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THE



MOVEMENT

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WILL WATTS SECEDE?

Watts, South Central Los Angeles, a colony of the poor trapped in a right-wing city that recently denied it even a hospital, may pull out of Los Angeles altogether.

If it does, it will join more than 70 other cities, such as Santa Monica, that have disincorporated themselves. The name suggested for the independent Watts is FREEDOM CITY.

This plan came last month from a Negro organization called the Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations, or TALO. The spokesman for this move is TALO's

public relations chairman, SNCC field secretary Clifford Vaughns.

The Alliance is a broad coalition of Negro organizations, ranging from the black nationalists to the NAACP. It was created after the freeing of the policeman who killed Leonard Deadwyler. It was felt that a riot would erupt if the community did nothing to stop police brutality. "Another riot would have caused meaningless deaths," says Vaughns. "I don't mind dying for a political purpose, but I don't want to die for nothing. It was clear that the courts and the investigating commissions were only going to whitewash the cops and infuriate the people. We had to take action."

### Policing the Cops

The first, and major project of TALO was the Citizens Area Patrol (CAP). This is a fleet of cars and drivers who follow the Los Angeles Police in the Watts area. Their cars carry two-way radios supplied by SNCC. Within minutes after a call is made into the CAP central, a car with a photographer and often a tape recorder can be on the scene of an arrest or police action.

"The purpose of CAP is to observe the police and protect the community," says Vaughns. "It has given the residents of Watts a new security. Unfortunately the police don't understand that the purpose of the Patrol is to prevent situations that will lead to riots. They harass the drivers with tickets, stopping them, running them off the road."

The CAP has been a rallying point for the community. Ghetto residents have felt the oppression of the police most sharply. One of the most forceful ideas behind the creation of Freedom City is that it would have its own police force, and the "occupying army" of the LAPD would no longer have the power of terror over the community.

### Freedom City

There are many obstacles, practical and legal, in the way of the secession. 271, 543 signatures, almost one out of every four voters in Los Angeles city must be placed on a petition to disincorporate. 25% of the property owners in the area must agree. Various city commissions must approve.

The move has received wide support. Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally, John Pratt, executive director of the Southern California Council on Church and Race; Mrs. Yvonne Brathwaite, Democratic nominee in the 63rd Assembly District; and Norman Houston, president of the LA central NAACP branch, are among the supporters of the idea, along with the TALO coalition.

"For a generation we have vainly protested against a system and a society which have held us in de facto slavery," says the public statement that announced the drive for Freedom City. "We have been exploited by the majority of society. We fear the police and the criminal equally. Our votes are overwhelmed by the majority of the electorate, a sub-

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# FIELD WORKERS BOYCOTT DI GIORGIO RIGGED ELECTION FOR TERMS OF SCHENLEY CONTRACT SEE PAGE 6

On Friday, June 24, the NFWA again proved that it has the support of the majority of farm workers in its battle with DiGiorgio. This was demonstrated by the boycott by field workers and other DiGiorgio employees of the "election" at DiGiorgio's Sierra Vista and Borrego Springs ranches.

At Borrego Springs, near San Diego, out of 219 eligible voters (eligibility determined by DiGiorgio) only 84 voted. There were 732 "eligible" voters at both ranches. Of these, 347 refused to vote and 41 cast blank ballots. Of the 385 votes cast, the Teamsters received 281:60 were for no union. From the picket line across the road from the polling place it was not difficult to see which workers supported the boycott.

### Field Workers Boycott

The first truck load of field workers set a pattern which was to be repeated all morning. As the truck neared the turn into the station a hastily made red NFWA banner appeared on a stick held by one of the workers. The truck, instead of turning, continued down the road and left the ranch accompanied by loud shouts of approval from the pickets. Those on the truck answered with "Viva la huelga."

Throughout the morning the bus and truck loads of field workers brought in to vote remained seated or walked to the rope which separated the pickets from DiGiorgio property. During the 11 hours of polling the strikers stood in the hot sun and sang and cheered as their compañeros refused to participate in the "free and open" election.

Approximately 30 field workers voted. The rest of the voters were office workers, carpenters, plumbers, shed men, and some of the high-school students hired



THIS BUSLOAD OF FIELD WORKERS, one of many, refused to get out when driven to the DiGiorgio polling place. The boycott was successful.

by DiGiorgio several weeks earlier. (Many of the students refused to participate and some actively aided the boycott).

The refusal of the NFWA to participate in the company election was based on 8 months of experience in dealing with DiGiorgio under strike conditions. The union charged that the election was fraudulent since the procedure, set by the company, did not permit strikers to vote. Eligibility was controlled by the company.

The union pointed out that its organizers were barred from the camps on ranch property, while ranch supervisors openly solicited for the Teamsters. The morning after the elections were announced, leaflets appeared urging the workers to vote for the Teamsters and presenting a vague set of proposals. Workers reported that the leaflet was being distributed by the ranch supervisory personnel.

The NFWA replied with a leaflet listing the major points of the Schenley contract signed the same day that DiGiorgio announced its private election.

### NFWA Injunction

On Wednesday and Thursday the roving

picket lines around the Sierra Vista ranch shouted the slogan "No voten viernes" to the workers in the field. On the picket lines were some 65 student volunteers in Delano for a week of orientation before going to work at boycott centers around the country. Many of them felt that participating in the picket lines was the most valuable experience of the entire program; their enthusiasm was certainly shared by the strikers.

In addition to leafleting and picketing, the NFWA and AWOC filed suit in S.F. Superior Court seeking an injunction forbidding DiGiorgio to put their names on the ballot. The injunction was granted. The company ballot asked two questions: Did the worker want a union? If so, which union? The farm workers clearly answered these two questions without ever touching the ballots.

There is no doubt that the election has served to sharpen and polarize the conflict in Delano. Father Desmond, asked by DiGiorgio to observe at Borrego Springs, refused to sign a statement that the election was fair.

The election was supported by Bishop Willenger of the Fresno-Monterey diocese who, in a statement on June 17, launched a thinly veiled attack on the recognition of the NFWA as the legitimate bargaining agent for farm workers by Schenley and Christian Brothers.

There was increased outside support for the Delano strikers, demonstrated by the student volunteers and by the vigil outside the home of Rev. Moore, an "impartial" observer at Sierra Vista. This vigil was joined by Negroes from Bakersfield, led by their pastor, Rev. Stacy. Their support was mobilized by two SNCC organizers in Bakersfield, Marshall Ganz and Richard Flowers. Rev. Moore, a Negro who claimed at the Delano Senate hearings that Delano had the best race relations in America (a phrase used by Sen. Eastland to describe Sunflower County Mississippi), did not refuse to sign the "fair election" statement.

### DELANO NEEDS FOOD

The strikers in Delano are in desperate need of food for the strike-kitchen. Send staples: flour, coffee, rice, meat. In San Francisco, contact the NFWA office — 285-0213.



DOLORES HUERTA, NFWA vice-president on picket line. Sign reads "NFWA Says DON'T VOTE IN FALSE ELECTIONS." Photo: Gerhard Gschiedle

### DI GIORGIO BOYCOTT MARCH

On Saturday, July 9, at 11 A.M., there will be a march up Market Street in San Francisco in support of the DiGiorgio boycott. The Delano March will start at Drum and Market and end in the Civic Center plaza.

Cesar Chavez and a group of striking farmworkers from Delano will lead the march. It is expected that the speeches will be brief: marchers will go to neighboring markets to picket.

JOIN CESAR CHAVEZ  
ON JULY 9 IN THE MARCH  
UP MARKET STREET!



## Kennedys and Issues

The political pundits of the Capitol and the rest of the state, to say nothing of the national commentators, are having a fine old time explaining and interpreting the results of the Primary elections; and projecting these into the November elections. However, they approach the problem they all seem to come up with the same tired answer: reactionaries are gaining strength in both of the major parties. From such "wisdom" the lines of the Brown-Regan fight are being drawn and the lesser candidates shake their heads and try to figure out what this means for them.

The result — no matter what the process of interpretation — is that practically all of the candidates struggle with might and main to pre-empt the center of the political spectrum, jostling for position by the avoidance of positions! This futile struggle wierdly has the effect of moving the center to the right — as the politicians outdo each other in playing safe.

Under these circumstances the alternatives open to liberals — and radicals — are to either ignore the campaigns or to seek ways of challenging the candidates on some of the issues they are evading.

For such challenges it seems generally helpful to look at the life and works of President Kennedy, and then at some of the current activities of his political heir, Bobby Kennedy.

Arthur Schlesinger's book "A THOUSAND DAYS" is loaded with ideas which seem relevant as today's political scene in California. For example, after commenting on Kennedy's tough and principled role with big steel after it attempted to increase steel prices, Schlesinger says, "Wilson, Roosevelt and Truman won world confidence in part because their domestic policies had established them as critics, and not the instruments of American Business . . . Kennedy left the world no doubt he was equally independent of the American business community.

It would be instructive to apply this idea to the relationship between Governor Brown and the grape growers!

Schlesinger continues his appraisal when he quotes President Kennedy talking to a group of broadcasters — "Will the politicians desire for re-election — and the broadcasters desire for ratings — cause both to flatter the every public whim and prejudice — to seek the lowest

common denominator of appeal — to put public opinion at all times ahead of the public interest. For myself, I reject that view of politics and I urge you to reject that view of broadcasting."

Candidate Reagan and Governor Brown might both profitably spend a Sunday morning away from their public relations and campaign advisers — even away from church — to ponder the meaning of this idea, and to decide what they will say on such subjects as the Supreme Court decision on Proposition 14, the Watts uprising and freedom of speech for Berkeley students.

All the candidates could take a little time of to review the newspaper accounts of Bobby Kennedy's visit to Delano, his instruction to the Kern County Deputy Sheriffs on the meaning of the Constitution, and the speeches he gave recently on human rights in Africa.

