

GRAPE STRIKE, 2ND MONTH



THE TWO TONE FLAG is an October innovation in the strike: red for blood, black for sorrow. It is allegedly used by Mexican unions.

SPECIAL TO THE MOVEMENT

GEORGE BALLIS

DELANO --

During October, the Delano grape strike grew into a movement. Ministers and college students joined the picket lines. Union members in Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, Fresno, and Washington (the Industrial Union department, AFL-CIO) donated money. Civil-rights, Mexican-American, union, liberal and church groups throughout the state gathered food, clothing and money. Strike leaders visited campuses to raise money.

As the growers became aware of the growing strength of the movement, they pulled out all the repressive and divisive tactics they could use.

The Philippine Counsel was transported to Delano, where he urged the Filipino strikers to return to work at their old pay rates. The strikers retaliated by picketing his office in Los Angeles and calling for his recall. The Counsel then declared his belief in higher wages.

The Poverty Program

When a \$267,000 War on Poverty grant was awarded to the striking Farm Workers Association, Democratic Congressman Harlan Hagen immediately flew from Washington to Delano. There he blasted the union and the poverty grant. He met with growers and urged them to ignore the unions, organize the workers themselves and set their own wages and working conditions.

One of Hagen's chief objections was that federal funds might be used as a tool against the growers. He did not seem concerned that the gigantic federal subsidies to the growers might be used against the unions. Most of the ranches being struck are receiving irrigation water from the federally-constructed Friant-Kern Canal. The cost of furnishing this water is \$700

an acre. Growers repay \$123. The rest is pure subsidy.

"Legal" Harassment

Kern and Tulare County sheriffs ruled that no shouting would be allowed on the picket lines. Strictly enforced, this would ruin their effectiveness. Shouting is the only way pickets on the road can communicate with workers in the fields.

48 hours after this ruling was announced, Rev. David Havens, FWA staffer, was arrested for reading Jack London's definition of a scab in a voice that could be heard 50 feet away.

Mass Arrests

Two days later, 44 persons, including nine ministers and a mother of 11, were arrested by Kern County authorities. They had set out purposely to test the sheriff's ruling. They were booked for violating



ARRESTED MINISTER being frisked. Rev. Francis Geddes of San Francisco, one of 9 ministers jailed.

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MOVEMENT

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44 Arrested: Strike Gets Wide Support

that ruling. They were booked for illegal assembly and failure to disperse.

FWA Vice-President Dolores Huerta was arrested twice in one week for trespassing. The first time she was held 24 hours and released on her own recognizance. She claims she did not enter the property. The second arrest occurred when she inadvertently led a crew of pickets down a private road which from appearances, black-topped and all, looked like a public road. All were arrested by Kern County deputies when a grower signed a complaint. Bail was set at \$276 each, a staggering total of \$12,144.

Attack on a Picket

The day before Rev. Havens was arrested for reading aloud (he told police he was reading a sermon), grower George Dulcich choked a picket so hard he broke the leather camera strap around the picket's neck. A cop who witnessed it did nothing.

A Kern deputy witnessed grower Charles Dispoto knock strike leader Hector Abeytia, who is crippled, to the ground and beat him. The deputy reported it to Delano city police. By the time they arrived, Dispoto had left. Both Abeytia and a witness named Dispoto as the assailant. The police report, however, recorded the assailant as unknown. Only after a two-day visit by a man from the state Attorney General's office would the Kern County District Attorney accept Abeytia's complaint.

15 minutes after Dispoto attacked Abeytia, police witnessed Dispoto and another striker, Bert Delarmente, shouting at one another. Delarmente made a few menacing remarks. He was arrested on the spot for striking Dispoto.

Dispoto is over 6 feet tall and weighs over 200 pounds. Delarmente is a foot shorter and 100 pounds lighter.

On Picket lines Dispoto has repeatedly



PICKET LINE IN SF. (L to R) Bob Mang, Friends Committee on Legislation; Mexican-American construction worker; Abel Gonzales, head of Centro Social Obrero; Paul Jacobs, author. For story on Schenley picket see page 5.

kicked, elbowed, tripped, kneed and cursed strikers in full view of police. Nothing has been done.

"Mississippi West"

Ministers assisting the strikers have been stopped by police for no other reason than to get their names. One car of ministers was stopped because they had a "gun" in the back seat. The gun turned out to be a rolled-up American flag.

The hostility of the police has earned Delano the title of "Mississippi West."

Strike Will Continue

The real squeeze on the growers will come after the harvest is completed -- around Thanksgiving. Then the skilled work of pruning the vines for next years' crop begins.

It looks as if the strike will continue through the pruning and into the next harvest. The unions may use the tactic of a boycott.

The grape strike of 1965, now two months old, is just beginning.

FRAUD IN ARKANSAS SCHOOL ELECTIONS

Negro candidates ran for seats on School Boards across the state of Arkansas this fall. Of the 30 who ran, all but one was defeated -- that one opposed by another Negro. SNCC backed a number of these candidates, and has first-hand accounts of fraud used to defeat them.

IN FORREST CITY an official representative at the polls witnessed a group of Negroes enter the polling place and hand their registration cards to the election judges. The judge waited until after 6:30 P.M. the closing time, to tell them they were at the wrong polling place. By then, it was too late for them to vote.

After the polls were closed, a group of Negroes was turned away, being told it was too late to vote. A well-dressed white woman then drove up and was permitted to vote.

A poll-watcher also reported that the election judge was calling out the ballots to the clerks. He called the names of the white candidates when the Negro candidates were marked on the ballot. She was afraid to complain about it at the time.

In GOULD, a town 82% Negro, fraud occurred at each of the three polling places. At City Hall poll-watchers counted the number of white and Negro voters. A total of 272 persons voted. The judges total, however came to 288. At the Youth Center the pollwatchers counted 243 voters; the judge gave 304 votes to the white candidate.

At the Douglass Store 7 votes were recorded for the Negro candidate, but 12 people are willing to sign the affidavits that they voted for this candidate.

IN WEST MEMPHIS there were a large number of missing ballots. A rigidly enforced system of segregation at the polling place made easy the task of eliminating ballots of Negro voters.

At the West Memphis Junior High School almost 1000 ballots were unaccounted for. A poll-watcher counted 569 Negro voters between 12:05 and 6:30 p.m. and estimated that twice that number of whites voted. The Memphis Evening Times corroborates this. However, a total of only 578 votes was recorded. This indicated that massive vote fraud took place.

IN HELENA, in the Negro district, there was excessive police presence, amounting to indirect police intimidation. A police dog was left unchained and unattended in a police car parked outside the polling place. The windows of the car were left open, and the dog ran back and forth in the car, snarling and barking at voters.

The judges at the Arkansas Street Fire Station in Helena accompanied most Negro voters into the voting booths and watched them vote. Many election judges were seen moving from one polling place to another during the voting, leading to the suspicion that illegal activities were being coordinated.

In each of these cities, a number of Arkansas laws were violated. SNCC workers feel, however, that going to the courts would be futile. The illegal practices do not represent isolated accidental instances, but a deliberate policy to make meaningless the Negro vote. "This policy has the approval, tacit or outright, and the support, implicit or explicit, of the political and judicial figures who are res-

ponsible for enforcing these laws," says the Special SNCC Report on the Arkansas elections.

Action can be taken on the Federal level, the report continues, "but the Voting Rights Act will be as meaningless as all the earlier Civil Rights Acts which 'protected' voting rights -- unless the Federal Government enforces it fully, aggressively and promptly. It is not enough for the FBI to ask a few questions the day after and send another report to Washington.

"The Constitution does not say 'the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied except when it is too much trouble, or politically inexpedient for the Federal Government to prevent it'."

The effect of a failure on the part of the Federal Government is predictable," the SNCC Report concludes, "Until now, many Negro Arkansans have maintained their faith that the ballot box is the way to secure social justice. The continued denial of effective suffrage can be expected to erode that faith. Time is running out."

S.F. PLANS URBAN REMOVAL OF AGED

The San Francisco Redevelopment Agency and its director Justin Herman are rapidly earning reputations as people-removers. Their current redevelopment scheme represents the best in this tradition. A massive bulldozing program will remove industries and homes from an 87-acre downtown area South of Market Street christened by the agency "Yerba Buena." Negro dwellers pushed out of Yerba Buena will be forced as always to crowd into the racial ghettos elsewhere in San Francisco.

A large number of workers will be reporting to their local unemployment office. Many firms displaced by redevelopment will leave the city or go out of business altogether. The agency's program will jeopardize thousands of jobs.

That's in the near future: The redevelopment agency's long range plans for San Francisco call for the "revitalization" of 1100 acres South of Market. In other words, the agency intends to rezone light industry right out of the city.

Old People Victimized

Workers and residents will get the short end, not unusual for persons living in redevelopment areas. But there are other unwanted citizens in Yerba Buena who, unlike Negroes and workers, have neither a civil rights movement nor unions to back them. These are the senior citizens of the city.

Over a thousand live alone; others live in more than fifty hotels. They will be displaced by the redevelopment agency. Virtually all hotels in Yerba Buena, whether structurally unsound or not, are scheduled for demolition.

The severe impact upon the aged of such an indiscriminant policy is familiar to the Redevelopment Agency. The agency has hired consultants, whose findings, if taken seriously, should make Mr. Herman and the Redevelopment Agency reconsider their position on Yerba Buena.

Bad Health, No Mobility

The most impressive findings are the least surprising. That is, the economic situation and physical health of these aged citizens have much to be desired. Their meagre incomes qualify over 90 percent of them for public housing. Many are disabled; half are afflicted with one or more of such disorders as heart disease, arthritis and nervous ailments. The physical and economic liabilities of the aged limit their mobility and curtail their activities.

For these reasons, low rents and a central downtown location offer major advantages to the aged. Inexpensive restaurants and movies are easy to reach. But if the Agency wins, the enjoyment of such convenient facilities will become just another memory to the senior citizen.

