



THE MOVEMENT

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Schenley Signs! National DiGiorgio Boycott Organized

WEST OF LODI, CALIFORNIA -- The marchers from Delano had been expecting something to happen for days. On Monday night at the fiesta in Stockton, Cesar Chavez announced to a closed meeting of the pilgrims that the Schenley Corporation wanted to talk. He asked their permission to leave the Pilgrimage. They granted it. Neither the marchers nor Cesar knew what was going to be discussed. So the news on Wednesday morning was a complete surprise. The group was about 3 miles west of Lodi when Cesar called from Los Angeles.

The radio-telephone car was parked by the road. The reception was poor and the conversation was cut off once. By the time the message was delivered, the marchers were a half-mile up the road. When the truck caught up, they were resting in the shade.

Roberto Bustos, Jefe of the Pilgrimage, Tony Mendez, NFWA staff member, and Terry Cannon, Press secretary for the Pilgrimage, climbed on top of a car under a tree. Cannon made the announcement in English and Bustos translated. "We have won a great victory," he said. "Schenley has signed an agreement with us." It took a long time for the marchers to get quiet again. One, who had walked all the way, began to cry.

Not a Contract-Yet

The Schenley agreement is not a contract -- yet. The terms are:

1) That the Schenley Corporation recognizes the NFWA as the sole bargaining agent for all its agricultural laborers in Kern and Tulare Counties.

2) That the Schenley Corporation recognizes that the majority of its agricultural employees want this to be so.

3) That negotiations for a written contract will begin within 30 days and conclude within 90.

"DON'T BUY SCHENLEY" signs were passed up to the car and torn in half. Then a minister, marching with the group, offered a prayer of thanks for the good news. Leaving the Schenley signs behind, the pilgrims picked up the flags and banners and the Our Lady of Guadalupe and began to march again. Schenley is only one of 35 growers who are being struck.

The agreement on the part of the NFWA was to end the strike and picketing of the Schenley Ranch in Delano and call off the National boycott of Schenley products. Both are suspended until a satisfactory contract is reached or until negotiations break down.

The agreement was signed by Cesar Chavez and the attorney for Schenley, and was witnessed by William Kircher, Director of Organization for the AFL-CIO. Kircher was in great part responsible for bringing the two parties together. According to one source, there was some disagreement among the AFL-CIO officials involved over the question of participation by the AFL-CIO's AWOC in the agreement. AWOC does not have a certified labor dispute at the Schenley Ranch (nor at the DiGiorgio ranch).

Meanyites within the AFL-CIO are not strong supporters of the NFWA, which they recognize as a potential liberalizing force within the labor movement.

The dispute at the Schenley Ranch, it was agreed, was between Schenley and the NFWA. AWOC was not made a party to the agreement.

Within a week, the shock of the Schenley agreement had begun to knock a whole lot of apples out of the tree.

The Brown-Di Giogio Plan

The giant Di Giogio Corporation approached the NFWA, in the words of Cesar Chavez, "bearing an olive branch in one hand and a sword in the other." Without contacting the NFWA first, Robert Di Giogio, a corporation vice-president, called a press conference in which he announced his plan for solving the "mutually unsatisfactory" labor situation in Delano. In it he called for elections of Di Giogio workers, but tied them in tightly with preconditions: compulsory arbitration (rejected by every labor union in the country) and a clause calling for no strikes "during negotiations or during or after arbitration."

"What it all adds up to," said one union member, "is this: Di Giogio will set up a company union on his ranch if we can get 51% of the scabs to vote for it."

The Di Giogio proposal was worked out, according to a very reliable source, by Robert Di Giogio and William Becker, Assistant to Governor Brown.

165 ARRESTED IN GEORGIA BOYCOTT, FLAG INCIDENT

CORDELE, GEORGIA --- One hundred and fifty Negro demonstrators were arrested April 4 as they picketed in support of a boycott of the segregated junior and senior high schools of Crisp County. They were charged with disturbing the peace.

It was the second set of arrests since Negro students marched to the court house March 31 and took down the US and Georgia flags. Several days after the "flag incident" fifteen protesters, including three SNCC field secretaries and two northern students, were arrested and charged with conspiracy and defiling a US flag.

The students and parents are protesting segregated and inferior schooling which has persisted despite the operation of a federally approved plan of school inte-

gration. Forty Negro children were enrolled this year in white schools under the free choice system.

Demonstrations began March 28 and reached a climax March 31 when two groups of 250 Negro students marched to the Crisp County Court House and lowered the Georgia and US flags. Local white officials claimed that the US flag was "defiled" and have brought the act to national attention.

(U.S. Rep. Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge, Ga., has introduced legislation making desecration of the flag a federal crime punishable by a \$10,000 fine or five years in prison.)

C.B. King, attorney for the demonstrators, has introduced evidence in county court stating that the flag was not damaged by the demonstrators.



DELANO PILGRIMAGE: P. 3-6

The Brown - Di Giogio Plan was rejected by the NFWA. However, Governor Brown asked the State Mediation Service to enter into the Di Giogio strike. A meeting called by the State Mediation Service in Fresno a week after the pilgrimage was ignored by the NFWA.

"We are happy to see that the Di Giogio Corporation has accepted our proposal for elections at the Sierra Vista Ranch -- a proposal they rejected several weeks ago," said the NFWA reply to Robert Di Giogio.

"We feel that the governing rules for such an election should be those the National Labor Relations Board would use if they were holding the election."

"We refuse to be a party to any agreement that involves the Kern-Tulare Independent Farm Workers Association." The K-T IFW is a collection of Delano businessmen, contractors and supervisors quickly assembled last Fall to counteract the NFWA.

Copies of the Di Giogio proposal had been sent to the NFWA, AWOC and the Kern-Tulare group.

Di Giogio Boycott

The NFWA announced at the Easter rally at the Capitol that it was beginning a nation-wide boycott of Di Giogio products. The boycott will begin with TREE-SWEET FRUIT JUICES and S & W FINE FOODS, wholly-owned Di Giogio subsidiaries. The national apparatus of the Schenley boycott: centers in 60 cities -- will be switched over to Di Giogio.

"We will be recruiting 300 students to work full time on the Di Giogio boycott this summer," said Rev. Jim Drake, national coordinator. "It will be aimed at the housewife. We will do all we can to link the Di Giogio brand names with rural poverty."

The wide Catholic support of the Pilgrimage and the strike put the squeeze on Catholic grape growers and those that sell to Catholic churches. The Christian Brothers Winery, which had refused to negotiate in the Fall, quickly recognized the NFWA as the bargaining agent for their field workers. The next target will be growers that sell wine for sacramental use.