Incidentally, the unanswered question of significance in California politics is whether Speaker Unruh is still close to the Kennedys, and if he is how he can keep his sanity by putting his views and theirs in separate compartments. Maybe the sharp Speaker also should be encouraged to read Schlesinger's book. If he did it would be interesting to see if after the reading he still advised the Governor to concentrate on soliciting only the votes of "moderates."

But the Schlesinger book may be dismissed by hard-nosed politicians as academic stuff. They are less likely to dismiss direct appeals from constituents who ask their views on farm labor, civil rights and liberties, health education, housing and welfare issues.

And if their non-moderate constituents don't like their response on these issues they may well ask "why should these officials and this so-called "leadership" retain or obtain public office when they fail to tell us clearly what they hope to do with it"?

So in the spirit of the Kennedys, the California political campaign could take on new meaning, and even become significant. There is no inherent reason why this year's politics in the Golden State needs to become blurred over by smog and fog from the frightened candidates. They need such help from the voters and they should certainly get what they need!

cept maybe in Latin America. And in New York City, where a genuine liberal (not a radical, mind you), Ted Weiss, is taking on machine liberal Leonard Farberstein, Kennedy is busy with another race.

We're even raising the question of whether Kennedy should be supported in 1968 or whether the Democratic Party is hopelessly a war party. What we're asking is that there be more than a few speeches before the liberals open their arms to a new messiah.

—THE MOVEMENT

## A BULLDOZER IS THE REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY'S BEST FRIEND

SAN FRANCISCO - - Our self-styled city scavengers are on the move again. The Redevelopment Agency and its director, Justin Herman, intend to clean up the MISSION. Right now the project is in the planning phase. But if the Agency keeps getting the green light from the Board of Supervisors there will be massive eviction of low income tenants.

Whether it's clearance or rehabilitation, the Mission tenants are in trouble.

Over half the poor residents will be forced to pack their bags and move elsewhere as a result of bulldozer activities. But what happens to them under rehabilitation?

The Agency's brand of rehabilitation is not just good old local code enforcement. It means much more. Buildings must conform to higher Federal standards. Whether you're rich or poor, for example, you probably don't reside in a place which meets up-to-date earthquake standards. That's okay with the city, but not with the Federal Government.

There's a string of items which the local code doesn't demand and the federal code does. That's why rehabilitation under urban renewal in San Francisco averages between \$4,000 and \$5,000 for each apartment in the building. Who foots the bill in the long run? You guessed it - the tenants.

Urban renewal continues to reduce the net supply of low cost housing in the entire city. A battle against poverty must therefore be a fight against urban renewal.



Mark Comfort, organizer of the Oakland Direct Action Committee and a major spokesman for Oakland Negroes, has been sent to jail by a vindictive court. The "Committee of Just People to Help Gloria Comfort Free Mark Comfort" is circulating a petition for his release.

We urge our readers to make up and circulate a petition reading:

ON JUNE 9th, MARK COMFORT WAS SENT TO JAIL FOR SIX MONTHS, ON CHARGES ARISING FROM A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST HIRING DISCRIMINATION AT THE OAKLAND TRIBUNE. WE THE UNDERSIGNED CALL ON GOVERNOR BROWN TO COMMUTE MARK COMFORT'S SENTENCE IMMEDIATELY SO THAT HE MAY BE RELEASED.

For more information, contact Gloria Comfort at 6914 Lockwood, Oakland, LO 9-9723. Checks should be made out to Mark Comfort Defense Fund.



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## Delegates Call White House Conference

### "A Publicity Stunt"

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA -- The recent "White House Conference on Civil Rights" was an effort "to recreate the President's domestic image, damaged by his emphasis on spending for the war in Vietnam — it was a publicity stunt." This statement was made, not by a Negro militant, but by the Berkeley Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, a delegate to the Conference.

"When we got there we were given ground rules, but they were subsequently changed because of the SNCC boycott," Dr. Sullivan told THE MOVEMENT. "Initially the delegates weren't going to get to talk at all, but the SNCC stand forced the President's people to allow the delegates to talk."

#### TOLD TO GET OUT

"At the opening session Vice-President Humphrey spoke last; after the delegates rose to applaud him they were told by the chairman that they could leave since they were already standing. It was a clever move — the delegates who had questions about the ground rules or about important issues couldn't ask them."

Asked what the discussion groups were

like, Dr. Sullivan replied, "I was in the Education group. It was scheduled to last an hour and a half, but for the first hour and ten minutes some consultant told us what was in the report. It was an insult to our intelligence: we had read the report before. With 20 minutes to go, the chairman allowed us to make comments, but there were 100 or more people. Only five could speak, with much of the time taken by the consultants defending their recommendations. There was one more session in the afternoon: in order to speak we had to sign up for 2 minutes. Many who signed up didn't even get to speak. The White House does not seem to be aware that minority people can and want to speak for themselves."

The question of Vietnam kept coming up and getting slapped down. "I was one of those who wanted to talk about Vietnam," said Dr. Sullivan, "because the war is bleeding from our schools the funds we need, even lunch money for the children. We were not able to relate the war to these problems. It was prestructured by the Chairman who was appointed by the President's

task force."

#### AIR-TIGHT CONFERENCE

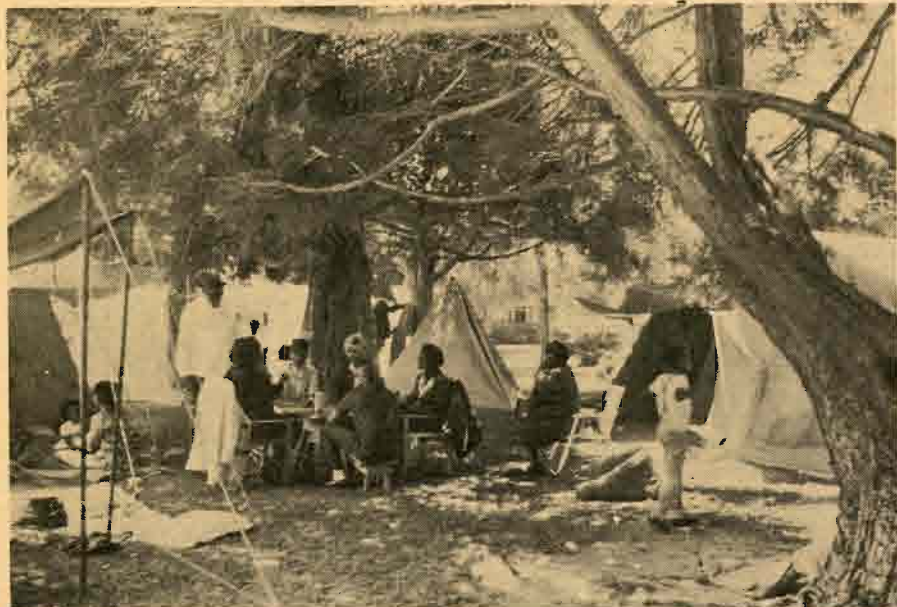
Another delegate from the Bay Area was John Miller, vice-president of the Berkeley Board of Education. In a press release Mr. Miller said, "The Administration acted as if the Civil Rights Act did not exist. If the President really wanted to know what we think and what we want, he didn't find out."

Both men agreed that the Conference was "overstructured and air-tight, censored against controversy." "I've never seen so many people with press badges at any conference I've attended," said Sullivan. "At lunch there were more people with press badges than delegates, but only one I knew was a press man — from a Southern newspaper. All the others were members of the Democratic National Committee."

"There is a grass-roots movement in America that is about to turn this country upside down," said Dr. Sullivan. "The White House Conference completely missed that point."



# A TENT CITY IN ALAMEDA'S WHITE DISTRICT



On Saturday, June 18th, about 25 Negro families from the Estuary Public Housing project of Alameda City pitched tents in the city's Franklin Park in the middle

Photo: Lynn Phipps of an upper class white neighborhood. They were protesting the impending eviction of 18 families from the project.

Before they arrived Saturday afternoon, the Fire Department soaked the lawn of the park and the public swimming pool was closed down.

There was a march through this white community on Sunday afternoon to the Mayor's house, who, of course, was not home. About 200 people marched, mostly families from the projects with a few supporters from around the Bay Area.

During the days the park was like a summer camp for the children, who had a real playground: swings, ping pong tables, a ball field, and a swimming pool. There was only make-shift stuff back in the project. By Monday morning the kids

After two marches to the City Council meeting, the Mayor "put the eviction notices in limbo" until units in the 5 acres that are not scheduled for immediate demolition are fixed for the 18 families. He also said the vacancy coming up on the AHA would be filled by a "responsible Negro". With this short range victory

in their hands the people went home for a while.

felt at home and began to rove the neighborhood as if it were theirs - it was.

Estuary Project itself is set-off from the rest of the city, and surrounded by Alameda Naval Air Base. Before the demonstration few residents of the island city knew it existed.

All around the project you can see preparations for the War in Vietnam: a ship being outfitted in a dry dock, planes constantly flying over head on training missions, rows and rows of bomb and torpedo containers ready to be filled.

The project was only supposed to be temporary. The buildings are made of press board on the outside and plaster board or plywood on the inside separated by studs. You can put your foot easily through the shoddy walls, and in many of the buildings, even those in which people still live, there are gaping holes in the walls.

## Background of the Tent-In ALAMEDA CITY WANTS TO POCKET \$3 MILLION IT GOT FROM POOR

ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA — Over \$3 million has accumulated in the "reserves" of the Alameda Housing Authority (AHA) since it took control of the World War II temporary housing around the Alameda Naval Air Station.

Over \$1 million is deposited in the local Wells Fargo Bank managed by Fred Zecher, Chairman of the AHA.

According to the Alameda Sun, when Zecher was asked at a January, 1966 meeting of the AHA what would happen to this \$3 million if the AHA were disbanded, he replied that the money would go into the city's General Fund.

There is every indication that the AHA plans to disband itself by closing down the Estuary Project and turning formal control of the two other public housing projects — Western and Makassar Straits — back to the Navy.