In their downtown location in Yerba Buena, more than 80 percent of the single residents spend under \$40 a month for rent. Only public housing units could match this. But according to the Agency's report, the displacement of elderly persons from another redevelopment project will absorb the entire supply of public housing units available to the aged.

Rental costs in private accommodations are climbing upward. One consultant for the Agency observed that rising rents have already caused many senior citizens around the city to move. In another downtown section of San Francisco (the Tenderloin District) rooms at reasonable rents have been available to single adults. This too is changing. The agency's own consultant found that "some of these hotels in the 'Tenderloin' area have been remodeled, the rates raised, and once again the pensioners are being displaced." When the agency demolishes the fifty or so hotels in Yerba Buena, rents will rise even more.

Forty Percent Rent

Twenty percent of one's income is gen-

erally considered a fair percentage to be allotted for rent, though it can be argued that even this figure is too high for senior citizens. The Redevelopment Agency, on the other hand, claims that 20 percent is too modest. They say that certain welfare agencies allot over 40 percent of their monthly payment for rent. Maybe so. But for senior citizens not on welfare, such a large allocation for rent is likely to drive them onto the welfare rolls.

The agency claims that higher rents might be necessary for improved housing. Apparently nothing is too good for the senior citizen — provided he pays for it out of his own pocket.

In a report on their relocation program the agency states that the "excellent public and commercial transportation systems" make acceptable for relocation housing any area in the city. Translated into plain English it can only mean, "Senior citizens, go to hell."

A Sports Arena

Displacing residents from their homes, and workers from their jobs is serious

business. Is it really necessary? The agency argues that it is. The main feature of the Yerba Buena project includes the construction of a \$34 million convention hall-sports arena complex. The agency says a sports arena and convention center will serve the best interests of the city.

Already existing facilities are empty for a substantial part of the year. Even the agency's consultant claims that an additional convention hall and sports arena will add no more than one or two events a year to the current schedule.

It is curious that the agency pays little or no attention to a study which they themselves sponsored and financed. The agency still plans to clear Yerba Buena of sound as well as unsound properties to make room for this dubious venture, presumably in the best interests of the city.

Shouldn't the needs and aspirations of Negroes, workers, small businessmen, and senior citizens constitute part of the city's best interest? They make-up after all, the majority of the city's citizens. Yet for one reason or another, this doesn't seem to matter to the Redevelopment Agency. What does matter are the interests of the real estate investors. They have apparently convinced the Redevelopment Agency that whatever is best for themselves must be best for the city.

Origin: A Land Grab

The Redevelopment Agency had originally intended to rehabilitate Yerba Buena for light industrial use. But in 1954, and again in 1955, Benjamin Swig, owner of the Fairmont Hotel, came along with an alternative proposal: A large-scale Rockefeller Center type of development which would include office buildings and a convention center.

Swig donated \$3200 to the Redevelopment Agency to study the feasibility of his proposal. Other real estate interests later entered the scene, and the original plan has been amended accordingly. With the rather aggressive cooperation of the press as well as a range of "civic minded" organizations, the Yerba Buena project proposal is now presented as serving the "best interests" of the public.

Whenever the private ambitions of real estate become defined as the public interest, the people are in trouble. Any opposition by the public to the schemes of private speculators is interpreted as hostile to the best interests of the city. Prominent San Franciscans privately opposed to the Redevelopment Agency frequently remain silent for fear they will be so labeled.

This brand of urban patriotism has weakened the struggle against private interest urban renewal. Yerba Buena is an appropriate place to renew this fight.

HARRY BRILL

REDEVELOPMENT SCANDAL

Justin Herman Breaks Federal Regulation Rather Than Talk to Minority Leaders

SAN FRANCISCO — The Federal Urban Renewal Manual of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) sets down the administrative regulations which all local redevelopment agencies must follow.

In it there is a section called "Report on Minority Group Considerations." It requires that when "... a project will result in a substantial net reduction in the supply of housing in the project area available to minority groups ..." the Agency must describe:

"Steps taken, and results achieved, in consulting with representative leadership in the minority group; and the representative character of the leadership consulted."

The S.F. Redevelopment Agency is planning to clear what they call the Yerba Buena Area, south of Market Street. Over half the families are non-white. All will be moved.

Did the Redevelopment Agency consult with the leadership? No.

We quote from the Agency Report (R 215): "Representative leadership of the minority community has not been consulted on this project because of the events which have taken place in relation to the Western Addition Area 2 Project."

What were these "events?" The minority

community — Negro — opposed the Redevelopment plan and fought it vigorously. Or, as the Agency puts it:

"... in the sweep of national concern for the improvement of rights and opportunities of minority group citizens, the leadership of local civil rights groups has been alerted to take a strong position in opposition to urban renewal."

There would seem to be solid front of inconvenient opposition facing Justin Herman and his Redevelopment Agency ... but not

"... due in part to the unanimous approval given the Area 2 Plan by the Board of Supervisors, there has been a division in the leadership of the NAACP and the United Freedom Movement that makes it difficult to approach minority leaders at this time. For this reason the Redevelopment Agency believes that it is inappropriate to submit the Relocation Program for Yerba Buena Center for consideration by these groups presently."

In other words, if minority leadership is opposed, Justin won't talk to them; if they're split, Justin won't talk to them. Presumably only if they are unanimously in favor of Justin's current plan to remove them from their homes, will he consider talking with them. And if Federal regulations get in the way — too bad.

Mississippi Welfare Rights Committee

Will Not Enforce Welfare Rights Laws

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI — Social welfare was a big issue in Greenwood last summer, according to returned volunteer Rosemary Bacon of San Francisco. Civil rights workers collected dozens of complaints from welfare recipients.

A farm worker earning \$5 a day, whose daughter had rheumatic fever, could not receive welfare aid and was too deeply in debt to buy medicine or proper food.

A 70-year-old widow, needing medical care, was allowed only \$15 a month for living expenses by the Welfare Department. The Department also forced her to spend her monthly Social Security check of \$33, to pay old doctor and hospital bills.

A mass meeting, which packed the Elks' Hall, was held and a Welfare Rights Committee formed. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (the "Inc Fund") offered to apply pressure in Washington. The Inc Fund attorneys recommended also that Committee members take statements to prepare demands upon the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Under Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) could investigate Le-

Flore County's entire welfare system and cut off federal funds if it found that the county failed to provide equal services for Negroes and whites.

There are several obstructions in the way of the Greenwood Committee. One is that



GREENWOOD WOMAN and family, unable to get welfare because husband earns \$15 a week. The baby has rickets.

"Washington

Mississippi refuses to accept available Federal aid. The state no longer provides medical care for the indigent; it refused to sign a compliance agreement to treat white and Negro equally. The state has also passed a new law that threatens fines and jail sentences for any mother — on welfare or off — who has more than one illegitimate child.

Another difficulty, according to Jesse Devore of the Inc Fund staff, is that "welfare is a political problem. Health, Education, and Welfare simply refuses to take federal funds away from welfare agencies violating Title 6 — obviously because of pressure from Southern Congressmen."

A final problem is that the Inc Fund itself is swamped with other cases. The New York Office turned the Greenwood complaints over to the Jackson, Mississippi office, which seems unable to handle the legal problems.

Still, Mrs. Bacon feels, the Greenwood Welfare Rights Committee revealed some vast gaps in our public assistance and social insurance programs, and demonstrated to mothers in Greenwood the necessity of changes on the state and federal level.

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EDITORIAL OFFICE:
1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco
California, MA 6-4577

EDITORIAL GROUP:

Terence Cannon
Bernice Glenn
George Ballis
Jeannette Harris
Jean Hume
Brooks Penney
Jackie Penney
Rev. Bill Grace
Gerhardt Gschiedle
Judi Lynch
Ellen Estrin

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE:
478-9509

Bob Niemann
Sue Douglas
Beth Hoffman
Martin Van Buren

LOS ANGELES ADDRESS:

P. O. Box 117
308 Westwood Plaza
Los Angeles 24

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700 ARRESTED IN NATCHEZ

NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI --

" . . . Several hours later we were given out underwear, the only clothing any of us had throughout our stay. The law officials tending us were always threatening brutality. Several people were unable to bear the intense cold and broke down into fits of screaming and crying. The prison doctor treated them rudely and discourteously, arriving several hours after the victims were stricken. . . . We were given heavy doses of laxatives . . . The only reason in sending us to Parchman was the obviously sadistic one of degrading and dehumanizing us . . . We tried exercises and such to keep warm but all we had to stand on was the cold concrete floor and all we had to sit on were the frigid steel bunks. In my cell water had leaked all over the floor. It was like an icy lake right below us. It's a wonder more of us didn't crack under the strain."

-- Phil Lapansky, arrested in the Natchez demonstrations.

On August 27, George Metcalf, President of the NAACP in Natchez, Mississippi, was seriously injured by a bomb attached to the ignition of his car. Mr. Metcalf was one of the first local people to speak out in favor of the movement.

Since the bombing, almost 700 people have been arrested for parading, picketing, and in harassment arrests. Four hundred were sent to Parchman State Penitentiary, 200 miles away. In Parchman, the prisoners were brutally treated. All were forced to drink a large amount of laxative. They were left naked or in underwear in 40 degree weather in cells with open windows and air conditioning.

A Klan Town

Natchez has always been known in the movement as one of the toughest towns in Mississippi. Located in the southwest corner of the state, it is a Klan stronghold and the home of I. L. McDaniels, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of Mississippi. The Klan recently set up a permanent office in Natchez and Grand Dragon McDaniels stated that he was no longer working as a truck driver. "I am working full time Kluxing," he said.

The day after the bombing of Mr. Metcalf's car, the Negro community presented the Natchez City Council with 12 demands. Leaders stated they would march if the demands were not granted. (Earlier, white citizens had called for a bi-racial committee, but the Council had refused). Over 500 people gathered to march on September 2nd, but NAACP official Charles Evers cancelled the march when 650 units of National Guardsmen arrived in the city.