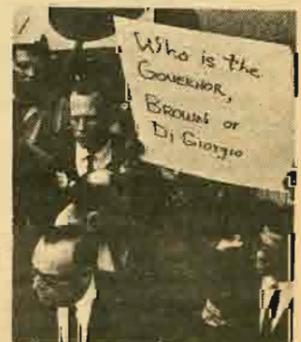
Wide Open Future

The Schenley agreement means the beginning of wide changes in farm labor and in the NFWA. Barring tough fighting from the Meany supporters in the AFL-CIO and jurisdictional fighting from other unions, both AFL and independent, which may decide now to jump into the farm labor field, the National Farm Workers Association is the organization of farm laborers.

The leaders of the NFWA see an explosion of organizing all over California. There is speculation about beginning organizing in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and the South. A contract with Schenley means the NFWA has to set up and administrate a hiring hall; it means a system of stewards, contract enforcement, bureaucracy. But it means power. And to consolidate and take advantage of new power a bureaucracy is necessary. "That's part of the price we have to pay," says Cesar Chavez. "It doesn't mean we'll be any less militant. It does mean we have to organize a more efficient office."

The NFWA is putting the movement back into the labor movement. When the Schenley agreement was signed a labor official offered Chavez a big cigar. "I don't smoke cigars," Cesar demurred. "But you have to smoke them" said the amazed official. There are more surprises in store for the labor movement; Cesar drinks tea, not coffee, and the young Mexican-Americans who are moving up to positions of importance in the Association think and act like SNCC field secretaries, not officials of the Plumbers Union.

"FARMWORKER FRIEND OF THE YEAR" AWARD



GOVERNOR BROWN

This man refused to meet 8,000 people who came to see him Easter Sunday, including 75 who had walked 300 miles from Delano, California. He said, "The request of the farm workers to see me on Easter is unreasonable."

This man refused to push legislation needed by the farm workers through the state government this year. He said, "It is too controversial for an election year. It will have to wait until 1967."

This man's office worked together with Robert DiGiogio to propose a contract for farm workers that includes compulsory bargaining and blanket no-strike demands. He and Robert DiGiogio went to high school together.

DATELINE SACRAMENTO- JEROME SAMPSON POVERTY POLITICS

Only slightly new wrinkles are showing up on the surface of the current legislative session. The needs of the poor are low on the totem pole as the legislators and Administration struggle for political advantage in an election year. The fight gets rough at times, and principles of human need and decency do not carry much weight.

On the poverty front, basic issues are sidetracked or ignored; attention is focused on the so-called anti-poverty programs in compensatory education, one-stop service centers and re-training -- less important programs.

Tricky Bookkeeping

The big conflict over the budget seems to revolve around how medical care programs will use the new federal money available. But instead of commitments to improve needed medical and hospital care, the fight in Sacramento is about "fiscal responsibility."

For many years, the State Welfare Department has been juggling the books. They overestimate the possible spending for the aged, blind, disabled; then they use the "savings" to help balance the general state budget.

The same trick is being applied to the new medical program. Experts seem to think that the full program of preventive medical care will be cut back in practice to just hospital and post-hospital care. The difference in cost between the paper program and the real one will help bail out the state

budget just before the tough fall election campaigns.

Won't Pay the Rent

The housing allowances given to low-income families under the AFDC program are much lower than the market cost of housing in most counties. 23 counties have asked permission to increase the housing allowance. This must be passed on by the Legislature; the chances of passing this \$5 million bill are very poor.

Dead Promise

The 1965 session passed the Shoemaker Bill, allotting \$100,000 to help the organization of welfare recipients. Not a dime of this has been paid out to any welfare rights group. Everyone in authority in Sacramento sat on his hands when it came to distributing this money. Now this amount has been cut out of the budget for next year and it may not get back in.

That's the story of this session: money taken from the poor is used to balance the budget, the medically-needy get only a fraction of what is theirs by law, the housing allowances are kept so low that parents must rob their children of food to pay the rent, and projects promised in '65 are not delivered in '66 and may be dead in '67.

Until the low-income groups get the organizational strength to make Sacramento do what they want done, the political pros will do what pros always do with weak amateurs -- use them without mercy.

Fresno Steering Conference Of Poor

By Ellen Estrin

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA -- "The purpose of the California Federation of the Poor is to promote and protect the general welfare and security of the poor by the consolidation of social, political and economic power of the poor in California." This statement was adopted by the steering committee of the Federation, which met here last month.

Most of the delegates -- representing welfare rights groups, tenants councils, and anti-poverty groups -- came to Fresno to solve the problems of their local organizations: how to fight their Housing Authority, how to get people to come to a meeting, how to raise money. These questions were not discussed during the two-day meeting. The steering committee spent most of the time trying to work out a structure for a statewide organization of the poor and making plans for a large conference in May.

Problems of local groups were talked about in caucuses. In the tenants' council caucus it was reported that while in San Francisco tenant groups had benefited from the previous Oakland convention -- other areas where local organizations were weaker had not been able to coordinate activity.

Congressman Attacks Pro-Strike Center

DEL REY, CALIFORNIA -- Congressman Bernard Sisk made a full-scale effort last month to kill a grant by the OEO to the California Center for Community Development, headquartered in this small farm worker's town south of Fresno.

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The CCCD was organized by a group of professional social workers who wanted to provide technical assistance to grass-roots organizing efforts in ghettos and rural areas. The grant was to be used to train internes for organizing efforts among Mexican - American workers. Among those to staff the grant project were George Ballis, SNCC Field Secretary, who quit his post as editor of the Valley Labor Citizen, a Fresno labor paper, to join the CCCD staff; and Chuck Gardinier, one of the coordinators of the Pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento, who was to direct the project.

According to the New York Times, Sisk "reflecting the anger of the growers," convinced influential House members that CCCD, a highly respectable group if there ever was one, was "Communist - influenced." The grant was held up.

In a Washington meeting with Sergeant Shriver, Shriver listed five conditions that CCCD must meet to get the grant back. They were:

- 1) Move the organizing project headquarters out of Sisk's district.
- 2) Remove Chuck Gardinier from the directorship.
- 3) Take down the pro-strike signs from the project windows, and stop distributing pro-strike literature such as El Malcriado and The Movement.
- 4) No grant money to be used to organize unions of agricultural workers.
- 5) No grant money to be used to support the strike.

THE PLAN OF DELANO Farmworker's Manifesto

PLAN for the liberation of the Farm Workers associated with the Delano Grape Strike in the State of California, seeking social justice in farm labor with those reforms that they believe necessary for their well-being as workers in these United States.

