



## 'OEO PROGRAMS ARE INEFFECTIVE' THE POOR MEET, FORM STATEWIDE FEDERATION

OAKLAND--"We demand that the State Social Welfare Board be composed of a majority of recipients drawn from a list submitted by the Welfare Rights Organization."

"We demand Federal pressure for a guaranteed annual income."

"We resolve that the National Advisory Council to the OEO include at least a majority representation of the poor from the 7 regions of the OEO."



MRS. WESTBROOK from Hunters Point  
Photo: Howard Harawitz

"Be it resolved that rents be frozen in public housing for a period of three years and that there shall be immediate rent decreases when there is a decrease in income during rental periods."

These are a few of the positions taken when poor people from the state of California met February 26 and 27 in Oakland. 170 delegates attended the conference, representing 50 welfare rights organizations, tenants' councils and anti-poverty groups.

The participants established a California Federation of the Poor.

The delegates heard Dolores Huerta, Vice-President of the National Farm Workers, speak, and they donated \$39 to the striking Delano workers. One woman contributed 4¢.

The conference divided into three workshops: Welfare Rights, Tenant Councils and the Poverty Program. The Poverty Program workshop discussed an effort to get the federal government to halt the poverty program until and unless it kept its promise to the poor that they could participate in policy program and staff decisions.

The Tenant Council workshop discussed the lack of protection that tenants had from the Housing Authority. The workshop pointed out that organizing private ghetto housing is more difficult than organizing a housing project.

The conference was called by a steering committee of people from low-income

## Rent Strike Wins Contract With Slumlord

SAN FRANCISCO--A new, militant organization of tenants in the Haight-Ashbury district, the Neighborhood Freedom Organization, won a major victory here this month.



CATHERINE HINES, Richmond WRO.

Photo: Howard Harawitz

groups in Oakland, Richmond and San Francisco. They received funds from the University of California Extension, the Oakland Council of Social Planning and the Sears Roebuck Foundation.

The groups which were represented at the conference, though willing to accept help from these sponsors, made it clear that they would maintain their independence. They did not want an individual or organization to direct them, but they did want to join together to fight for their rights.

No definite program was developed during the conference. This meeting was looked on as an opportunity to share experiences and iron out mutual problems.

The next state-wide conference will be in June. Before then, the steering committee, representing each of the groups, will meet to make specific proposals.

The tenants of nine apartments owned by Mrs. Rose Frauenhoff on the 800 block of Lyon Street refused to pay their rent until repairs were made. Mrs. Melissa Jackson, who lives at 808 Lyon with her husband and nephew, described her apartment to THE MOVEMENT:

"The plaster over the stove fell down. The water leaks through the ceiling and falls on the dining room table. I pay \$75 for three rooms and a kitchen and it makes me mad just to think about it. Mrs. Frauenhoff, she doesn't care what time of the night she comes around for the rent. The last time she came around I paid her \$60 and told her I was keeping the rest out to fix the roof. As soon as she got out of the apartment she started to holler--if you don't like that hole, move out! I got people standing in line for this apartment!

We got roaches. The bathroom leaks terribly. It took her 6 months to fix the back door that was just hanging there."

On February 27, twenty tenants drove out to Mrs. Frauenhoff's home in a neat San Francisco suburb, set up a picket line on the sidewalk and leafleted her neighbors.

The leaflet said, "Mrs. Frauenhoff is our landlord. She lives in your neighborhood. She charges some of us as high as \$100 a month for five rooms in a house where the toilets leak, the plaster falls, where there is a hole in one side of the building. . . We won't pay rent for rats and roaches."

"Are you picketing her?" asked a neighbor's child. "She's a mean old lady. Nobody likes her. She'll call the cops on you."

The Neighborhood Freedom Organization also threatened to report Mrs. Frauenhoff to the Public Health Department. A few days later she capitulated, and signed a contract with the NFO. The agreement stipulated that within a certain number of days she would have the entire building fumigated, the plaster and plumbing fixed, the roofing repaired, and there would be no raise in rent.

"It's a great victory," Danny Brown, SNCC field secretary working with the NFO, said. "Do you know what Mrs. Frauenhoff said to me? She said 'When all those people move out, I'm never going to rent to colored again; they make too much trouble. If I had whites in there I could make them pay any rent I wanted.' That shows the strength of a Freedom Organization."

## Interview With Stokely Carmichael Continued From Last Month "IT'S VERY SIMPLE: WE INTEND TO TAKE OVER LOWNDES COUNTY"

LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA --

--When you talk about moving outward from Lowndes County, do you reject the notion of coalitions entirely?

"No, I don't reject coalitions; what I say is that Negroes have to realize that when you form coalitions, you aim towards what people call 'national interest', and national interest is never the same as Negro interest. So they have to maintain their own interest first, then certainly they can form other coalitions."

"But I don't see any coalition forces in the country that SNCC could hook up with today, or that LCFO could hook up with. Aside from the MFDP there is no force today. We can hook up, for example, with the Delano strikers, but I'm saying there is no established force we can hook up with. We can hook up with new movements, insurgent forces. That's being done. SNCC has workers in Delano, working on the grape strike. That's to our interest to see that those sort of groups spring up."

--Do you think that a Negro party, organizing around economic interests, could tie up with poor whites around purely economic issues?

"That's an academic question, because the poor white is not organized. Once he is organized, then we could move."

--What makes you think you can keep that 35% a solid block?

"Those we are organizing are all sharecroppers. The Negroes who all their lives have been sitting with the whites are cut off from the sharecroppers; they have no power in that base. Those people have enough strength to move on their own."

"One of the things we learned from Mississippi, is that in Mississippi we did seek out coalitions -- and that's what the price of coalitions is. We didn't seek any in Alabama, we just told people that they ought to realize from the beginning that they are isolated, and that whatever they do they have to do on their own and hope

"I don't work for the Federal Government. When I start working for the Federal Government, they'll pay me \$25,000 a year. I work for SNCC at \$10 a week, and my job is to organize people to overthrow the governments that are now oppressing them, not to organize them to beg for money from the Federal Government. If they control these county government offices, they won't have to beg for money. They'll just take it."

for the best. Maybe they'll win, lose, draw or tie, but once they start seeking coalitions, the power's not theirs anymore. It belongs to the coalesced force."

--I want to get back to my first question, about economic power. What if you had a black political structure in a county and a white economic structure? Do you see a way of breaking out of that?

"I have my own questions in my own mind; if I broach those questions people usually say I'm a leftist or a communist or an anarchist, whatever those terms mean. But it is clear to me that the Constitution of this country was written by property owners, and it was some time before people who didn't own property could vote. And I think that the property owners who wrote the Constitution wrote it for their own interest, not for the interest of the people who didn't own property."

"Now what happens when you have 90% of the people in Lowndes County who are property-less, and they now control politically the 10% of the people who own the county economically? I don't have any answers. Maybe some good American political scientist could answer the question for us. I don't see any Negroes anywhere better off in the ghetto, and they vote up there; they're still propertyless. Lowndes County is going to be very interesting as indicative of what could happen across the country when propertyless people begin asking those questions."

"In Lowndes County for example, Negroes who get evicted off their land and have to live in tents because they voted, they see me every day and they say 'You told me to vote. You told me I'd get better

houses, you told me I'd get better schools, you told me I'd be a first class citizen. Now I lost my house -- you get me a house.'" You see, I can't just walk away, and say "that's part of it," those people need a house."



TENT CITY in Lowndes County

--How do you handle that question?

"We've been trying to squeeze them in with other families, and they've split up their families. Negroes don't control the resources of this country. It means that Negroes are seriously going to have to confront the question of Vietnam. That money is going to have to stop going there and start going into Alabama. It's going to be in our interest to stop that war. Not even on a moral issue, but a very practical issue."

--How does your strategy apply to the cities, to the ghetto?

"It does apply. For example in New York City, what Negroes have to do is organize. The political power in Harlem does not lie in Harlem, it lies outside. In Chicago it can be seen very clearly; the political power in Chicago lies in the Daly machinery, it doesn't lie inside the community."

"So what we're doing is something even Malcolm X was talking about. Political power has to lie within the community. And that's all: north, south, rural, industrial."

"People in Alabama are doing most of the organizing now -- that's the way it should be. I will leave Alabama by the end of this year, and that work has to go on. It's one of the things I like about SNCC--whether it lives or dies, the organizations that it organized will continue."