Actually, the Navy has kept informal control over all the projects: priority in placing tenants is a part of the original contract with the city:

From the Alameda Sun, "The City of Alameda's Housing Authority disclaims all their responsibilities under State and Federal Housing Laws. Say their main purpose is to manage housing for the 12th Naval District, and are not a public Housing Authority."

### No Relocation

In 1963 the city closed one of its projects (Gibbs); the Navy gave up its priority on the Estuary project; the AHA began to freeze admittance to Estuary project; and the AHA sent notices to Estuary tenants telling them that the project would be razed in June 1964.

The AHA offered no relocation program to the tenants and refused to take any responsibility for relocation even though Article 4 of the State Housing Authority Law, section 34330 provides: "The Authority shall have the power to: (a) Assist in relocating in suitable housing accommodations at rentals within their means persons of low income who have been, or will be deprived of dwellings within areas or buildings which have been or will be cleared or demolished. In connection with any project, an authority shall maintain or provide for the maintenance of tenant placement in which there shall be recorded lists of untenanted, suitable dwellings available to persons of low-income and shall furnish such information to such persons."

In the January 19th 1966 meeting of the AHA, Fike, lawyer for the tenants of Estuary project asked Zecher: "You're taking no expense to assist these people in relocating and feel this is unnecessary?" To which Zecher replied: "It is not our obligation."

In early 1964 the Citizen's Committee for Low-Income Housing was formed within the Alameda Branch of the NAACP for the purpose of securing adequate low-cost housing for the tenants of Estuary.

### Pushing People Out

At the same time, the AHA began a program of intimidation and harassment to get people to move out of the projects. Mail boxes were removed. Garbage disposal units were removed. The laundry services were discontinued. The store inside the project was closed. Bus service into the project was stopped. The AHA's intimidation was successful. In two years the project population dwindled from over 500 families to the present 100 families.

A year ago the Citizen's Committee held a demonstration in front of Fred Zecher's Wells Fargo Bank, climaxing their protest with a three-day school boycott and a sit-in at the AHA office. The Committee was able to force a one-year delay in demolition.

### The Churchfront Store

Last winter a San Francisco company, Moscini and Cristofi, bought the Estuary Project land.

This raises a question: how can a profit-making organization obtain this land, when the original Navy contract with the AHA said that the land could not be sold to a profit-making organization?

Answer: Moscini and Cristofi obtained title to the land by using a church as a front organization. The April 28 Alameda Sun reports that the church, Zion New Hope Church of God in Christ, of Oakland, is (a) not, listed in the phone book, (b) not a member of the Oakland Council of Churches, which in fact has no record of such a church, (c) applied for a license in the City of Oakland to hold public assemblies in the Fall of 1964 just in time to become involved in AHA transactions with Moscini and Cristofi, and (d) has the same lawyer, James D. Hadfield of Hirsch and Hadfield of San Francisco, as do Moscini and Cristofi.

### Landgrab

This land has some other interesting aspects. Recently, Moscini and Cristofi completed a land deal with the Navy, in which they traded 35 acres of the 40 acres of the Estuary Project for the Savo Island Project in Berkeley. They retained 5 acres of the Estuary Project, promising that they will rehabilitate the buildings in a year.

It has been known, however, by city officials and surely Moscini and Cristofi, that those 5 acres just happen to be one of the possible sites for the connection

between the proposed Alameda-Oakland Tube and the newly proposed Bay Bridge from Hunter's Point. In an editorial of the Alameda Sun, June 2, 1966, it was reported that the City Engineer Mark Hanna confirmed that everyone has known since the mid-fifties that the tube would open on the five acres.

### \$3 Million Steal

Here is the present situation: on the 22nd of June, 1966 the Housing Authority gave

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## What Kind of Country This Is?

From a speech by Mrs. Mabel Tatum, President of the Citizen's Committee for Low-Income Housing of Alameda City's Estuary Public Housing Project.

To Hell with the Alameda Police Department! If there's enough of us out there, they'll earn their next month's salary. And I mean if we get out there and get out there in numbers and let them see this is the hard core now: those that could leave have, those that had the desire to leave have, those that cannot are still here, includin' me. So I say to heck with the Alameda Police Department.

If they come in here and start to take out anybody or move anybody's furniture, if I don't see everyone of us standin' around like a bunch of soldiers on the battle front sayin' take it out and we'll move it back in, sayin' take it out and you'll have to come through us. And I mean have it hard and heavy. When they see that they've got a group of people that, as that song says, sayin' in person that we shall not be moved, they are not goin' to run to bulldozers, trucks, or nothin' else over you.

Now I can't get a house no sooner than you can and my husband's in Vietnam. I can't get one here in Alameda unless HOPE finds me one in the city of Alameda. I can't go over to Western and live and my husband's over there with the rest of the men tryin' to protect . . . America. A beautiful world isn't it. Salute the flag. Justice for all. What kind of country is this we are fightin' for? What kind of a country is this, you can't even exercise your own rights to live where you want to live? What kind of country this is that we as a group of people can't protect our own rights whether it's legal or illegal? It's gotten to the point now where we've got to throw the legal part aside. I'm not sayin' out and grabbin' somebody and knockin' 'em down. You don't have to do it that way. You can do it systematically and win that way. Get us out in numbers and when all of those Alamedans, when I say Alamedans I mean the ones on the Gold Coast, look out there and they see all those tents laid out on



Photo: Gerhard Gschiedle

the ground, and all of those babies runnin' around and all of those people runnin' up with trucks bringin' food . . . and when they see the people, as they come in, bringin' in some more tents, they're goin' to say, "We've got to do somethin' about this. We can't have this in the city of Alameda."

Mayor Godfrey went to talkin' about what Estuary was like. You know how far he's been in Estuary? He came ridin' through here in that . . . what's that he's got? a Continental. I don't even know the name of the car. He rode through there one time. Or several times he rode around in here. One time I think we got 'em outa that car an' he got in the middle of one of them courts and when he looked he was surrounded by several people in the court. And he just talked. And he just told 'em. And he just threw his chest out. He took off his hat. He made jokes. But he never once said that he was gonna provide any of us with any decent housing. And it was our votes that helped put him in the seat that he's in now. We were runnin' around here talkin' about vote, vote for Mayor Godfrey, vote for Mayor Godfrey he's the best man. Vote for Mayor Godfrey . . . an' he hadn't given you a damn bit more than nobody else.

### What the Chairman of the Alameda Housing Authority Said to the Reporter

"You guys go scrapping for the niggers. You're going to be getting into a lot of trouble. And you'd better be careful that you don't print any of this," said he, ripping up the reporter's notes.

— December 16, 1965 Alameda Sun



## A Note From the New SNCC Chairman

"The following speech by a white SNCC worker indicates that the so-called new direction in SNCC is not so new after all. I hope SNCC staff and supporters across the country will give this talk their attention. At a time when SNCC is being misinterpreted by the press and misunderstood by its friends, it is useful to look into the history of the organization and see that we are taking no great departure from our original direction -- the direction of independent

power for Negroes in America.

"It is important to note that this speech was given almost two and a half years ago -- before the 1964 Summer Project. I have capitalized and underlined those sections I think are especially important today. Not one word of the speech has been changed or omitted.

"While there may be some of us who differ with some of the views expressed, it is imperative for us to understand our own history."

— STOKELY CARMICHAEL

# IS THERE A CHANGE IN SNCC?

By Mike Miller

## 2 YEARS AGO: A WHITE SNCC WORKER TALKS ABOUT BLACK POWER

(Author's Note: As Stokely says, some of us would differ with some of the views expressed in this speech I gave two years ago. If I were giving it today, I would say some different things, too, though I would not change the substance of the talk).

FEBRUARY 1, 1960 — the place is Greensboro, North Carolina — four young Negroes demand to be served at a local fountain and refuse to leave when the service is denied. What in retrospect is named the sit-in movement has begun. Word returns to the college campus and is spread from there to other Negro schools throughout the South. In the next two months dozens of campuses became involved. Four years later, February 1, 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is known to all who are interested in civil rights movement. It is generally acknowledged as the most militant of the civil rights organizations.

I think it would be fruitful for us today to consider the origins of this movement, the source of its strength, its direction, and its meaning for us. If a single source of inspiration had to be named, it would probably be found in the Montgomery bus boycott and the inspiration of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Others point to the long history of sit-ins staged by CORE. But neither of these led to a full movement in the South — the Montgomery Improvement Association was unsuccessfully copied in a few other Southern cities and the work of CORE remained in the hands of a dedicated minority, indeed a handful, who were a valuable moral witness but never at the center of a mass movement.

CORE and King were, in fact, distant models for the students who began the sit-ins — almost as distant as the works of Ghandi and Thoreau. Indeed, Walden Pond and the march to the sea may have been as relevant to these undergraduates as the earlier experience of their black brethren in the South. Paradoxically, it may be the very isolation created by the McCarthy period and the institutionalization of its premises during the '50's that provided the climate for new ideas in the South. I am told by some of the old timers in SNCC that circles developed on the Southern Negro campuses in the mid and late '50's and that discussion in these circles, especially among Negro seminarians, was deep and intense. Here were debated the ways to freedom. The Greensboro Four were the first to publicly proclaim what had been privately discussed.

I was struck by the sense of isolation in which this movement grew while I was in Mississippi this past summer. There was a universal feeling in SNCC that we were the first to grab the tiger by the tail — and he wasn't a paper one either — and that before us there had been nothing. I was disabused of these notions by a wise middle-aged Negro in Cleveland, Mississippi, who told me of what must have been a very real movement until it was squashed by the fear and black exodus that followed the brutal killing of Emmet Till.

Let me elaborate for a moment the importance I place on this period of isolation. If McCarthyism disrupted the continuity of political generations, it also allowed the new generation to think in its own terms without using a language foreign to its experience. If McCarthyism devastated existing movements in its time, it also made possible the growth of a movement whose internal dialogue was not hampered by the narrowed perceptions and hardened style that is personified in the ideological disputes I was to hear in New York among those of the

older generation who were trying to understand how SNCC had happened and interpret what it is doing. What I am suggesting is that this movement owes its health and vitality, at least in part, to the sickness that was the McCarthy era. These isolated conditions produced a core of dedicated militants who are building a new, non-violent American revolution. The character of that revolution is what I would like to discuss next.

