socialist group and because most members felt they did not know enough about socialism to evaluate accurately different socialist groups in the U.S. However, we did feel it was important to find out as much as we can about the new organization (one of our
(cont. bottom next page)

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LOS ANGELES

by Lowell Dodge

My main activity right now is being a field representative for the Western Student Movement (WSM), which is for the moment pretty much a tutorial project and nothing more. WSM got started after the Pomona Conference on Civil Equality (Lomax, Forman, Farmer, Countryman) on Feb. 28-9, and is now fairly well off the ground.

WSM is somewhat more moderate in its outlook than either NSM or SDS. This is partly because our philosophy is different, and partly because we are responding to different conditions out here. The NSM approach has been to go in clean with the tutorial, and then to get fairly rapidly involved in picketing, rent strikes, boycotts, etc., with the tutorials fall-

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can attend the founding convention). In addition, the group felt it was important to discuss socialism within SPAC more than we have in the past.

In preparation for the summer projects in which SPAC members will participate, we set a deadline to raise 2/3 of the \$3000 we needed to finance the projects. We had \$900 when we started this drive, and by the deadline we had passed the \$2400 mark. Our efforts were mainly concentrated on large gifts from friends and relatives, though a great amount of time was successfully spent in contacting individual faculty members and students.

In looking ahead to next year, SPAC may have responsibilities in two communities, Philadelphia and Chester. However, there is much concern within SPAC that we not become so embroiled in community action that we do not have the time to discuss and evaluate that program. Many members feel that a vital seminar program is a primary need next year. There is a feeling that not only should we deepen our concern in this way, but we should also be concerned with broader issues -- Vietnam and other international issues, for instance.

ing pretty much by the wayside. The way things look here so far, we may be able to get more mileage out of tutorials (in the sense of effecting change) than the NSM did in their areas. Out here the ghetto is a heaven compared to Harlem and even the Dixieville ghetto in New Haven. There is breathing space and a relatively high degree of prosperity in the ghetto. So where NSM had a whole lot of frustration to tap for more radical stuff in their areas, it appears that we may get what we want (giving the chance for ghetto kids to get a feel for the movement, opening the eyes of the tutors) more easily by staying clean longer. And at any rate, most of us in WSM are not of what might be termed the SDS mentality, i.e. action-oriented, conflict-oriented, radically minded. We feel that out here we can get more done by working pretty much within the existing power structure, drawing on its resources, and getting quite a bit of support ideologically from its more open-minded elements. As you can see from the letterhead, this is what we are doing. The people at Avalon Community Center and in the Board of Education (who have given us a whole lot of help) are amazingly change-oriented, and sympathetic to the idea of turning the ghetto into a beehive of activity. You might say we are going the beehive route as opposed to the guerilla warfare approach of more militant organizations. Partly because the area here is less a jungle and more a forest. Partly because of our mentality. It is less exciting by far, but we hope to get results.

But all of this is somewhat irrelevant anyway, since we will be taking the direction that seems like it will have the best chance given the circumstances we run into.

The area we've chosen to focus on, Avalon, is a Negro ghetto suffering from 15% unemployment, a high high school dropout rate (Jefferson High, Avalon's high school, ranks first in total dropouts in Los Angeles), and many of the other problems associated with ghettos. One especially disturbing statistic indicates that a little more than half of Avalon's children under age 18 live with both parents.

In our work in Avalon so far, we've chosen

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the area of our focus, developed a lot of community support for the project, gotten a staff together, put out a prospectus to 40 foundations (two look quite hopeful) asking for \$12,000, and begun to recruit tutors and tutees. Tutor orientation will start in late June, the program in early July. We'll keep in touch about developments.

Interestingly, the same area is the focus for an effort at organizing unemployed, which my roommate is involved in. Though I don't know all the details of the project, I did have some impressions of a recent Conference for the Unemployed which was held in Wrigley Field (the old home - of the L.A. Angels). It was quite a spectacle. Tim (my roommate) used buses and the lure of a free lunch to get 1500 of the 8000 unemployed in his area to come. He had rounded up a crew of unemployed to advertise the event, and to run it with the powerful mike system at Wrigley Field. This crew did great, and is now the nucleus of a follow-up organization. The theme of the Conference was "now that we are together let's stay together and maybe we will get somewhere." Each of the 12 agencies -- local, state, and federal -- with offices in LA set up a booth to answer questions from the unemployed after the speeches were over. WSM set up a booth and signed up 165 who want tutoring in English and Math for taking civil service exams, etc. In general, however, the conference got fairly poor publicity.

MISSISSIPPI

by Glenn Klepac

Word of SNCC's "Mississippi Summer Project" has reached me recently, and I have some comments which might interest SDS members planning on a "vacation" in the state this year. As a fairly liberal Mississippian, I have hopes that the project will be able to enlist large numbers of Negro voters, and bring about a greater degree of racial understanding by whites.

First of all, I'd like to explain that my experience in Mississippi consists of two years in attendance at the U. of Miss. Medical School in Jackson. During this time I've had time to work on a political

research project in Hinds and Jackson counties, and to meet some of the state's leaders ranging from Medger Evers to Ross Barnett.

The first thing that impresses me about the project is the terrific dangers that will be faced by so many students. Yesterday a medical student told me that "everybody" was obtaining guns for possible use this summer: "The whites are buying guns and the niggers are stealing 'em." But it is unnecessary to give the whites a chance to make use of their new purchases. Students doing a little agitating among the Negroes can usually be tolerated, but when this agitation takes the form of sit-ins, freedom marches, and picketing in the towns, violence is very likely to erupt. In terms of permanent good these forms of demonstration also appear to be less profitable than the less risky tasks of voter registration and education among Negroes.

Whites also don't like to be bothered about discussing racial or political matters with "outside agitators". This is another manifestation of the great apathy in the state which has been noticed by every political scientist studying this area. It is an important point, because it means that even the mildest misunderstanding can trigger a hot-tempered redneck into committing unthinkable violence when he believes an "outside agitator" is threatening "his way of life".

One form of political protest is possible but was not mentioned in SNCC's ambitious program. This could consist of "equal time" challenges to some of the far-right radio and television programs masquerading under the banner of anti-communism. By pointing out the fascistic nature of the political philosophies presented on these programs, by maintaining a strong anti-communist posture, by appealing to a sense of justice and decency, and by appeals for non-violence by all citizens, Negro and white, these protests might be pulled off successfully. Protests could also be staged at far-right political speeches, which are usually poorly attended by the more placid Birch-types.

I'm aware that anybody planning to come here for the summer must already be prepared for a miserable time -- even if he manages to stay out of Parchman State

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Prison -- but it is hard to imagine what a cultural zero this state is, even in a civilized city like Jackson. Some of the recreational facilities are fair, but otherwise the state has little to offer college students with varied interests. But the students' attempts at political organization among Negroes will probably be even more discouraging. After all, I've been told that the last Negro who tried to vote in Jasper County was lynched before he could reach the polls, and the worst thing about all the reports of police brutality and unfairness is that the cops were often protecting civil rights workers from a more drastic fate at the hands of local citizens.

I'd very much like to meet any fellow SDSers who are down here this summer.

CHICAGO

by Sarah Murphy

I. The Board contract in New Dorms will be instituted despite student protest (see May Bulletin). After about two weeks of consideration the Administration of the U. of Chicago decided that "there were no grounds for compromise" with the UC students, and that the full thirteen meal contract would be instituted. The reason for this contract is that the cafeteria loses money continually because students are not willing to pay high prices for bad food. At the beginning of the year there was a protest by residents of the dorm, which brought meal prices down to as little as eight-five cents for a full dinner. Next year each dinner will cost \$1.75. The food will be the same.