--What did Negroes learn from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party?

"We recognize that people aren't impressed by demonstrations; they're impressed by political power; that is what the MFDP understood. And they understood that you can't go out for coalitions, because coalitions are formed by people who have their interest at stake, not yours. And when you go into coalitions with somebody who's already established, there isn't much you can get from them, but there's a lot they can get from you. That's what they learned at the Mississippi Challenge."

"And they also learned that there's no such thing as justice in this country, in the courts, because the people who were recognized by the national government as being the official party were the racists, were the criminals, were the murderers."

"So the MFDP learned that you start at rock bottom, with no one but each other, and that's where you go. You don't look for anybody who's established, you look for people like yourself, who are starting out, people like the farm workers in Delano."

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE!

VIETNAM:

Some San Francisco Residents Talk About The War In Vietnam

The War on Poverty, in its legislative mandate, called for the "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in the planning and implementation of program. This legislation was the result of pressure from civil rights and community organizations among the poor of all races and ethnic groups; it also reflected the growing awareness that American minorities and America's poor are demanding the right to determine and change their own lives.

More and more liberal supporters of the movement are becoming aware that freedom and dignity are never given to a people, but are won by them in their own struggles. The phrase "welfare colonialism" has come to characterize all programs "for the good of the community" that are imposed on the community by an alien force.

Congress reluctantly recognized this when it called for participation of the poor. The civil rights movement, the community organizations, and their supporters have been insistent on this principle - even when in specific cases they may disagree with the decisions that a community deciding for itself may make.

The increasing fear this principle has caused among liberal politicians offers a clue to their failure to understand a closely related fact: -- that freedom and democracy cannot be brought to Vietnam by force. The Vietnamese people them-

selves will have to be the ones who decide how their country will be run.

Most of our politicians are made uncomfortable by the concept of maximum feasible participation; only a handful seem to recognize our colonial role in Vietnam. This is at the heart of the need for a new politics in this country.

We feel that any new politics must be built upon the community organizations developing across the nation. These groups speak directly to the needs and interests of the minorities and the poor. The leadership of these organizations comes from the communities they represent.

Some of these groups will die; some will become corrupt, and their leaders (like the executives of numerous corporations) will cheat their members; some will become encrusted by bureaucracy and grow as conservative as those they overthrew.

We do not think that anyone who believes in maximum feasible participation can allow these possibilities to lessen their commitment to democracy. To turn away from self-determination is to guarantee a Watts-type revolt every summer.

If we believe in democratic participation at home, if we believe that genuine leadership of the poor comes from minority and poverty communities, how can we also think that we can bring freedom to a people at the end of a napalm flame?

One of the casualties of the Vietnamese War has been the free expression of public opinion. We have set down here as carefully as we can, just what four people said when we asked them, "What do you think about the war in Vietnam?"

This is not a scientific survey, nor was it meant to be one. All four people oppose the war. All four are active in community organizations in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco.

PHOTOS BY GERHARD GSCHIEDLE

AMOS SNELL: I really don't know what they're fighting about. They say they're drawing the line on communism. I don't know what communism is. What I do know is that in Alabama, when I worked for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, I saw people killed. And I saw that it took them 8 days to get troops into Alabama to protect us, but it only took them 2 days to get troops to Vietnam.

From what I've seen of American Democracy, I don't believe in it. The way white people have been beating in our heads, letting black children starve. Democracy in America means White is Right. I don't think it's my place to go over to Vietnam. My people can't even vote for the man who's telling them to go over there.

They say we're for free elections. If the United States wins, the U.S. will be running South Vietnam, so I still don't think they'll have free elections. They don't here. If I were to go to Vietnam, and I was one of the lucky ones to come back,



what guarantee would I have that I'd be a first class citizen?

Negroes won't benefit from the war at all. Most Negroes can't afford to go to college. Those that go are middleclass whites. From what I've seen and heard it's Negroes that are fighting the war. The ratio is lopsided. That's the draft, and I don't believe in the draft, taking people against their will. If people think there should be a war there, let them go fight it.

VERNELL BOYD: I think it's wrong. We go there and fight for the white people's war, then come back here and are treated bad. If we are to fight American wars, we should be a part of it. We do all that fighting and what do we get?

I've heard so many speeches and they're all different. They don't make it clear why we're in this war. Even when I read about it, I don't understand.

I've heard that some white people have said they wish there would be a war in America between the white and black, because there are too many Negroes. In my mind that's like this birth control program - they're trying to keep the Negro and Mexican populations down.

You see, people in other countries should be allowed to take care of themselves.



MRS. VIVIAN HOWARD: We shouldn't be over there, dying for nothing. I don't even know what they're fighting for. They're fighting for nothing. I think those people should handle their own business. They could have settled it themselves if Johnson hadn't got smart and sent men over there. What in hell are we doing over there? We must be over there trying to take over that country.

They shouldn't go after and draft men with families and wives. They're spending billions of dollars over there, artillery and bombs. They could spend that money over here, build something that takes jobs. Do something about the people in the South that have been thrown off their land.

Johnson - he sits around Miami Beach and has a ball. He doesn't have to go over there.

HANK JONES: I don't think we should be in there. Frankly I don't know why we're over there. The United States... it's that big brother act, the U.S. is the "peacemaker of the world." We're trying to take democracy over there and there's no such thing as democracy in the United States.

The United States' foreign policy is a real strange phenomena. They will put all this money into a country where there's poverty, and none of the money ever gets to the poverty-stricken. It all goes to the puppet governments. A select few get rich and the rest stay as poor as they ever were. Our intentions may be good, but it doesn't work out right.

There's no honorable way out. Someone committed us and we can't get out without losing face. Maybe we can end it like Korea, divide it up. There's no winning.

I've heard that most of the guys in the front lines are Negroes. I haven't anything to back that up, but that's what I've heard. Anyway, these guys are being made to fight for something they don't have at home. I'll support my black brothers over there, because it isn't their fault, but as for what they're fighting for, I can't agree.

In the beginning the United States soldiers went in there as advisors. They went in to stop the communists. Now they admit they don't even know where those communists are. In the daytime they're fighting with them



and at night they're fighting against them. The purpose has vanished. You go over as an advisor and end up fighting the whole thing yourself in the name of the South Vietnamese you hardly ever see.

It's more or less a revolution. If the United States could get enough Vietnamese to come out and say they wanted America in there, that would be one thing, but they can't find these people.

FIRE, PRAISE FOR SNCC STATEMENT ON VIETNAM

SNCC is the only civil rights organization to have taken a position on the war in Vietnam. The SNCC statement was published in the February issue of THE MOVEMENT. Since then it has drawn strong comment -- both favorable and unfavorable. I.F. Stone, highly respected Washington journalist, has said, "We suspect SNCC says what 99% of U.S. Negroes feel."

If so, the NAACP seems to represent the other 1%. The following correspondence between a Bay Area doctor and the Assistant Executive Director of the NAACP, illustrates the sort of response the SNCC statement has received.

Sam Hanzel, M.D., F.A.C.S.,  
San Rafael, California

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director  
NAACP

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

As a Life Member, I was disturbed and concerned over the prompt disassociation of the NAACP with the SNCC statement regarding the Vietnam Peace Movement. I can understand the laudable desire to maintain as broad a base as possible, and to avoid antagonizing the "War Hawks" who might be in our membership.

Still, it is evident the Civil Rights' progress can and will be stalled by the war; and money for Civil Rights related programs will be less available because of this immoral war. Perhaps justice is indivisible. Perhaps the "non-involvement" of NAACP in the anti-war movement smacks of "Uncle-Tomism."

We should not close our minds to the fact that the most vicious racists in the country are the most vigorous in demanding escalation of the war. I believe the Civil Rights' struggle and the Vietnam Peace struggle are inextricably intertwined. The NAACP would perhaps have been better off saying nothing, than to stab SNCC in the back!

Respectively,  
Sam Hanzel, M.D.

Dear Dr. Hanzel:

Your letter of January 14 concerning the Association's position with regard to the Vietnam war controversy has come to my attention. It is one of several in similar vein that we have received in recent days.

These letters are disturbing in two respects. One, the assertion, in almost identical language, that our statement of position constitutes a "stab in the back" to SNCC, seems to suggest that to express good faith disagreement with SNCC is somehow reprehensible. Such a double standard in public debate cannot be justified.