Several marches to City Hall were made during September. On October 2 an attempted march was made by 700 people. All were arrested within a block of the church where they had gathered. The marchers were loaded into buses, firewagons, and police cars and taken to the city auditorium. The police released children under the age of 12. The adults were sent to Parchman.

Successful Boycott

More people were arrested for picketing downtown stores. The Negro community had been boycotting downtown merchants for about three weeks and business was off 25-50%, according to Natchez Mayor John Nossor. Reports from SNCC workers say the boycott was almost 100% effective among the Negroes.

By October 4, the total of Natchez demonstrators in Parchman had reached 409. Bond was set at \$200 apiece. Many cases of brutality were documented. Mrs. Annie Tillman, a local woman, reported that guards ordered all the women to remove their shoes and sweaters and then forced them to swallow laxatives. One of the women was pregnant. Mrs. Tillman said that a female guard tore off her blouse while searching her and that male guards made her take off all her clothes except her pants.

It was reported that Rev. Henry Russell of Natchez was whipped and Rev. Sampson of SCLC slapped. Samuel Carter, a high school teacher in Natchez and James Herman Johnson, a student at Alcorn Jr. College, both reported being stripped for an examination of their genitals.

Parchman officials refused to provide any transportation back to Natchez, 200 miles away, for those freed on bond. The Delta Ministry reported that it spent \$1500 for bus transportation to return demonstrators from Parchman to Natchez.

Ignored Demands

On October 12, the Negro leaders again presented their demands, this time in modified form. Only two were granted: a squad car for Negro police, and a police escort for Negro funerals. Other requests were dealt with vaguely: asked that they call adult Negroes by Mr., Miss, or Mrs., the Council replied they would treat all people with equal courtesy.

Unanswered went demands for a stiffer housing code and integration of the public pools. Mayor Nossor said the NAACP was "still asking for things that are not in our jurisdiction" and was "ignoring racial progress" the city had made, such as registering 3,000 Negro voters in the last three months.

"Burn It Up!"

Evers and other NAACP officials met to consider their response. The city's reply was read to a meeting of 1200 people. "Burn it up!" someone yelled when the reading finished. Commenting on the city's statement, Evers said, "We haven't been given anything. I believe we shall continue to negotiate, but the best time to get what we want is now."

Mrs. Mamie Lee Mazique, secretary of the Natchez NAACP, said of the city's actions against the Negro community, "They thought they would stop us by arresting us and sending us off to the state prison farm . . . What they did was help us. After people came back from Parchman and told about being forced to take laxatives, more people turned out for the marches than ever before." If talks don't produce results, says Mrs. Mazique, "We will go right back in the street again."

Natchez Corporations

Natchez is the home of International Paper Co., Johns-Manville Corporation, and Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company. Mr. Metcalf's car was bombed in the parking lot of Armstrong Tire, where Metcalf worked. All of these companies have remained silent during the current racial crisis. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has called a boycott against Sears-Roebuck and Company, which effectively controls Armstrong Tire.

PEOPLE'S PAPERS

(A monthly listing of newspapers and publications put out by community and grass roots organizations.)

m f d p news letter

News directly from the Mississippi front. State office, MFDP, 507 North Parish Street, Jackson.

el malcriado

Now published in English as well as Spanish. Militant voice of the Farm Workers Association. Box 894, Delano, California. \$2 a year.

newsletter from Dr.

Ben Yellen

Muckraking newsletter by a Brawley, California Councilman attacking the big growers of Imperial Valley. 128 South 8th Street, Brawley, California. Contributions.

what's happening

A newspaper in which teenagers of New York express their views. c/o Mr. F.E. Campbell, 32 West 131st Street, New York City.

Thank You

Mr. Steele

"The Bay Area Urban League is proud of its record of over 1000 job placements since the inception of its Skills Bank Program in June, 1964. We are not, however, unaware of the fact that without the demonstrations of NAACP, CORE, the Ad Hoc Committee, the United Freedom Movement, and others, we would probably be talking in terms of about 100 job placements. Demonstrations have been both necessary and effective and they have brought about long overdue changes."

Percy Steele, Executive Director, Bay Area Urban League.

Harvard Part of the Mississippi Power Structure?

One habit of wealthy Northern liberals is to disclaim any responsibility for the evils that exist "down there" in the South. This is mostly a myth. The power that many respectable "pro-integration" liberals have over the actual conditions in the South is rarely revealed.

A letter, sent to the Harvard Crimson by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, shows some of these powerful connections. "We maintain," the letter begins, "that the President and Fellows of Harvard University, and Harvard University as an institution, must bear heavy responsibility for what has happened and will happen in Mississippi."

"Harvard University, through its holdings, plays an important role in the dominant economic, social and political institutions of Mississippi. Let's see how.

Middle South Utilities

"According to reports filed with the Security and Exchange Commission for 1961, the President and Fellows of Harvard College are the largest stock holder in Middle South Utilities, Inc.

"Furthermore, Paul C. Cabot, Treasurer of the University, is Chairman of the State Street Investment Corp., which is the third largest stockholder in Middle South. . .

"Again, Thomas D. Cabot, Overseer of the University, is a member of the Advisory Board of Massachusetts Investors Trust, which is the second largest stockholder in Middle South.

"These three entities control 4.5% of the outstanding stock of Middle South. In a corporation with outstanding shares amounting to almost 19 million, this is a formidable voting bloc. What is Middle

South Utilities? It is a holding company.

"Among the operating companies wholly-owned by Middle South is the Mississippi Power and Light Company, which sells electric power to the western half of Mississippi. Thus, Harvard University, as an institution, and through at least two members of its ruling body, is intimately involved in the economy of Mississippi.

"We can show that Harvard University, through Mississippi Power and Light, is closely connected to the largest banks, the White Citizens' Council, and the Democratic Party of Mississippi, which are the dominant economic, social and political institutions of Mississippi.

"Electric power and finance capital form the keystone of industrialization. . . Mississippi Power and Light is the largest producer of electric power in Mississippi. Electric power is fundamental to commerce and industry.

Harvard's Segregationists

"Now let's look at Harvard's connections in Mississippi.

"First, R.B. Wilson of Jackson Mississippi, is a member of the Board of Directors of Middle South Utilities. He is also President and a member of the Board of Directors of Mississippi Power and Light. In addition, Mr. Wilson is a member of the Board of Directors of the Deposit Guaranty Bank and Trust Company of Jackson, Mississippi, the largest bank in the state.

"Then there is William P. McMullen, a Director of Mississippi Power and Light. Mr. McMullen is also Chairman, Chief Executive Officer, a Director and important stockholder of Deposit Guaranty Bank and Trust Company. Mr. McMullen occupies a seat on the Board of Directors of

the Jackson White Citizens' Council.

"Another member of the Board of Directors of Mississippi Power and Light is Robert M. Hearin, who is President, Director and member of the Advisory Committee of the First National Bank of Jackson, and controls the second largest percentage of outstanding stock of First National Bank. Mr. Hearin is a colonel on the official staff of Mississippi Governor Paul Johnson.

"The Public Information Director for Mississippi Power and Light is Alex McKeigney, who holds a seat on the Board of Directors of the Jackson Citizens' Council.

Deposit Guaranty Bank

"A scorecard of Directors of Deposit Guaranty Bank and Trust Company would read the following way. On the Deposit Guaranty Board there is one member who sits on the Board of Middle South Utilities (principal stockholder, Harvard University).

"There are two Deposit Guaranty Board members who sit on the Board of Mississippi Power and Light (wholly owned by Middle South Utilities). There are five Deposit Guaranty Board members who sit on the Board of Directors of the Jackson White Citizens' Council. And there are two Deposit Guaranty Board members who are colonels on Governor Johnson's staff."

The letter from SNCC to Harvard then outlines the racist policies of the White Citizens' Council and the Mississippi Democratic Party, and concludes:

"Harvard cannot disclaim responsibility for the 'goings-on down there.' With its political, economic, and social roots in the state, it could wield tremendous pressure to change Mississippi. The economic and political structures could not last long

if Harvard applied its weight against their foundations.

"But Mississippi is a profitable business enterprise. We wonder whether education is only incidental to the Board of Trustees of Harvard University.

"There is much to be done. And time is running out."

SNCC and THE MOVEMENT encourage concerned students in other universities in the North to conduct similar studies into the sources of income of their schools and to consider the implications of this income.

(The entire text of the SNCC letter to Harvard is printed in the KEY LEFT MAILING, a service available from the San Francisco SNCC Regional Office.)

FREDM

Somebody wrote
What he hardly
knew how to write,
But what he knew,
With a piece of chalk
On a brick wall
And it was
FREDM
And no literacy tests
can disqualify him
'Cause he knows
It's FREDM
And the knowing
And the telling
Not the spelling

ROB WOOD

4 THE BATTLEFRONTS IN DELANO

SPECIAL TO THE MOVEMENT

WENDY GOEPEL

The Spies

At 10 p.m. the busboy at a local motel got off work. He drove a mile across town to a pink stucco building ringed with old cars, walked in and knocked on the door of a small office built into one corner of the building.

"While I was clearing the dishes," he said, "I heard Mr. Ranchero tell Mr. Farmer that he didn't expect the strike to last so long. Mr. Farmer said he'd like to sign, but he doesn't dare."

"Thanks," said the man behind the desk.

"Good night," said the busboy.

At noon the next day, an old man drove up to the same building. He was dressed in old work clothes, and smoked a cigar that was almost gone. He reported that three scabs had registered at his rooming house the night before.

"They come from Texas," he said. "But don't worry about them. As soon as they left for work, I went in their room and took out the beds. The beds are in my pickup now. I brought them for the pickets to use."

"Thank you," said the man behind the desk.

The same afternoon, the telephone rang.