If SNCC's uniqueness stems from the period of isolation in which it developed, its continued strength reflects the rapid way in which it broke out of that isolation. I suppose that it is difficult to recall that SNCC's first demands were not very different from the demands of the most moderate of the forces in the civil rights movement: the integration of lunch counters and theaters, libraries and swimming pools, and so forth. We should also remember that the militant manner of protest for these rights was one that required little support in Southern black communities. All it required was a few students sick and tired of signs that said "white only" or "Negroes on Tuesday" and who were willing to challenge with their bodies the structure of power and myth that stood behind those signs. In its beginnings, SNCC continued the tradition begun by CORE of protest by moral witness and added an ingredient of spontaneity, but didn't really change the nature of the enterprise.

Because the sit-in can be staged from isolation, continued involvement in it is difficult to sustain. It was no accident that CORE until very recently was a tiny organization — the risks were high, the rewards very distant. Except for those who make witness to save their own souls, without concern for the consequences of what they do, it is difficult to sustain the desire to act when there are not too many others around to act with you. And SNCC was having difficulty over this problem. SNCC was formerly organized at a conference in Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 1, 1960. The summer saw sit-ins continue throughout the South, but as the Fall semester moved along, it became apparent that the sit-in movement would be a dead-end movement if it were not accompanied by something else. Nor was that something else found in the Freedom Rides of Summer '61. While an extremely important injection of life into the Southern movement, the Freedom Ride, like the sit-in, was here today and gone tomorrow. The Freedom Rides did, however, accomplish something else — they came at a time when isolation was no longer healthy, when the exposure to new ideas was needed and helpful to young Negro militants in the South. Jails, like Parchman penitentiary, became the setting for new schools in the South. Negro students from the South, whose community was identified in the still loose-knit SNCC, were now to be exposed to the ideas and disputes of northern radicals and liberals, churchmen and atheists, pacifists and tactical practitioners of non-violence.

The Freedom Rides also pushed a new Administration to act. The international implications of Southern Negroes and their white allies being beaten, jailed and terrorized were too much for the Kennedys not to act. (I might say here that the tragic assassination of the President is only compounded by a reluctance to analyze what in fact happened under his leadership. That he was a personal friend of the civil rights movement is undoubtedly true; that he understood the magnitude of the problem or moved to meet it is as clearly untrue). The Administration's first approach was to get the demonstrations

off the streets, out of the public accommodations, into some more manageable arena of politics. Thus in the Fall of 1961, the Justice Department approached SNCC to interest it in a program of voter registration in the South. There was a fortunate coincidence of interest. FOR SNCC, HERE WAS A PROGRAM THAT COULD BEGIN TO MOBILIZE THE ENERGIES THAT NO LONGER FOUND SATISFACTION IN THE SIT-IN; FOR THE ADMINISTRATION, HERE WAS A WAY, OR SO IT APPEARED THEN, TO GET CIVIL RIGHTS POLITICS OFF THE STREETS AND INTO THE COURTS WITH, PERHAPS, THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW BASE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. With Administration aid, funds were made available for voter education campaigns in the South. SNCC provided most of the manpower and got the least money, but it was enough to cover irregular \$10 per week salaries. The Justice Department also promised to provide protection and legal support to voter registration efforts.

Voter registration proved to be all important in changing the direction of SNCC. The isolation of campus and community was radically changed. If anything, the new SNCC was in danger of losing its ties to the campus as its field secretaries became parts of the poverty stricken black communities in Mississippi, Alabama, southwest Georgia, Arkansas, and elsewhere in the South. And it is at this point in its history that something else happened in SNCC. And this I say with hesitation because it is a phrase that I think has been greatly abused. There emerged in SNCC a new man. The summer soldiers dropped from the battle, and there remained a core of dedicated field secretaries whose lives were inextricably bound to the future of millions of black tenant farmers, domestics, sharecroppers, unemployed, day laborers.



Photo: Gerhart Gschiedle

STOKELY CARMICHAEL talks with MIKE MILLER, author of this article.

And here I would like just to mention what I am sure is well known to all of you here. Conditions in the Deep South, for the vast majority of Negroes, are little different from what they were in slavery. The rural Negro is totally dependent on the plantation — he has no rights before the owner, he owes his soul to the company store, his children at an early age begin to drag the cotton sack behind them, he is close to being illiterate and, because of the unique character of his enslavement, he has been robbed of his identity. The poor blacks of the South represented, until only yesterday, a tragic combination of the Sicilian communities made famous by Dolci, and the victims of Nazi concentration camps. Politics was, for the majority, white folks business. To some, it was only colored folks business if you were a minister, a doctor, a teacher or a lawyer. It took a month for some of the people I met in Greenwood to be able to call me "Mike" rather than "Sir" or "Mr. Mike."

IT WAS THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS ENSLAVEMENT, I THINK ALMOST AS

SHOCKING TO SOME OF THE BORDER STATE NEGRO SNCC WORKERS AS IT WAS TO ME, THAT SHAPED THE BEGINNINGS OF A FUNDAMENTAL EXAMINATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY BY THE MORE THOUGHTFUL ACTIVISTS INSIDE SNCC. THEY MET TWO CLASSIC PROBLEMS: POVERTY AND ALIENATION. THEIR ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THEM IN A FRESH WAY OWES, AT LEAST IN PART, SOMETHING TO THE DAYS OF ISOLATION WHICH SURROUNDED THE BEGINNINGS OF SNCC. IT IS AS A GROUP WITH ITS OWN IDENTITY, THOUGH WEAKLY DEFINED, WITH A COMMON HISTORY OF EXPERIENCE, WITH THE MECHANISMS OF INTERNAL DIALOGUE, WITH THE STRENGTH OF CHARACTER TO RESIST VARIOUS NORTHERN YOUTH WHO SOUGHT TO GIVE IT LEADERSHIP FROM ON HIGH, IT IS WITH ALL THIS THAT SNCC NOW EXAMINES THE MEANING OF ITS EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTH. I still hear, at different times, talk among northern students of going South to give ideological perspective to the southern movement. I can only say that we should have learned that there is no place for this kind of arrogance in a democratic movement.

What is happening in the South is the development of a style and a mode of analysis that is closely wedded to the experience in the South of the SNCC field secretaries who are so deeply involved in the lives of their black brothers and sisters.

I think now, having said this much, I ought to try to outline what is the SNCC point of view. I do this with hesitation and with the warning that no single statement like this exists, and, indeed, no single view exists within SNCC. In fact, you may be learning more about what I think ought to be SNCC's point of view than what it in fact is. That, I suppose, is the risk of all theorizing.

FUNDAMENTAL TO THE SNCC VIEW IS THE DESIRE TO FREE — POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, SOCIALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY — the MILLIONS OF ENSLAVED NEGROES IN THE SOUTH TODAY.

POLITICALLY, SNCC SEES VOTER REGISTRATION AS THE KEY TO FREEDOM. WHERE THE NEGRO, ONCE ENFRANCHISED, IS TO GO WITH HIS VOTE IS CERTAINLY IN DOUBT. UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, THERE WAS LITTLE QUESTION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN SNCC, HOWEVER, AT THE RECENT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, SNCC LEADER ROBERT MOSES OPENLY QUESTIONED WHETHER FREEDOM COULD COME TO THE SOUTH THROUGH EITHER OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES THERE. THE BUILDING OF AN ELECTORAL APPARATUS AROUND THE MISSISSIPPI M.O.C.K. ELECTION SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF STATE OR REGIONAL PARTIES THAT OPERATE OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES IN THE SOUTH, WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT IN THIS DIRECTION NATIONALLY OR THE FORMATION OF DIRECT TIES TO NORTHERN SECTIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN PARTIES.

CONTINUED NEXT MONTH

### ANYBODY HAVE A CAR?

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# "WE NEED TO RADICALLY CONFRONT AMERICA"

This is a condensed version of a paper by SNCC Field Secretary Ivanhoe Donaldson, presented to the Committee at the May meeting.

The movement has entered a new phase and perhaps a critical period. With the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, the Voting Bill, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Supreme Court Ruling on Reapportionment, our system has begun to muddle and make hazy the issues we fought so hard to clarify. So though we understand the proposition that man is born free and yet everywhere he is in chains, how we begin to define and act on that is the main issue we have to deal with at this conference.

The first thing I need to say is that SNCC is very important — its relationship to raising questions and acting on issues in this country. I think that SNCC is an odd type of animal. Although almost invisible to the American public it stands probably as the only true independent force in this country at this time and this place in history. However, don't misunderstand me. I'm not saying SNCC is the force that's to bring about freedom. I don't think that at all. But on the basis of its radical mystique, other large institutions go into motion around the issues we raise and I think that's adequately true in our history. I think it's important we understand our history. I'll just give points of my interpretation.

## Need Radical Action

We feel we're an independent political force. We need to talk about how to define the problems and develop radical actions around issues. In the past we established sort of vague concepts of goals: the development of an interracial democracy in this country, of the right of people to participate in decisions that affect their lives, the development of black leadership, pockets of power — particularly in the deep south, the development of people who are able to move toward these goals with well defined programs such as the demand for integrated public accommodations, particularly the right to vote, one man one vote.

But recent court actions have all but phased these particular problems out, even though they're visible to us. I mean the handwriting's on the wall in terms of the right to vote. In terms of the issues we moved around to particularly dramatize the over-all goals. We may understand that these things may never really come about, but in these times it is impossible to raise those particular issues in this country.

So we have some specific success, but the overall brutal nature of the American community still exists. So I think in this new phase we have to zero in on the problem. I would like to suggest that we act on three levels: (1) nationalism, (2) community wide action, and (3) internationalism.