We, the undersigned, gathered in Pilgrimage to the capital of the State in Sacramento in penance for all the failings of Farm Workers as free and sovereign men, do solemnly declare before the civilized world which judges our actions, and before the nation to which we belong, the propositions we have formulated to end the injustice that oppresses us.

We are conscious of the historical significance of our Pilgrimage. It is clearly evident that our path travels through a valley well known to all Mexican farm workers. We know all of these towns of Delano, Madera, Fresno, Modesto, Stockton and Sacramento, because along this very same road, in this very same valley, the Mexican race has sacrificed itself for the last hundred years. Our sweat and our blood have fallen on this land to make other men rich. This Pilgrimage is a witness to the suffering we have seen for generations.

The Penance we accept symbolizes the suffering we shall have in order to bring justice to these same towns, to this same valley. The Pilgrimage we make symbolizes the long historical road we have travelled in this valley alone, and the long road we have yet to travel, with much penance, in order to bring about the Revolution we need, and for which we present the propositions in the following PLAN:

1. This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not in pronouncements. We seek our basic, God-given rights as human beings. Because we have suffered -- and are not afraid to suffer -- in order to survive, we are ready to give up everything, even our lives, in our fight for social justice. We shall do it without violence because that is our destiny. To the ranchers, and to all those who oppose us, we say, in the words of Benito Juarez, "EL RESPETO AL DERECHO AJENO ES LA PAZ."

2. We seek the support of all political groups and protection of the government, which is also our government, in our struggle. For too many years we have been treated like the lowest of the low. Our wages and working conditions have been determined from above, because irresponsible legislators who could have helped us, have supported the rancher's argument that the plight of the Farm Worker was a "special case." They saw the obvious effects of an unjust system, starvation wages, contractors day hauls, forced migration, sickness, illiteracy, camps and sub-human living conditions, and acted as if they were irremediable causes. The farm worker has been abandoned to his own fate -- without representation, without power -- subject to mercy and caprice of the rancher. We are tired of words, of betrayals, of indifference. To the politicians we say that the years are gone when the farm worker said nothing and did nothing to help himself. From this movement shall spring leaders who shall understand us, lead us, be faithful to us, and we shall elect them to represent us. WE SHALL BE HEARD.

3. We seek, and have, the support of the Church in what we do. At the head of the Pilgrimage we carry LA VIRGEN DE LA GUADALUPE because she is ours, all ours, Patroness of the Mexican people. We also carry the Sacred cross and the Star of David because we are not sectarians, and because we ask the help and prayers of all religions. All men are brothers, sons of the same God; that is why we say to all men of good will, in the words of Pope Leo XIII, "Everyone's first duty is to protect the workers from the greed of speculators who use human beings as instruments to provide themselves with money. It is neither just nor human to oppress men with excessive work to the point where their minds become enfeebled and their bodies worn out." GOD SHALL NOT ABANDON US.

4. We are suffering. We have suffered, and we are not afraid to suffer in order to win our cause. We have suffered unnumbered ills and crimes in the name of the Law of the Land. Our men, women, and children have suffered not only the basic brutality of stoop labor, and the most obvious injustices of the system; they have also suffered the desperation of knowing that that system caters to the greed of callous men and not to our needs. Now we will suffer for the purpose of ending the poverty, the misery, and the injustice, with the hope that our children will not be exploited as we have been.

5. We shall unite. We have learned the meaning of UNITY. We know why these United States are just that -- united. The strength of the poor is also in union. We know that the poverty of the Mexican or Filipino worker in California is the same as that of all farm workers across the country, the Negroes and poor whites, the Puerto Ricans, Japanese, and Arabians; in short, all of the races that comprise the oppressed minorities of the United States. The majority of the people on our Pilgrimage are of Mexican descent, but the triumph of our race depends on a national association of all farm workers. The ranchers want to keep us divided in order to keep us weak. Many of us have signed individual "work contracts" with the ranchers or contractors, contracts in which they had all the power. These contracts were farces, one more cynical joke at our impotence. That is why we must get together and bargain collectively. We must use the only strength that we have, the force of our numbers. The ranchers are few; we are many. UNITED WE SHALL STAND.

6. We shall Strike. We shall pursue the REVOLUTION we have proposed. We are sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice. Our revolution will not be armed, but we want the existing social order to dissolve, we want a new social order. We are poor, we are humble, and our only choice is to Strike in those ranches where we are not treated with the respect we deserve as working men, where our rights as free and sovereign men are not recognized. We do not want the paternalism of the rancher; we do not want the contractor; we do not want charity at the price of our dignity. We want to be equal with all the working men in the nation; we want a just wage, better working conditions, a decent future for our children. To those who oppose us, be they ranchers, police, politicians, or speculators, we say that we are going to continue fighting until we die, or we win. WE SHALL OVERCOME.

Across the San Joaquin Valley, across California, across the entire Southwest of the United States, wherever there are Mexican people, wherever there are farm workers, our movement is spreading like flames across a dry plain. Our PILGRIMAGE is the MATCH that will light our cause for all farm workers to see what is happening here, so that they may do as we have done. The time has come for the liberation of the poor farm worker.

History is on our side.

¡VIVA LA CAUSA!

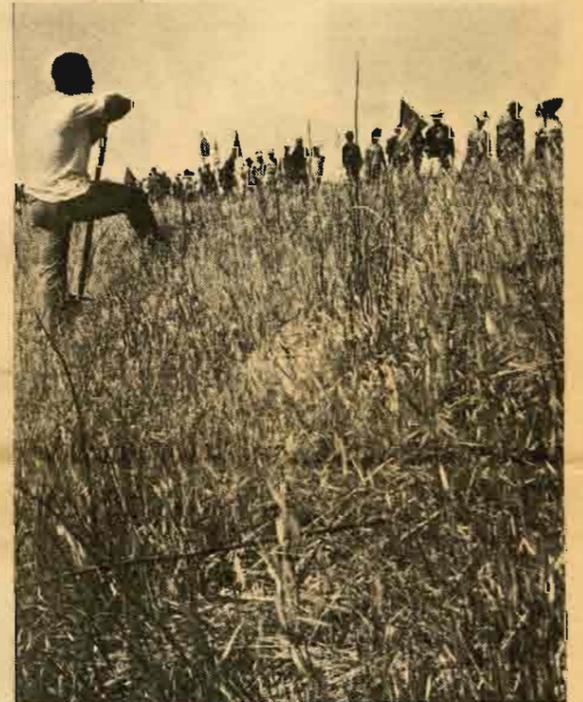
We will remember the past month for a long time -- with gladness for the successes of the farm workers in California, but with sadness for the loss of three freedom fighters, each of whom died because they could not live without being in the struggle for human dignity. Dow Wilson, San Francisco; Lulu Bell Johnson, Greenwood, Mississippi; Tonya Meade, New York City.