"I am from Delano," a woman's voice said. "We can't afford any trouble, but I cook out at one of the ranch camps and I want to tell you that there are all these woman workers there. Whenever anyone comes into their camp they run and hide. They're illegals, I can tell."

"Who is this?" asked the man.

"Well, I'd rather not say," she said. "I've got a lot of kids home, and I've had this job a long time. I just felt like I had to say this to you strike people."

"Thank you," said the man. He hung up the phone and dialed Immigration.



FWA FOOD "STORE" doles groceries to striking families. The food has come from supporters all over California.

The man behind the desk is Cesar Chavez, Director of the National Farm Workers Association. The Association's current grape strike is different from other agricultural strikes. It is a people's strike and the people know how to fight.

For three years, Chavez has patiently built an organization of the poor. Worker's dues have been the sole support of himself and Dolores Huerta, the Vice-President. For three years, the Association has been bailing people out of jail, translating for them in court, helping their relatives immigrate to the United States, and filling out income tax returns (most families earn about \$2000 a year).

The staff and some 30 volunteers in 30 communities have built leaders and devotees. The workers who voted to strike know Chavez is one of them; they know he is smart; they know he won't leave town.



SINGING "NOSOTROS VENCEREMOS" (We Shall Overcome): Rev. Jim Drake, Julio Hernandez, Dolores Huerta.

Some people say if you are poor you have to be smart just to stay alive. If you are poor and you want a union contract for \$1.40 an hour, you have to be very smart, and creative, and devise and revise strike strategies for organizing the factories in the fields.

The Underground

Workers themselves are in a unique position to develop and carry out strike plans. For example:

Farm workers are seldom known as individuals to the ranchers for whom they work. A striker can often go to work for a day in a scab crew, talk with scabs and learn of changes in the rancher's harvesting plans.

Most pickets have car radios and monitor the Spanish radio broadcasts while they are driving through the fields searching for scab crews. When a grower buys radio time to urge strikers to return to work, the union finds out immediately and can counter with their own publicity.

When a labor contractor is sent to old Mexico or Texas to recruit scabs, relatives and friends of strikers often hear of the contractor's activities. They write or wire information. The crew is met at the bus station by the strikers.

Special Tactics

Friends of the farm workers have also devised means of helping the strike. Two priests from northern California volunteered for aerial picket duty (growers hide scab crews in the middle of fields where they cannot be seen). Father Kenney of Sacramento, a commercial pilot, flew over the strike area while Father Mahler and Cesar Chavez talked to scab crews with a loudspeaker.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee sent a dozen giant balloons to strike headquarters. Filled with helium and painted with strike slogans, they are floated over the fields by pickets standing on the public road.

Farm workers and civil rights leaders in towns just outside the strike zone, in areas where contractors are recruiting scabs, have organized to support the strike. From 5 to 7 a.m., before they report to their regular jobs, they picket the contractor's pickup points. After work, they go house-to-house contacting scabs. The license numbers of scabs are recorded in Delano and telephoned to the outside groups.

The Strategy

In mid-November the grape harvest will end. After several weeks lapse the pruning season begins and then strike activity will accelerate. Pruning the vines requires more skill than cutting the grapes. Imported scabs can damage the rancher's vines and threaten the next year's harvest.

Ranchers may be more willing to talk with the striking pruners, who have planted and tended the vines for years.

So far the ranchers have tried to ignore the strike. The weather in Delano this year has been ideal for grapes; it has not rained yet. It has been unseasonably warm. In other parts of the state the bumper crop of grapes has swamped the local underproduction caused by the strike.

As usual, someone is profiting from the strike. The buyers, knowing that the grapes will be of poorer quality, lowered their price from \$2.30 to \$1.75 a box.

Grapes which have stayed on the vines too long to be sold as market grapes are being sold to wineries. The buyers anticipated this. They lowered their price on wine grapes from \$43 to \$29 a ton. This has given growers an excuse on which to blame their troubles. It isn't the lack of skilled grape pickers, they say, it's the market.

Meanwhile, the pickets are learning to be very patient.

Jail--

A New Mood

One thing is sad, but true -- if you

get put in jail, your movement is taken more seriously. The press suddenly discovered the strike when 44 strikers were jailed. Many who showed no interest before responded with aid. The American Civil Liberties Union called and offered to post bond and provide legal services.

On the evening of the release, 200 people gathered at the jail to welcome the jailed pickets. As the workers walked out of jail, the crowd shouted HUELGA! in unison; no one was arrested. But the issue of shouting HUELGA in the fields must still be tested in court.

We are admonished almost daily by the authorities to be quiet, to lower our voices, to be careful. But the strike will not be won by more jailings -- it will be won on the picket line. In the last week, the picket lines have grown and the strike is, surprisingly enough, stronger than it was a few weeks ago.

People are talking about a long strike now. They have heard that the sugar workers on Hawaii plantations took 16 months to win.

What began as one more farm labor strike -- doomed to failure in the eyes of most people -- is gaining rather than losing strength. The growers are more vulnerable during the winter months and the workers, who have been trained in the art of striking during the fall, know it.



FARM WORKERS ASSOCIATION

Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos

1000 ALBANY STREET, DELANO, CALIF. P. O. BOX 184

Señor Ranchero:

We wish to meet with you as soon as possible about a collective agreement with respect to the wages, the hours, and all the other conditions of work for your employees.

Our demands are the following:

- 1) A minimum of \$1.40 an hour, plus \$2.25 a box.
- 2) Per contents, \$12 for the first, \$16 for the second, and \$22 for the third.

It is true, as you know, that our Association has given its complete cooperation to AWOC. By means of the Special Committee for the strike of the two organizations, we have mobilized a supreme effort to help the farm workers of the vineyards in order to improve working conditions. FWA is resolved in its fight for contracts which guarantee the rights of the farm workers.

We do not wish to endanger the harvests of any farmer, because the workers are not going to gain anything if the harvest is shorted and the grapes remain on the vines. Besides the representatives and members of the FWA do not condone any action which endangers the security of any man.

For these reasons it is crucial that we get together immediately to sign a contract satisfactory to all interested persons.

Sincerely,

Cesar E. Chavez
General Director
Farm Workers Association

This is a copy of the letter sent to the growers whose fields are being struck. The only response from the growers was a mimeographed leaflet circulated in the liquor stores and bars of Delano, unsigned, that said:

"To the grape pickers of Delano,

How many people have left their jobs? How many of the people who are waking on picket lines are workers and how many are strangers to you and to the growers? What are they doing here? Why are they trying to keep you from working?

The unions have no jobs to offer, only the growers can do that -- and the growers are offering you jobs.

The growers have not negotiated. They are not negotiating. And they will not negotiate with anyone.

Remember, if you want to work, only the growers can offer you work and a chance to earn money for your family.

The growers followed this humanitarian document with a paid radio broadcast in Spanish that announced to the farm workers that Governor Brown wanted them to go back to work and that the strike was over. Though damaging, neither of these tactics broke the strike.

SCHENLEY (ROMA WINE) OFFICES IN SF PICKETED

Ministers, students and members of the Mexican - American community have been picketing the San Francisco main office of Schenley Industries in support of the Delano strike.

Sponsored by the Centro Social Obrero -- a Mexican-American workers' society -- SNCC, the Student Committee for Agricultural Labor, Citizens for Farm Labor, and CORE, the picket line will be a regular Friday afternoon activity.

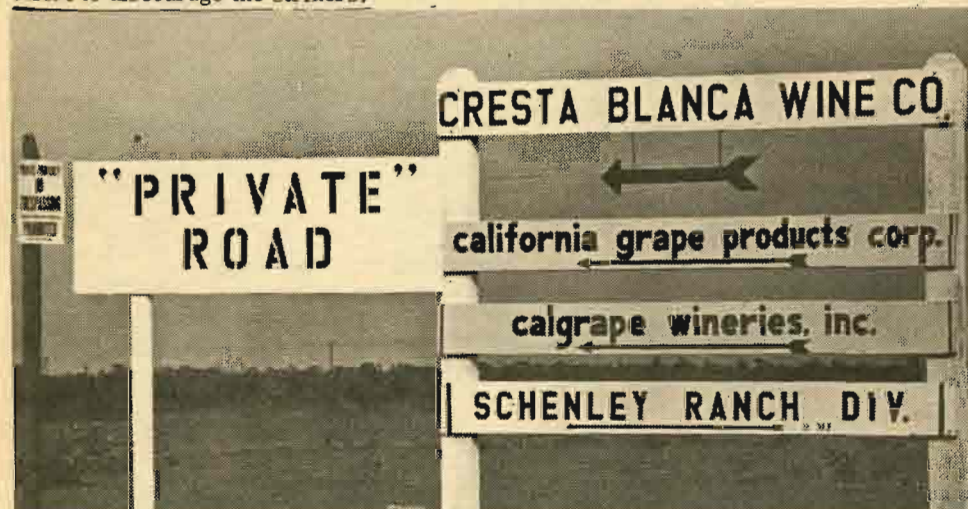
The pickets gather each Friday at 4 before the Schenley offices at 45 2nd Street in downtown San Francisco. Schenley has a large ranch near Delano, one of the 35 ranches being struck by the Farm Workers Association and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee.

Pickets at the Schenley Ranch in Delano were harassed by the management. Tractors dug up a thick cloud of dust in an effort to discourage the strikers.