I recognize that historically we've always acted on these levels. All I'm doing is redefining our history and redefining what I think is our present motion. Although I'm going to talk about these levels as defined entities, in reality they overlap. For example: nationalism helps organize in the black community.

## Nationalism

It is important that this group review what we are and define its future motion. We have to understand nationalism in its positive forms and its importance and its reality in this community and the world community and what people do with it, namely the white press.

## Community

Community wide action, I think, politically is our most important area. Speaking of independent or third party politics, I think that the black panther party in Alabama and Julian Bond's campaign in Atlanta are healthy methods to begin to crack open the system. We understand the MFDP and its context of driving of wedges within the establishment.

I think the whole question of independent politics and what it means needs to be defined within this organization and we need to go out and build whatever that definition becomes. I think we agree that this motion which we've always done — Smith's campaign in Mississippi in '62 was independent politics, the King campaign in Albany was independent politics, even the A.A. Rander campaign in Chicago was independent politics given the context in which these independent things took place. Given another context they can be defined other ways.

Having white organizers to go into the white community to work, I think is very important, but I think the context in which they go in to work is also very important. I think the White organizer should go into the White community to teach Afro-American history. The White organizers have to go into the White community to organize the white community around black needs, around black history, the relative importance of blackness in the world today. That's a level not an entire thing in itself.

## Market Economy

I think we have to begin to talk about the market economy and more visible ways of community organizing. But we cannot begin to talk about changing this system without defining it. I define it as the market economy or the market system. I just use that word — the word is capitalism.

The American way of life is embodied in the operation of a market economy, a market economy means that all elements — labor, land capital — necessary to bring goods to the market are bought and sold similar to that of commodities.

These so-called commodities are exchanged in contractual terms: labor for wages, land for rent, capital for interest — for the sole purpose of the financial gain of the parties involved. Inherent in this arrangement is a conflict of interest because each party tries to maximize his gain.

Due to the organization of the market system, poverty is systematically produced. Labor is bought and sold on a sporadic basis according to supply and demand. Even if every laborer could negotiate

a fair contract, it could be terminated at any time. Because of this arrangement, the market system is exclusive. I think we must understand the market system and the fact that we cannot organize within the market system, all we do in fact is reinforce what it is. Because of these limits, the movement of the poor must continue to drift between demands for reform and total opposition to the system, becoming neither strictly reformist or totally radical.

We need to spend more energies organizing urban areas. Although SNCC has gotten all of its experience and understanding of the power structure and other political forms from organizing in the rural areas of the southland, the reality is that 70% of Americans live an urban life. The major conflicts of interest are taking place in the cities. The cities are the political terrain of the nation and its power is moving very fast.

Our political task then begins with bringing political power to the rural south, but confronting the cities confidently as the place of American life and its political foundation.

## Internationalism

And finally is what I call the international level. There's that old quote in Souls of Black Folk, where DuBois says, "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line and the relation of the lighter to the darker men in Asia and Africa and America and the islands of the sea." And obviously we live exactly what this says.

It seems to me we need to raise the questions of why the U.S. is involved in the murdering and overthrowing of governments all over the non-white world. We need to organize protest actions; both against the war in Vietnam and against the draft. We need to develop programs to support black resistance in South Africa, and develop strong coalitions with students of the third world.

We need to become students of world history, to understand the implications of the assassination of Malcolm X in its international realm, the frustration of the Hungarian and Spanish revolts, which I think are very relevant when you talk about change in the U.S., the development of political motion in the West Indies which is right off our coast (and not just Cuba). How many of us know what's going on in those other little islands right off the coast of this country? We must understand the development of political theory in Africa and in China.

## Resistance Movement

Now from today's conversation I've pulled out a few things that I think. We must begin to think of ourselves as guerillas. A lot is to be learned from actions in other countries in past histories. I think we have to build a resistance movement in this country. It's like living in occupied France in World War II. It wasn't an outsider — it's French citizens who tried to bring some semblance of healthiness to their country. We have to begin to define what the resistance is that and what it is we're trying to do in the country.

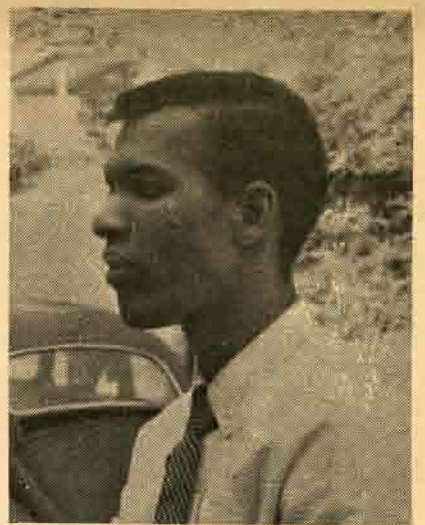


Photo: Frank Cieciora  
IVANHOE DONALDSON

Now one of the things we can do as a group is to review where we've been and decide on some kind of continuity as to where we're going. I think it's important to talk about organizing in the cities; the question then becomes what do you organize around and what do you organize to do? Do you have people in jail? Do you bond them out or break them out? The question is legitimate when you talk about raising market system dollars to give back to the market system because of the arrest of your freedom under the system and using a course that will only go so far in the long run. There are groups all over the country who I think are willing to do things like hatchet the system through radical confrontation. There's a group in \_\_\_\_\_ called the \_\_\_\_\_ and their program is just demolish the buildings downtown. They have organized programs. They kick in store windows downtown. They don't pay rent where they are, they raise a whole lot of holocaust. They go to jail and serve out their time because — well, you're at war and when you're at war you don't go get your soldiers and buy them back. You don't compromise off of the establishment.

We are very small and very invisible — other groups get definition. If we establish a radical plan of motion, other groups will take part in that, but we remain an independent force. In the Civil Rights movement we all compliment each other, but I don't think that CORE, SCLC or NAACP are prepared to say and do the kind of things we are prepared to say and do. But they are prepared to take on pieces of it.

We really have to begin to understand that market system. I don't raise that in the context of socialism, but we have to point out those things we really don't like and debate about the kinds of things we'd like to see built. We should visually not support them. In Arkansas, Mississippi, everywhere, we are engaged in elections because in those communities it's the only way we can see to mobilize and make a visual attack of the system through the electoral system, but the power of the country is not necessarily there. I think you can educate the communities doing that and maybe you can mobilize the country doing that but I think it's the hidden confrontations that we have to dig out. I might be way off the key, but I think that's where we are.

## Negro Folk Songs and the Freedom Movement

*The phrase "Black Consciousness" is used by many with different meanings. This essay is taken from a proposal made by Alan Lomax and Guy Carawan at a Mi. Beulah workshop last year.*

Introduction; The Negro folk singers and musicians of the South have created music in ragtime, the blues, jazz and the spirituals which today are loved by the whole world. A few of these songs have served the Negro people directly in the freedom movement; they have been transformed into the "freedom songs" which provide the morale for the integration movement.

Yet, in spite of this, most Negroes today feel rather ashamed of their musical heritage. All across the South there are talented native singers and musicians, people of great talent and originality, who are regarded by their neighbors as ignorant and low-class because they sing the blues or cling to the best of the old fashioned spirituals of cherish songs that Beulah has not yet discovered. These are the carriers of the richest cultural

heritage of the Negro people, a heritage with noble African roots.

(1) FINDING THE SONGS AND THE SINGERS IN MISSISSIPPI

Two or three trained graduate students in the field of folk lore could spend six months apiece in the state, collecting and recording and locating singers. These folklorists would operate under fellowships and would be introduced into the Mississippi community by SNCC. The tapes they make would provide a new audience for these singers, an audience interested in young people, who wish to learn from them. By giving these choirs and folks musicians an outlet and a place in the sun, SNCC would reach into hidden corners in the community it cannot tap at present and can involve many people otherwise not involved in its activities. When a person finds a place to speak up

and express himself, he has already made that first, important step toward self-realization and political development. (2) TEACHING THE YOUTH OF THE SOUTH THE VALUE OF NEGRO FOLK MUSIC

The best and most complex aspects of the Negro folk heritage has died out in most parts of the South. The best and oldest folk singing style we know of is carried by one group, the Georgia Sea Island singers. This group, which performs work songs, old time dances, the early shouting spirituals and singing folk tales can help to re-educate the Southern progressive youth in the value of musical heritage of its forebearers.

(3) HOW TO USE MUSIC TO MOBILIZE THE SOUTHERN NEGRO COMMUNITY

We suggest therefore that the quickest and most painless way to bring the whole community together is to organize a public community festival which involves singers and musicians from every sector of the society. A public picnic on Saturday afternoon, a Sunday afternoon assem-

bly of choirs from all churches would certainly draw a crowd, a big crowd. This crowd would be ready to hear its first freedom songs. It would meet the SNCC organizers under the most favorable circumstances. It would feel its own power, for there is nothing like a unified event of this sort to give a group a sense of its own worth and its potential power. In a word, such a community musical festival would be the first step on the road toward total political and social mobilization of the community.

It seems to us that continual cultural development should go hand in hand with political and educational development. The healthiest cultural growth always is rooted in the resources native to the people of an area. This has been the history of the development of the cultures of Greece and Rome, of France and England and Germany. In one way or another, it must be the basis for the development of the culture of the Negro people, who have a unique African heritage and heroic history in the USA.



## LAND REFORM, continued from page 8

drainage system, but they were not at all willing to sign contracts for surface water and thus be subject to acreage limitation. The strategy was simply to refuse to accept the water and wait until the groundwater table was stabilized; they would end up getting the water anyway.

If allowed to do this the burden of payment for the project will fall on the non-excess land holder and the taxpayer. This means that Southern Pacific, which owns 120,000 acres of land in the Westlands-Westplains Water District, need just sit back and count the benefits as they roll in. There is no possible way to prevent SP from benefitting; their holdings are checker-boarded in 640 acre segments.