II. A group entitled "the Wobblies" was thrown off the campus of Roosevelt U. (in downtown Chicago) because of a meeting they held at which anarchist Joffre Stuart burned an American flag. Roosevelt, housed in one building, was formed about twenty years ago when the faculty of Central YMCA College walked out because the Administration wished to institute a quota system for entrance to the College. The College contained a large percentage of Negroes. This step against the "Wobblies" by the Administration of Roosevelt U. was in contradiction to the principles

on which the University was founded. It was taken on the grounds that the "Wobblies" had violated State and local fire-laws at the meeting, and that they are affiliated with a subversive group entitled the Industrial Workers of the World. The student senate of Roosevelt, some of the faculty, and the ex-President and founder of the University protested this move on the part of the Administration; and the Dean of Students (appropriately named Hoover). The "Wobblies" were let back on campus after a great deal of protest. Justice triumphed at R.U.

III. Preparations for the "long hot summer" are going on in the civil rights movement here in Chicago. It is starting with a month of mourning during which black armbands will be worn. Groups on the UC campus will pass these out to UC students during the next few weeks. The Independent Voters of Illinois will also be active during the summer. Precinct workers will be out in as many precincts in Chicago as can be covered to collect petitions to bind Mayor Daley and the Illinois delegation to the Democratic Convention, to seat the Mississippi Freedom Delegation. This activity is to begin immediately.

IV. A Chicago chapter of SDS, composed of both students and non-students from the Chicago area, has been formed. The chapter's main activity this summer will be to assist the Committee for Jobs Or Income Now in whatever way possible.

S. F. BAY AREA

by Becky Adams Mills

Things are really beginning to explode in the Bay Area now; the civil rights movement has definitely changed circumstances in two years, so that coupled with automation, it makes ears listen and eyes see, and brings people together who remained cold to organizing efforts a while ago. In San Francisco, the biggest event occurring now, since the civil rights job demonstrations at Sheraton Palace and Cadillac, is the fight against urban renewal in the "Western Addition Area 2" area. Block organizing is going on with ILWU (Longshoremen), "S.F. Opposition" ("Bob Scheer and others group) and primarily Mike Miller spearheading. It is essentially a fight for low-rent housing, and has the support of all the civil

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rights organizations.

In Oakland (one of 9 depressed areas in the U.S.), three separate issues are coagulating through civil rights. One, segregation in schools, is due to erupt in a school boycott Monday (May 18), in which a new SDS chapter at U of Cal (Berkeley) is participating to teach "freedom schools". We of the chapter will do our teaching in the area scheduled for urban renewal, and hence get to know people there and try to help out the citizens' group working to keep renewal from demolishing their homes. Thirdly, there is an organization called the Welfare Rights Committee (WRC), which is composed of some of our friends and a majority of welfare recipients, who have numerous complaints against the Welfare Department of the county. Their complaints expose the shocking behavior of this welfare department, which is second to Orange County for stringent and illegal activities. Orange County is the seat of California Birchism. Oakland is fairly well controlled through the Oakland Tribune, published by William F. Knowland, Goldwater's campaign chairman and a man of Red China Lobby and Right to Work Laws repute.

The WRC is a very exciting group. Welfare recipients, black and white, are all participating in meetings with white graduate students and young working people out of universities. The committee is everyone's group. They are more than a political group, and have dances and other social events.

Recently, the Welfare Department withheld all welfare checks for families whose fathers live in the home, until those fathers would show up to take jobs picking strawberries a couple of hours away from their homes for \$1.05 an hour. It is shocking. There are over 700 families, then, whose checks are being withheld. An overt peonage system. According to a new member of the WRC, who went to pick strawberries, they do not pay transportation; when you get there, there is no water or food; and the grower's help said he didn't want city people out there. This fellow picked for an hour and a half and was told to go home, as he was picking only one basket to the regular labor's

three. He had to walk 5 miles to the nearest bus station and spend his money getting home. He has to do this three times in order to qualify to get his check again.

The WRC is already in contact with Gov. Brown's office and has been promised help in protesting. There is some reason to think that this peonage system was dreamed up by the Right Wing of the Republican Party, as Knowland's paper came out big with it. It is of course the Right's answer to both welfare problems and the cessation of the Bracero program. The WRC will hold a demonstration next Thursday (May 21), and will probably grow from there.

The reason I have gone into this at some length is that this committee is something I believe SDS should consider giving money to. It is new, and it has its problems. It is not as though hostilities do not exist. Black-white problems exist, as do lower class-middle class problems. The difficulty is, of course, that middle class skills are needed to run the thing, and they are not possessed by the recipients. But these problems hardly look insurmountable. Most importantly, the WRC has already been able to help over 70 recipients who have had severe problems getting their checks. When this peonage thing is broken, it too will be because of the WRC. Finally, this group is the first that I've seen which is not dominated (i.e. does not have a majority) by young students.

A further aspect of this is that it is not limited to welfare recipients. The group is engaged in a petition-signing campaign presently, which focusses on the low rent-supplement payment recipients receive, and requests either a higher rent-supplement or low-rent public housing construction. In this way, it works in to the low-rent housing problem, and we expect the urban renewal fight on this side of the Bay will at some time begin to work closely with it, as it grows.

What is the chance that SDS could filter some money out our way? It could be put into the urban renewal fight and/or the welfare rights committee. Both need and could use money desparately. Neither has any paid staff at present, and both have many other needs, too.

COINCIDENCE?

by Charles Smith, U. of Texas

On Saturday, May 16, the Board of Regents of the University of Texas called a special meeting and integrated the dormitories of the University. This completely desegregated the university and ended an 18-year struggle which began in February 1946 when a Negro applied for admission to the School of Law. The Board voted 6-1 to desegregate. A suit has been pending in the Federal courts since November 10, 1961, hearing of which has been delayed through a variety of technicalities. Finally, the suit collapsed because the last plaintiff graduated from the University.

President Johnson is scheduled to speak at the commencement of the University on May 30, at which time he will be awarded an honorary degree. About two weeks ago, the SDS chapter at UT held a program which featured a speech by the Rev. Wesley Sims, leader of the Austin NAACP. During the course of this meeting, SDS members suggested to Rev. Sims that there should be civil rights demonstrations in Austin on the day of the President's talk in order to pressure the administration to more decisive action in the field of civil rights. A reporter from the student paper happened to be in the audience and the next day the paper came out with the headline, "NAACP plans demonstrations during Johnson's visit". The city paper, and then the national press, picked up the story. In the last two weeks, Austin has seen a mysterious period of progress and enlightenment. The City Council decided that its conscience had been moved to the extent of passing a toothless, finger-pointing type of public accommodations ordinance. The University suddenly decided that there was a Negro of sufficient genius to teach at that most worthy institution, and the Board of Regents held an unscheduled meeting at which it was decided to desegregate the dormitories (shades of the Lynda Bird picket). All this progress is almost too much to take.

Question: Is there a possible connection between the above events?

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A CRITIQUE OF THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION THE MISSING REVOLUTION

by Kim Moody, Baltimore SDS

In the last couple of months an interesting document has been making the rounds. This document, "The Triple Revolution" (available from SDS), is signed by a unique assortment of socialists, left-liberals, and corporatist-liberals. Its apparent purpose is to demonstrate the revolutionary nature of the changes that are occurring in American society. While it states the signers' concern with three revolutions (cybernation, weaponry, and human rights), it actually deals almost exclusively with the effects of cybernation -- i.e. super-automation -- on the economy.