The second, and more disturbing, aspect is the assumption common to these letters that the NAACP position reflects a desire to protect membership or contributions or to avoid antagonizing powerful influences. In other words, the possibility that intelligent and honest men may honestly differ on Vietnam is discounted as if it were

inconceivable.

While the opinions of a majority, even an overwhelming majority of our members, would not deter us from stating a position we believed to be right, I would be willing to hazard heavy stakes on the general agreement in our ranks with the position enunciated by Mr. Wilkins. I myself have serious questions regarding some features of our Vietnam activity, but I am entirely convinced of the bona fides of this country's objectives there. And I am neither a "war hawk" nor an "Uncle Tom."

It seems to me that the concluding paragraphs of the late Adlai Stevenson's posthumously published letter to Paul Goodman are singularly appropriate:

"Now it is possible for honest men to differ on every aspect of this interpretation. You may believe that Communist powers are not expansive. Or you may believe that the changes they seek to support by violence are beneficial changes which can be achieved by no other route. Again, you may believe that a return to some form of non-involvement in world affairs is the best posture for America. Or you may genuinely believe that America is in Vietnam 'for sheer capitalist greed.' These are all possible attitudes and I do not impugn the good faith of those who hold different views.

"I would only ask them, in the name of the courtesies and decencies of a free society, that they should equally refrain from impugning mine."

Thus far, at any rate, I have not heard Mr. Stevenson cited as a "war hawk."

Sincerely yours,  
John A. Morsell  
Assistant Executive  
Director NAACP

We in SNCC would ask some questions of Mr. Morsell. Is it "good faith disagreement with SNCC" to say, as Roy Wilkins said in his nationally syndicated column, "The NAACP action was the result: not only of its support for our country...?"

Mr. Morsell, do those who disagree with the Administration not support our country? Does Senator Morse not? Does Mrs. Hamer not?

Is it just an honest difference to say, as Mr. Wilkins did, that "following the line of the left thinkers, the SNCC statement branding the United States also expressed the belief that our government has been 'deceptive in its claim of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people,' just as it declared, 'the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people'?"

Do you, Mr. Morsell and you, Mr. Wilkins think that SNCC needs a "left line" -- what ever that is -- to know that the U.S. government has lied to the colored people of this country and Vietnam, or that it has lied to all people?

# Welfare Department Breaks Welfare Laws

## Farm Workers' Investigation Rips Tulare County

DELANO, CALIFORNIA — Many serious violations of the State Welfare and Institutions Code were discovered last month by the National Farm Workers Association in cases handled by the Tulare County Welfare Department.

The informal investigation was carried out by Sal Gonzales, NFWA office Manager and Ida Cousino, a volunteer working on welfare cases for the NFWA.

The reason for the investigation was to find "why many of the NFWA's members who had applied for or were on aid were denied or discontinued . . . when they were qualified under state law." It didn't take them long to find that the violations extended to non-FWA members as well, in fact to everyone receiving Tulare County aid.

The violations, ranging from burying urgent appeals for immediate aid to denying aid to persons who had no money to travel to welfare-required jobs, were of such a serious nature that Cesar Chavez, NFWA Director, sent telegrams to Governor Brown and the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington demanding an immediate investigation of the County Welfare Department.

The NFWA investigation Report documents 11 cases, specifies the violations incurred in each case, spells out the provisions of the welfare code, and makes specific recommendations for reform in the Department.

### THE CASES

We quote from some of the sworn statements taken by the NFWA, and their findings.

"I, Manual Uranday made an application for AFDC-U . . . I reported to the Work Project . . . I was discontinued for failure to cooperate on the Community Work Project . . .

"I had a note from my employer stating that I was regularly employed on the dates in question and reported for work but did not work because the moisture content (in the cotton) was too high, late on those days in question. This note was seen by a Miss Alice Thompson and a Mr. Frank Joseph, an intake supervisor at the Tulare County Welfare Department . . . This note is not to be found in my files at the Tulare County Welfare Department."

### The Violations

"Here is a list of the Tulare County Welfare Department laws violated in the processing of the Manual Uranday case," the NFWA report tersely says :

"W & IC 427  
W & IC 429  
W & IC 449.6  
W & IC 1550.1"

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TULARE COUNTY SHERIFF tails 20-car NFWA roving picket line. George Ballis photo

"I, Ray Marquez, applied for welfare on December 22, and waited until January 6 with an appointment to be seen. I needed the money when I applied for aid and I still do and I waited all morning to be able to be seen and they denied my case.

"They requested that I go to work which I am willing to go where ever they send me. The only reason I can't go is because I don't have any money at all."

"The Welfare laws violated in the Ray Marquez case are:

W & IC 449.6  
W & IC 1500.c  
W & IC 1500.4.a  
W & IC 1550.1  
W & IC C. 172.1.6"

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"Our family was in need of help and my husband went to the Welfare Department. He was referred to a job quite a distance from our home in Earlimart. He did not have any transportation, as he told the Welfare. His car was not working, also he did not have a driver's license. He was denied. This is what we expected from the Welfare Department. My husband will have nothing to do with the Tulare County Welfare Department. He went the last time only because we were so badly in need of help.

(signed) Ramona Agarano."

"The laws violated by the Tulare County Welfare Department in the Ramona Agarano case are:

W & IC 449.6

W & IC 1500.c  
W & IC 1500.4  
W & IC 1550.1"

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"When I needed immediate aid I was denied because for one reason I didn't have no money. They said that program was only for those who had money for gas, they said that maybe later on there will be a program for those who does not have money for gas. The reason that I go to the Welfare is because I am in need of money. If I had money for my family I wouldn't have to go to the Welfare. (signed) Frank Kates."

"The laws violated by the Welfare Department in Frank Kates case are:

W & IC 449.6  
W & IC 1550.1  
W & IC 1580.4  
W & IC 172.1.6  
W & IC 427  
W & IC 429  
W & IC 1500.a"

### Pressure from Growers

Sal Gonzales and Ida Cousino reported on several meetings between the NFWA and the Welfare Department. In one meeting with Mr. Feud, the director, Feud revealed that he was under pressure from growers

who wanted to know why he wasn't stricter, so the workers would "return to the fields where they belong and where work is needed to be done."

Mr. Feud's suggested solution to the pressure he was getting from both sides was a "compromise." He suggested that NFWA file an appeal and try to requalify the recipients. This way the growers would benefit by the delay and the NFWA would benefit by the eventual re-qualification of the welfare recipients. This way, Mr. Feud explained, he would be looked upon as a "neutral."

### Useless Training

In a January meeting with Work Project and Vocational Training Supervisor Maxedon, Gonzales and Cousino discovered something about the community work projects.

There were 738 recipients available for 77 different community work projects, but only 296 were actually taking part. Maxedon claimed that these projects were to aid in the vocational training of the persons involved. Further questioning revealed that with the full cooperation of city, county, state and federal agencies, less than 3% of the people so "trained" had been placed or hired in regular jobs.

"This percentage of success," the Report ironically says, "was of course very astounding to NFWA officials."

### Forced Labor

"It was found that the people were in effect forced to take part in a community work project or a vocational training project because, according to Mr. Maxedon, these people were getting free money from the government for nothing, and since he had always had to work for his money he saw no reason why these people shouldn't work for theirs."

"Tulare County can well be considered a poverty-stricken area," the NFWA Report concluded. "Tulare County has approximately 18,000 farm workers . . . 31% of the population, 27% of the population is considered . . . poverty stricken . . . 27% of the population make less than \$3,000 annually.

"The Tulare County Welfare Department is serving only 12% of the people considered poverty-stricken.

"Tulare County should be less concerned with the rising cost of welfare administration and more concerned with the reduction of poverty."

## PICKETS CORNER BROWN AT CDC CONVENTION

BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA — If you just read the daily papers there's a lot you probably don't know about the February convention of the California Democratic Council, one of the country's largest grass roots volunteer Democratic organizations.

You probably don't know that NFWA pickets surrounded Governor Brown and his entourage 4 separate times, and extracted a pledge from him to come to Delano to see the grape strike for himself.

You might not know that Assemblyman Willie Brown of San Francisco took over the convention for more than an hour Friday night to raise more than \$5000 in cash and pledges from the floor for the NFWA.

