

# A NIGHT WITH THE WATTS COMMUNITY ALERT PATROL

By Terence Cannon

SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES: "Yorty and Chief Parker are playing political games with people," said Tommy Jacqueline at the Community Alert Patrol (CAP) headquarters. "Their idea is to keep people separated, divide and conquer. The power structure has split the races."

When I first met Brother Lennie, Field Supervisor of the CAP, he carefully explained why white people are not allowed to ride in the CAP cars on patrol. "We are not prejudiced or racist," he said. "If people in the community saw a white on the patrol they would say we had sold out, that's all. People have seen the white man pushing the black, pushing the black. People in Watts want to see the black man doing something for himself."

"We can say - look Baby, this is your patrol. You don't see us getting anything from anyone white."

That made sense, I and Gerhard Gscheidle, MOVEMENT photographer, drove in our own car along with the patrol on the evening of July 1. We met at the CAP headquarters, 8501 South San Pedro at 7 PM. Brother Lennie gave out the route instructions to the drivers.

The beat of the Patrol extends way beyond Watts. That night there were two locations for the group we went with -- the Roller Rink on Sunset near Western and a Taco stand at Adams and Cranshaw.



1938 DODGE CAP CAR, driven by Brother Crook. The bumper sticker shows a black panther with the slogan "We're the Greatest."

Both were meeting places for young Negroes and potential hotspots of police harassment.

Our patrol had 5 cars, led by Brother Crook's 1938 Dodge and Brother Lennie's white pickup.

Nothing much was happening at the Roller Rink. The CAP cars, white silk flags whipping from their antennas, cruised the area. Few police cars were around. About 11 pm the Patrol moved to the Taco stand.

## The Cops Move In

Between 11 and midnight the Taco stand began to fill up with young people. It is a small stand with a parking lot for about 15 cars. By midnight there were 75 to 100 young people, eating, talking, sitting in their cars. The CAP cars were parked around the edge of the lot. One CAP driver was explaining to a young girl what the Patrol was all about, Brother Lennie and Brother Crook circulated through the crowd, talking, socializing, organizing.

There was no doubt that the CAP group was part of the youth community in Los Angeles. Right away you are struck by the similarities between CAP and SNCC



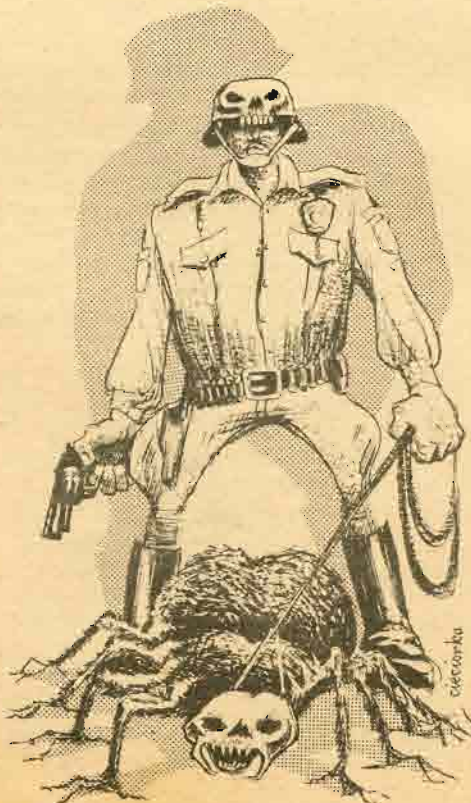
MIDNIGHT: THE PATROL stops at a hamburger stand. Brother Lennie is in the straw hat, Brother Crook at far right.

in the South--the same esprit, the same urgency, direct confrontation.

The first confrontation I almost missed. Across the street and down Adams a carload of kids had been stopped. In the flashing police light I could see the usual figures: the cop, writing, thumbing through the Vehicle Code book, and the young driver standing waiting.

But there were two new figures in the history of Los Angeles there too -- Brother Lennie 10 feet away, arms crossed, watching every move. And Brother Crook, notebook out, peering over the cops shoulder, recording the badge number, the violations, the conversation, the actions, the attitude.

And you understood the meaning of the CAP in that one scene. The young driver was not alone. Right or wrong, legitimately stopped or harassed, he was not alone.