The picture painted of our economy in this document is dramatic and, I believe, essentially accurate. That is, that cybernation is a structural paradox in our economic system that produces great wealth, on the one hand, and great unemployment and mal-distribution of wealth, on the other. The sound point is made, that the prevailing economic theories (neo-classical and neo-Keynsian, I presume) have not taken this into account and are, therefore, incapable of developing solutions to this problem. The less sound and, in fact, incomprehensible point is also made that the cybernated economy is something other than the industrial economy. Just what, we are not told. It would seem to me that cybernation is a structural part of the industrial system. From this follows the fact that the industrial system has been unequal to the task of ending poverty. Cybernation, on the other hand, offers the promise of plenty to all -- given, of course, the correct economic programs. Here is where the "missing revolution" comes in. It is not, in my opinion, the industrial or cybernated systems that have failed to meet the social needs of the economy; it, rather, the structure of the economy, i.e. of our capitalist economy. The problem created at various time times by the simple industrial stage of capitalism was essentially the same as that which now exists. Industrial mass assembly techniques created large scale unemployment in the twenties -- and at certain times before that as well. It did so for the same basic reason that cybernation is doing it now, and that is because of the necessary mal-distribution of income inherent in the capitalist sys-

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tem. What is significant about cybernation is the fantastic rate at which it does the same thing. It seems that the economy can no longer solve this problem the same way in which it did in the past, by rapid economic growth and expansion. In short, of all the growth elements in the economy, technology is moving the fastest. The possibilities of extensive investment are limited; and intensive investment means cybernation. Well, then, what about a radical redistribution of income? We hear much about the "major redistributions of income" that are supposed to have occurred during the New Deal and World War II, yet the old proportion (3 to 1) of wage and salary income to property or investment earned income remains the same. According to Kolko, most of the redistribution that has occurred has been a shuffling around between the upper and middle income groups. As wages go up, the cost of living tags closely along behind them. All of this would seem to indicate that something fairly revolutionary should be proposed to deal with this problem. However, the proposals of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution are missing a revolution in economic policy. Their proposals are the "same old thing". Massive education, massive public works, massive housing, massive transit systems, massive tax revision, a couple of good suggestions for the trade union movement, and one truly relevant suggestion -- the use of the federal licensing power to regulate the speed of cybernation. This aspect of policy is only the transitional period. However, one would assume that a transitional period would be one that would lay the policy assumptions for what is to follow. In fact, it is little more than a regrouping of old ideas which, as two of the signers (Boggs and Theobald) point out, are more suited to the old scarcity-based economic theories. Given the fact that most of the money allocated from such programs would find its way into the hands of private business, whether or not it comes from the public sector, the problems described in this document will not be solved by such an approach. A major tax revision might accomplish a temporary redistribution, but this money will find its way into the hands of the corporations to be invested in cybernating devices. The authors of "The Triple Revolution" do not follow out their own analysis and treat cybernation as a structural contradiction in the system.

The transitional section is followed by suggestions for economic planning. This would seem to be more to the point; however, the planning to which the authors refer is neo-capitalist planning. Collect data and make recommendations for "public and private initiative" for "encouraging and stimulating cybernation". That's right, stimulating cybernation -- Paul Samuelson couldn't have put it better. Of course, this is followed by a recommendation for "optimal allocations of human and natural resources in meeting the requirements of society." What radical can disagree with that? But, it is still worthwhile to ask just what is meant by such a vague statement. Since the entire document accepts the framework of a capitalist economy, we might ask just how this is to be done. planned capitalist economies of Europe have not yet felt the full effects of cybernation and already they are faced with unemployment and underemployment problems. Even these neo-capitalist economies are planned on the assumptions of the production-growth theories, which the Triple Revolutionists find inadequate, at least in their analysis. Given an acceptance of capitalism, it would seem to me that the analysis made in "The Triple Revolution" would logically lead to the solution offered by Theobald: that of substituting income as a basic right for the idea of income for work, and establishing some sort of guaranteed annual income for everyone. This solution is objectionable for many reasons, but at least it has the value of being consistent with its analysis. The alternative to this potentially manipulative solution is, of course, the socialist solution. It is to this solution that the logic of this document's analysis leads. The "democratization of change" which all are agreed is a goal, is most consistent with an economy that has its basic economic units under democratic public management. The gigantic corporations that are the basic units of our present system are authoritarian in essence. Neo-capitalist planning is at base a means of subsidizing these corporations. It is important to remember that it is misleading to measure the strength of the "public sector" by the percentage of the Gross National Product which it composes. A great deal, if not the majority, of the money that emanates from the government sector goes directly to the corporations, while still more goes to them indirectly. Thus, capitalist planning is likely to find itself planning cybernation faster than it is able to plan for full employment. (cont. bottom next page)

THE PIEDMONT: AN OUTSIDER'S VIEW

BY SHELLEY BLUM

North Carolina is not a deep south state as I see it. That is not to say that it doesn't have rotten elements, easily exposed, as happened in Chapel Hill; but except along the coast, it has no counties with a high proportion of Negroes. It does have a good amount of industry in the Piedmont, and it has a fair concentration of colleges. I have been here for a very short time, and I am prepared with certain biases from past experiences; but I think I have certain criticisms and a plan of action which puts a slightly different light on the area.

To my mind the Chapel Hill Movement (CHM) has come to a halt. The town administration won by draining CHM's money and involving it in extensive court proceedings. The added attraction of the Civil Rights Bill, up above their heads, has served its main purpose of keeping people off the streets before it is passed. But I think the CHM never had a good chance of winning. How do you attack a whole town? That was what was at stake, for the whole town had lived in an air of righteous liberal segregation. The tactics used were, in principle, right. You march, you protest by blocking the town's streets, you fast publicly. These are all good nonviolent means of demonstrating that the town has a problem of immense size. They bring the problem to the consciousness of the town's citizens, if they are effective. If not, they are easily ignored as the work of some agitators or otherwise passed off as freakish actions in a racially harmonious town. The marches were effective because they were fairly large. But marches only indicate a not very acute dissatisfaction. The fast was effective, because it was able to communicate to the town that some few people felt the situation was urgent. Further, by camping on the Post Office lawn during the fast, they were able to answer questions and further intrude upon the town's awareness. But the fasters were very few and easily put off as outside agitators, as in fact they were if you accept the concept of an outside and in inside to the U.S. But Chapel Hill's arrests have lost the CHM's battle in Chapel Hill. Clearly CHM is stopped for lack of funds because there is no bail money. Bail should never have been called for. An arrest is an effective nonviolent protest

if the person sacrifices by remaining in jail. I doubt that 90% of those arrested sacrificed by being arrested. A large part of them gained, in popularity and personal prestige. To sacrifice, by remaining in jail, would have shown the town that they felt there was a very serious problem and would also have lent a pressure in the form of jail costs to the town. What occurred was that a stream of people, often the same people, flowed through the jails. They meant nothing in the context of the U.S. today. One reads of hundreds of arrests each day. If they had remained in jail, because they preferred to continue to demonstrate how sick Chapel Hill is, their protest would have meant a great deal more. Perhaps it would have meant enough more to change people's minds. As I understand nonviolence, you must convince your antagonist that the strength of your position gives you strength enough to endure an immense amount of suffering. This should cause him to re-examine his beliefs in the light of your positive beliefs and actions stemming from those beliefs.

An extreme example is the behavior at Watt's Motel and Restaurant. Perhaps the Wattses are savages and can never be convinced. Their violent behavior lends credence to this view. Their actions during a sit-in, especially those of Mrs. Watts, could not be related in a family magazine. But the aim of the demonstration should have been to face them calmly, intent on the humanity of integration, and to have absorbed the physical beatings they felt necessary to give in order to defend their way of life. Ultimately, even the Wattses might have been awed by the firmness of purpose that allowed a demonstra-

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But it is possible for a socialist economy to plan for all social needs, including rewarding work. While one can hardly hope to do this in a society that is dominated by the corporations (where even our politicians come from corporations), one can do this in a society where the people have, at all levels, a voice in the operations of the economy's basic units and where the distribution of income is rationally and democratically determined.