The mass that started the Pilgrimage was held in the dirt back yard of the office of the NFWA. The altar was made of Coca-Cola cases; the Host was held in a Skippy Peanut Butter jar. As the pilgrims moved out, the Delano Police Chief announced they could not march through town; a police cordon was set up at the intersection. Father Kenney led a prayer for the souls of the policemen: after the Amen, he cried "VIVA LA HUELGA!" "VIVA" replied the marchers. After an hour the authorities gave in.

The first night stop -- Ducor, a grower town. Not enough shelter. The marchers crammed into five small wooden houses; some slept outside. There were not enough boots, sleeping bags, water. Everything was new: the organizers were exhausted; the marchers sat in kitchens and went to sleep. Who had ever done such a thing before?

The next day donations of shoes and sleeping bags arrived; a radio-telephone truck, one woman cooked breakfast for 60. Never again did they have to go hungry or sleep in the cold: the farmworkers of California were learning about the Pilgrimage.

The choice of towns was deliberate: Porterville, Lindsay, Farmersville, Cutler, Parlier. . . farmworkers' towns. They responded with all they had.



In Porterville the Pilgrimage was met by a three-man band -- accordian, guitar and snare drum -- three farm workers, who joined the march for several days. 300 joined the line as it paraded into Farmersville. Huge meals were cooked in parks, social halls, churches; the tall scarlet NFWA banner hung between trees, over the fronts of buildings.

The first week the Pilgrimage belonged only to the people. There were no newspaper men and TV cameras; the rest of the world seemed to be waiting to see if this strange march was serious and would succeed. The workers in the towns and fields did not need the newspapers: -- they saw the Pilgrimage themselves -- they knew what was meant by "Peregrinación, Penitencia, Revolución."

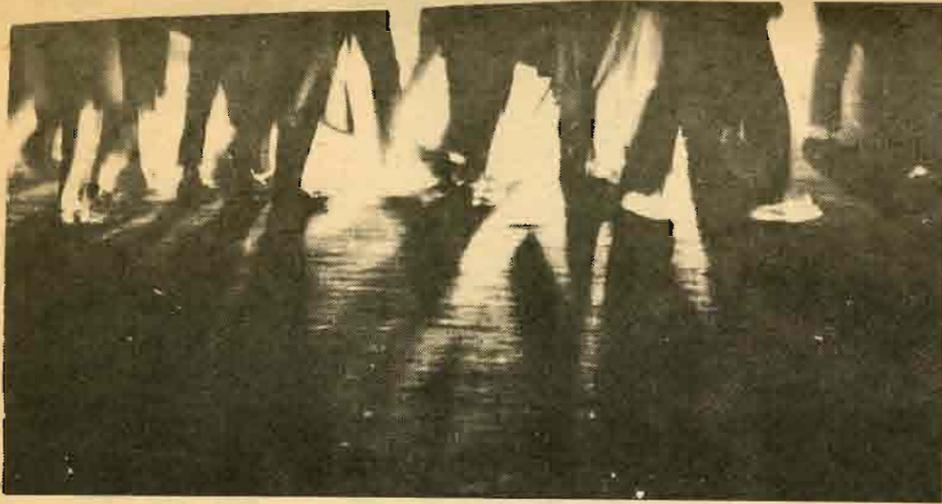


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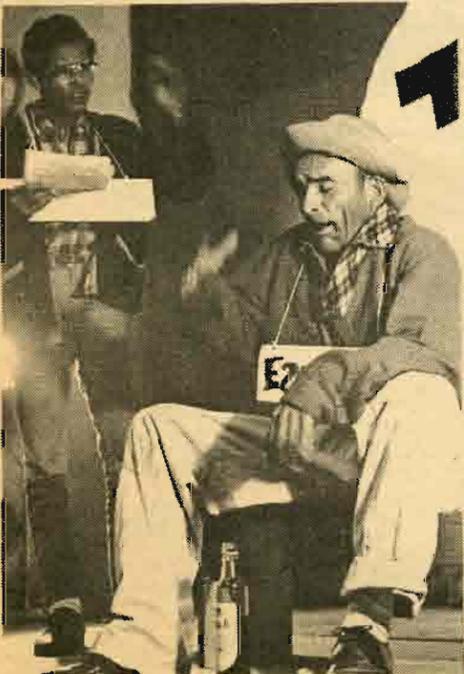
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THE GREAT PILGRIMAGE . . .



The candlelight parade was "invented" in Cutler when the Latin-American hall was closed to the Pilgrimage by grower pressure and the priest refused the use of the Parish Hall. 200 marched through the barrio, dogs barking, swirls of dust caught in the headlights, the flicker of candles. The Cutler Park was turned into an auditorium; a flatbed truck into a stage.



Evening meetings were conducted in Spanish. The "Plan de Delano" -- manifesto of the Delano Movement -- was read; the songs of the strikers; the Teatro Campesino, bawdy, comic and bitter, dramatized the hypocrisies of Di-Giorgio and Governor Brown, villianized the strikebreakers, satirized the growers. Membership cards were passed out. Every night the songs and speeches poured out over a new audience. Hundreds signed the Plan. Each meeting closed with "Nosotros venceremos" -- We Shall Overcome, in Spanish. Then the pilgrims left to sleep in the homes of the workers.



"LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE THE ASSOCIATION!
LONG LIVE THE GENERAL STRIKE!"

Fresno was a turning point. 1,000 people turned out at the Azteca Theater. The Pilgrimage was serious and famous. Politicians, liberals and middleclass Mexican-Americans were joining the line and expressing support.



... OF FARMWORKERS-

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Fresno, Madera, Merced, Modesto, Manteca: marching on Highway 99; cars, trucks, exhaust, three NFWA trucks in near-accidents. People stopping on the freeway to take photos, give money. Smokestacks, billboards, shopping centers, suburbs.

A psychiatrist stops his Mercedes, writes out a \$20 check, drives off. Two farm workers come out of a shack by the highway, give the Jefe thirty dollars and apologize because that's all they have. A woman runs out and embraces Cesar Chavez.



Every day and night
the same problems:
drinking water,
a home to stay in,
food to eat,
resting.