In the 160-acre limitation lies the germ of the answer to many of the problems of land ownership patterns and the farm labor situation that has in many ways shaped the history of California. Good laws alone are not enough.

What is needed is a rigid application of public policy by the Executive branch to the letter and intent of the law. Fr. James Vizzard of the Washington Office of the Catholic Rural Life Conference speaking to a conference of small farmers and consumers said June 18, "If acreage limitation is not enforced rigidly by Interior, I have informed them that not only will we withdraw support for western reclamation projects, but we will actively oppose them." This is no idle threat. It is a very real possibility that, unless the Executive branch really moves towards enforcement of the law, the west can be dried up.

The high assessed value of the land makes enforcement difficult. On the DiGiorgio Corporation's Sierra Vista Ranch, for instance, the typical 160 acre section is appraised at about a quarter of a million dollars. Few individuals except the already wealthy can afford land appraised so high.

If only the wealthy can buy excess lands then the whole intent of the law is being subverted. Transfer of money from the hands of one wealthy person to another is not land reform. It is not going to do anything about the social and economic injustices that exist.

If the Executive branch is really interested in enforcing the law one action that it could take would be to actively support a bill now being drafted. The bill, to be introduced by Senator Gaylord Nelson, would strengthen the 160 acre limitation and authorize the Department of the Interior to set up a fund for purchasing excess lands and re-selling them at rates and terms that are manageable by persons other than the already wealthy.

Perhaps some day there will be no farm labor problem in California. The farm workers will all be land owners and profit directly from their own labors. That would be a real war on poverty.

## Terms of the Schenley Contract

On June 21, representatives of the NFWA and Schenley Industries met in Los Angeles and signed a contract covering 450 agricultural workers. The agreement brought to an end the ten month strike and boycott organized by the NFWA and marked a major victory for the union. Schenley is the first of the major agricultural corporations to extend recognition to the NFWA. The following is a summary of the one-year contract which goes into effect on June 22, 1966.

1. All hourly wages will be raised immediately by 35 cents over the present wage scale. Piece work rates will reflect a 35 cent increase as well. (The basic hourly wage will go from \$1.40 to \$1.75 an hour). Time-and-a-half will be paid for overtime.
2. All inequalities now in existence paid vacations will be jointly resolved by a union-company committee.
3. The union will provide employees for the company. If, after 72 hours, the union cannot provide workers, the company can recruit through other sources.
4. All workers, whether recruited through the union hiring hall or by the company will become members of the union. The company will not recruit through contractors.
5. Where workers are needed in less than 72 hours, the union will try to provide workers, if possible.
6. All dues will be deducted by the employer (check-off).

When the terms of the contract were read to the strikers, a roar of approval greeted point #4. For the farm worker, abolition of labor contracting means the end of a system of peonage.

## CLASSIFIED SECTION

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## WATTS, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

stantial segment of which has even denied us a public hospital...

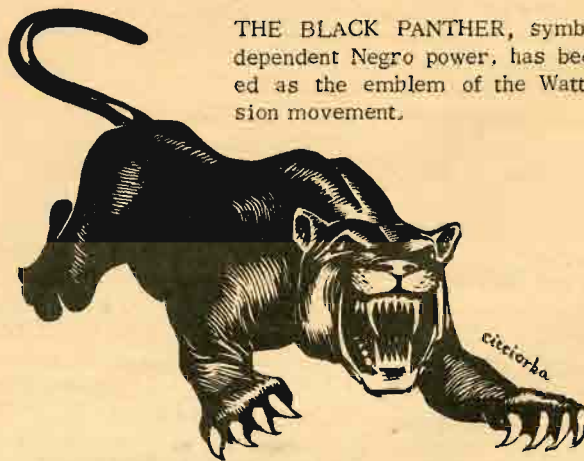
"We shall build a city, as the Jews have built a state, where the rights, of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will be guaranteed..."

Vaughn says, "We see Freedom City as the only alternative to futile destruction and continued violence. When the poor of Freedom City have their own police, their own mayor, and government, they will take pride in a city that was not theirs before. We'll set up a fair trade commission to protect us from ruthless businessmen. 'We'll have art and culture centers. The crime rate will drop."

### Not a Race Issue

Freedom City has come under a barrage of attack from the press. A columnist in the LA TIMES called it "paranoid... counter-rejection."

To these criticisms, TALO replied, "The proposal to incorporate a separate 'Freedom City' in the Watts area is



THE BLACK PANTHER, symbol of independent Negro power, has been adopted as the emblem of the Watts secession movement.

about as paranoid as Zionism. In fact, nowhere in that proposal is the word race or Negro or white even mentioned. The proposal seeks to create the kind of machinery whereby a poverty area can begin to solve its own problems'. . . It can begin to find real solutions to the problems of joblessness. It can imbue its citizens with the economic and political power needed for them to move

confidently into the larger community."

The Citizen Area Patrol is a going activity; Freedom City is a long way off. But a year after the Watts Insurrection, the Patrol seems to be the only step forward taken to deal with the South Central Colony. Freedom City may be the way to pull Watts out of the trap that has been laid for it by Los Angeles. And TALO may be the organization to do it.

## ALAMEDA, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

in to demands of Estuary tenants who were camping-in at Franklin Park. At least 18 families who were scheduled to be evicted on the 20th of June will be provided with housing. The AHA agreed to fix up apartments in the 5 acre tract for these families. Demolition of housing on the 34 acres has been going on since the 2nd of June.

Houses on the five acres are still scheduled to go by April 1st of next year. If pressured enough the AHA may work out some deal with a private developer to build low-cost housing in Alameda city for the remaining 100 or so families. The city will still be able to liquidate the AHA, turning the other two

projects over to the Navy, and collect the \$3 million, which the Mayor reportedly wants to use for a new 9-hole golf course.

If they weren't planning to do this, why would Mayor Godfrey announce that he was forming a committee to study the suggestion of the City Manager that a non-profit corporation be formed that could buy land (with a federal subsidy) and develop low cost housing... when the city already has a Public Housing Authority?

Negro removal? Removal of the poor? Of course. They are the ones standing between the city of Alameda and the \$3 million dollars the AHA has dutifully milked out of them for the past 22 years.

## Retraction

In the article "After the Pilgrimage" in the June issue of THE MOVEMENT, the quote beginning "I think it's inevitable, if NLRA laws are extended to farm labor..." was mistakenly attributed to Marshall Ganz.

The statement was made by a person not on the NFWA staff, in a group discussion with other observers of the Delano situation.

In a statement to THE MOVEMENT, NFWA organizer Marshall Ganz, said: "That may be what the AFL-CIO thinks. But our strength and our power were built without big money. It came from the people. There's no reason why we can't continue to build that way."

## Chicago Tenants Win Rent Strike, Collective Bargaining Agreement

CHICAGO — Tenants in an uptown Chicago building won a one-week rent strike against their landlord in late May.

The contract is similar, though more formal and detailed, to the agreement signed by San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury rent strikers in March. It calls for 17 specific repairs and commits the landlord to keep the building up with the housing code.

The contract recognizes the JOIN Community Union, an independent organization of poor people, as the tenant's bargaining agent. It provides for an election to test whether 60% of the tenants are JOIN members, a grievance procedure and binding arbitration. (The arbitration committee is made up of one member selected by the landlord, one by the

Union and the third selected by both the landlord and the Union).

According to a JOIN news release, in the six days after the contract was signed the 24-unit building swarmed with painters, plumbers, plasterers and electricians hired by the landlord.

JOIN has worked in this area for a year and a half. It was started as an organizing project of the Students for a Democratic Society. An executive board, half ex-student organizers and half community people, runs the organization. The present chairman is Mr. Albert Coleman, a native of Alabama.

Headquarters of the JOIN Community Union is at 4533 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60640.



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# HUELGA

HUELGA  
By Eugene Nelson  
Farm Worker Press, Delano, California, 1966 \$1.50

This is a poor book. Everyone knows it, but no one says it. It's overwrought and badly written, but it's published by the National Farm Workers Association, and the money from its sale goes to El Malcriado, their newspaper, so everyone should buy a copy.

The circumstances under which it was written could not have produced a fine book. Written in the fourth month of the strike, during crises, in a week's time by a young man who came in as an outside volunteer, an Anglo. The style is 19th century melodrama. The good people are "husky Reverend Jim Drake," "big smiling Julio Hernandez," "witty, handsome Bob Solodow," "blonde, svelte, beautiful Wendy Goepel."

The villains are "murderous maniacs," "rash Sergeant Dodd" "malevolent Pagliarulo." This is probably how it looked to someone who said of himself "I am awed by the rush and sweep of it all, it is beautiful and frightening and inspiring; it is the most thrilling and important thing that has ever happened to most of us." That may be how he felt — but the result comes out more full of gee whiz than a Billy Batson dime thriller.

Nelson's fixation with the threats to himself; the building up of run-of-the-mill picketline harassment to epic proportions; the present tense style that begins to stick in the reader's throat — these are understandable and can be dismissed, considering the pressure under which it was written.

What cannot escape is the Anglo kid son of a grower condescension toward Mexicans and Negroes that permeates the book. Indirectly it shows up in the descriptions of the NFWA staff members. The only individually drawn characters are the Anglos and Cesar Chavez. The rest — the people whose strike it is — appear as "shadowy brown faces,"

"brown-skinned shivering men," "dark-skinned, jovial." Any book about a revolution of Mexican-American farm workers that begins by introducing as its first character, "blonde, svelte, beautiful Wendy Goepel, former member of Governor Brown's poverty program," can't be headed in the right direction.

This attitude is followed by openly condescending or racist statements.

A group of white and Negro workers is approached in the field by "dashing and captivating Dave Havens," who begins to read to them "with stirring magnificence," Jack London's definition of a strikebreaker.

"The men in the field watch in awe, a glimmer of something perhaps not far removed from comprehension seems to flicker in their eyes, they seem in spite of themselves to regard the striking and courageous figure before them with admiration."