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tor to absorb their beatings. Instead, there was a great scuttling around as demonstrators attempted to defend their bodies. The Wattses also jumped around to try to squash what must have appeared to them as cowardly people who insert themselves in a situation where they ask for a beating and then try to avoid it. Extend this to the town. Demonstrators break the law, then scuttle out of jail and fight in courts. The town is clever enough to offer no appearance of brutality: the police are gentle and jails not too bad. It maintains the front of the liberal town being grossly accused. It is not met with a serious nonviolent protest. Demonstrators harass the town and the judge in turn harasses them. He too is justified by the extra work he has to do. The CHM has put forth only a petty sacrifice. If the demonstrators made no attempt to fight the sentences but assumed their guilt, and then served their time -- there would have been a real protest. In this area such a protest is not liable to occur. Each demonstrator would have to give up a lot in the present or the future, and there are not enough people willing to risk themselves.

It is my impression that the Research Triangle Area is typical America. Some of the inhabitants, mostly the young, are concerned enough to risk their soft lives. But not enough of the students will accept a jail sentence on their records. It might hamper the job-seeking activity their education makes possible. The adults fear to risk that bit of comfort they have attained. Certainly a long period in jail is not consonant with American standards of comfort. Comfort is what the CHM has been striving for. That is, the Negro population wants to be equally as middle class as the whites. It may seem that this is a condemnation of the middle class or of comfort, but I do not intend that. The point I want to make is that a striving for comfort instead of freedom does not produce sacrifice. My impression is that the North Carolina Negro has the same goals as the travelling American. The growing size of house trailers indicates that the American never wants to leave the comforts of home behind. You can't take a trailer to jail.

For the above reasons, I think nonviolence

will not work in this area. The percentage of Negroes is not high enough, their plight is not great enough, and freedom is too abstract a goal to risk present discomfort. Things here are not so bad that great risks have to be taken. What then will work? Large portions of the area are jim crow, and the basic conditions here are poor. One fact will serve to illustrate. 76% of the students transferred to Carr Junior High School, from the Negro schools; in an integration attempt, are failing. The judge refuses to transfer them back to their old schools. These students were good students in their home schools and have good family backgrounds, so they are not falling behind because of lack of push from home. The fact is that education in the Negro schools is inferior to that in white schools. With this as a grievance, will the parents go to jail in protest? I think not, in Durham. One means of protest that is being used, and should work anyplace, is selective patronage and picketing of segregated businesses. This can only be used to achieve public accommodations and fair employment. These are areas to be covered in the Civil Rights Bill. The area needs thoroughgoing reform, which can only come from seats of political power.

At this point, I should again plead ignorance and background. I was grounded in the Reform Democratic Movement in New York City, and although I am unfamiliar with the structure of the Democratic Party in this state, I think something of the sort might work here as well. As another preliminary, I should mention Dorothy and Robb Burlage's Discussion Bulletin article on Southern organizing. They sketch an outline to which I want to add. I should also say that the Democratic Party in the state seems externally to be very primitive. That is, a city the size of Durham seems to have no permanent Democratic organization, unless one counts the City Board of Elections. Each candidate seems to have to gather his own organization before each campaign. The reality needs investigation. However, the validity of my suggestion does not depend on what has been the precedent here.

POLITICS THE KEY

I see voter registration and canvassing work as the best hope for organizing the Piedmont. A candidate(s) who combines decent civil rights stands with education,

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poverty attacks and suggestions for a cure, job retraining, maybe peace if he's a national candidate, and other issues aimed at the needs of the semi-industrial Piedmont might be a cause around which to unite poor whites with poorer Negroes. Frankly, the whites should be the basis of the organization because they dominate the area. I can't make any definitive statements about the nature of the mill worker in Durham, for example. This is the second area of investigation: Is he unionized? and what is the nature of his union? Is it militant enough? How does he vote? Where does he live and on what standard? It is quite possible that to begin to organize, a candidate would be able to make no statement on the civil rights problem. His stand might have to be that of Fulbright, who is not liberal on civil rights in order to maintain his foreign policy powers. I don't believe that such a stand is traitorous to the cause -- it may be a political necessity. To talk to the average southern worker about poverty, you may have to be neutral on civil rights. The Eastern shore of North Carolina is a heavily Negro area and can be cultivated on civil rights alone. There a voter registration campaign can succeed based only on one race. Here it might be based on the whites but probably cannot. Eventually it should follow the path of the Populist movement in the '90's in North Carolina, which saw the Republicans, the Negroes, and the Populists unite to win elections in the state. I believe that such an approach is the only one that will be able to win in the whole state. I believe the Piedmont dominates the hills and the shore, although that is another point to be checked, and a movement based on the Negro solely, or even mainly, will never be elected. Current voter registration plans in the state are to register people in the shore area. I think this movement will never be able to move the whole state, even if it is successful. Further, it will not produce an educated electorate. If a number of canvassers could be enlisted to back a good candidate in the Piedmont, I think they could gain access to a large number of homes to talk about issues. I don't know if a campaign of this sort has ever been tried. I lose track of my number scheme, but the history of the campaigns in the state could stand

checking. I would like to see personal contact between a campaign worker and the voters, and discussion of the issues. This would be extremely effective, as compared with speaking before the local JC's, or bu bumper stickers. If there is no Democratic club system in the state, this would explain the lack of canvassing activity. I think I have indicated the kind of campaign I want to see carried on, and the sort of issues that will mean something to the people of the area. But other issues are also available, depending on study. What is the unemployment history of the Piedmont, and what is its future? Is union development probable? possible? What is the automation potential in the tobacco industry, on farms, and in the mills? Are there organizations already interested that can be contacted such as the furniture workers' union? What sort of needs does North Carolina have? That is, what would a program for building the state include? This all is general but if answers are developed, these things can be discussed with the voters. I have posited intelligent canvassers and several research people. I would hope the latter could come from SDS. I would also like to see an organizer familiar with the techniques of building a community organization or democratic reform club. Hopefully, the two could be combined so that the club would build a name for community action as well as for political talk. For example, it could push and criticize the Governor's North Carolina fund, which is a miniature of the war on poverty. The basic labor for pre-canvassing, in order to find people interested in community action of a liberal nature, could be done by college students. The Research Triangle Area is formed by the three colleges in the area -- Duke U., U. of North Carolina, and North Carolina State. If another sort of politics were offered to the students, I don't think they would lean so heavily to Goldwater, as they do. On campus now, there is no notion of real politics in the world. Goldwater idealism or other world ideas seem sensible in the other world vacuum of a Southern campus. Rational alternatives might attract a large number of students.

Students, then, should form the early labor supply, but adults should be contacted and should begin to dominate both the work and the direction of the organization. It should take four to six years to build a movement and produce a threatening candi-

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date. It is, however, an important quality of a third party force that it liberalizes the candidate further. As an example I can name the Hughes campaign in Massachusetts and the Jr. McCormick, who ended by adopting some of Hughes' stands. Someone has to contact the liberal unions in the area and investigate the electoral laws. This is the first step. If, as I now understand, the major unions in the area, are not liberal but extremely conservative, it may be that reunioing challenges might be the place to start. Once again my basic information needs amplification. Perhaps that is the best way to leave the paper. I have kicked an idea around. Its feasibility must be examined.