You probably don't know that President-elect, Gerald Hill, was wearing a "HUELGA" button when he made his acceptance speech.

You probably don't know the substance of the remarkable policy statement on Rural Poverty passed overwhelmingly by the convention.

If you only read the Bakersfield Californian all you know is that "The Governor also faced pickets, about 30 persons protesting that he hasn't intervened in a nearby grape strike."

The National Farm Workers Association had a table in the lobby of the convention hall. There bumper stickers, Huelga buttons, El Malcriado (the NFWA newspaper), HUELGA NFWA book, on the Delano Strike and The Movement were sold.

Fifty or sixty strikers and supporters were present during the convention, lobbying for the Rural Poverty statement, collecting money, advising the Issue Committee on rural affairs, and talking to delegates.

When it was learned that Governor Brown would attend the convention on Sunday, the strikers decided to set up a picket line outside the hall. The signs questioned Brown's silence on the strike and his unwillingness to intervene, using the powers of his office.

In a public statement, the strikers said, "We are picketing in front of the CDC convention to protest Governor Brown's irresponsible silence on the Delano strike.

"CDC has taken an excellent stand on the strike; Governor Brown has not said a word.

"Brown is our Governor, but he has not even asked the growers to negotiate with the striking unions.

"We ask Brown: 'Why are you silent over the plight of thousands of farm workers in California?'"

### Brown Arrives

Brown's limousine arrived at the hall around noon. His car entered the basement garage while the pickets were running to the ramp. As they got there the tall steel doors were being closed.

This wasn't about to stop them from confronting their Governor. They pounded on the door with the heavy wooden Huelga signs. You could hear the door ring like a gong for 50 yards. After about 30 seconds of this, the doors rolled up and Brown, surrounded by newsmen, came out to face

the strikers.

Putting on his best politician's smile, he shook the hand of Dolores Huerta, NFWA Vice-President, and said, "Dolores and I have won many a fight on Capitol Hill."

"There's one fight we haven't talked about," replied Mrs. Huerta, "the Delano strike."



"Well," said Brown, "I have no position now, but you can be sure I will take a stand."

Brown was asked if he would talk to the growers, and ask them to negotiate. "Do you really think they would listen if I spoke to them?" he asked. "yes!" yelled the strikers.

"Will you come to Delano to see conditions first-hand?" asked Mrs. Huerta.

Cautiously, the Governor replied, "I will come to Delano, the next time I'm in Kern County." Then he paused, as if re-thinking this and said, "Is there really any need for me to come to Delano? It looks like Delano has come to me." The crowd at this time was about 100.

"It's not the same, Governor," said Mrs. Huerta.

Brown was offered an AWOC-NFWA pin and asked if he would wear it. He refused.

"Let me say this," he concluded. "I will talk to the growers. Let me be a bridge between the two groups."

He and the reporters then returned to the basement. The doors came down again.

This scene was repeated, without the presence of Mrs. Huerta, three more times — when the Governor left the building for lunch, when he returned, and when he left to return to Sacramento.

The last time, he was surrounded as he tried to leave the convention parking lot. He was getting upset now at this outbreak of direct democracy. "Are you trying to argue with me?" he yelled at a striker. "No, Governor," was the reply, "I just want an answer to my question."

Luis Valdez, NFWA picket captain, reports that Brown at this point turned to an (CONTINUED PAGE 4, COLUMN 1)

SPECIAL TO THE MOVEMENT

BY Fred Hirsch



In 1966, SCABS use mechanical pruner on Schenley Ranch

In the December issue of THE MOVEMENT we published an edited copy of some remarks by H.L. Mitchell, organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in the 1930's. We got this transcript from FARM LABOR magazine. It never occurred to us that Mitchell might still be around -- the 30's seem a long time ago for young people.

H.L. Mitchell is very much still around. He is now the International Representative of the Fish, Seafood, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union No. 300 in Metairie, Louisiana. Mr. Mitchell read the December MOVEMENT and wrote to tell us he was interested in the work NFWA and the SNCC are doing in Delano.

We asked him about the Southern Tenant Farmers Union -- what happened to it.

"The STFU was a balanced, integrated union until World War II," says Mitchell. "When the War started, whites got jobs and Negroes didn't. After 1940 the union membership was 90% Negro. That did more than any of the Negro-baiting to break up the whites and Negroes in our union."

"We started out integrated. Usually there wasn't any place for whites to meet except in Negro homes. There wasn't that racial antagonism in Arkansas at that time that exists in the South today."

"The STFU stayed independent after we broke from the CIO in 1939, until 1947; then we got an AFL charter. In California our operation was called the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU).

**Two Year Strike**

"In 1947 the NFLU called a strike against the Di Giorgio Ranch near Bakers-

field, the Home Ranch. The workers then were mostly Okies, Mexican-Americans and braceros. We pulled out 1100 workers. The strike lasted two years, and in the end we lost.

"They replaced the workers with local farmers and wetbacks. The Burns Committee red-baited us from Sacramento.

**AWOC**

"I'll tell you how AWOC got organized. We had organized a national committee of Mrs. Roosevelt, and Norman Thomas. We had a hearing in Washington, D.C., where we called in congressmen and labor people. The result was that the AFL-CIO were put on the spot -- they had to come in and say they would organize farm labor."

"Then once they started, they wouldn't let me in it. A lot of the leadership in AWOC was trained by us."

**Schenley Strike**

"A few years after the Di Giorgio strike we had a strike against the Schenley Ranch in Delano. This one lost too. We tried a national boycott against Schenley, but we couldn't pull it off. Organized labor wouldn't support it. A Schenley Labor Relations man told me, "You can't get a boycott against us; if you did, we'd have to sign."

"We just couldn't get those guys in the labor unions to support agricultural worker organizing. At that time the Distillery Workers were completely racket-ridden."

"I'll tell you, I'm very impressed by this guy Cesar Chavez. His program sounds like the Southern Tenant Farmers Union-- before we became involved with organized labor."

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA - The power structure of Santa Clara County, successfully barred from completely controlling the local War on Poverty, is now clawing and scraping to regain control.

A year ago the Community Councils of Central Santa Clara County, the Establishment's tool for administering United Fund and other programs whose aim is a more bearable standard of poverty, initiated a War on Poverty program. The county welcomed the program, and a Board of 14 members most representing the community power structure, was set up to govern the program.

In the beginning there was a lone voice, that of Wester Sweet, a local Negro attorney, calling for an enlarged Commission which would represent the poor of the County. Support for his position grew. Organized labor and some Mexican-American organizations joined the effort to enlarge the Commission and to put in a Director and Deputy Director who would be sympathetic to the real needs of the poor.

They lost the battle over the Director when Arthur Potts, the "safe" choice of the power structure, was handed control of the program.

With the aid of the regional Office of Economic Opportunity, and the threat of direct action by Mexican-Americans, they won the fight to enlarge the Commission. Making this victory mean anything took many more months.

The battle centered on whether a Deputy Director of Mexican descent would be appointed. Potts delayed making any appointment until he got an outside administrative "expert" to claim that the post was not really necessary. In arguments over this issue the Director showed himself to be intransigent and abusive, with little regard for Mexican-Americans. The words which finally touched the fuse that blasted Potts from his position were: "Those goddam Mexicans can't touch me. They haven't got the political power to kill a fly."

A "Mexican-American Roundtable" was formed, including the American G.I. Forum, MAPA (Mexican American Political Association), CSO (Community Service Organization) and about ten other groups ranging from the conservative to radical and from social clubs to political factions. For the first time Mexican-Americans in Santa Clara County came together to take united social action. Although they are the largest

minority in the county (12%), Santa Clara Negroes, (.095%), have until now had the strongest minority voice. The Roundtable Organizations worked door to door in the communities. At times Poverty Commission meetings were attended by as many as 500 people insisting on a voice. Mexican-American Picket lines were formed for the first time, demanding that the War on Poverty reach the poor.

Divisions inside the EOC staff erupted. The Community Action Program people opposed the Director and called for his ouster. Contact with the poor in the communities made it impossible for even the paid staff members to go along with a top-down, dictatorial administration.

By emasculating or ignoring programs put forward by organizations, and by trying to dictate community hiring policy, Potts made himself a community wide target. The only segments supporting him were his own staff of top administrators, the power structure of the city of San Jose and the County, and the Community Councils which had started the EOC Program.