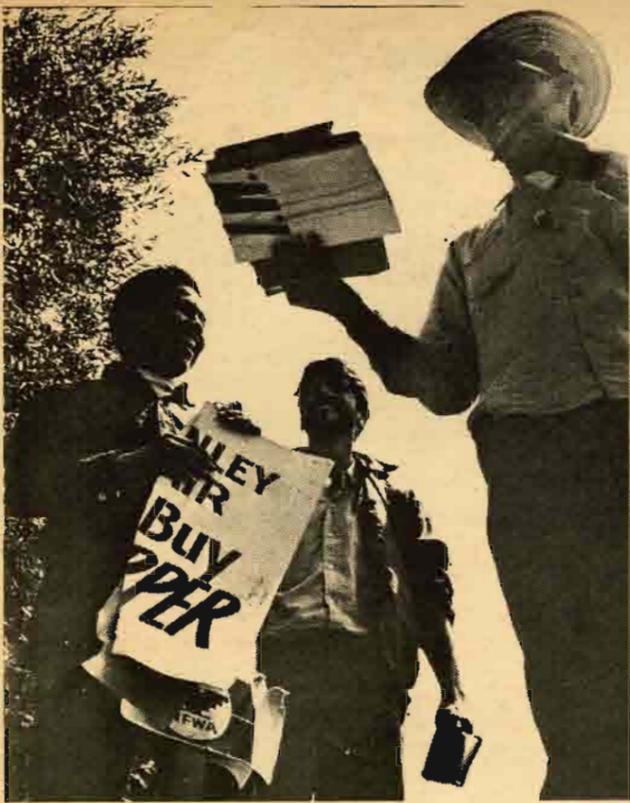


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People ask why
Cesar Chavez did
not give a big
speech in Sacra-
mento. His reason
is part of why this
movement may
succeed. "The
Association
should be pro-
jected," Chavez
says, "not me."



FROM DELANO TO . . .

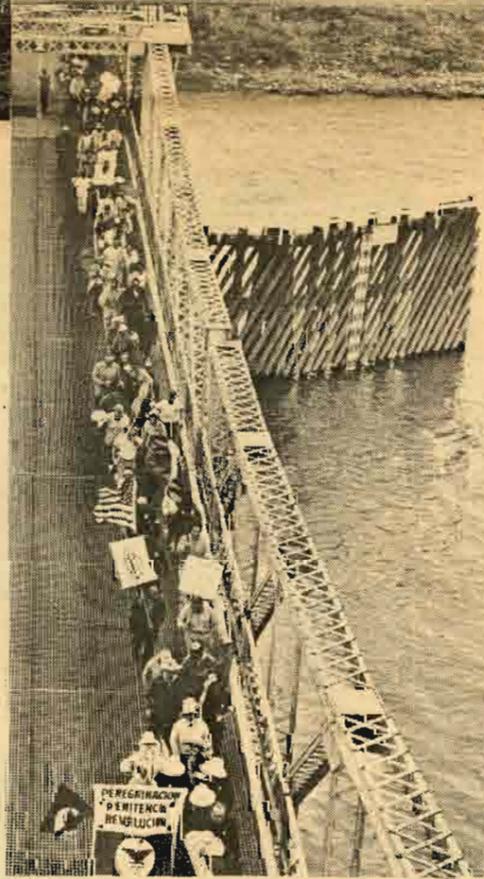


Jorge Zaragosa, March Captain, does a victory dance, tearing up a DON'T BUY I. W. HARPER sign.

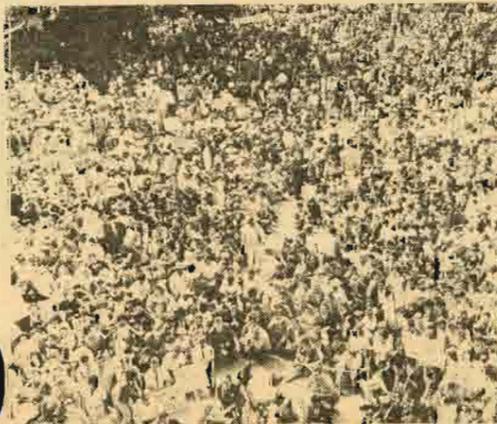


In Stockton, Cesar Chavez asked the marchers if he could leave to talk with the Schenley Corporation. For two days they waited for word from L.A. When it came it was announced from the top of a car by the side of the road west of Lodi. The cheering went on for a long time. One marcher wept. New signs were made that said, DIGIORGIO, YOU'RE NEXT!

"Now that Schenley has seen the light, let's hope that our Governor will see the light," said Roberto Bustos, March Jefe. That night, Cesar asked for a vote -- Do we want to meet with Governor Brown on any day except Sunday? The motion, passed overwhelmingly, was DOMINGO O NADA, Sunday or nothing.



EASTER SUNDAY, . . . an NFWA flag flew over the Capitol and 8,000 people. Dolores Huerta: "We unconditionally demand a collective bargaining law for California farm workers!" The Governor had retreated to Palm Springs. "We wish to inform the Democratic Party that we will be counted as your supporters only when we can count you among ours." The future of American farm workers has been changed.



SACRAMENTO

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MISSISSIPPI CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP?

Part 2: Revolt Against Washington

This is the second part of a three-part article by Dr. Gerald Rosenfield of Berkeley, Calif. The entire article will be published, together with a report by Tom Levin, director of the CDGM, in the Key List Mailing, a publication of San Francisco SNCC.

As for the second half of the Child Development Group of Mississippi program -- building independent political power in the Negro communities -- that was another matter. The good feeling that we were a part of a revolutionary movement in the South never returned to those working on the central staff. The tone of our summer was set by the first staff meeting, one week into the program. The regional coordinators, who had the job of fitting the overall administration of the program to what was going on at the individual centers, presented a set of angry complaints to the central staff. Nothing was going right, it seemed, except that the kids were in school and getting some nourishing meals.

Centers were unable to get needed equipment and supplies because they had no money and no credit and neither was forthcoming from the central office; no one had been reimbursed for their orientation expenses; everyone was confused about how to get the required health evaluations for the children. Moreover, it was impossible to get a message through to anyone on central staff who had any answers to these questions -- the people were eager and anxious to do a good job but central office wasn't giving them any help.

Central staff replied that people in the field weren't aware of the problems faced by a project the size of CDGM, and they were unmindful of the administrative procedures necessary to disburse federal funds under the terms of our contract with OEO. It is true that central staff was poorly organized; it had been organized in a hurry. CDGM was a crash program. We could have added that CDGM was organized and administered by people who were not administrators by inclination or by training. Our administrative skills, it should be said, left something to be desired. We hassled and argued into the night, and the central staff pledged to get itself running efficiently.