Since I wrote the paper in a fit of anger at the failure in Chapel Hill, a lot of things have happened. We have been busy in voter registration in Durham and along the Eastern shore. In Durham, we put more people on the roles than ever before in one period. The books, by the way, are open only on the second, third, and fourth Saturdays before any election. Halifax County was the scene of a typical southern campaign. The shore is like the real South. I should add that this is all Negro voters. Nothing has been done with the mill workers. I still maintain that the only way to power, and the way to power is both a means and an end, is through the organization of a community political and social group. The exercise of direct democracy, to borrow a Yugoslav term, must be our goal -- and we can begin to reach that goal by creating such an organization.

ISSUES FOR ORGANIZING

The issues around which we must organize are also more apparent to me now. It is noticeable that Durham doesn't pave low class streets, Negro and White ghettos. There are many fewer hydrants per block than in the upper class neighborhoods. You can add things like the effect of the end of smoking on the tobacco plants, but the beginning issues must affect the immediate lives of the mill people. I have also heard about studies that indicate that the mill workers are much less prejudiced than the middle class people. This must be confirmed.

I must reiterate my stand that in order to

make a beginning, to get in and talk to people, you have to have no stands on the race issue. It may be that you campaign for Z on his economic stands while in the Negro districts you campaign for Z on that and his more favorable racial stands which he holds, "according to campaign workers", but never articulates himself. This seems to be a political fact. I think you can overcome prejudice by increasing sophistication. We won't get anywhere without him, is the sort of idea that takes time to grow on a person, if he has been trained to think "him" below the speaker.

I find myself calling for the sort of thing Steve Max advocates in the Bulletin (see "Words Butter No Parsnips", May Bulletin or SDS lit. list), but the proviso is that the way you build a strong reform group is by acting in the social spheres. I should add that we want to dig into housing laws and school construction patterns. Also, we may get help from the Duke and UNC sociology departments. If the textile workers will do more than complain about the difficulty they have in organizing in the south, we may have another source of friends, and one which has a mass of people already.

On the race issue: One can work around it, until the power structure hits the worker (white) in the face. Until he realizes who threatens him, you can't say the Negro is your friend. When he does realize he is kept down by the same man who sits on the Negro, he won't have to be told about prejudice.

The Piedmont is the industrialized section of the state. The hills are backward, and the coast is plantation. The Governors, etc. come from the Piedmont because all the economic power is held here. The campaign in the primary now is between an arch conservative (from the hill) and two Piedmonters who occupy somewhat less conservative positions. No, that is a bad formulation. One is the descendant of Terry Sanford and pretty good, for a Southerner. The other has a mid position between the two. It is very unsophisticated and I think a decent NYC organization could put over Pogo. Nobody talks to the voters. So what I mean is that the state's money and political strength, banks and insurance companies, (cont. bottom next page)

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forced to adopt modes of relating to the world imposed on them externally, rather than learning to relate to the world by integrating their subjective feelings about it with their objective observations. A large part of this process of self-alienation takes place in the school, where we can see year by year the natural spontaneity and creativity associated with young children gradually being forced into orthodox molds. Yet modes of teaching have been developed which prevent this molding. For example, students can be taught to read not by reading "primers" with ways of viewing the world foreign to their own feelings, but rather by learning to write and read the words which express their emotion. (It is interesting that in one primitive culture, no child will be told the name of an object before he asks, since to do so, the tribe feels, would be to prejudice his spontaneous observations of it.) This technique has been used especially for bringing students across the bridge between primitive and modern cultures, but it is perhaps just as important for bringing children into the common world of learning without destroying their own unique view of the world.

Teachers with a real feeling for children sense this. They sense that the purpose of education is to bring out, rather than to mold, the child. Yet it is rarely discussed with any clarity, since it goes against many of the tacit assumptions underlying the entire educational system. With the change in the entire employment structure of the economy, however, a great soul-searching has begun within the educational system on its goals and methods. This creates the potential for a movement of teachers and others, somewhat like the great progressive education movement of earlier years, calling for the kind of education I have suggested above. Now is the time for radicals concerned

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etc. lie in the Piedmont. Also, the Piedmont is ripe for some sort of organization.

I have decided that this part of the country is not South. You don't get there till you get to South Carolina. The idea of the border state is a good one to use to feel your way into the business.

with education, and those who see their future within the educational system, to start putting together a concrete program for radical change within education and to begin injecting discussion of this kind of program into education classes, schools of education, etc.

Such a change in the educational system, however, will not occur without major changes in the tacit assumptions and values of the society as a whole. At the most basic level, the idea that the purpose of education is to produce people who fit well into the necessities of production must be transformed to the idea that the purpose of education is to allow men to realize their "potential for self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity." This means eventually that the purpose of work must not be profit. More immediately, it means that education must receive a much greater part of the nation's resources. Thus, teachers become a natural ally of other forces which serve to benefit by reallocation of money from military expenditures to the meeting of public needs.

Next, let us turn to a profession rarely discussed as a possibly radical one -- businessman. The public power cooperatives around the country are an example of the kind of group which requires all the skills of a good businessman in their operation, yet they are generally a progressive force in their communities and also a working example of democratic control of public sector industry. The cooperative movement represents another. The creation of a group of radicals seriously discussing the mechanics of democratic control of the public sector on the basis of actual experience with such situations could be very important to the long-range development of a true participatory democracy.

When we come to a discussion of lawyers, we have to be careful that the almost universal tendency of radicals to become liberals when they go into law is not necessary. First, lawyers can be most instrumental in social movements -- and such movements need lawyers attached to them for aid at many points. Second, lawyers can encourage the development of "new law" through the development and application of doctrines with radical implications. The steady decrease in the

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powers an individual has over the property he "possesses" over the past hundred years is an example. Third, lawyers are in a unique position, through various sorts of procedures, to prevent many of the flagrant violations of law by city and state governments and private power centers against the poor and dispossessed. One lawyer in a Southern town, for example, put the fear of god into the local police force merely by filing a series of civil suits against the police chief for various false arrests and cases of police brutality. Such suits, filed repeatedly in cities around the country, might make major changes in vagrancy case handling, use of forced confessions, police unfairness and brutality, arrests on phony charges, and many other devices used against the poor and dispossessed. Various other techniques, such as tax-payer suits, might be used to expose excessive profits on government contracts. No doubt ingenuity can create many more legal tools which can be used for radical purposes, changing the structure of the society rather than just "cleaning it up".

The development of cooperative health insurance plans, with their own doctors and hospital facilities as models on the basis of which the socialization of medicine could be built, would certainly be a contribution to the long-range development of the democratic society. More immediately, the development of a "liberal" caucus within the A.M.A., with local counterparts in every county medical society, aimed eventually to take over the leadership of the organization, would begin the breakup of one of the largest, most powerful conservative power blocs in the country. Furthermore, it would provide an opening wedge for the fight for medicine for people as opposed to medicine for profit. This reorientation of medicine away from business and back to people must be the meaning of radical medicine. How can hospitals be designed to best serve patients, rather than its own bureaucracy? is the kind of question for which radical medicine must propose answers. Finally, the tremendous need of this country for more medicines and better medical treatment for all must become one of the objectives of a doctor's movement. This implies more medical schools (now artificially restricted by the medical profession), more hospitals, more

supplementary personnel, etc. Here again, the progressive elements of the medical profession can become an ally in the movement for the reallocation of resources to public needs. The time has come for a doctors' movement calling for opposition to the A.M.A. position on health care, increased public expenditures to increase medical facilities, the provision of adequate medical treatment to all, and the development of a more patient-oriented, less business-oriented medical practice.