On Jan. 20 the battle closed. The poor and the Mexican-Americans groups had gained enough representation on the County Commission to make their bid.

They moved in executive session to review complaints against the Director. No satisfactory action was taken.

On February 2, Potts appointed a Mexican-American Deputy Director, Mark Guerra, in an obvious move to divide the Latin organizations. Guerra had already asked for the support of the organizations and had been turned down cold. The Mexican-Americans would not give support to a sellout, a "vendido". They paid no attention to the "deal", and continued the drive to oust the Director.

After a week of daily picketing against Potts by Mexican-Americans, Negroes and Anglos, there was a special meeting of the EOC Commission. The County Counsel and the Chairman claimed that any action of the Commission to deal with the director should be illegal. It took two and a half hours of wrangling and verbal daggers before action was taken. The anti-Potts group held a majority against all the power and legal force of the County.

Only one Mexican-American defected, Isaias Aguilera, President of Mapa, breaking his word to his own membership and the "Roundtable", bolted the voting majority. By 10:30 in the evening a weary audience of 500, mostly low income Mexican-Americans, greeted the suspension of Arthur Potts with loud applause.

**BROWN FACES PICKETS, CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE**

aide and said nervously, "Get me out of here."

**Farm Labor Policy**

The statement adopted by the Convention was written in conjunction with NFWA representatives. Among other things, it called for:

- \* Revision of the Social Security Act to cover farm workers.
- \* Passage of a state Labor Relations Act establishing an Administrative Board to deal exclusively with the collective bargaining rights of agriculture.
- \* A state minimum wage of \$2 an hour for all agricultural employees.
- \* Abolishment of the Farm Placement Service.
- \* Representatives from farm labor organizations to sit on all government decision-making boards affecting agriculture.
- \* Strict enforcement of the 160-acre water limitation law.
- \* Full support of the Delano strikers.
- \* Support of the Schenley boycott.



Photo: Jon Lewis

- \* The denial of support to any candidate for public office who does not support these proposals.

**Contradiction**

Note that last policy statement. It was accepted by the convention body on Saturday. On Sunday, the same body endorsed Governor Brown. Does Governor Brown support the Schenley boycott? No. CDC seems to have overlooked that little matter, and went

against its own policy statement. Such is politics.

**Confusion**

There was considerable confusion about the picketing in front and inside the convention hall. When the delegates who favored ousted President Si Casady walked out of the hall during Governor Brown's speech, the two issues -- Casady and Delano -- got mixed. NFWA pickets were inside the hall at the time, hoping to spark questions from the floor on the strike.

When the walk-out took place, the NFWA pickets got swept up in the crowd. Many of the Casady demonstrators carried farm worker signs and some of the strikers were impressed into service in the Casady demonstration. This confusion was unfortunate, since many of the strongest supporters of the grape strike were anti-Casady. Roy Greenaway from Fresno, for example, a principle mover in the ouster, has done much work in favor of the strike.

The slate elected by the convention is heavily pro-strike.

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# THE BACKGROUND OF THE GREENVILLE AIR BASE LIVE-IN

## "We Have No Government"

Following is an edited transcript of a press conference held in Greenville on February 1. Taking part are the spokesmen for the Negroes who occupied the Air Force Base. They are MR. ISAAC FOSTER of Tribbett, a leader in last Spring's strike of plantation workers, MRS. UNITA BLACKWELL of Mayersville, a member of the Freedom Democratic Party executive committee, MRS. IDA MAE LAWRENCE of Rosedale, chairman of a Mississippi Freedom Labor Union local, and REV. ARTHUR THOMAS of Greenville, director of the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches.

MR. FOSTER: The people are going to set up at the Tent City out at Tribbett and work on getting poor peoples to come and build a new city. Because of the fact that we was refused by the federal government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government.

MRS. BLACKWELL: I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.

We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us.

MRS. LAWRENCE: See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples.

We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking, we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government.

MR. FOSTER: Was.

MRS. LAWRENCE: Yeah, was. Now, we're our own government - government by poor people. Where do we go from here? To brighter days on our own. And we know we'll reach that goal. But in their world, that's something that doesn't exist.

REPORTER: About the poor people's government. Would this be an idea for a lot of people to come and live around Tribbett or somewhere in particular? Would this be a larger tent city?

MR. FOSTER: I know and you know that the tents are not going to stand forever. But I wouldn't be surprised if it wouldn't start that way.

REPORTER: Does this mean that you would not consider yourselves bound by the restraints, the actions of county, state or federal law enforcement officers?

MR. FOSTER: From nothing we must start building a new country, with our own laws, our own enforcement. No part of the system has any authority or control over us. Our goal is leading away from depending on the system for anything. And I would like to say that every poor person that will come is welcome.

MRS. BLACKWELL: Not only from Mississippi but from all over the United States. And elsewhere, if they want to join. We will be sending telegrams to other nations, including African nations, for support.

REPORTER: Does this mean that you won't sit down and talk to the Attorney General or other government representatives about your grievances?

MR. FOSTER: If they would like to talk, we'll be willing to talk. But they didn't want to talk. They sent some Mississippian -- chief or sergeant or something. He said - give me the names of people who need relocation and I'll see what can be done about it. How can we leave the base when peoples don't have a house to stay in?

MRS. LAWRENCE: The base is more thought of than the poor peoples was. The buildings weren't doing anything but just sitting there. The building was more respectable than poor hundry peoples with nothing and nowhere to go. If the peoples was satisfied and willing to sit there to find ways for themselves, the government should have let them stay there. The building was more important than poor folks.

MR. FOSTER: The only reason that Colonel Jones could give for eviction was that the building that we was in didn't have running water and didn't have any type of fire protection. And see, I know that the federal government can't tell me that was the reason we was put out, because all over Mississippi houses don't have running water or fire protection.

REV. THOMAS: It was cruel and inhuman of Orville Freeman and Nicholas Katzenbach to send the kind of message to us at the air base they sent today. They said nothing to us that hasn't been said for months and years. We were tired of waiting around for these people to live up to their words.

REPORTER: Mr. Thomas, could you go a little more into Operation HELP?

REV. THOMAS: Over a year ago the Delta Ministry, in cooperation with the National Students Association, pointed out the need for a commodity program for Mississippi poor people. And we gave as an example of what local people could do, what was happening in Forrest County, where the people had set up their own distribution system for contributed food and clothing. It works very well.

We offered to make Forrest County a trial case for food distribution if the Department would release the commodities to us.

We then made the same offer in regard to Madison County. Again Washington called the state welfare people, who notified the county Board of Supervisors. They came up with a Food Stamp program. Of course poor people can't afford to be in a food stamp program. In the face of this possibility the state Welfare Department came up with the proposal called Operation HELP - and keep in mind this was in August. All over the state people had gone without food through the winter while the welfare department and the Agriculture Department played politics with each other.

Under this plan, the Welfare Department will get 24 million dollars worth of surplus commodities from the Department of Agriculture and 1.6 million dollars from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute the food to 500,000 people for six months.

In view of the criticisms of the program - which is based on the untenable assumption that welfare agencies and county boards of supervisors will act in a nondiscriminatory manner - OEO put certain conditions on the grant: one, that a biracial committee supervise the program and, two, that hiring and distribution be done on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Our information has it that no such committee has been set up, although the proposal was submitted in August and granted in November. Dr. Aaron Henry, head of the state NAACP, was asked to nominate the Negroes for the committee. Why weren't poor people asked to nominate people?

In regard to the second condition, the food was supposed to be ready for distribution by January 23. When that day came we could not find one poor person employed in the program and no food being given out. And now it's February.

MRS. LAWRENCE: I'd like to add to that. To live, we got to go out and chop cotton for \$3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then in November when they start qualifying you for the commodities, they say you got to find out how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not.

MRS. BLACKWELL: See, if you belong to any civil rights group or participate, they

GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI-At 6:30AM, January 31, forty Negro Mississippians entered an abandoned barracks on the inactive Greenville Air Force Base. They hung a sign on the door that said, "This is our home -- please knock before entering."

Though treated in the press as just another civil disobedience demonstration, the occupying of the barracks in Greenville was much more significant. It expressed a profound and growing disillusionment about the promises and intentions of the federal government.

The action grew out of a four-day Poor Peoples Conference, sponsored by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Delta Ministry. More than 700 people from the state discussed the state welfare department, the poverty program, the lack of jobs and the mass evictions from plantations.