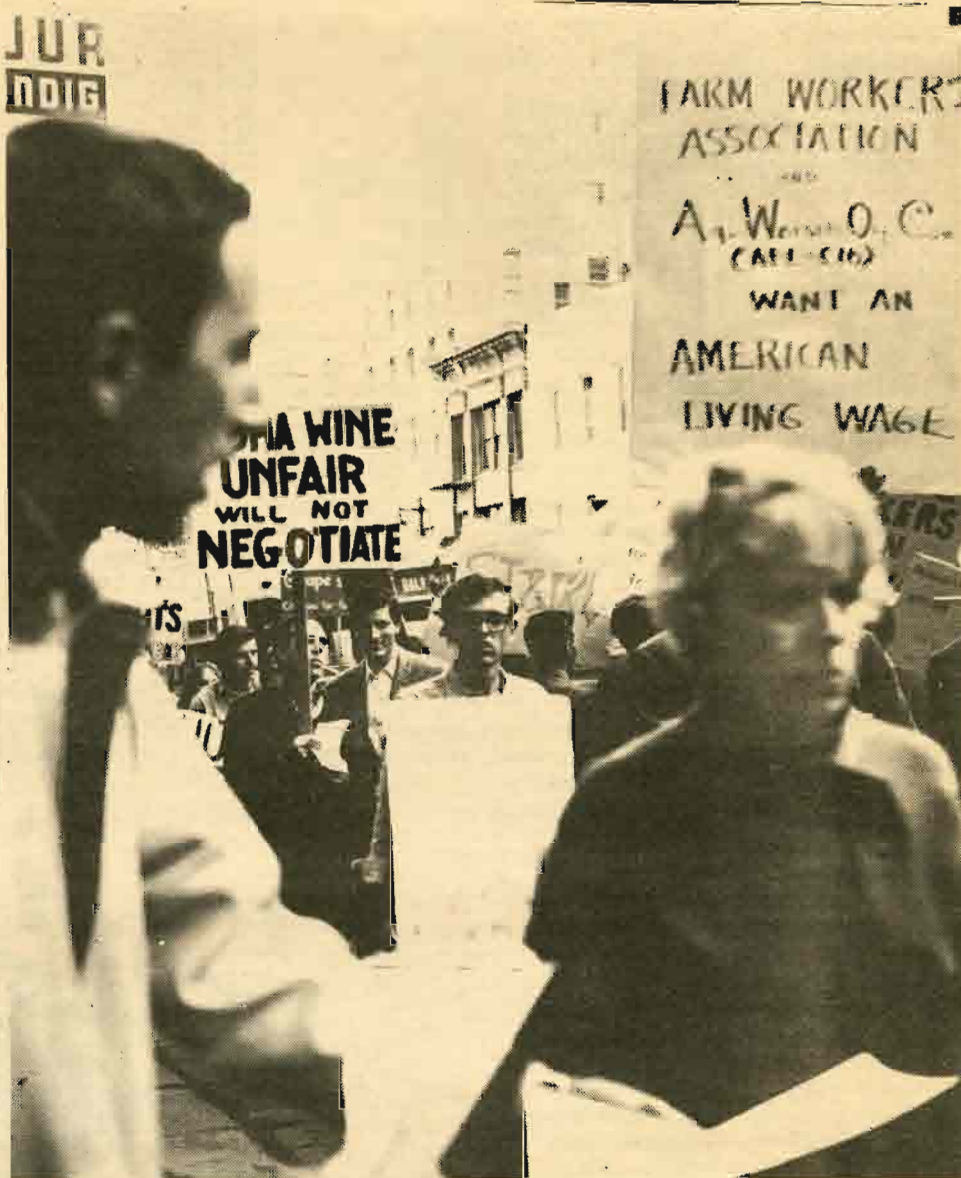
Schenley manufactures Roma Wine and Cresta Blanca Wine and owns one of the largest wineries in the world, in Fresno. They have refused to negotiate with the striking organizations.

The San Francisco office did appear to be somewhat shaken when they discovered that a picket line was planned. They attempted, through various channels, to have it called off. Thinking at first that it was a picket to urge hiring of Negroes, they let civil rights groups know that they had a "Negro Vice-President." On learning that the issue was not their treatment of Negroes, but their treatment of Mexican-Americans, they had nothing to say.

The first week 100 pickets took part in the line. The second week three Delano strikers joined the line, carrying Huelga (Strike) signs they brought up with them from the San Joaquin Valley.



SCHNELEY RANCH near Delano. The Schenley Industries office in San Francisco is being picketed by strike sympathizers.



JUR
DIE

FARM WORKERS
ASSOCIATION

A. W. O. C.
(CALL 516)

WANT AN

AMERICAN

LIVING WAGE

ROMA WINE
UNFAIR
WILL NOT
NEGOTIATE

POOR PEOPLES CORPORATION Mississippi Woodworking,

Leather Cooperatives Formed

These products are made by work cooperatives composed of low-income people. These self-help enterprises have been financed with a loan from the Poor Peoples Corporation and are marketing their goods through the Liberty Outlet House (which is also a work cooperative).

LADIES TOTE BAG

Handy carry-all about 18" high, seton crushed cowhide or suede. Pocket on the outside, shoulder strap runs the length of the bag.

Price: mail order...\$12.50ea.
10 or more.. 11.00ea.
20 or more 10.00ea.



CLOTH HANDBAG

Lined and re-inforced bag of unique design, shown here in attractive novelty print corduroy in green, grey, and brown; elasticized and buttoned pocket outside, 5 in. deep pocket inside; also comes in plain corduroy, print or plain cottons, many colors.

Size: 12" x 20"

Price: mail order...\$2.75ea.
10 or more.. 2.25ea.

From The Liberty Outlet House Catalog

LIBERTY OUTLET HOUSE P. O. Box 3193 JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Please Send Me The Next 12 Issues of The Movement

Name.. _____

Address.. _____

City.. _____ State _____

Enclosed is \$1.00

(mail to 1316 Masonic Ave San Francisco)

Three-hundred people met in Tougaloo, Mississippi last month to begin a unique experiment in grass roots organizations. It is the Poor People's Corporation, a non-profit organization, incorporated in New Jersey. Membership in the corporation (dues are 25¢ a year) is open to all poor people. Its purpose is "to assist low income groups in their efforts to receive financial assistance to initiate and sustain self-help projects of a cooperative nature that are designed to offset some of the effects of poverty."

The five incorporators serve as the Board of Directors for the first year. They are Jesse Morris, Hunter Morrey, R.L. Bolden, Jesse Harris and Donald White. The officers, appointed by the Board of Directors, are: President, H.J. Kirksey, Vice-President, Miss Ruth Steiner, Secretary, Jesse Morris, and Treasurer, Hunter Morey. All members of the Board of Directors and the officers are residents of Mississippi.

The Corporation has over \$5000 on hand, most of which has come from contributions. Requests for money were made by several Mississippi self-help cooperatives. The Madison County Sewing Machine Firm of Canton, Mississippi, asked for a loan of \$1,000. The money would be used for materials and patterns, wages and down payments on faster, industrial machines. This firm is the only group that is a producing business. They started work in July with sixteen donated machines and a contract for children's clothes from Project Head start.

Most of the members were previously employed as domestics in Canton until they took part in voter registration drives and other civil rights activities. As domestics they earned about \$12 a week. Now as members of the sewing co-op, they pay themselves a half-salary of \$25 a week: \$1.25 an hour for a four hour day. They donate the other four hours to the firm.

The story of the Madison County Sewing Firm was typical of the other co-ops requesting money from the Corporation. Ten men from Natchez, who had been trained in New York during August in

leather working, requested four hundred dollars to aid in setting up a leather working firm. They have designed a leather coin bag but have not been able to produce it since they have no equipment or materials. A special bag of white leather was made and presented to the James Brown (his hit record is "Pappa's got a brand new bag.") He was so impressed with it he said he would wear it and attempt to solicit orders from his audiences.

In McComb, Mississippi, another group of leather working trainees wished to make ladies' hand bags and requested \$400 for equipment and supplies. In Milestone, a group of leather working trainees requested \$400 for a belt manufacturing plant.

In McComb middle-aged men who are out of work wish to use their wood working skills to support their families with a Pike County Woodworking Co-op. They asked for \$1445 to buy the equipment. They have already received blue-prints from a toy company in the North. Working cooperatively, this group feels they could submit a bid to this Northern company and obtain a contract. They are also planning to make furniture, finished and unfinished, and train new people in wood working. Twenty five women in Pike County plan to start a sewing co-op following the example of the Madison County Sewing Firm. They asked for \$500 to buy equipment to make shirts and shirts.

The Negro community of Winstonville, Mississippi, is losing its only grocery store. A group there seeks \$50,000 for building and supplying a cooperative supermarket that would employ nine people. Profits from the store would be spent on civic improvements for the town, for instance, a fire engine. Since it was obvious that the money needed was beyond the means of the Corporation, other sources of money such as the FHA and the Small Business Administration were discussed.

Through debate and voluntary reductions of some requests the final amount spent, including administrative expenses, was \$4895. Now markets for the goods produced in the co-ops must be found.

NOTES ON RURAL ORGANIZING

Since I am under the impression that SNCC workers are organizers, I think that this is what they should do.

A SNCC worker should never take a leadership role in the community unless he is in his own community. A SNCC worker should give the responsibility of leadership to the community person or persons whom he has or is building. The SNCC worker should give form and guidance to the peoples' organization, and/or their programs.

I think that in each area one faces different kinds of problems. I've attempted to state some of the problems found in small communities such as Ruleville and Indianola, Miss.

The larger, more middle-class communities will be somewhat different.

I think you at first meet the people on their own terms, or you lose.

Entering the Community

There are two ways to enter a community: the invited and the uninvited way.

The invited is the easiest, because you know that somebody wants you. Somebody will put you up for a while, and through this person or persons, you will meet others.

An invited person goes to live with X person in Y community. Mr. X takes the person to church on Sunday. He introduces him to his friends and neighbors. You are there to do a job which at this time is undefined; so you act friendly, smiling and greeting the ladies as they approach you. Then, with your warm, friendly face you say to the people; "I want to do something for this community." That afternoon you are asked out to someone's home for dinner. Go, because this is one time you will be able to talk with a family, or maybe several families. Remember, try to answer all questions asked of you at this point, because you are on trial. You must impress, as well as express.