Organized religion is an area where involvement in social reform, both internally and externally, has proceeded farther than in any other at the present time. I would suggest that a study of how progressive currents in American religion have been generated in the Fifties and Sixties might very well yield useful insights into the nature of middle class social movements.

One final point on the radical vocation: the most obvious place for really committed radicals who want careers beyond the level of "ghetto-jumping agitators" is the trade union movement. The research and education director sort of job is desperately in need of first-rate people throughout the movement. The involvement of SDS-type radicals in the union structures, especially at the local level, would put us in the position to propose programs from within, stimulate organizing campaigns, and give aid and comfort to developing rank and file movements. Further, it would allow us to continue our developing radical analysis of the economy and power structure within the mainstream institution most likely to be a vehicle for the changes we desire.

prep

PREP Newsletter #4 (May 1964), focussing on American foreign policy, has been mailed to all SDSers. It includes:

- ** The Brazil coup, including US involvement (plus a brief expose about US Army plans for manipulation of the Brazilian labor movement)
- ** Vietnam -- a background of developments and US policy there
- ** US-Brazil economic relations (shown actually to hurt the Brazilian economy) -- an example of US economic involvement in underdeveloped countries.

The Newsletter is available from PREP, 1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich.

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Against this we believe it possible to develop a perception of common interests leading to the formation of political action organizations capable of encompassing the full range of needs of the deprived community.

In the areas of program and strategy, we are far from satisfactory solutions. We need answers to tough questions: How do we work with unorganized white people to create motion and change? With which classes and groups do we appeal and again against which do we fight? On what political program and social vision do we rely? Time and experience, research and self-education are critical in answering those who question the viability of our program or label us as visionary students charging off into the Other America. We know of no satisfactory blueprint for full employment, shared abundance, equality and democracy. We have only limited ideas about the sources of power or the strategy of change which will carry us into a new society. We have found little information on organizing in the 1930's that has proved relevant to our operations, though we continue to search for the organizing principles of that period.

We enter our work, therefore, with some caution and, as one of our friends has written, as "realistic as one should be in a society that understands better the virtue of passivity than the skills of desirable social change." While we recognize that our own experience in organizing or programming is limited, we expect to learn greatly from each other, as we are already beginning to do.

Program: Should we inventory community needs, and match skills to them (as in Newark)? Or inventory skills, and look for ways of using them to create a human neighborhood, city, and nation? And the practical difficulties of our call for democratic control of the economy would be still great even were the Federal Government to launch a multi-billion dollar program to exterminate poverty: there would remain great gaps between men's incomes, our cities and Congress would remain subject to corporate rule, and there would be no guarantee that a man could shape his own destiny with the assurance of a job or an income for his lifetime.

Organizing Techniques: From experience in the pilot efforts in Chicago, we understand and appreciate far better the role of service and education in developing cohesion among white unemployed. And all recognize the need to identify leaders among the unemployed and other poor -- but how long -- if at all -- should we hold off mass recruitment? And what are we recruiting for? High-visibility demonstrations (such as JOIN's recent appleselling)? Mass demonstrations which would pressure the power structure into compliance with our demands? Direction into electoral action? When? How relate the middle class to the lower class? Whites to Negroes? Rural to urban to suburban? The answers to these questions depend often on the particular area -- but are there general principles. And, last, how do we build a national coalition?

We are learning as new experiments are undertaken in different areas under different conditions and as basic information on the economy and power arrangements of the cities in which we work is collected and applied to our broadest goals. Our hope is to give SDS ideology more practical content. It is a difficult intellectual task that must be faced. The need to communicate our experiences and to share in their analysis must go on, as we seek new ways to shake down the old and develop intelligent solutions to the recognized social problems.

Following are brief introductions to the nine ERAP projects; further information on all of them can be obtained from the ERAP office, 1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Mich.

BALTIMORE

The growing rate of unemployment among Baltimore whites has emerged as a serious problem at the same time that Negro demands for equal opportunities have become militant and articulate. Lacking a comprehensive set of social values, a situation often abetted by the meaninglessness of local politics, the white urban worker or the rural immigrant views the Negro's demands for equal job opportunities as a threat to his livelihood. This, of course, only reinforces any racial prejudices he may already have. Thus we see the tragic irony of those whose problems are most like the Negro's being, all too often, his most bitter opponent. It is

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clear that as the civil rights movement continues to press its demands, the possibility of race riots increases.

For these reasons, it is urgent that students committed to democratic values begin to organize the deprived white community along lines similar to those of the Negro community. The desire of poor and deprived whites for job security, decent housing, and better education must be channelled into a democratic movement similar to the civil rights movement and the two movements eventually integrated.

The Baltimore Project will be conducted in two areas -- white Southeast Baltimore and negro East Baltimore. In each, the populace is deprived in the areas of housing, education, employment, social services, etc. We have chosen unemployment as the focus of organizing for two reasons:

(1) In Baltimore, unemployment seems the most viable common denominator between Negro and white deprived. (2) Unemployment is a basic cause of the deprivation suffered by those we will be working with in Baltimore.

There will be programs for both the unemployed organizing and for the internal education of the group:

Unemployed -- short range: (a) the opening of two offices (one in East Baltimore and one in Southeast Baltimore) which will serve as centers for the recruitment and activity of the unemployed organization; (b) the establishment of an unemployment grievance committee, to handle problems arising in the process of applying for and drawing unemployment compensation benefits; (c) establishment of a bus service and/or car pools to transport unemployed to West Baltimore to draw benefits (a bus service would be better, as it would provide favorable organizing conditions and possibilities for racial communication); (d) the founding of an employment service; (e) cooperation with existing voter registration drives (a prerequisite for long-term electoral activity); (f) efforts for extension and improvement of the Manpower Development and Training Act; (g) active encouragement of unionization among those who become employed and friends and relatives of the unemployed;

(h) establishment of a newspaper and the development of a body of literature dealing with the problems and interests of the unemployed and their communities; (i) educational meetings, discussion groups, and training sessions for the unemployed. Further programs will be designed, and the above modified, as the Project personnel obtain experience.

Unemployed -- long range programs: This is based on the following notions: the poor must organize themselves; they must have as allies many not necessarily poor sectors of society (e.g. labor, middle class liberal organizations, etc.); Baltimore can find economic relief only within the context of a national full employment, growth economy. The long-range program includes: formation and national coordination of inter-racial organizations of the unemployed in the urban centers of the North; political and electoral action in conjunction with other segments of society as noted above, to obtain long-range goals such as full employment legislation.

Student Staff -- program: (a) Research -- the staff will work with members of the academic community, labor unions, social agencies, etc. in researching and analyzing three fields of concern: the unemployed individuals and their community, economic conditions of Baltimore, and the political and economic power structure of Baltimore. (b) Internal education -- seminars, held at least three times a week, dealing with the following fields: the national economy, the sociology of unemployment, the power structure of Baltimore, and strategy and tactics (based largely on discussions and written reports of the day's work).

-- from the Baltimore Project prospectus

BOSTON

The city of Boston, despite brave talk of "the new Boston", seems to be on the decline. It actually lost population between 1950 and 1960, traditional industries such as shoes and textiles have been leaving, poor transportation strangles the city, unemployment is rather high, and a shrinking tax-base has cut off the resources needed to cope with these problems.

In suburban Boston is a booming defense industry complex of electronics firms,

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but lately they too have had some layoffs -- not "just" laborers but professionals and semi-professionals. A specific connection needs to be made -- that of the talents of the suburb-dwellers and the obvious unmet needs of the cities for transportation, hospitals, and education. Many professionals in defense industries have tended to think of their work as "dirty but necessary". With these jobs disappearing, two possibilities are open -- demand the same jobs back (a la Goldwater) or demand new clean jobs. We intend to organize for the latter.