Over the next few weeks, we did manage to keep the centers supplied with their basic needs. The health program finally got under way, and CDGM made it through the summer. But the bad feeling between central staff and the field never quite dissolved. This is, I think, the key to the failure of the political goals of CDGM. The uneasiness that we on central staff never quite shook off -- an irritability and self-defensiveness -- came from an unresolvable sense of ambiguity about our role.

The farther away from the central Office your job was, the better you could feel about it. If you were a field coordinator, you could identify with the local centers and act as their agent to get what the people needed from central headquarters. If you were assigned to a center as a resource teacher you lived in the local community, you worked day in and day out with the local people and with the children at the school, and in your free time you could participate in local civil rights activities if you wanted to.

But central staff, you came to realize, was thought in some ways to be an enemy by those in the field. The most critical source of friction between the central staff and the field was that the central staff couldn't effectively carry out what, to the people in the field, was its single most important function: to get them their money on time. Workers with no savings to fall back on waited weeks for their first pay-checks; reimbursements for out-of-pocket expenses failed to come through; after the newspapers began spreading Senator Stennis's charges, credit from white merchants for many CDGM centers became difficult to obtain.

Bureaucracy

The primary reason for the failure to get the money out to the field was that CDGM was required to follow "sound fiscal practices." The OEO has laid down the procedure in its "Instructions for Financial Management of Community Action Program Funds" under Sections 204, 205 (etc.):

"Each entry in the accounting records shall refer to the documentation which supports the entry. . . Adequate time records, properly approved by the supervisor, must be maintained for audit inspection. . . Generally, all grantees and delegate agencies are required to follow the policies set forth in the Standard Government Travel Regulations (SGTR). . . Except as noted below, changes in the approved budget for a component may only be made with the approval in writing of OEO. . ."

Central office was not supposed to reimburse expenditures without a valid receipt, but this procedure was not workable where there was no money to make the expenditure in the first place. Low-income Negroes have little credit and no capital. Nor are they familiar with receipts and vouchers and bookkeeping procedures. The white boss usually takes care of withholding and payroll forms, so it is understandable that the payroll information sent in from some centers was inadequate and had to be sent back to be corrected or completed. Meanwhile the people waited for their salaries.

The fiscal office, too, had been set up in a hurry; it was understaffed with inexperienced people. The muddling through and learning by experience which may be so rewarding in a democratic venture can be disastrous for a fiscal office, especially if it must be accountable to a professional accounting firm, as CDGM was, and to "periodic audits. . . by Federal auditors", as is every OEO grantee.

The essence of "sound fiscal practice" is undemocratic and systematic; the complete control of money from above. Sound fiscal practice is based on the axiom "Don't trust anybody," that is "Don't give money to anyone unless they show you proof it is being spent for the purpose the rules say it is supposed to be spent for." The alternative -- giving a lump sum to each center to spend as it sees fit, with the main proof of the proper expenditure of funds depending on the success and spirit of the center -- was of course out of the question in a program run on government money.

It wasn't just the difficulties of processing the money. Bureaucratic procedures were imposed on the centers, via the central office, in other areas. Halfway through the program, central office suddenly dumped triplicate OEO "health forms" on the centers, three pages to be filled out for each child. Half the questions weren't about the children's health at all, but about their family's socio-economic status. The questions and answers, formulated for convenient tabulation by IBM machines, hardly fit the convenience of the people who had to fill them out.

Agents of Washington

To us on the central staff, most of the hang-ups the field people blamed on us came from the OEO in Washington. It was OEO that required the vouchers and receipts, it was OEO that demanded all those forms be filled out. I spent half an hour on the phone with Washington arguing that the three pages of "health forms" were inappropriate and that their chief effect would be to obstruct the health program which was having enough troubles already, but the answer was that if every other Headstart program could manage to fill out the forms, we could too. (I later found out that we weren't the only project that had trouble with those forms.) The threat, implicit or explicit, behind every demand by OEO was that if we wanted the program to be continued in the fall, if we wanted any more money from the U.S. government, we had better follow this procedure.

The cause of the uneasiness we on central staff felt about our role in the program gradually became clear. We were caught in the middle between the requirements of the federal government on the one hand and the demands and needs of the local communities on the other. Although we had come to Mississippi to participate in a revolution that the Negro people were making, a necessary part of our organizational role was to keep the CDGM program operating

within the framework of a policy created -- not by the Negro people -- but by politicians and administrators in Washington. Despite the intentions of those who organized the program, CDGM was a hierarchy administered from the top down, and central staff was the middle level of that hierarchy. The fuel that powered the Child Development Group of Mississippi was the money from Washington; central staff was to oversee the distribution of that money. We served, despite our intentions, as the agents of Washington.

If we had been able to have faith in the intentions and policies of Washington toward our program and toward the Negro revolution that we identified with, our position might have been tolerable. But events that took place halfway through the summer made it impossible to maintain confidence in the people who were making policy for us in Washington.

The Crackdown

On August 1, just as things were beginning to go more smoothly, Tom Levin and the top administrative echelon were summoned to a CDGM Board meeting at West Point. Waiting for them were the Board of Directors and Mr. James Heller, assistant counsel of the OEO. Levin was handed a letter from OEO, addressed to the board, expressing its concern "about the central management and financial practices of CDGM" and demanding basic changes in the operation of the project. Most of the 14 listed measures to be taken had to do with the tightening of accounting and accountability procedures and with giving the Board of Directors and Mary Holmes Junior College more control over fiscal, personnel and policy decisions. The accounting changes were to some extent needed, given the structure of the program. Some of the accountability requirements were a little ridiculous in the context of our far-flung operation. The demand that the board and Mary Holmes take over more of the policy-making functions was objectionable, but by now acceptable, since it was by then evident that central staff's management of the program was lacking in administrative efficiency. Furthermore, the board could legitimately claim that it had been largely ignored by the central staff and treated as a rubber stamp by Levin. The final OEO demand was another matter: within a week, the central CDGM headquarters was to be moved from Mt. Beulah to the campus of Mary Holmes Junior College.

Mr. Heller explained the reason for this order. As reported in the minutes of the meeting: "Some of the reasons given by Mr. Heller for the move to MHJC were that there had been too much involvement in civil rights activity in Mt. Beulah. Headstart is not a CR project. Due to untidy surroundings and careless conduct, Mt. Beulah had received too much unfavorable publicity and had acquired a bad name. . ."

OEO Gives in

The removal of CDGM from Mount Beulah was what Senator Stennis had been demanding all summer, and his reasons were the same as those given by Mr. Heller. Over the objections of Levin and his aides that the move to Mary Holmes would destroy the tenuous functioning of the program, the board voted to accept all the OEO demands.