# DiGiorgio Fears Elections At Its Biggest Ranch

ARVIN, CALIFORNIA -- During the first week of July, workers at DiGiorgio's Arvin ranch, southeast of Bakersfield, authorized Cesar Chavez of the NFWA to send a telegram to Robert DiGiorgio demanding immediate elections there. On July 19th, Tuesday, the Teamsters and DiGiorgio agreed to such an election. The following day, after the Teamsters had apparently checked with their Arvin organizer, who sacks out in an expensive motel in Bakersfield thirty miles away, both DiGiorgio and the Teamsters backed down.

The Movement attended a workers meeting on Sunday, the 24th, and saw there the reason that the Teamsters and Company ran scared. About 250 to 300 of the approximately one thousand workers at the ranch attended the meeting. Many Anglos and Negroes attended the meeting. A large number joined the NFWA after the meeting (many already belonged). The fact is that Anglos and Negroes will join a Mexican-American union. Some of the most militant supporters of the NFWA are the so-called "Oakie" tractor drivers. About half of the NFWA membership at Arvin showed up at the meeting. Many of the NFWA workers did not attend the meeting; they lived in Bakersfield and did not want to come out to the ranch on Sunday.

DiGiorgio tried to undercut this meeting by inviting a Teamster organizer to speak at the ranch at the same time. Free beer was offered. Only the NFWA spy appeared to hear the Company's union man.

Another tactic that the Company Union has used to undercut NFWA strength at Arvin is the importation of 'Teamster Farm Workers' from other DiGiorgio ranches. At DiGiorgio's Sierra Vista Ranch in Delano, where elections are to take place on August 30, the Company has lashed off 180 workers. The general support that the NFWA has at the ranch is demonstrated every day. On some days, foremen will hand out Teamster authorization cards and then find them scattered all over the parking lot.

It appears now that the elections will take place early in September when the Emperor grapes must be picked. Since DiGiorgio stalled on the election this month, the workers who were picking the Thompson grapes are beginning to move out to other ranches. This does not mean that these workers won't be able to vote, at least according to the Houghton guidelines. But the NFWA will have to keep track of those workers who leave and have signed no authorization slips. NFWA authorization slips count as yes votes for the NFWA even if the worker does not vote.

(see "Behind the August 30 DiGiorgio Election," page 6)

## NEXT MONTH IN THE MOVEMENT:

Analysis and coverage of the merger of the NFWA into the AFL-CIO.

## URBAN RENEWAL ..... HARRY BRILL HUNTERS POINT PUBLIC HOUSING NEED NOT BE DEMOLISHED!

SAN FRANCISCO --

The Poverty Board of Hunters Point, a low income Negro ghetto in San Francisco, has joined the Redevelopment Agency in its unrelenting war against the poor! They've been spreading the word that the 1800 temporary dwelling units of public housing in the area must be demolished by 1970. In order to replace these units with private housing, they are now actively supporting the Agency's efforts to redevelop Hunters Point.

A survey sponsored by the residents showed that most prefer to stay in their present homes. And why not? Rents range from only \$41 to \$78 per month. At a time when low cost housing is in short supply, evicting them is shameful. Particularly distressing is the fact that they could probably remain if the Poverty Board cooperated with the residents rather than the Redevelopment Agency.

A Poverty Board sensitive to the poverty of its people would have explored every possible means to prevent the demolition of low cost housing in their community. At least they would have read the law. Had the Area Board done so, they would have found that the housing project must be destroyed only if it was not rehabilitated by 1970. If the Board of Supervisors approved plans to renovate these public housing units, these buildings could remain until 1986, another 20 years. Specifically, the State law reads that if:

"the dwelling structures in such temporary housing pro-

jects are rehabilitated to accord with applicable state and local building codes and regulations, such temporary housing project may be continued in operation, but such dwelling structures shall be demolished not later than one year after the final adjournment of the 1985 General Session of the Legislature."

The state law makers urged the passage of this provision for San Francisco because of a critical shortage of low rental housing for minority groups there. It is most unfortunate that these legislators 90 miles away in Sacramento are considerably more responsive to the interests of the residents than is the leadership of the Hunters Point Community.

The recent marriage between the Poverty Board and the Redevelopment Agency is certain to increase the poverty of the poor residents of Hunters Point. Experience with the Redevelopment Agency in San Francisco has already demonstrated that "slum clearance" has been the Agency's perennial excuse for getting rid of low cost housing in the City. That's why the Hunters Point Poverty Board's flirtations with the Redevelopment Agency marks a sad day for the poor in San Francisco.