An uninvited worker faces many difficulties; first, he is unexpected and in many cases unwanted by the do-nothing leaders of the community. He is a stranger to the people, and therefore, he is alone in a strange place. If he is to be successful, he must become a part of the community.

How One Becomes a Part of the Community

First, get a place to stay. It is best to get a place in the community, with a well-known family.

It may just happen that you are not able to find a place for weeks; but do not give up. You may have a room in a rooming house; but try to stay as close to the community as possible. This will enable you to spend long hours in the community without worrying about a way home afterwards.

Making Contact

Since you have found a place to stay, say with a family, then the work starts,

and it starts just as do most things, in the home.

You should spend as much time as the family has talking to them, because they have information about the people -- both white and black. They have been there all of their lives; they know the community; they know the people who will help. Take time and talk to them; ask questions, for it is here that you get real community education.

Now you know the key people in the community, from this talk with the family. But some of them won't work out; do not get discouraged. Keep on pushing.

Canvas the whole community one after-noon. Talk with the people, laugh with them, joke with them; do most anything that gets some attention on you, or on some kind of conversation. It is very important to learn what bugs them. It may happen that they are thinking about trying to get the vote. You'll know when they talk.

The most important thing is to move the community by action; the community will move when the people move. The people will move when they are motivated.



Motivating People

Canvas two or three days, the first week. Do not worry too much about what you hear from the people. If you just talk and ask questions, some of them may talk about Chicago or Welfare checks; this is good, this is what is on their minds presently.

During canvassing, be sure to take down the names and addresses of the people who talked, who seemed to you that there is hope in them. This could be only two people; or it could be ten. No matter what the number is, these are contacts. You have a small group of people. Now you need a place to meet with them. Try to get a church or an empty building if you cannot get either, use one of the person's homes for a meeting place. Again, start with the people where you live; ask to hold the meeting there.

Building Leaders

The reason for using this home is that you have now found that dependable leadership does not exist. You must, from this little group, find and build a leader or leaders. How?

In this meeting plan some kind of action. You put suggestions before the group. Let them talk over the suggestions, about paved streets, stop signs, street lights, or recreational facilities, and how the vote can get these and more.

You may need to hold ten or more of these kinds of meetings; at the same time, trying to get a church, getting the word out about the house meeting by leaflet or word of mouth. But let it get out! Elect a chairman to chair the meetings; you should not do this after the first meeting. Each meeting, give more and more of the responsibilities to this group, and as the group grows, form committees so as to involve more of the people.

To overcome the fear, many of the things above mentioned will apply. By getting the people together, they will see that they are

not alone. By stopping by each one's home as much as possible, you will let them know you are sincere, in what you say and do -- that you not only care about the meetings but you are interested in continued progress in their community and family life. The feeling of being close together will help overcome the fear.

Apathy will disappear when you give the people some responsibility. When they associate with one another, through the conversations of personal and community problems, the apathy will disappear. At first the family educated you; now together they are educating each other.

Suspicion comes from mistrust. So many have led us wrong, that it is hard to trust people we don't know. You must be friendly, reliable, and most of all trustworthy. With this, suspicion will disappear. When the people trust you and trust your judgement, suspicion will be a thing of the past.

CHARLES MCLAURIN

Parents of Volunteers Send Cars, Money South

SAN FRANCISCO -- "Where are all the parents? Who are they?" were the questions Hal Light asked himself in the spring of 1964. His son, Bill, had graduated from Stanford and promptly joined the SNCC office in Jackson, Mississippi.

That summer Hal visited Mississippi and returned to San Francisco with the conviction -- shared with other parents -- that "the parents should be involved."

Out of this came the Trans-Mississippi Association, formed at a meeting of forty-one Bay Area parents. The first activities were the raising of emergency bail money and clothing. They gained additional support when a delegation of parents requested a meeting with the Mississippi delegation at the Republican convention, and was snubbed.

Cars to Mississippi

One day, in a phone conversation, Hal Light asked a rights worker in McComb, Mississippi what they needed "more than anything in the world." The prompt reply: a Dodge truck to get out of the mud. The parent's group sent the requested truck. Four more trucks followed.

To raise money for trucks and cars, the group sold one-dollar "raffle tickets" -- for which there was no drawing -- in accordance with state law. With the trucks, 10,000 pounds of materials, food and clothing, were sent by the parent's group to Mississippi.

When Mississippi's ex-Governor Coleman was appointed to the Fifth Circuit Court, the parents sent 350 letters to parents throughout the country. Several parents went to Washington to picket the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings; three testified. After the Washington gathering, the Bay Area group was able to establish communications with similar groups in other states.

Picket Johnson

The California group, protesting the Coleman appointment, picketed President Johnson at the United Nations meeting in San Francisco this summer. Hal Light notes that except for KQED, no publicity was given the parents' group by any local news media.

The parents are about to renew their campaign for truck money. "When next summer comes," says Light, "more parents will be faced with the reality that their kids will be going South, and perhaps will not even be going back to school."

They will have to understand the commitment their children have made. From those "newly-initiated" the parents' group hopes for growing support.

WE NEED VOLUNTEERS

The SNCC Regional Office in San Francisco needs office personnel. If you can offer your services, please call 626-4577.

My Land is the Land I Don't Understand

My land is the land I don't understand
For any eye to see
Now look my friend
Look to the North and South

You see the bloody hills far in the South
Hills lined with men and guns and black oak trees

Now to the North you see that terrible valley
This land is murder

I tell it to you -- my land beneath the sky of white and black
This land is murder

For I don't understand it

I am the land for it is part of me
We are a kin and thus our kinship be

It would make me sister to the slave

As far as the eye can see

This land is murder.

by Glory Jean Louie, 15 years old. Tchula, Mississippi

PEOPLE, MONEY NEEDED IN DELANO

The Staff of the Farm Workers Association is asking for money and volunteers. They ask those who come to be active participants; particularly needed are people who can stay in Delano during the week, Monday through Friday. Bring a sleeping bag.

The staff also asks clubs, groups and organizations to help sustain the strike with a monthly pledge. A suggested figure for groups that could afford it is \$100 a month.

Send all aid directly to FWA, Box 894, Delano California. The FWA street address is 102 Albany.

The More Things Change, The More They Stay The Same

The prime reason that organized labor in California has tended to remain aloof from the farm-labor problem is that Trade Union officials, themselves entrenched in power, have feared the democratizing effect of the organization of farm labor. These petty Trade Union satraps, through their control of the political machinery of the Trade Union movement, have occasionally been able to strike a legislative bargain by throwing their support behind the industrial groups against the farm groups, or vice versa. The farm industrialists, on the other hand, have been able to perpetuate the anachronistic distinction between urban and rural industry, by forcing the city industrialists to bargain with them over control of the Legislature. For at all times the farm groups, through their control of the State Senate, have held a veto power on legislation. Our system of legislative representation is, or course, based on the idea of a balance of power between industrial and agricultural interests. Thus the present system of control is self-perpetuating and will continue until the organization of farm labor brings about a merger or fusion of agricultural and industrial interest.

Carey McWilliams, FACTORIES IN THE FIELDS (1938)

Job Corps Workers Strike For Hours, Wages

SAN FRANCISCO — The Job Corps Program is a farce, according to a SNCC field worker and a Job Corps crew leader in San Francisco. The crew leader has worked on the "apprenticeship" program in Golden Gate Park, and the SNCC worker has talked at length with some of the participants.

Crew leaders and Job Corps workers get \$1.35 an hour. The Foremen, recruited from the labor unions, gets \$5 an hour. When the kids were recruited, said the crew leader, they were told that they would be able to work eight hours a day after the first few weeks of work.

Until then they were to have a four hour day.

"They're supposed to be apprentices in landscaping," said the crew leader, "but all they do is dig up stumps and clean up. They don't learn anything except how to use a shovel."

Racial Fighting

On September 27, when the program was in its fifth week, trouble broke out. The kids and crew leaders were dissatisfied with the wages and hours and

had been talking about a protest.

Then three white kids from the South told a foreman that they refused to take orders from any Negroes or Mexican-Americans (the Job Corps workers are primarily from these two minorities).

When word of this spread, members of a Negro Job Corps gang caught the three and beat two of them badly. The third escaped, but was later beaten by a group of Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

Sit Down Strike

The rest of the workers, Negroes and Mexican-Americans, decided to go on strike to demand an eight hour day. One of the foremen, white, objected and was run off by the kids.

The next morning the strike was still in effect. A white crew leader was run out of the park for objecting. The kids sat down on their tools and demanded that the Jobs Corps Coordinator come out and talk to them. When he did, they thoroughly questioned him and forced him to send a proposal to Washington requesting longer hours for the workers and higher wages for the crew leaders.

"The kids are in a trap," said the crew leader. "Most of them are on parole; they can't get any other job. The whole operation is marked with apathy; kids are dropping out. Some clown is sitting in an office downtown, making a thousand a month, and never comes out to see them. The kids are hip to this. They don't expect anything from the program."

Asked what the workers he had spoken to felt about the job Corps program, the SNCC worker said, "They know they're being exploited. They were given these jobs to keep the city safe from them, and they don't have any illusions about it. They know what's happening."

Things SNCC

Hasn't Done

We keep reading about ourselves in the papers: SNCC does this, SNCC endorses that, SNCC says something or other. Now it's not that we agree or disagree with these various reports. We'd just like to be in on the decision to use our name, so we can decide for ourselves whether we agree or not. To clear the record, as far as we know it:

SNCC has taken no position on police in Oakland; SNCC has not asked for information regarding Viet-Nam troop train movements; SNCC did not organize the Watts action.