Nelson makes you wonder whether farmworkers are capable of being unionized. Later, Nelson is talking to a group of Negro farm workers:

"Why don't you people join us? See that man?" I indicate Chuck Gardiner who is next to me on the line. "He went down to the South to help your people — he was beaten by police in Mississippi to help you. And now you people up here won't even try to help yourselves when we show you the way."

Nelson is a white man with a burden. Still the book should be bought. The information on pages 15 - 18 and 45 - 52 is worth the price. So are the photographs. And sales of the book go to the NFWA newspaper. Better books will be written on the strike (One I know of has already been finished): the hope is that one of them may be written by a Mexican-American whose strike it was.

TERENCE CANNON

# THE MOVEMENT'S BURDEN

THE NEW RADICALS: A Report with Documents  
by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau  
Vintage Press, paper, 1966 \$1.95

Like most of what has been written about SNCC, this new book, in its chapters on us, continues to present SNCC as an anguished bunch of young romantic radicals who seek to bring a revolutionary new society to the South and the nation. According to the Jacobs-Landau argument SNCC "visionaries" believed that "organization can be built through openness, honesty, and personal contact". They are becoming disillusioned with this view, yet have no guiding ideology to replace it. Organizing, in SNCC, means just talking to people about their problems. "We're not concerned with time." Nor do we seek to impose a point of view on the people; in this we are basically "unlike the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party vision". The basic thesis is that SNCC romanticism doesn't work; on the other hand, SNCC lacks an ideology to guide its work. Thus the organization wavers between anguish on the one hand and compromise to "more practical and in a sense realistic goals" on the other.

From the beginning, I knew something was going to be wrong. Any observer of the Southern scene who relies on Jack Newfield's Greenwich Village romanticism for his view of the Southern movement is bound to be in trouble. Thus Bob (Moses) Parris, the "visionary" went into Mississippi. In fact, Bob went into Mississippi to see what could be done with local people who wanted to bring change to the State--and the one way they thought they could move was through voter registration.

The big debate in SNCC during the Mississippi period - between direct action and voter registration (which extended into community organization) - is never presented. Yet it is this debate that is crucial for an understanding of what SNCC was then and what it has become.

The most difficult of the SNCC questions - how to organize - is passed over with facile generalities. "There was no urgency in SNCC's approach, for its premise was that to be an effective organizer one had to be involved in the daily lives of the people. Sometimes this meant, as one SNCC staffer wrote, "We might just sit there and build a base in the community.....We're not concerned with time..."

As a matter of fact, SNCC had a Mississippi timetable. That time was not dictated by a "we just might sit here"

attitude. It was dictated by two facts in Mississippi life, one political, one economic. The political timetable was the Democratic convention and electoral politics. The economic timetable was the conscious plan of the White Citizens Council to mechanize out of the Mississippi Delta the tens of thousands of Negroes who could elect county, state and national politicians if they were able to gain the vote.

Another false issue is raised in the author's attempt to present some understanding of what is going on in Mississippi now. We are told that Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer (who isn't chairman of the MFDP), James Foreman and John Lewis, "who are trying to make order out of chaos (with) more practical and in a sense realistic goals have replaced the poetic ideals that Moses personified."

Moses, as a matter of fact, only personified these goals to a coterie around him. In my opinion, no one better understood Mississippi and national politics than Moses. His decision as Parris, to do whatever he is doing now is not, as Jacobs-Landau suggest, based on his inability to deal with his leadership role and the "anguish" it is supposed to have created, but is more likely based on an assessment of what is necessary to (a) organize Negroes, and (b) move the country.

But the deal with Moses as a political, rather than a heroic, legendary or poetic figure, would destroy the authors neat dichotomies: romanticism vs. realism; purity vs. cooption; non-directive organization vs. vanguard party; dignity vs. bread and butter gains.

If anything can sum up SNCC's position, it is that Negroes in the black belt can only achieve their dignity by fighting for what is rightfully theirs: the vote, jobs, good housing, good schools, adequate welfare. The synthesis of the authors' is in mass independent political and economic power--and that is exactly what SNCC is seeking to organize.

There is much in THE NEW RADICALS that I have not mentioned. Chapters on SDS, VDC, FSM, DuBoise and others are not covered. I have written briefly about what I know. I hope others in the movement will do the same about what they know. I hope they will do this because if they don't we will continue to have the burden of explaining what we are not as well as what we are.

MIKE MILLER

## SCLC Statement on Vietnam

Following is the resolution of the annual board meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Miami, Florida April 13, 1966:

What has aptly been called "the gangrene of Vietnam" has in recent weeks made a conflict of confused directions a tragic spectacle. American policy has become imprisoned in the destiny of the military oligarchy. Our men and equipment are revealed to be serving a regime so despised by its own people that in the midst of conflict they are seeking its overthrow. Not only the Viet cong but basic institutions of the South Vietnam society, Buddhists, Catholics, and students are expressing contempt for the bankrupt government we have blindly supported and even exalted.

The immorality and tragic absurdity of our position is revealed by the necessity to protect our nationals from the population and army we're told were our cherished allies and toward whom we were benefactors.

Beyond this, the confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestations to the contrary, the promises of the great society top the casualty list of the conflict. The pursuit of widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

Another casualty in this war is the principle of dissent. We deplore efforts to characterize opposition to the war as disloyal or traitorous because such attacks on dissent are themselves destructive of our most fundamental democratic traditions.

More important, SCLC as an organization committed to non-violence must condemn this way on the grounds that war is not the way to solve social problems. Mass murder can never lead to constructive and creative government or to the creation of a democratic society in Vietnam.

We call on our government to:

1. Desist from aiding the military junta against the Buddhists, Catholics, and students of Vietnam whose efforts to democratize their government are more in consonance with our traditions than the policy of the military oligarchy. The amazing courage they have displayed in seeking to maintain non-violent methods of protest deserves our support and sympathy. They are perhaps the first people in history to attempt to secure representative government in the midst of war by peaceful means. If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta under such manifestly vigorous popular opposition.

2. The intense expectations and hopes of the neglected poor in the United States must be regarded as a priority more urgent than pursuit of a conflict so rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure.

The longer we support a war of such dubious national interest, the more deeply we complicate and postpone solution of domestic problems.

The longer we support such a war, the more do we strengthen the reactionary elements at home who bar us from social progress and urgently needed reforms.

We urge that our government make a forthright declaration that until a solution is reached, no program for human betterment at home will be sacrificed or curtailed.

## GOD'S MESSAGE TO LYNDON

*"He that passeth by and meddleth with strife not his own, is like one that taketh a dog by his ears."*

---Proverbs 26:17

# CONVENTION OF POOR SHAKES UP SMALL TOWN

FONTANA, CALIFORNIA -- The week before June 4th, a rumor spread in the town of Fontana, that 12,000 Negroes were going to march in the streets. What actually happened was the 2nd state-wide meeting of the California Convention of the Poor.

The Fontana establishment, dominated by Kaiser Steel, was moved to provide \$500 worth of food for the meeting; the food was cooked by local women. The City Manager greeted the conference delegates.

Last fall the people of Fontana could get no response to their complaints from the county officials or the county OEO. As a result of the pressure from the two state-wide meetings, they have received poverty funds for Fontana. They also were able to get a man favored by the poor hired by the county OEO.

The coalition of groups drawn together to organize the conference will stay together to work for the poor in San Bernardino County.

The Conference met at Fontana High School. 269 people attended, representing 140 organizations. Many participants were from San Bernardino County. A state-wide welfare rights organization was set up.

One resolution passed by the Convention was the demand of a Compton minister

that uniformed policemen be required to wear nameplates "in a conspicuous place on their uniforms so that their names may be known and used by the citizens."

Another resolution denounced night raids and mass checks on welfare recipients and supported social worker Benny Parrish of Alameda County, who was fired for refusing to participate in a mass night raid and bed check.

Mr. Willie Thompson, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, writes: "(The resolutions) will be put in rough form and copies will be sent to the proper authorities on the city, county, state, regional and federal level. Other copies will be sent to local organizations who are ready to take action on the resolutions. The Federation of the Poor will send housing officials a copy of the resolution on public housing and a notice to the effect that these groups will be coming in to talk to them . . ."

In this way the resolutions serve as an introduction to action. This method, one participant noted, is especially effective in a small town, where the state-wide organization appears to be more of a power than a struggling local group. Mr. Thompson adds, "With the number of resolutions passed during our previous meetings we should have enough material for action programs for the next five years."



# WHY CALIFORNIA NEEDS LAND REFORM

BY BROOKS PENNEY

"Our New England ancestors were themselves, either from their original condition, or from the necessity of their common interest, nearly on a general level, in respect to property. Their situation demanded a parcelling out and division of the lands; and it may be said fairly that this necessary act fixed the future frame and form of their government. The character of their political institutions was determined by the fundamental laws respecting property. . . . The consequence of all these causes has been a great subdivision of the soil, and a great equality of condition; the true basis most certainly of popular government."

Daniel Webster

"It is impossible to attempt a solution of the farm labor problem without considering the basic issue of land-ownership," wrote Carey McWilliams in 1935 in his book *Factories in the Fields*. Congress that year approved the financing and building of the Central Valley Project to bring federally subsidized irrigation water to the growers of California.

In the eastern half of the United States, during the early development of this country, water and land were joined by nature. Because of the natural rainfall, large scale irrigation was never a serious concern of the Eastern settler.

But in the vast arid regions of western America water and land are separate. Nature doesn't provide water as a matter of course; man-made works, reservoirs and irrigation canals, are required to join the land and water. Land-ownership does not equal water-ownership.

This is a crucial fact. It has become clouded and almost totally ignored in many political debates. The average city dweller in California knows little or nothing about this important aspect of California politics and economics.

## Feudal Land Holdings

Land ownership in California, from the very beginning, has been feudal in nature. Large sections of land have been owned by a few individuals. When the gold rush ran out in the 1860's the new inhabitants turned to the vast untitled areas of the state in hopes of farming. But most of the good land had been taken by a small group of speculators and land monopolies. The fertility of the land in California is almost beyond belief, ranking with some of the most fertile in the world.