Levin came back to Mount Beulah and reported what had happened to an emergency meeting of central staff. We were up in arms. We had worked our heads off to get things organized and now, with less than four weeks of the summer remaining, we were ordered to pick up the whole operation and move it 200 miles to West Point, on the eastern edge of the state, more than 100 miles from the nearest center (except for the one run by Mr. Horn in West Point). We would have to organize all over again; the painfully developed system for communicating between central office and the centers would be destroyed; mail would be delayed; new sources of supply would have to be found (West Point was 150 miles from Jackson, the nearest city of any size); new office workers would have to be hired, since secretaries living in Jackson and Vicksburg were not going to be able to commute to West Point every day. Furthermore, West Point is in a section of the state that had not seen much civil rights activity; it had not been

broken in to the presence of integrated groups and "outside agitators", and we would have to go through the harassment business all over again.

But beyond all these very real objections, we were dismayed and disgusted because it was obvious to us that the real reason for the move to West Point was Senator Stennis, and that OEO had caved in, for reasons that had little to do with the effective functioning of our program, to political pressure from the racist politicians of Mississippi. Of course it "had acquired a bad reputation" -- in the eyes of Mississippi whites and their representatives -- not because of "untidy surroundings and careless conduct," but because of its anti-segregationist character and its civil rights associations; and OEO was accepting the thesis of the illegitimacy of association with civil rights activity.

If OEO was concerned about the legitimacy of its projects, why did it not order all other, white-run poverty projects in Mississippi to sever their connections with the illegitimately elected city governments in which Negro citizens have no voice? Why didn't it order its other Headstart projects out of Jim Crow schools operating on a segregated basis in violation of the Constitution of the United States? Why didn't it end the harassment of CDGM workers by local and state police departments? And why did it not once in the course of the summer speak out against the attacks of Stennis and the Mississippi press and support the great good it privately told us our program was doing for the children enrolled in it? The staff voted almost unanimously to resign rather than accept the move to West Point.

OEO, which had never bothered to consult with us before it sent out its order, on hearing of our revolt quickly sent Mr. Heller to Mount Beulah to meet with us. Heller told us he would be glad to discuss the move, and that OEO would do what it could to ease the transition, but the order was final and irrevocable, it had come "from the White House itself." When asked why the White House had given OEO this directive, Heller could only state that he was "not at liberty to divulge classified information."

"Classified information" -- it sounded as though the national security was involved. Heller also said that if it was necessary to sacrifice one project and the welfare of 6,000 children in order to save the rest of the poverty program for millions of children, OEO would do so. Not only the national security, but the fate of the War on Poverty seemed to hang in the balance! Mr. Heller couldn't explain all this to us, but he did listen to us into the night, and we managed to convince him, first, that we had a valid argument that the move would destroy the functioning of the program, and, second, that we really meant it when we said we would resign rather than move, and then the program really would be destroyed.

OEO wasn't really prepared to sacrifice CDGM. In the morning, Heller made a phone call to Washington, and OEO agreed that we would be allowed to remain at Mount Beulah for the rest of the summer, with the proviso that steps be taken to separate the CDGM office and staff from civil rights activity at Mount Beulah. (This was impossible to carry out on that little campus, and they finally gave up on that too.)

The revolt was our one beautiful moment of the summer. The order gave the central staff the chance, for once, to show whose side it was on in the battle for the South, and it gave us the chance, for once, to assert ourselves against the deadly flow of directives from Washington. We stood by our principles and we won.

The crisis proved to us that our Board of Directors, which was now taking over control of the project, accepted the premise that the program belonged to Washington rather than to the people of Mississippi, and that it would do whatever was necessary to keep the program going and keep the money coming from Washington. What kind of independent Negro political power could we develop if the program had to function within the limits of Senator Stennis's politics?

Next Month: Inside Washington, the political master plan, the radicals' solution comes too late.

JULIAN BOND MEETS "MEET THE PRESS"

CONTINUED FROM LAST MONTH

MR. KAPLOW: Mr. Bond, to follow up what you just said about an affinity of people who are struggling, do you feel that maybe one of the targets of the struggling in Viet Nam not only is what is characterized in this document, which you endorsed and which started this whole thing, from SNCC--not only the United States but also the Communist side? Would you feel that they were also--people were struggling against them?

MR. BOND: The feeling that I have is that people who live in Viet Nam, North and South are struggling to determine their own destiny in some way or another. The impression I get is that they would like very much to be left alone, not only be the United States but by the Viet Cong as well.

MR. KAPLOW: This document, again, which started all this and which was put out by SNCC, only condemns the United States. It doesn't condemn the North Vietnamese or the Viet Cong or any other group--or the Red Chinese.

MR. BOND: Right. I will condemn them here, but my position is endorsing this document, and I believe, the position of those who drafted it was that we are, after all, Americans who live in this country, and I feel a much greater responsibility toward criticizing or praising the actions of this country than I do toward praising or criticizing the actions of another.

MR. KAPLOW: However, if you make your point that the common bond is struggling peoples, then it doesn't make any difference who is against them, you are against all those who might be oppressing, whether it is an American or Red Chinese or North--

MR. BOND: That is right.

MR. KAPLOW: How else do you equate civil rights with Viet Nam? A lot of the other civil rights groups--for instance, the head of the Atlanta Chapter of NAACP--say that you shouldn't equate the two.

MR. BOND: I equate it. I think the opposition to the war in Viet Nam in this country among a great many people is moral opposition. That is, it is not political opposition; it is opposition of people who feel that war is wrong. It is opposition of people who feel that that particular war is wrong on a moral ground. I think that is the same sort of opposition that the civil rights movement has been engaged in against segregation. It has been moral opposition to segregation as well as political and physical opposition to segregation.

MR. KAPLOW: Again referring back to this document which is sort of becoming, I guess, the Bible for my questioning, anyway, but you say the United States in effect has not done enough or moved quickly enough on civil rights, and you mentioned a couple of laws. You don't feel that legislation in '57 or, I think, '61, '64 and '65 and a whole string of court rulings all favoring desegregation marks progress against segregation?

MR. BOND: No, the document doesn't say there hasn't been progress. It does say that there has not been, in our opinion, enough progress.

MR. KAPLOW: I think that it is stronger than that. I can't read it here, now, but I think it implies that the United States has fallen short of carrying out its commitment. Is that fair?

MR. BOND: Yes, that is fair. That is my belief.

MR. SCHERER: Mr. Bond, I am wondering what you and your friends see as a central issue here in your difficulties with the legislature. Is it perhaps the right to dissent?