Their discontent with the government was very specific. "I'm tired of going to Washington," one woman said. "I've been there three times and don't see nothing come of it. They don't want to talk to poor folk; they just want to talk to people they select."

"When they want to know about people in Mississippi they ask Eastland or Stennis," another participant said.

"They don't represent us because they and the other whites made sure we never got a chance to choose our representatives."

The conference drew up a list of demands: a commodity and job training program run by poor people, federal lands for housing, income for the poor, and the reopening of Headstart schools under the control of the poor.

Just making demands was not enough. "We've been taking our problems through all the channels of government for the last three years and ain't got nothing, now it's time to do something else," said one of the participants.

There was a feeling of desperation. Earlier, news had reached the convention that two elderly Negroes had frozen to death in their Delta shacks. On Sunday night, January 30, 40 conference members decided to leave their shacks and start living in the empty housing facilities at the Air Force Base. They were later joined by others, bringing the new population at the base to 70.

"We are here as testimony that the Poverty Program is not helping us," a statement issued by the group read. "We are asking that the abandoned base be used

in the following manner: 1. A distribution point for surplus foods. 2. For training purposes. 3. As a housing project for people being thrown off land. 4. Land for houses and farms.

"We are too tired and hungry to fill out the forms again. We can't get the white people to cooperate. We are asking the OEO to recognize our program and begin funding us now. Our program has the maximum feasible participation of the poor."

"We need to go there and set up one of those refugee camps," said one man. "Cause that's what we are, And being right by that air strip the government can fly in surplus commodities right to our door and we can give them out without the expensive middle man. They say the buildings don't have heat or lights or running water. Well, just as long as it don't leak it'll still be a damn sight better than the shack I been living in."

The surplus commodities he was referring to were supposed to have been distributed in the state. Last November, Mississippi got \$1.5 million in anti-poverty funds to give out \$24 million of surplus commodities. None of this food has been distributed. Jobs were to have been created through the program. County welfare officials in the state claim they know nothing of the program.

At 1 PM the day the people moved in, an administrative assistant from the Civil Rights Commission in Washington called the Delta Ministry demanding to know why the air base had been occupied. "There is no excuse for breaking the law," he said.

The jurisdiction dispute over who was in charge of evicting the people was settled that evening, according to the Poor Peoples Fund and other witnesses on the scene, by Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, who signed the order that the people be thrown off the base.

At 11:15 the next morning a Major General and 150 Air Police congregated outside the barracks. The General read a message asking the people to inform the Departments of Justice and Agriculture of their grievances. They were given 20 minutes to leave the barracks.

The people inside, who had been informing Washington of the grievances for years, decided not to leave. At 11:30 the Air Police broke the windows of the building and dragged the people out.

The homeless among the occupants are now staying at Strike City. They have sent word to all poor people to join them there.



FARM WORKERS' HOUSES in West Point, Mississippi. Photo: Gerhard Gschiedle

tell you you can't get a job with the poverty program, because that's political and you know, you can't have that. And that's what's happening with the poverty program: it's political - that's the reason it's not doing anything for the poor.

REPORTER: Mr. Thomas, why do you think the federal government is afraid to let poor Negroes go ahead and run the program?

REV. THOMAS: I could try to avoid that question and say that it is their problem. These people have the problem of not being fed. I will not avoid it and say nobody is unaware of the power of Congressman Whitten in the House Subcommittee on Agriculture. Nobody is unaware of the critical power of John Stennis in the Senate and its Finance Appropriations Committee. And those are the kinds of people who are supposed to represent the poor people in Congress.

REPORTER: Are you saying that the people who run the poverty programs are kowtowing to the white power structure from here?

REV. THOMAS: That's what I'm saying. The poverty program and the Department of Agriculture.

I'd like to add one footnote. OEO says it's introducing an experimental program for food distribution. Well, I don't think these people ought to be experimented on. They're hungry now. They need food now. And there's no reason why food could not have been airlifted in to those people.

Also, poor people in this state last year organized themselves into a Headstart program through the Child Development Group of Mississippi. Shriver and others said it was one of the best Headstarts anywhere in the country. In September they were told they would be funded in October; in October the money was coming in November; in November the money was coming in December and so on and so on each month. Over 1100 local Mississippi poor people who have been promised money have been cheated by OEO.

MRS. LAWRENCE: You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs, we need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building that wasn't being used for anything. We is ignored by the government. The thing about property upset them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning, whatever way you can. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future.

# WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MISSISSIPPI CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP?

## Part 1: Working With the Children

We begin in this issue a three part article by Dr. Gerald Rosenfield of Berkeley, California, on a "noble experiment," the attempt by the Negro poor of Mississippi to control an OEO poverty program. Dr. Rosenfield's analysis of why it failed to meet the expectations of many of those involved should be of interest to all who see the "War on Poverty" as part of the politics of America.

The entire article will be published together with a report by Tom Levin, Ph.D, director of the CDGM, in the KEY LIST MAILING, a publication of San Francisco SNCC.

PHOTOS BY GERHARD GSCHIEDLE

The Child Development Group of Mississippi was an attempt to use the federal Anti-Poverty Program to make radical change in Mississippi. This wasn't the intention of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, which funded the project, but it was the conscious intent of those who organized it last spring. A summer nursery school program may seem an unlikely vehicle for radical social action, but CDGM, as conceived, was an exciting idea. I decided to spend last summer working for CDGM because, as I figured it, the salary they would pay me as a physician in their health program would enable me to spend the whole summer working for civil rights rather than the two weeks which was all I could afford as an unpaid volunteer for SNCC or CORE. The same thought--that the government money would help to accomplish things the Movement could not otherwise do -- underlay the conception of CDGM.

CDGM developed out of the experience of Tom Levin, a New York psychologist, with the COFO freedom schools in the summer of 1964. Levin planned to expand the freedom schools and broaden them to include pre-school and community education projects in the Negro communities. This idea coincided with one of the programs planned by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO): Project HEADSTART, a plan for pre-school education of "disadvantaged" children to prepare them for their school years.

HEADSTART was part of the Community Action Program of the War on Poverty, which meant that Headstart programs were to be run by local communities, with the "maximum feasible participation of the residents of the area" stipulated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This fit in very well.

### More than a School

As Levin planned it, CDGM would be more than a nursery school program. CDGM was going to take the "maximum feasible participation" clause at face value; CDGM centers would be organized, operated, and to the extent possible, staffed by the communities of the poor themselves. As Levin euphemistically wrote in the grant application to OEO, "A primary purpose of the summer is to stimulate communities to function autonomously so that the program can continue permanently with or without outside help."

In most of Mississippi, "poor" means Negro. Though the poor would be invited to participate regardless of race, it was expected that few whites would work with Negroes and that CDGM would be essentially a program of the Negro communities.

These communities would run the CDGM centers entirely independent of the all-white state and local governments of Mississippi. The sponsorship of the federal government would legitimize the organization of the Negro community, protecting the participants from white hostility. The federal money would provide salaries and supplies, making the participants independent of white economic pressure.

Finally, with the assistance of a central staff of sympathetic professional people recruited mainly from outside Mississippi - people with previous involvement in community projects and commitment to civil rights - the experience would give local people the confidence in their ability to run their own affairs.

In the spring of 1965 -- with the assistance of Reverend Art Thomas and other workers with the Delta Ministry (the National Council of Churches' civil rights arm in Mississippi) Levin worked out a proposal for a summer session of pre-

school education for 5000 children in 40 Mississippi communities. The central administrative office would be on the Mount Beulah campus of the Delta Ministry twenty miles outside Jackson. The central office would keep the books and help orient, assist, and supply the local centers, but not run them. The local centers were to be organized and operated by the communities themselves; responsibility for the administration of each center was to reside in a committee elected by the community in open meeting.

The teaching staff at each center would



be composed of local people. No professional training was necessary. Each center would have one "resource teacher", someone with professional teaching experience. For those communities where no qualified person was available, a resource teacher would be recruited from outside. A "health aide" would assist the doctors with health evaluations of the children and arrange follow-up treatment when indicated.

Levin and Delta Ministry then divided the work, Levin going North to recruit central staff personnel and resource teachers, the Delta Ministry people working in the state finding local people to organize local community meetings.

The Delta Ministry also recruited people "representing as broad a spectrum of responsible community leadership as possible" to sit on the CDGM Board of Directors.