(for full text of the law see California State Health and Safety Code, Chapter 279, Section 35541.6)



# GIVE US LABOR POWER, CHURCH POWER, IRISH POWER AND WATER POWER, BUT PLEASE, PLEASE DON'T GIVE US ANY OF THAT BAD BLACK POWER

The fear\* and trembling unleashed by the word "power" with the word "black" in front of it is a joy to watch. Not because we want to terrorize anyone: we don't. But all of a sudden a soft shroud of illusions has been whipped away from the eyes of many liberals and middle-class folk: they are being made to see the harsh angry energy flowing up from the ghettos and rural South, and they are being made to see that the recent civil rights acts and the war on poverty legislation have not met the problems of black people in America, nor have they been able to buy off the protest against injustice that is in the Negro community.

Progress has not been made. More Negro children go to segregated schools now than at the time of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision; Negro youth unemployment is four times higher than the national unemployment rate; Negroes receive a smaller share of the total national income than they did during World War II; slum housing is still the rule for Negroes and other minorities--and urban renewal remains a scheme to move the poor and build middle-income or upper income housing in the cities.

The Negroes' faith in the white community has not been upheld. It was assumed for a long time by both black and white in the civil rights movement that if Negroes peacefully dramatized the injustices that afflicted them, the white majority would rise in sympathy and demand that the federal government pass legislation to cure the injustice.

This premise has proven to be false. In the mass, whites in this country do not support the Negro movement. In California this is very clear. The white majority passed a selective-apartheid law. In Los Angeles, the white majority denied the colony of Watts a hospital. In order to get re-elected, Governor Brown felt it necessary to promote a repressive "Anti-riot" bill in the legislature. Not only in the South is it politically unwise for white politicians to identify with the Negro.

Since most whites in the movement or sympathetic to it had assumed that the

whites would free the Negroes, it's easy to see why Black Power raises tremendous guilt on the part of sympathetic whites. As a group, they failed, that's all. And we know it. In Mississippi, the Negro is in worse shape economically than he was six years ago. The thousands registered during the last year have yet been unable to forge their vote into meaningful programs. In many counties, registered Negro voters are still prevented from casting ballots. The Delta of Mississippi has 30,000 newly unemployed people--rejects from the plantation system.

In Lowndes County, Alabama, there are new potentials--and that's where Black Power was born. The Lowndes elections this November may be the most important in the country. (For the best explanation of Black Power written, read "Us Colored People" on page . Nowhere do you see racism-in-reverse (whatever that is), violence or separatism.)

Negroes in Lowndes County simply decided they couldn't wait to be saved by whites, the whites in the Alabama Democratic Party or the whites in Washington. They are not anti-white; they say "whites are irrelevant to the solution of our problems." Nothing they do in their political work in the county depends on liberals or middle-class people. This



Photo: Frank Cieciorka

BLACK POWER? SO NU?

makes sense to us; if one method fails, try another.

We see Black Power as transitional. We don't know yet exactly what it is a transition toward; we know what it isn't. For example, it isn't the kind of integration in which Negroes are supposed to become like whites. If it is "integration," it is in the context of different ethnic, racial and nationality groups maintaining and developing their own historical and cultural uniquenesses.

This kind of "integration" is based on equality. It is based on a feeling of strength in the Negro community, not dependence on the white community.

Black power has become a major slogan around which Negroes can organize. As such, it is one of the most positive developments in America today. We hope that white friends of the Negro movement will understand and support it--but, as the concept makes clear, Negroes will no longer be dependent on that understanding and support. As the cry for self-determination stirs all colonial people, so the cry for "black power" stirs the ghettos and rural slums of America today.

## Vote for Pat Brown... He Runs... He Hides

"Until I resigned two weeks ago I was a member of the California State Social Welfare Board, closely associated with Governor Brown's efforts to eradicate poverty. His absence today, for whatever reason -- and the Governor should know that he is not the only one who is accustomed to spending Easter Sunday with his family -- his absence today makes a joke of the efforts to eradicate poverty among farm workers.

"The Governor has now demonstrated that he is either indifferent or hostile to the basic aspirations of seasonal farm workers and their children. He is apparently willing to continue and expand a degrading welfare system rather than help farm workers establish justice and pay their own way.

"Today in Sacramento, the Governor has turned his back on the hopes of farm workers for social justice and embraced the present farm labor system with all that means for human suffering and continued social unrest."

— from the speech by Wayne C. Hartmire, Director of the Migrant Ministry, at the Easter Sunday Capitol rally after the Delano Pilgrimage.