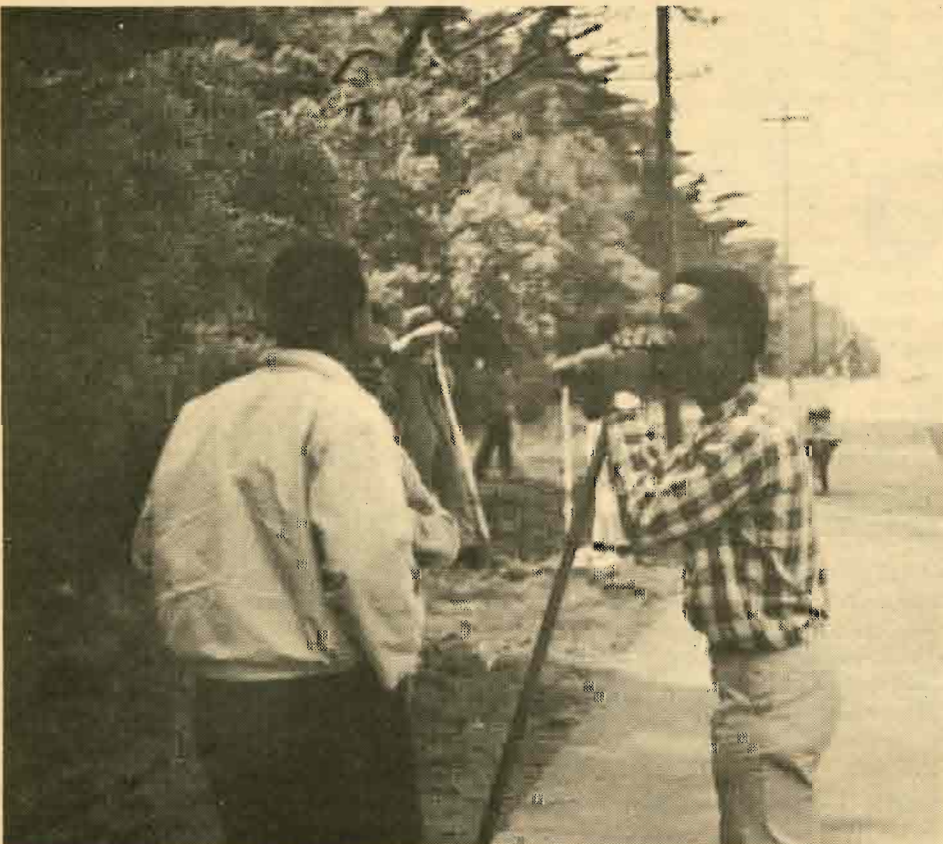
We have not been asked, nor have we volunteered any organizational resources to the protests against the war in Vietnam now taking place.

SNCC did not endorse Jack Morrison in the recent San Francisco Supervisorial elections.

A word on how SNCC works might help those who have been confused by these reports. The national SNCC staff, which meets three or four times a year, decides what SNCC is going to do. Individual SNCC field secretaries may, as individuals, do what they would like to do. If their action is a violation of basic SNCC views or principles, then SNCC folks talk about what they're going to do about that. Friends of SNCC, the northern support arm of SNCC, primarily engaged in fund-raising, political pressure and educational work in behalf of the Southern movement, decide what they are going to do. About 20 such groups exist in California.

For the record, we hope that friends in other organizations in the movement will show some respect for these concerns.

MIKE MILLER



JOB CORPS TEAM talks about conditions with SNCC field secretary.

A Freedom Worker's View on War And Peace

CONVERSATION WITH BOB PARRIS

The basic question regarding the relationship of civil rights and peace, Bob Parris says, is not whether civil rights organizations should take formal positions on the war in Vietnam.

In the first place, he notes, formal resolutions are meaningless unless they grow out of the natural direction of organizations and are combined with action.

Instead, Parris thinks, the correct starting point is for those identified with the freedom movement to consider the underlying philosophy of their own movement, to decide what response this philosophy calls for in relation to war, and what natural courses of action flow from this.

"Those who say people identified with civil rights should not become involved in the peace question," he explains, "threaten the Negro with probable loss of what he stands to gain from the civil rights movement if this involvement develops."

"Certainly one of the most basic rights we have been seeking is the right to participate fully in the life of this country," he goes on. "Now if by participating — that is, taking part in the discussions of the great issues that face the country — we threaten the right to participate, we have to begin to wonder whether the right is real."

In addition to the right to take a stand on the peace issue, however, civil rights forces may also have the responsibility to do so.

At present, Parris notes, there is a general assumption that foreign policy is to be made by the executive branch of the government.

"But the civil rights movement, in line with its philosophy, puts forth a different idea," Parris says. "We have always said people should be involved in all the major decisions that affect them."

"We do not want the new politics to be just the old. People need a chance to vote on real issues. That means, among other things, debate on foreign policy in our election campaigns — something that doesn't really happen anywhere in the country now."



As to what people and organizations in the civil rights movement can do about all this, Parris notes that even critics of their participation in the peace movement concede the right of an individual in the movement to join peace groups. It is involvement of civil rights organizations that they question.

But this objection tends to silence the individual too, Parris says, because American society identifies people primarily as part of a category.

As for the whole freedom movement, Parris says the relevant question is not whether this movement should join the peace movement; this is not a possibility.

"Rather the question we must ask ourselves is what kind of a movement are we going to be," he says. "Are we going to address ourselves to the broader problems of society? Can we build a wider base for a movement in this country; and actually can the freedom movement as it has existed survive and achieve its goals unless it does this?"

One thing is sure, Parris says. There is a sickness in this country in its view of the world. And it is possible that those who have been part of the agonies of the South in recent years can understand it better than some others.

The White Southerner, like the nation today in regard to the world, he points out, has been twisted and perverted by its fear

of the "outsider," the "foreigner," "one different from us," a fear of the "foreigner" telling him what to do, a fear of a "conspiracy" from those "outside forces."

"What do you do when the whole country has a sickness?" Parris asks. "How do you break through then? Are they the people

who have the information about the world and its complexities and also the legitimacy to speak? Can they awaken the nation as the South is beginning to be awakened?"

— Condensed from an article in the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, October, 1963.

THE NOCTURNAL MESSENGER...

Citizens of Holmes County:

We come to you as a group of men who have dedicated ourselves to the task of stopping the on-slaught of communism, in the disguise of so-called "civil rights" to which we are being subjected, in this area.

We have watched this Godless Movement advance, along with its infamous fellow traveler, integration, until it is on our own door steps. We do not intend for it to go any further. We are going to fight back and, as our ranks grow, we intend to regain the ground we have lost. We are going to do this by whatever means we deem necessary to accomplish the task.

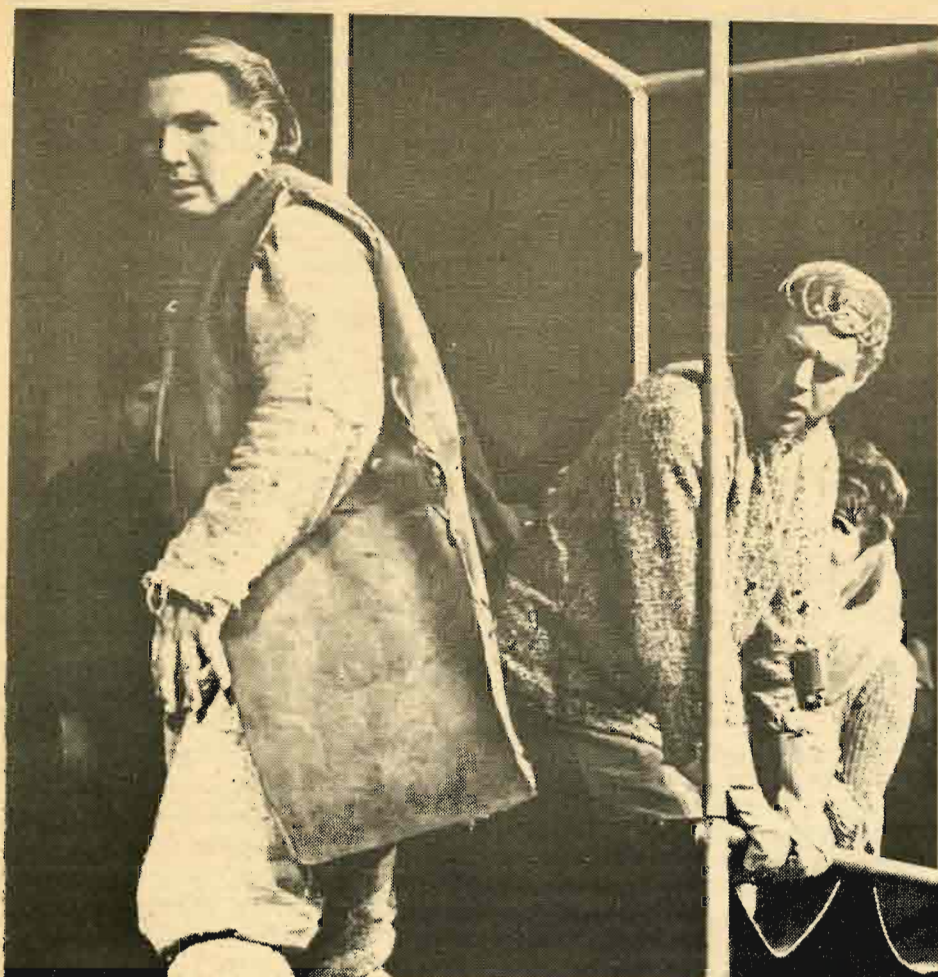
If some of you begin to feel that our methods are too severe, just remember this. The same blood that gave our forefathers the strength to band together and defend what they believed in, flows also in our veins. Any thing worth living for is also worth dying for if this becomes necessary. The raging inferno of Communism which is running rampant in this country is not going to be stopped by the garden hose type of resistance which we have offered up to now. Every action our so-called "leaders" have taken up to now has been a step backward and we are tired of retreating. Battles are not won by appeasement and surrender. As our gallant soldiers fight this Godless Evil in the far off jungles of Viet-Nam, so shall we fight it here at home.