Program: a basic long-range program is to bring major social and economic changes through a coalition of middle- and working-class, white and Negro. In a short-range sense, much of our energies will go into the political campaign of David Bloch, who will be running on a conversion-for-peace platform (he is an engineer himself). The main thrust of the campaign will be to form permanent political organizations, perhaps based on discussion groups, employee groups, and research groups.

Most of us are middle-class. We should not have a communications barrier in the suburbs. Also this project could be the beginning of the "adult politics" many of us have worried about. At least it should provide us with the skills to stay political after graduation.

-- from the Boston Project prospectus

CHESTER

The Chester Project will concentrate its efforts in the Negro ghetto, while also working with other groups in the community. The project will rent a house, purposefully located in the part of town with the worst housing conditions, where all the project activities will be centered. The men will live in the house, and the women will live with families.

The major part of our efforts for the summer will be organizing tenants' councils for a rent strike which the movement in Chester has called. Each organizer will probably be responsible for two tenants' organizations, for intensive work will be required to have any lasting effect on Chester. It is our hope that each organization will develop a sense of

community which will make it worth much more than the concrete improvements in living conditions which may result. Much time will be spent in each organization developing personal contacts, working on positive improvements in the neighborhood and involving the whole organization in making decisions. These groups should be come islands in Chester, islands where people are totally committed to their community and its betterment, rather than just committed to a movement which might do them some good, but which could just as easily pass out of their lives.

Two of the nearly ten project members will be working in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Chester. An organization already exists there, and the people want to open an office in the neighborhood and support it with money from the community. This organization will participate in the rent strike, and is very interested in working on the unemployment problem (perhaps starting with an unemployment service, which could expand its activities to include protest and political action).

The project will also work with labor unions in the Chester and Philadelphia area, in an attempt to organize a large non-union shop. This shop has an integrated work force, and Negro-white cooperation on employment issues would be significant in Chester, where racial conflict often results in violence.

Several project members will spend some time working with middle class groups in the county in an attempt to develop a coalition which could defeat the Republican machine in elections a year and a half from now. The primary reason for doing this is to give people in the movement experience in molding politics to suit their ends (for the movement would be the major force in any coalition); the defeat of the machine is only a secondary reason.

There is a strong possibility that two project members may stay on into the winter on a full-time basis. Swarthmore students will also be involved in Chester next year.

-- by Vernon Grizzard

CHICAGO

Memories of the unemployment of the 1930's were revived to many shoppers, politicians, and businessmen who walked on

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LaSalle St. in downtown Chicago on May 25. These memories were raised by the sight of the unemployed, both Negro and white, selling apples. The demonstration was carried out successfully by the unemployed and the staff of JOIN (Jobs Or Income Now), in spite of threats of intervention by the police and mass arrest.

As it turned out, the people walking in the street, including the special group of detectives that had been assigned to watch us, were very friendly and sympathetic. Many people either donated money to JOIN, or else bought apples for \$1.00 or 50¢ to express their sympathy. The police, who before the demonstration had warned us that peddling in the downtown area was illegal and that we would be arrested immediately, did not bother the apple-selling at all. Rumors said that Mayor Daly himself had been consulted as to whether the police should arrest "the peddlers". Daly apparently decided that he didn't want his liberal reputation tarnished by arresting the unemployed for selling apples. The freedom that we enjoyed on May 25 will not last indefinitely, however.

The apple-selling project is indicative of a general concern with unemployment and economic problems that are causing large readjustments in the activities of civil rights groups, student activists, labor unions, and liberal and radical individuals. Although SDS and ERAP have stressed this issue and taken the lead in the student as well as the adult community, there are many individuals who have showed a concern and demand for action, and many who have preceded us. Thus, the apple-selling project must fit into two situations: (1) as an attempt to develop a movement of the unemployed in Chicago; (2) as symptomatic of a concern and direction that all liberal and radical groups are now entering. That will become the movement of the poor and unemployed.

JOIN is symptomatic of this concern with unemployment (and the necessity to organize on that issue). It was not one individual or organization who started JOIN; rather, it was the coming together of individuals, most of whom came to this analysis independently, and their desire to set up an organization in Chicago that would

begin the long process of organizing. The people who were the creators of JOIN came from labor unions, civil rights groups, the university, and from SDS-ERAP. Also, JOIN was created as an autonomous independent organization, that was not affiliated with any other group or organization.

SDS's involvement in Chicago began when Joe Chabot, former chairman of the SDS chapter at the U. of Michigan (Voice), moved to Chicago as an ERAP staff member to investigate the possibilities of organizing whites, particularly around unemployment and other economic issues. Until the SDS December National Council meeting, Joe spent all of his time making contacts, both with organizational people and people in the street. It was during that time that JOIN was organized, Joe being one of the people involved.

By February, JOIN decided that an office should be set up. A location on the North Side was picked that was four doors from a large unemployment compensation office. The original activities of that office included daily leafleting of the comp. office, staffing the JOIN office, and providing social and legal services for the unemployed. By February Dan Max, an SDS member from NYC, joined the staff; and later Dick Gram from Harvard and the U. of Chicago, also went on staff.

Also, in other parts of Chicago, the Packinghouse Workers assigned Leon Beverly, an international representative, to JOIN to set up an office on the South Side near the Stockyards. That office was set up soon afterwards and for the past three months JOIN has had two functioning offices and four staff members.

More recently, Lee Webb, former SDS National Secretary, was assigned by ERAP to direct the ERAP summer project which will be working with JOIN. More information on JOIN will be in the next SDS Bulletin. For more direct communication, write Lee Webb, JOIN, 4633 N. Lawndale, Chicago 25.

-- by Lee Webb

CLEVELAND

Cleveland is a city of 876,000, of whom 29% are Negro. The Negro population largely resides on the East Side of the city, while the West Side is primarily white. A portion of the West Side, known as the Near West Side, has a growing con-

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centration of the problems of poverty, unemployment, economic dependency, transiency, poor housing, school dropouts.

The summer project will focus on two basic areas: one will be concerned with the Near West Side community, and the other will deal primarily with the problem of unemployment on a city-wide level. The purpose of this article is to discuss the problems the Project is facing in each area, as well as to sketch some programmatic ideas.

On the community level, our foremost problem was the need to find a way of entry into the community, to learn more about its residents, to establish personal contact with them. The Near West Side community is characterized predominantly by atomization and fragmentation. The population consists of Appalachian and Southern whites, East Europeans, and Puerto Ricans. The heterogeneity in itself is divisive and is compounded by the fact that each of these groups has a peculiar culture of its own, which has been quite resistant to change. The Southern white, as an individual, tends to be extremely independent and self-reliant, and to identify with "home", rather than with the city. Some of the 12 members of the project will be living in or near "Hillbilly Haven", as the local lingo calls it. We hope in this way to broaden our understanding of the culture.

Three possible techniques for relation to the community were open: (1) Survey. Start by taking a "survey" whereby we would be able to visit each household and become acquainted with the community. This possibility was rejected, since we felt that the community has already been "over-surveyed", and that people would react negatively to another survey. (2) Tutorial. A city-wide tutorial program is being planned for the summer by a local group. We felt we might be able to be responsible for the program on the Near West Side, thus having some service to offer the community, and giving us the opportunity to make contact with parents through their children. This possibility was also rejected, for two reasons -- first, the level of community and parental interest in education is extremely low, much lower than in the Negro commu-

ity, so it seemed that people with whom we could establish an active tutorial relationship would not be those people with whom we are most interested in making contact; second, a tutorial would represent a constant drain on our resources, and would significantly hamper our ability to reform our program during the summer, as we learn more about the community. (3) Voter registration. A number of community institutions have expressed an interest in conducting a voter registration campaign this summer in the Near West Side. We feel that by spending four weeks working intensively on this activity, we should be able to cover the community and this would end our commitment to voter registration per se. We would both be offering a visible service to the community, which would give us a rationale for being there, and at the same time would provide for ourselves a technique for establishing contact with households and individuals in the community. The disadvantages of voter registration are twofold: First, we are not working in conjunction with any positive candidates or clear issues, so that there really is no legitimate short-run reason why people should be registered. The alternatives offered to people in the November election are not really exciting ones, and we might in fact be registering people who will vote for right-wing candidates, or against civil rights issues. Second, many of the people whom we want to reach may be hostile to the political machine which has given them no benefits in the past. In spite of the problems associated with it, voter registration seems to be the most realistic initial focus for the project.