By 1860 sixteen percent of the federally-acquired land in the state was owned by the railroads. It had been given to them to entice them to build lines through sparsely populated regions (they also got direct cash subsidies that paid for most of the construction). In many cases the lines were never built.

On the western side of the Central Valley, an area that is much under discussion now, the land that was given to Southern Pacific was for the construction of a line that was never built. By 1870 twenty million acres of the land was in the possession of the railroads.

## The Great Swindles

Land speculators had a field day because of the shaky state land policy and corrupt officials (one state official in charge of surveying the public lands left office owning 300,000 acres of land).

Swamp lands had been turned over to the state to dispose of. Speculators laid claim to vast areas of good land calling it "Swamp" and purchased it for virtually nothing. McWilliams tells of Henry Miller, of the vast Miller and Lux holdings, being drawn about a great tract of land in a boat pulled by a team of horses so he could swear that the land was swampy. Through the use of such devices he was able to own land stretching over a hundred miles along the San Joaquin River and fifty miles along the Kern River.

Large land holdings and their attendant problems are not a thing of the past, in spite of the fact that the average size of the farm in California today is about 380 acres. Throughout such areas of the state as the San Joaquin and Imperial valleys large land holdings and absentee owners are the rule rather than the exception. In the western and southern part of the San Joaquin Valley over 64% of nearly four million acres is held in private ownerships of over one thousand acres per owner.

Five land holders hold close to thirty percent of the land in this area. Standard Oil owns 218,000 acres, Kern County Land Company nearly 350,000 acres, Southern Pacific Railroad over 200,000 acres, the Tejon Ranch (L.A. Times and the Chandler family) 168,000 acres.

In the town of Mendota on the western side of the valley a local minister recently remarked, "The only small farmer I know around here works a section (640 acres on a square mile)."

## The Value of Water

Holdings of these sizes, though, have no real value without that all-important second holding — water. Unirrigated land in the Central Valley is worth, on an average, \$100 per acre. If the land is irrigated by water pumped from underground without the presence of any other water source, the land is worth about \$300 per acre. Once surface water is available, from sources such as federal reclamation projects, the value jumps to over \$1,000 per acre.

Two-thirds of the rain in the Central Valley falls in the northern part but two-thirds of the irrigatable land is found in the southern portion of the valley. To correct this imbalance a man-made system of water distribution was necessary — a system too complex and expensive for one or even a group of individuals or corporations to undertake; so the growers called upon the state. A state water plan was devised in 1930 and was accepted by a referendum of voters in 1933 but the depression-ridden state couldn't market the bonds. The state then turned to the federal government, which agreed to finance the state water plan through the Bureau of Reclamation with interest-free loans. This became the Central Valley Project. It is still being constructed.

The Central Valley Project has been

The 1902 law as it was later amended and clarified provided that lands in excess of 160 acres held by the individual shall not receive water if the owner refuses to sign a valid, recordable contract with the Department of the Interior for the sale of any lands held in excess. An "anti-speculation" provision of the law provides that the excess lands are to be assessed by the Department of the Interior at a rate that doesn't include the added value that comes from the presence of federally subsidized water.

The concept behind this law is very simple: when we export it to other countries we call it land reform.

Be it Viet Nam or where-ever-else the United States recognizes large land holdings and absentee owners as socially evil. It is interesting to apply this policy to areas a bit closer to home — such as California.

As would be expected, the large land-owners have been eager to accept the subsidized water but have not been ready to accept land reform. By 1944, just ten years after the growers were begging the state for water, they began a full scale effort to banish acreage limitations from the Central Valley Project.

*Business Week* of May 13, 1944 described a four-pronged attack on the law by California's "big land-owners." Their methods for destroying acreage limitation were: (1) seeking specific congressional exemption; (2) use of the Corp of Army Engineers as the construction agency rather than the Bureau of Reclamation since the Corp's legislation does not contain acreage limitation; (3) use of the State of California as owner or operator of Central Valley Project to "side-step the 160-acre limitation"; and (4) use of pumps to draw upon underground water supplies rather than the surface waters delivered by a federal project. The pattern of attack was outlined in 1944 and has been unfolding ever since. The results of each tactic can be briefly summarized:

## WHEN THE AUDITOR CHECKED THE KERN COUNTY LAND COMPANY BOOKS....

The state audits (brought on by the tax assessors' scandal) show that the Kern County Land Company is getting out of paying \$4 million a year in property taxes. The richest farmland owned by this firm is assessed at \$60 an acre, whereas the "fair market value if offered for sale would be a minimum of \$1,500 an

acre."

The California Constitution says assessors must appraise property at fair market value. It also specifies that land and improvements must be assessed separately.

A Kern County Land Company spokesman jumped on the state findings. He in-

the power the large land owners exert in Sacramento. Outright takeover of the Central Valley Project was first attempted in the 1940's. Growers found ready and willing allies for this venture in the State Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the California Water Council (composed of representatives from irrigation districts, chambers of commerce, municipal governments and other such organizations interested in water problems). Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes brought this initial effort to a grinding halt when he advised Governor Earl Warren in 1945:

If the state has arrived at a financial position where it is ready to reimburse the United States Treasury for expenditures already made in behalf of the people of California, and is further prepared to guarantee the additional financing necessary to complete the project within a reasonable number of years, the Department of the Interior is prepared to withdraw from the project. Before we hand back these responsibilities to the state, however, we feel that sufficient evidence should be presented to prove the willingness and ability of Californians to shoulder the burdens of this great enterprise.

This is, if you want to take it over, you have to pay for it yourselves.

The second method to use the state to bypass acreage limitation is now being used in what is known as the Feather River Project. During the administration of Earl Warren it was proposed that the state finance and construct a water distribution system. Governor Brown was finally able to get the voters of the state to approve a \$1.75 billion issue in 1960 by appealing to the water-hungry voters of Southern California. There is no acreage limitation in state legislation. (Some of the largest land holdings in the state are located in the state irrigation service area of this project on the western side of the Valley. The bond issue of 1960 was the largest state bond issue ever approved in the country, yet it is not even a beginning. Conservative estimates

sists his firm never has sought or had any favored treatment from the county assessor. Furthermore, he claims, the company's holdings are assessed on the same basis of their neighbors'.

— Harlan Trott, THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, May 31, 1966.

called "a vast engineering masterpiece designed to move water, California's life-blood and hope for the future, farther than man moves water anywhere else on this planet." When it is finished it will include thirty-eight reservoirs, hundreds of miles of canals, thousands of miles of laterals and drains, twenty-eight hydroelectric power plants and miles of power transmission lines. It will irrigate over five million acres of land, provide water for municipal and industrial sources, and produce more than eight billion kilowatt hours of electricity annually.

The Central Valley Project will take over half a generation to finish. The cost will exceed the federal investment in the Tennessee Valley and approximate the cost of developing the first atom bomb.

## Who Benefits from This?

The important question is: who is to benefit from these vast expenditures of public money — the large land-holders? Are the public funds for these projects to perpetuate the almost feudal baronies that exist? Are the few to benefit, while the many pay? The estimated subsidy per acre of land that comes from the federal project in the Central Valley is \$577. Will Southern Pacific, in addition to the holdings that it has in the San Joaquin Valley, receive a \$115,400,000 gift from the tax payer?

## 160 Acres of Water

The federal reclamation laws, under which the Central Valley project is being built, say no to these questions. The first legislation that put the federal government in the business of reclaiming arid lands was passed in 1902. It imposed a 160 acre limitation on the holdings of any beneficiary of federally subsidized water.

## Water Lobbyists

Tactic (1): Congress rejected attempts at specific exemption of the Central Valley Project in 1944, 1947, 1959 and 1960. Every attempt to remove acreage limitation from the Central Valley Project in Congress has been spear-headed by California politicians. Every Senator from Senator Downey in the 40's to Senator Kuchel have lead the battle for exemption on the floor of Congress and have worked as influential lobbyists to eliminate or subvert the law.

In 1959 the attack was lead by Senators Kuchel and Engle who attempted to attach to the appropriations bill for the San Luis dam a clause that would in effect exempt the federal service area on the western side of the valley from acreage limitation.

## Pork Barrel Engineers

Tactic (2): The corps of Army Engineers is specifically authorized to construct flood control projects in the Central Valley, but along with building dams for flood control they also have, strangely enough, built a few canals and distributed irrigation water. The Army Engineers, called by some "The Pork Barrel Engineers," denied for years that Congress had extended acreage limitation to their projects. But the Attorney General's office confirmed that acreage limitation had been extended in a 1958 decision. In spite of this there has been a great deal of foot dragging. Excess land holders are still receiving water without having to sign contracts to sell their extra land.

## Using the State

Tactic (3): This has been the most successful part of the attack because of

of the complete cost are about \$15 to \$20 billion.

Ronald Reagan has made elimination of 160-acre limitation one of the basic sections of the agriculture plank of his campaign platform.

## Stealing Water

Tactic (4): Reliance on pumps has provided water from underground for large areas for many years without acreage limitation, but this policy is now ineffective: the water table has continued to drop and the quality of the water has declined.

The growers, supported by Kuchel, have taken a more sophisticated approach because of Interior's submissive attitude in contract negotiations for the Westland Water District (where seventy percent of the land in the district is held in excess). The excess land-owners were willing to allow the government to go ahead and build the San Luis Dam and install an expensive canal and

CONTINUED PAGE 6, COLUMN 1

## WOULD YOU BELIEVE: POPE DI GIORGIO I?

Just before the war, Joseph DiGiorgio revisited his home town of Cefalu, Sicily. An old priest in the seminary DiGiorgio had once thought of attending began to muse over the possibility that the fruit man might have taken the rosary instead of the banana ledger.

"I tell you one thing right away," said DiGiorgio. "If I had gone in then, I would be Pope or there'd be a new church."

— from FORTUNE magazine, August, 1946