Because we are in an area of heavy bi-racial population, we feel that we should advise all members of the Negro Race that we are not going to be "overcome" by any one. The many negroes who have remained aloof from the Communist inspired and directed "civil rights" movement have nothing to fear from us. They have intelligence enough to know that we can and must live together here in the future as we have in the past, with mutual respect and understanding for each other.

We grant the other group of Communist indoctrinated, misled troublemakers these choices. They can get the white scum known as "civil rights" workers out of their homes and away from their churches. They can get their children out of the white schools of this county and put them back into their own schools which our taxes built for them. They can do these things or they can prepare to take the consequences. The same eyes that observe them by day will also be watching them by night. **WE DO NOT PROMISE, WE PRODUCE.** God Bless and keep you fellow loyal Holmes Countians.

(Copy of letter being distributed in Holmes County, Mississippi, by "A Local Civic Group.")

Says Bob Parris, "The rationale this nation uses to justify war in Vietnam turns out to be amazingly similar to the rationale that has been used by the white South to justify its opposition to the freedom movement." For the racist white Southerner, there is a logic in this parallel, he notes. He condones murder in Vietnam for the same reason he condones it at home — he sees a threat to his civilization.



DRAMA REVIEW

Brecht - What Is It?

EDWARD II

By Bertold Brecht

Directed by John Hancock

San Francisco Actors Workshop

Marines Memorial Theater

There once was a playwright named Brecht.

Who used to be considered important. And now?

He is a museum piece for Repertory companies who can use his name to draw audiences.

It is an axiom of art that the avant-garde eventually becomes the pap of the commercial world. Just as the radical ideas of 20 years ago are whittled into a plank for the Democratic Party.

EDWARD II is a play confusing as presented and boring as done. We are told in the notes that Edward had an "unnatural" infatuation with another man, Galveston, and thus went to war. One also learns that Parliament wanted to banish Galveston and Edward did not. But why? Moral? Immoral? Reasons? Why to war?

Brecht wanted -- or used to want (according to the books) his audience to think. We are now bored by slavish adherence to the "Brechtian style", which means a revolving stage, a short curtain (on a wire), grey, grey and more grey (ugly greyness -- is reality!) and a dissociated acting style, where not more than once during a scene may any actor look at another actor. They all look out towards the balcony, like television announcers reading an idiot box. They look like they're speaking directly to you but they ain't.

Theatrical Red-Baiting

The director, John Hancock, boasts that this play by Brecht and Lion Feuchtwanger is a "pre-communist" play. Thus what? Thus no politics, of course, so we don't have to fear that our senses will be disturbed. We can be sure that the director and company will not tamper with the real meaning of the play in any political manner.

There must still be great anxiety among theater people that Brecht may one day be exposed as a Communist and banned. Fear not. Nothing radical in the play will appear in production. And if at all possible the emphasis of performance will be on psychological relationships developed on personal grounds, never social. The technique and paraphernalia will be uppermost in your mind as you leave the theater thinking -- "Ah, Brecht, just like Shakespeare -- boring -- once a year is enough."

Brecht used to be a German playwright who came out of the German expressionist theater with an interesting style of production designed to make complex political and social ideas very clear using simple actions. The purpose was to make ideas essential to popular audiences. It would be better now to read about him.

R.G. DAVIS

SAN FRANCISCO REGIONAL OFFICE

1316 MASONIC AVENUE MA 64577

LOS ANGELES AREA REGIONAL OFFICE

6605 HOLLYWOOD BLVD. ROOM 307 462 6873

TOLLEGE OF MARIN: 32 Williams St., San Rafael, 453-8241

EAST BAY: 5929 Grove St., Oakland, 655-9545

LONG BEACH: P.O. Box 1170, 430-6887

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MARIN: Box 2110, Mill Valley, 332-1127

MID-PENINSULA: 180 University Ave., Palo Alto, 322-5521

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S.F. STATE COLLEGE: 1600 Holloway, 584-5215

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SANTA CLARA VALLEY: 269 Pamela Ave., Apt. 8, San Jose, 258-6029

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UNIVERSITY OF S.F.: 405A McMan Hall 387-2100

LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

The Rich Get Richer and The Poor Make Payments

One of the things that really warms your heart about Lyndon's Great Society, is the way people are permitted to borrow their future incomes in order to buy the big cars, colored refrigerators, color television sets, fancy furniture, expensive vacations, electric toothbrushes and high fashion jock straps that make life really worth living.

This way of buying the necessities of life in the Great Society is known as "Consumer financing." It's a way of making it possible for the Corporate Empire to sell its own folks (as opposed to its colonial subjects in other lands) the products for which it would otherwise have trouble finding a market. Why, you might ask, don't the folks with full membership in the Great Society have enough money, out of their earnings, to be able to buy these things without borrowing what they (and the "consumer financiers") hope they'll make in the future? Well, one reason is that not enough of these full members earn enough money to be able to eat and sleep and have something left over. Lyndon's Bureau of Labor Statistics has said repeatedly that it takes over \$6,000 a year for a family of four to live "adequately". This means that it takes that much to feed, clothe, shelter, etc., a family of four.

Less Than Half of Us Live Adequately

Less than half the families in the Great Society have income over \$6,000, according to Lyndon's Bureau of the Census. So, if the great proportion of Great Society families are to buy the nice things the Corporate Empire makes for them, they have to borrow what they hope to make in the future in order to pay for them. Who do they borrow from? Why, from the Corporate empire, of course.

This borrowing, naturally, costs money, which means that products bought with borrowed money are more expensive. We know of a family who recently bought a refrigerator and a freezer. They didn't have any cash, so they had to "finance" the purchase. The two pieces of equipment cost a total of \$400. They "financed" the \$400, agreeing to pay for them over a period of 18 months. The total cost of the equipment, financed this way, was \$428. In other words, \$28 was added to the price of the equipment as a penalty for not making enough money to buy the equipment for cash. That was \$28 the family couldn't spend to get the kids teeth fixed, to buy a new tire for the car, have the hot air ducts insulated (to cut down on the gas heating bill during the winter), etc.

Most of the things that Americans buy are bought under various kinds of these "consumer financing" arrangements. The charges they have to pay the finance companies are very high. The finance companies generally tell the borrower that the "interest" charge is 6% per year, or 7% or 8%. But that is a lie. What the finance company call 6% "interest," is really 10.9% interest, if the money is borrowed for only one year. If it is borrowed for longer than that, the real interest rate the borrower pays goes much higher.

Money Comes From Those We Borrow to Buy From

Where do the finance companies get the money that they loan to consumers who want to buy the products of the Great Society? They borrow it from those who have already made it by exploiting the labor, energies and skills of the people. Thus the workers who produce the products of the Great Society don't make enough money to buy back from their employers such products for their own use. The employers refuse to pay them enough money. So the employers take the money they refuse to pay the workers, loan it to the finance companies. The finance companies pay the employers interest on the money. Then they loan the money to the people who should have gotten it in wages, and they charge the people enough interest that there is plenty for their own profit after they have paid the employers' interest.

Money Earns Money

All of this is clearly shown as a result of a finance company going broke recently in Canada. A Canadian newspaper got hold of a list of people and organizations who had loaned the finance company money. The money had been loaned to the finance company at real interest rates of from 5 1/2% to 6 1/2%. The finance company then loaned the money to consumers at real interest rates of from 10.9% on up. It collected this high rate of interest from the consumers, paid the 5 1/2% to 6 1/2% back to the people it had borrowed from, and had a tidy sum left over for its own stockholder.

Here are some of the American companies who had loaned the finance company money so the finance company could then loan the money to consumers (many of them, perhaps, employees of these very companies):

American Cyanamid Co., (through a subsidiary, Cyanamid of Canada, Ltd.) one of the largest U.S. chemical companies; Borg-Warner Corp., in which Barry Goldwater's wife is a large stockholder; Campbell Soup Co.; Chrysler Corp. (through its Canadian subsidiary Chrysler Canada, Ltd.); Cheasapeake and Ohio Railway, Inc.; Continental Can Co.; Dow Chemical Corp.; First National City Bank of New York; Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.; Moody's Investors Service (owned by Dun & Bradstreet, Inc.); Proctor and Gamble Co.; Rayonier, Inc.; Shell Oil Co.; Union Carbide Corp.; Aetna Life Insurance Co.; Travelers Insurance Co.

The Lenders in the Temple

Many of the organizations which loaned the finance company money are not generally thought of as the kind of completely amoral, profit-hungry outfits mentioned above. For example, the American Lutheran Church loaned the finance company \$500,000; the American Missionary Association loaned the finance company \$170,000; the Congregational Christian Churches of the U.S. loaned the finance company \$42,000; the Annuity Fund of Congregational Ministers loaned the finance company \$170,000. We wonder how many members of these churches scrimped themselves to make a "contribution to their God," and then had to borrow the money back to make ends meet, from this ban-shark finance company (the Canadian company operated in many parts of the U.S. so this is entirely possible.)

Other highly respectable, public-service type organizations were on the list: The Regents of the University of Minnesota, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, the Ford Foundation (which is exempt from federal taxation because its "general purpose is to advance humane welfare" with its \$3 billion).

The Money We Borrow Should Be Ours

The example we use here happens to be a Canadian finance company, with rather wide-spread U.S. operations. However, this Canadian company is typical of all finance companies in this country. So, the next time you have to borrow from a ban-shark to make ends meet, you can figure that you may be in effect, borrowing the money your employer should have paid you, or the money you paid for your child's college tuition, or the money you contributed to your church.

There's been some publicity lately about an investigation of finance companies that's being conducted by a congressional committee. The committee, it seems, is worried that "criminal elements" may have gotten control of some of the finance companies. We can assure the committee that they're right, in any sensible use of the term "criminal."

The trouble is that we don't usually think of corporation executives, and church and university trustees as criminals.

More's the pity, perhaps.

JACK MINNIS