It was necessary, under the terms of the Economic Opportunity Act, to find a college or university to sponsor the project and act as official recipient of the federal grant. Only projects sponsored by institutions of higher learning are exempt from veto by the governor of the state.

CDGM was too venturesome for most of the Negro colleges in Mississippi. Tougaloo College, the locus of much civil rights activity in the past, was too concerned with its academic image as the protegee of the ivy-league Brown University, and turned down the program. Mary Holmes Junior College at West Point, Mississippi, agreed to sponsor CDGM. The president of the college, D.I. Horn, had never taken much of an interest in civil rights activity. After a whirlwind trip to New York to confer with Levin and the National Council of Churches, Horn returned convinced that the project could lend prestige to Mary Holmes. Also, Mary Holmes would receive \$20,000 in "administrative fees" for its nominal involvement in the project, and there was a tacit agreement that Horn would be given a CDGM center at West Point, that he could operate without major interference from the central administration.

Horn was placed on the CDGM Board of Directors. So were Art Thomas and A.D. Beittel, Liberal former President of

Tougaloo College -- both white -- and several Negro professional people and community leaders, mostly people with roots in or sympathetic to the civil rights movement.

Most of the people who played a leading role in the organization of local centers were acknowledged leaders of the civil rights movements in their communities or were people who had the confidence of the indigenous civil rights leadership, people like Joe and Hattie Saffold in Durant, Robert Miles in Batesville, and Frank Smith in Rosedale.

In some cases, people were entrusted with the responsibility of organizing centers more or less on faith. The local committees were supposed to be elected democratically, but their composition tended to the politics of the initial organizers. A man named Joe Edmonson called one day from Gulfport and expressed an interest in the program; he sounded enthusiastic and competent, and the Delta Ministry asked him to organize centers in Gulfport. He was also made a member of the Board of Directors. Edmonson turned out to be a man of middle-class values and associations who maintained tight personal control over the Gulfport program. Such things had to be accepted and lived with; it was necessary to have a working structure ready in a hurry in order to be eligible for an OEO grant in the summer.

The OEO, wanting very much to have something going in the Deep South beside programs run by segregationist local governments and school boards, bought the program. OEO Director Sargent Shriver reportedly wrote, "Great, great" across the cover of the CDGM grant application. Support by the National Council of Churches was an important factor in OEO's favorable decision. CDGM was granted \$1,200,000 for a seven-week summer HEAD START program.

Eighty-four CDGM "child development centers" opened their doors on July 12. The expected 5000 children had become nearly 7000. Centers were scattered all over the state, from Holly Springs near the Tennessee border to Moss Point on the Gulf Coast; there were centers in cities like Hattiesburg and Greenville and in little rural communities that aren't shown on the road maps, places like Hopedale in the Delta on an elbow of the Mississippi River and Old Pilgrims Rest in Holmes County, which can be reached only by a series of unmarked dirt roads.

### Freedom In the Air

CDGM looked good when I arrived at Mt. Beulah for a four-day orientation session the week before school started. The office had that air of frantic but good-humored activity I had come to associate with civil rights headquarters. Most of the 1400 people who would draw salaries from CDGM attended one of the two orientation sessions. Nine-tenths of these were Mississippi Negroes; most of them would staff the centers in their home communities. Of the 140 outsiders, Negro and white, more than 100 would work in the field as resource teachers and regional coordinators; the rest manned the central office. Three-fourths of the central staff of forty were from outside the state.



The Northerners were a motley crew: older professional people and semi-hippy students, liberals and radicals, New Yorkers and Californians, but the sense of uniting for a common cause in a hostile land quickly brought us together. We spent much of our free time at orientation singing folk and freedom songs. Orientation culminated in one wild morning session that began as a class in children's games and wound up in a foot-stomping, snake-dancing freedom-singing hootenany. Freedom was a coming, and we were to be part of it.

From the point of view of the Mississippi power structure, CDGM was by definition a civil rights organization; it was integrated. White hostility to the program was fired and legitimized by a series of attacks by Senator Stennis. Long before the program began, Stennis charged that CDGM was being imposed on Mississippi without regard for the legitimate governmental authority and that CDGM was a device for using federal funds to support civil rights organizations and demonstrations. Twice during the summer Stennis sent a team of investigators from the Senate Appropriations Committee to Mt. Beulah to look for evidence of the mishandling of federal money.



Mississippi's leading newspaper, the Jackson "Daily News", attacked CDGM incessantly through the summer with articles, editorials and cartoons depicting us as Outside Agitators and decrying the close relationship of CDGM to the Delta Ministry (and thereby to the Freedom Democratic Party and "Left-Wingers".)

As a result we were harassed by state and local police and threatened by local whites. Some of the centers were shot into; crosses were burned in front of others; one center, at Valewood in the Delta, was burned to the ground. We were an integrated group living and working in Negro communities and teaching Negro children that they are as good as anyone else: in those ways we were part of the civil rights movement; we were challenging the Southern way of life.

CDGM did a wonderful thing for the 6700 kids who attended its centers. The intention of the program was not merely to give them a head start in technical learning skills. It was to give them a sense of their own individuality and worth-- "to lead each child into the fullest exploration of every corner of his abilities, interests and character, so that nothing God gave him is wasted or stunted, twisted or unrecognized."

The staff of the centers, the local teachers and the outsiders who helped them, very much aware of the psychological price of growing up black in Mississippi, gave a lot of love and a lot of understanding to the children. The teaching program, the structure of the classes, the games that were played, all were centered around a single principle: attention to the individual character of each child and to the particular nature of their way of life in Mississippi.

### Real Children's Book

For example: when no textbooks could be found that related to the lives of Negro Mississippi children, CDGM printed its own textbook, based on the actual experiences of the children and written in their own way of speaking.

Children came to the centers at the beginning of the summer who did not know their own names, or were afraid to speak them. In seven weeks they blossomed into healthy, assertive, expressive children. It was a joy to watch them come alive. I think the summer planted a spark of self-esteem in many of them that will stay alive no matter how much the next 12 years of schooling in Mississippi public school systems tries to beat it out of them, and no matter what the conditions of their lives in Mississippi may be.

NEXT MONTH -- PART II: Conflict Inside the Staff, "Sound Fiscal Practice," The Attempt to Destroy CDGM, the Revolt.

# JULIAN BOND MEETS

# "MEET THE PRESS"

## The Complete Transcript

MR. SCHERER: This is Ray Scherer inviting you to MEET THE PRESS. Our guest is Julian Bond, recently elected by a landslide vote to the Georgia House of Representatives but barred from taking his seat--and who came through Washington's biggest snow storm in years to get here today. Mr. Bond was one of the founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, known as SNCC, and is its communications director. We will have the first question now from Robert Novak of the New York Herald Tribune Syndicate.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Bond, there have been a great number of explanations of just why the Georgia House of Representatives refused to seat you.

In your own words, what is your explanation for this?

MR. BOND: I think the people involved in the fight to deny me my seat had different reasons for acting. They charged me with misconduct and questioned my credulity and said that if I took the oath of office, which requires that you swear allegiance to the United States Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Georgia, I would not be credible. I could not be believed, and therefore, should not be allowed to take the oath.

MR. NOVAK: You don't feel there were any racist overtones to this?

MR. BOND: Oh, certainly I do. I don't think that race was the sole factor involved, but I think --

MR. NOVAK: You do think it was a factor?

MR. BOND: Yes, I do.

MR. NOVAK: Do you think a white man taking your position would have been seated?

MR. BOND: I don't know if a white man took my position whether he would be seated, but I think my employment with what some people consider a militant civil rights group, my race, the statement itself, were all factors involved in the eventual outcome.

MR. NOVAK: Do you feel that your subscribing to the SNCC statement in any way did compromise your loyalty to the United States?

MR. BOND: No, not at all.

MR. NOVAK: Would you fight for your country under any conditions?

MR. BOND: I consider myself a pacifist, if you mean, would I bear arms.



JULIAN BOND talks to reporters in Atlanta

Photo: Rufus Hinton

MR. NOVAK: Would you have borne arms in World War II, for example?

MR. BOND: That is sort of a hypothetical question. I don't believe I would.

MR. NOVAK: Then you are not a selective pacifist? There are no conditions under which you would bear arms for your country?

MR. BOND: No.