MR. BOND: I think it is two important issues. First, it is certainly the right to free speech, the right of dissent, the right to voice an opinion that may be unpopular, but I think a second and equally as important an issue is the right of people--in this case, my constituents--to be represented by someone they chose, their right to make a free choice in a free election, to choose someone to represent them. I think in this instance the Georgia House of Representatives has denied them that right.

MR. ROBINSON: Just one more thing. You indicated that you admired those individuals who burned their draft cards. Yet you said you wouldn't burn yours. Why wouldn't you?

MR. BOND: Let me say what I said first. I said I admired the courage of people who burned their draft cards, because I understand, I think, why they do it, and I admire them for doing it, knowing that they face very heavy penalties, five years in jail, a fine of \$5,000 and if they are in public office they might be expelled. I wouldn't burn mine, because it is against the law to burn mine.

MR. WICKER: Do you think there is any likelihood that the organized Negro movement in America, the several organizations like your own, will become an allied and integral part of the so-called peace movement opposing the Vietnamese war?

MR. BOND: If you mean by allied and integral part that we are about to stop the work that we are engaging in now and become a peace organization as opposed to a civil rights organization, no. I do think that what is going to happen is that more and more members of the individual organizations that make up the civil rights movement--and perhaps more organizations, are going to take a public stand on peace, on war and probably on the war in Viet Nam.

MR. WICKER: You feel in short that the civil rights movement as such is becoming--will be devoting a larger share of its attention than it has to issues like that in Viet Nam? Current issues in Viet Nam?

MR. BOND: Right, but I don't by any means mean to suggest that we are about to drop the things that we are doing now.

MR. WICKER: Would you think that an escalation of the war in any sense--that is, if the war becomes a much hotter war, a great deal more fighting--would you think that this would accelerate this trend that you now see?

MR. BOND: I think so. People in the civil rights movement are worried about the cost of that war for one thing and what the cost of that war is going to mean to the war on poverty in this country, what it is going to mean to social services in this country. I think they are concerned about it, and any escalation I think will increase the concern of people here.

MR. WICKER: Looked at in terms of American politics, if this happens, does it seem to you that a long continuation of the war and perhaps a step-up of the level of the war, would this trend be likely to drive members of the Negro organizations not only into the peace movement but out of the Democratic Party, which, after all, is responsible for the war?

The Complete Transcript

MR. BOND: I like to think I am in the Democratic Party. I ran as a Democrat, I don't think it will have that effect. I don't think that people in the civil rights movement--as I said before--are going to just drop their other work, but I do think that there is going to be increasing participation by people in the civil rights movement in anti-war movements.

MR. KAPLOW: Could you not conceive, then, Mr. Bond, that possibly by becoming active in something else you might dilute the impact of your primary purpose, which was desegregation?

MR. BOND: I can see that, but I don't think it will happen. That is the argument that people have argued against my taking a stand and against SNCC taking a stand and against other people in the civil rights movement who have taken a stand.

MR. KAPLOW: Of the major civil rights organizations, major half-dozen or so, isn't SNCC the only one that has done that, and many of the leaders in respect to your case say, yes, you should have been seated but they disagree with your position on Viet Nam and don't think it should become an issue?

MR. BOND: Right. A great many people have said that.

SNCC is, I believe, the only organization that has taken a public stand on the war in Viet Nam. Dr. Martin Luther King has taken a public stand opposing the war in Viet Nam. James Farmer, when he was executive secretary of CORE took a position as a private citizen, he said, against the war in Viet Nam.

MR. KAPLOW: I would like to go a little bit more into this business of SNCC as a civil rights group. You sort of put the word "militant" in quotes a few minutes ago when you talked about that adjective for SNCC.

Jim Foreman, who is one of your associates in SNCC, is quoted as calling nine other Negro legislators in the Georgia Legislature "Uncle Toms." Do you know what he meant by that or what he was thinking and do you agree?

MR. BOND: No, I don't agree that the other nine--

MR. KAPLOW: Did he say that, as far as you know?

MR. BOND: I read it in the paper. I wasn't there when he was supposed to have said it. I assume that he did. I don't agree with that characterization.

MR. KAPLOW: What do you think about it?

MR. BOND: About the other nine Negroes in the Georgia House?

MR. KAPLOW: Yes.

MR. BOND: Some of them are friends of mine. Some of them I don't know too well. Most of them made some effort in behalf of my being seated, and I am very appreciative of it.

MR. KAPLOW: Do you feel that they are not making strong enough efforts for desegregation?

MR. BOND: I don't expect everyone in the country to run around--

MR. KAPLOW: Did you mean they are not making--

MR. BOND: Maybe you better ask me that again.

MR. KAPLOW: Do you feel that they are making strong enough efforts for desegregation?

MR. BOND: Yes, I do.

MR. SCHERER: Mr. Bond, you are out of the Legislature, now. What are your plans for getting back in?

MR. BOND: I have filed a suit with two of my constituents, a woman named Mrs. Keyes and Dr. Martin Luther King, against the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, which will probably be decided sometime in the next three weeks. I am also an announced candidate but not a qualified candidate for a special election that comes up on February 23, to fill the vacancy created when my seat was empty, and beyond that--those are the only things I am doing.

MR. SCHERER: Do you plan to take this all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary?

MR. BOND: If I don't get relief from the three-judge Federal panel, the next step is the Supreme Court, and we will go there.

MR. NOVAK: Mr. Bond, your organization, SNCC, is trying to build an all-black political organization in central Alabama which will run under the symbol of the black panther. Do you feel that at a time when the Democratic Party, the white Democratic Party of Alabama has dropped the White Supremacy slogan and is trying to provide an entry for Negroes, this is intelligent politics?

MR. BOND: It is not for me to say. I think it is, but I think the decision in this case rests with those particular people who live in Lowndes County. They are interested in getting some of the benefits from their city and county government, and they see this as one of the means of getting them, electing their representatives to posts in that government. They don't intend by any means to take over, but they are going to run, I think, four candidates in the upcoming primary.

MR. KAPLOW: Mr. Bond, what would you expect the white leadership to do to fulfill what you conceive to be their obligation to the Negro in equality? Now? What more?

MR. BOND: I don't know if we have enough time for that, but generally I think Negroes in this country want the things that white people have as a matter of course, the right to a decent living, the right to--

MR. KAPLOW: Aren't efforts being made to promote that now by the white leadership of this country?

MR. BOND: Certainly they are.

MR. WICKER: What are the prospects you now see, Mr. Bond, for Negroes remaining within the established two-party system?

MR. SCHERER: Sorry, time's up. We will save that for the next time. Thank you, Mr. Bond, for being with us on MEET THE PRESS.



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