Although we are now uncertain which issue to develop on the community level later in the summer, several possibilities show potential. Whether we will attempt to develop block organizations, or neighborhood-wide multi-issue organization, can not be determined at the present time.

The second focus of the project will be the issue of unemployment. Although there is considerable white unemployment, the bulk of unemployment in the city is concentrated in the Negro community. Cleveland CORE has expressed interest in a program for the unemployed, and we have been trying to develop with them a framework within which a potentially integrated movement of the unemployed can grow.

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There are three levels on which the initial organizing effort could be carried out: the "mobile unit" level, the city-wide level, and the neighborhood level. A mobile unit, such as a station wagon, could travel to areas outside the unemployment compensation offices, near day-labor hiring centers, on street corners frequented by unemployed youth, near pool halls and bars, etc. By offering coffee or soft drinks, the unemployed could be drawn into discussion of their problems. On the city-wide level, offices could be established in the vicinity of unemployment compensation offices, or within the Negro and white communities where there is a high concentration of unemployed. These offices would serve as centers for the unemployed to provide services, education, and to stimulate protest actions. On the neighborhood level, unions of the unemployed could be established, perhaps within the structure of already existing block clubs, Parents' Associations, or community organizations established by CORE. The purpose of such groups would be to draw in the "invisible unemployed", such as those school drop-outs who have never had jobs, or those long-term unemployed whose compensation benefits have run out. Part of the effort on this level would be toward removing the stigma attached to unemployment, and toward developing a focus for education on the issues of unemployment.

Which of these three levels will characterize the initial organizing efforts has not been determined. However, the immediate goals for the summer would be the development of a corps of committed leadership, composed of the unemployed, who would work toward establishing a union of the unemployed.

With such tentative foci, we look forward to a summer of decisions and action!

-- by Charlotte Phillips and Ollie Fein

HAZARD

The Hazard Project is being run by the Committee for Miners (CFM) and the Appalachia Comm. for Full Employment (ACFE). SDS is involved by virtue of its close organizational relationship with CFM. The project will include CFM's Hamish Sinclair as Director, an office manager, and eight field people, divided as follows:

**2 on Government Projects -- focusing on exposing the inadequacies of Government Projects in the area, especially the job retraining program; the project will attempt to exhaust the resources of the retraining program as fast as possible by flooding it with applications.

**2 doing Social Work -- to augment the one case worker now with ACFE.

**2 with Youth, one to concentrate on unemployed youth, the other to work with high school students

**1 doing research

**If money permits, some students may work in the CFM office in Washington, to serve as a lobbying and grievance processing center.

-- from the Hazard Project prospectus

LOUISVILLE

Since the early Fifties, Louisville and Kentucky have had seriously high levels of unemployment. The latest report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission estimate that almost 40% of the employable Negroes in Louisville are unemployed. Private estimates place white unemployment at about 23%, while the state-wide rate is about 25%. This unemployment, while certainly related to cybernation and automation, is also due to distinctly orthodox economic difficulties. Other problems include: (1) the flow of capital out of the state; (2) with high unemployment in the Appalachian area of the state, Louisville's importance as a distribution center is diminished. Suggested solutions include State-Federal building programs, extension of welfare, and government establishment of industry for the purpose of job-creation (not profit).

The summer project will involve aiding the work of the already-established West End Community Council, a community organization trying to preserve the West End (a section of Louisville) as a good, multi-racial community. The WECC, working primarily through block organizations, is most active in the field of housing.

The project cannot, of course, escape the discrimination/segregation problem. Recently, Project Director Bill Dady, after buying a membership in a "white-only" private pool, proceeded to go to swim -- with (as provided in the membership) some guests, some of them Negro. Refused en-

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trance, they sat-in. The result was sympathetic coverage by Louisville media and considerable publicity for the summer Project and SDS.

-- from the Louisville Project prospectus

NEWARK

The Newark Project, an attempt to establish a grass roots movement around the issue of employment (supplemented by the issues of housing and education for which some base exists), is being jointly undertaken by the (local) Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council, the National and Newark Committees for Full Employment, and SDS. SDS will provide the 12 workers, including three to stay year-round; CHNC is housing them; Newark COFE is providing a Director and office; and National CORE a research consultant.

In addition to the unemployment problem, there are many needs for social services (education, recreation, police protection, etc.) and the displacement of 13,500 families by new building.

The main program includes: (1) analysis of existing employment programs of state, Federal, and local bodies; (2) analysis of city services in the areas of social needs-mentioned above; (3) employment potentials in renewal -- how many jobs of what types could be created as a result of a full-scale community improvement effort; (4) civil rights efforts, in conjunction with existing groups; (5) development of a total picture of Newark's manpower needs and resources. These areas will all be the subject of both research and action.

-- from the Newark Project prospectus

PHILADELPHIA

The goals of the project are (1) greater utilization of existing federal and local programs in the areas of education, employment, and housing; (2) a fuller understanding by the community and staff of the complexities of these problems; (3) the establishment of a strong community organization to begin to deal with these problems. I see the program, at least during the first weeks, as a lot of door-to-door work, seeing if it is possible to get at least a segment of the community organized around employment. A second part of the initial program will be work-

ing with children -- many people with younger kids (community services) and some with older ones, perhaps in the gangs. That means, I think, a fair amount of work at playgrounds, and perhaps early evening work on the streets. Some of our efforts will involve finding jobs -- perhaps only for a few weeks' stretch; or only part-time -- forwhomever we can. A service of this kind would give us an excuse for existing, and could help to demonstrate that we're really concerned with the community's problems. Part of the program will be meetings of unemployed youth for athletics and for orientation to the possibilities of working for better job and housing conditions. Similar organizations have been established in NY, Chicago, and San Francisco. We expect to work in the street corner shape-ups which recruit day farm labor in the early morning. Staff members will do extensive research through reading, consultation with others, and the door-to-door surveys mentioned above. Jim Bundy, a staff member has a large grant to study the role of politics in public housing programs in the area; and Russ Stetler, working with but not a member of the staff, has a grant to study the change in class and community consciousness which the project brings about -- or doesn't. (Both of these are Haverford students.) Swarthmore C. has given the project a \$150 grant to publish a report on the whole project. All this goes on in addition to the regular research work.

The project will probably spend some time organizing around a March for Jobs on Labor Day, which it, a political group called the Independent Citizens Comm. (reform Dems), and several local labor unions are cosponsoring. The absence of explicit program on housing is due to the presence in the area of a housing group, with whom we'll be working.

-- by Nick Egelson

TRENTON

Trenton is N.J.'s capitol. The light industry on which it depends for support is stagnating. Overall population declined 10.8% between 1950 and 1960. By 1960, Negro population was 22.5% of the total (a 1957 estimate by city planners was 17% Negro population by 1975). The city is run by a Democratic machine which has been ineffectual in solving the city's problems.

Cosponsoring the summer project with SDS