MR. NOVAK: Would you fight to save your family, your household?

MR. BOND: That again is another hypothetical situation. You know, the usual question put to pacifists is "What would you do if someone began beating your wife?" But no one is beating my wife right now. I think of myself as a pacifist. I believe in non-violence.

MR. NOVAK: Let me ask you a non-hypothetical question: Do you approve of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, which is a Negro group which does bear arms and has had close ties with civil rights groups in the South?

MR. BOND: No, I don't approve of anyone anywhere under any circumstances engaging in violence.

MR. NOVAK: When did you become a pacifist, Mr. Bond?

MR. BOND: I began thinking about pacifism and about non-violence in 1957, when I was a student at a Quaker school in Pennsylvania, and since then, since my involvement in the civil rights movement has become deeper and deeper, the feeling has just increased.

MR. NOVAK: When you first applied for the draft, did you list yourself as a pacifist?

MR. BOND: No, I didn't. The Army told me that they weren't interested in my serving with them.

MR. NOVAK: You did not in any way indicate you were a pacifist at that time?

MR. BOND: After I took my physical examination and after I had taken the mental examination, I was given a status of 1-Y, which I understand means not to be called except in case of national emergency, and I never believed that my service in the military would be in issue.

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. Bond, you indicated your position on war in general just a moment ago--that you are a pacifist and you believe in non-violence. At the same time when we took it down to the personal level, you indicated you would make a decision on that when and if it happened.

Are you in a sense, then, saying you would support those wars which happened to come up if they go along with your ideas and reject those that you do not agree with?

MR. BOND: No, what I was trying to indicate is that I don't like to answer questions about hypothetical situations because I don't think anyone really knows how he is going to react in a hypothetical situation. I am not a selective pacifist; I don't choose this war over that war. I oppose all wars and I oppose all violence.

MR. ROBINSON: At the same time you indicated when it came down to your family, you would have to wait until that situation took place, although you would oppose all wars in the future as in the past.

MR. BOND: No, that is not what I was saying. I was trying to indicate that, as far as I am concerned, I am a pacifist whether it concerns my family or war in Viet Nam or a war wherever.

MR. ROBINSON: You have been a pacifist for some time, but why didn't you make your position known, as a pacifist, when you were running for office in Georgia, and why didn't you make your views on Viet Nam known during the campaign?

MR. BOND: My views on non-violence were known during the campaign. The question of Viet Nam is not a question that the Georgia House of Representatives, the office that I was aspiring to, addresses itself to. I didn't think it was an issue.

MR. WICKER: Mr. Bond, aside from your general pacifist views, as a thoughtful and aspiring American Negro, do you feel more personal affinity with other aspiring non-white men in Asia and Africa, perhaps, than with the great majority of white Americans?

MR. BOND: I feel an emotional attachment toward Africa and toward colored people, but I don't think that colored people are any better or any worse than white people. I don't feel that because colored people are engaging in a struggle against white people that the colored people must be right.

MR. WICKER: I wasn't suggesting that you were. I was wondering if you felt somehow that across the world, non-white men had a sort of link, a common struggle against white oppression in some places, white majorities elsewhere, and if these links were beginning to be forced more closely.

MR. BOND: I don't want to characterize the oppression as white. It unfortunately is in a great many cases, but I don't think it is that case. I think it is the case that colored people have had in a great many instances, a common struggle against some sort of oppression.

MR. WICKER: To be specific, would you see any striking similarity between the civil rights struggle in the United States in which you have been such an active participant and a revolutionary movement like that of the Viet Cong?

MR. BOND: No, I don't see that sort of a similarity. I see a similarity between people--in one case Negroes in the United States, in other cases people who live in Viet Nam--who are struggling. That is one parallel. The other parallel is that Negroes in the United States are struggling against a system of segregation and discrimination and oppression, and the same sort of parallel has been suggested, not by me, as going on in Viet Nam, today.

MR. SCHERER: How many of your constituents feel the same way you do about Viet Nam, do you know?

MR. BOND: Since this became an issue, I tried to talk with as many as I could, and I've got--or I had, 25,000 constituents, men, women and children, about 6,000 registered voters. In three days I must have talked to--not very many people, about 200 or 250 at the most, and their opinions generally were in agreement with this statement and in agreement with my right to express myself on any issue that I saw.

In fact, I might say that some of them--I don't like to use this word, but some of them had opinions about the war in Viet Nam that were more extreme than this document.

MR. SCHERER: You think most of the 6,000 would support this statement?

MR. BOND: I don't know if they would or not. I know that all of those that I talked to did.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Bond, I would like to get into some of the wording of this statement because it is interesting that you mention there could be a position a little more extreme. For example it says, "We maintain that our country's crusade to preserve freedom in the world is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashes liberation movements."

What is a liberation movement?

MR. BOND: I think that I HAVE TO AGREE WITH Senator Young, I think it was, who said that the struggle in Viet Nam was a civil war.

MR. NOVAK: Is the Viet Cong a liberation movement, Mr. Bond?

MR. BOND: I don't know what the Viet Cong are. I have the impression that they are not what I would call a liberation movement.

MR. NOVAK: What liberation movements are we squashing according to the SNCC statement?

MR. BOND: According to this statement and according to my beliefs, the liberation movement that is being squashed in that particular instance is the struggle of people who live in North and South Viet Nam and who want self-determination, who want to rule themselves.

MR. NOVAK: Do you mean this is not the Viet Cong that we are fighting in Viet Nam? Are we fighting someone else beside the Viet Cong?

MR. BOND: There are a lot of differences of opinion about who is fighting and whether it is infiltrators from the North or whether it is citizens of the South--whether it is a civil war.

MR. NOVAK: You don't think it is a Communist-led operation, the Viet Cong?

MR. BOND: I don't know if it is.

MR. NOVAK: You have made several statements about Viet Nam, Mr. Bond. Have you made any study of the subject?

MR. BOND: I have tried to learn as much about it as I can.

MR. NOVAK: And you don't know whether the Viet Cong is a Communist movement or not?

MR. BOND: No, all the information that I get is that it is. What I am trying to say, if you will give me a second, is that by a liberation movement I mean--and I take this statement to mean--the legitimate aspirations of the people who live in North and South Viet Nam, who, it seems to me, want only to determine their own destiny.

MR. NOVAK: In the Communist parlance, isn't the liberation movement part of the terminology of wars of liberation which have been proclaimed by Peking?

MR. BOND: That may be their analysis of that term. It is not mine.

MR. NOVAK: I just want to ask you another thing in this statement: "We believe the U.S. Government has been deceptive in its claim of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people."

Do you think the United States government has been deceptive in claiming freedom for colored people in the United States? Claiming concern for freedom?

MR. BOND: Concern?

MR. NOVAK: I am quoting from the SNCC statement: "The government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people."

MR. BOND: Right. I do. I don't think, as I said a few minutes ago, that the government of this country has done as much as it might, has gone as far as it might.

MR. NOVAK: But that is deceptive?

MR. BOND: In my opinion, it is.

MR. NOVAK: They have sought to deceive the people on their concern for the colored people, then, you feel?

MR. BOND: Yes, I do.

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. Bond, you indicated that you had not counseled the burning of draft cards, and you also said you wouldn't burn yours. Do I take it from this statement you're saying that you did not counsel individuals in this country to avoid the draft?

MR. BOND: No. What this statement says and what I have said is that young Americans, young American men who are unwilling to go into the Army, to enter into military service, should seek legal alternatives to the draft, to military service. And in addition we are suggesting in this statement that those alternatives be enlarged to include work in the civil rights movement or work with human relations organizations.

MR. ROBINSON: But you are asking that they go outside of this present area?

MR. BOND: No, we are asking--this was a public statement thrown out to the public. And last weekend, I met with Congressmen, here, and asked them the same sort of thing.

We are asking that draft boards or the Congress or whoever is the determiner make it possible for young men who are unwilling to go into the Army to have legal and valid alternatives to that service.

MR. ROBINSON: In your statement, you said, "We are in sympathy--" or in SNCC's statement--"We are in sympathy with the support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Viet Nam."

At another point you urged all Americans to seek an alternative. In effect aren't you encouraging individuals throughout the country to avoid the draft?

MR. BOND: I think if you take the statement as a whole and not section by section that it says that we believe work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative.

CONTINUED NEXT MONTH