## WHO WRITES CHRONICLE EDITORIALS-- THE KERN COUNTY LAND COMPANY?

The San Francisco Examiner-Chronicle of July 24 editorialized against the 160-acre limitation of the Federal Reclamation Law. The editorial, entitled "An Outmoded Law," was a classic example of the heavy handed absurdities that critics of the Law have been forced to use.

THE MOVEMENT finds it interesting that the neo-feudalists who control such a large portion of this state and its mass media found it necessary to stoop to such ambiguity, distortion, and outright lying to present their point.

Out of curiosity more than anything else we called up the Chronicle and innocently asked the writer of the editorial where he got the information for his statements. We were told that the statement, "Kern County agriculture is, of course, big business that to be profitable requires big tracts of 1000 acres or more. University of California studies support this. . . ." came from a press release from the Kern County Land Company quoting a statement made by the President of the North Kern Water Storage District!

Several things are involved here:

1) Considering in whose pockets the "scholars" (hirelings is perhaps a better word) at the Giannini Foundation are, there is no doubt that such studies do exist.

2) Water Storage Districts (as opposed to Irrigation Districts) represent "one dollar - one vote" democracy at its purest. A spokesman of a Water Storage District is by definition a spokesman of the big money interests in the district -- such as the Kern County Land Company in the North Kern Water Storage District.

3) The audacity of a supposedly responsible (read--big) journal basing judgments and making editorial comments on a reference source so flimsy as a press release from the Kern Land County Land Company boggles the imagination. It makes one stop, and think about other statements by our moulders of public opinion (Like--how many Americans are really being killed in Vietnam.)

THE MOVEMENT suggests that the Chronicle consult a few more sources: such as the June 29, 1959 issue of the Chronicle in which the readers responded that 58.9% approved of 160-acre limitation and 21.5% opposed it.

Or better, Walter R. Goldschmidt's comparative study of two towns: Arvin (in Kern County where large acreage farming abounds and our friend Di Giorgio holds 9,000 acres) and Dinuba (in Tulare County where family size farms are more prevalent). The way feudal landholdings corrupt life in rural California might interest the Chronicle.

## BLACK POWER THE MASS MEDIA GETS ALL SHOOK UP



Dangerous Genio  
Cartoon by Herblock



"Black Power!"  
Cartoon by Haynie



—Rubenthal, Los Angeles Herald-Examiner

Moths to the Flame



"I'm sitting up with a sick friend . . ."

### THE MOVEMENT

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### EDITORIAL OFFICE:

449 14th Street  
San Francisco, California 94103  
626-4577

### EDITORIAL GROUP:

Terence Cannon  
Frank Cieciorka  
Mike Sharon  
Gerhard Gscheidle  
Bob Novick  
Brooks Penney  
Ellen Estrin  
Ellie Isaksen

### LOS ANGELES STAFF:

Karen Koonan  
462-6873  
Bob Niemann

### LOS ANGELES MAILING

ADDRESS:  
P.O. Box 117  
308 Westwood Plaza  
Los Angeles 24, California

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# THERE IS A MOVEMENT STARTING IN WATTS

SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES — In the year since the Los Angeles Revolt many groups have sprung up in Watts. Some of them are professional agencies, some are church-sponsored, some have budgets of thousands of dollars, some are sponsored by big business, some operate on what they can beg and borrow.

Two of them, the Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations (TALO) and the Community Alert Patrol (CAP) could be the ones to change the life in South Central Los Angeles, a huge minority colony trapped in a hostile city.

"CAP is more of a function than an organization," says Tommy Jacquette, CAP Executive Director. "The Patrol is to reduce police brutality, and protect our people. We don't do this with arms; we don't even carry a pair of fingernail clippers when we go out. But when the Man comes on, the reaction of many people is to panic. We're there to stop that panic, to fight fear."

CAP headquarters is in the offices of

SLANT (Self-Leadership for All Nationalities Today) at 8501 South San Pedro. SLANT is a nationalist-oriented organization of young people in the Watts area.

The Patrol operates a fleet of cars. (The exact number is confidential: "The cops keep asking us how many cars we have," says Brother Lennie, Field Supervisor of the Patrol. "They think we have some fantastic power to be everywhere. We moved around where ever the hotspots are").

The cars assemble at the CAP headquarters every night at 7. They are assigned to beats, depending on where the action is likely to be that night — a Roller Rink at Sunset and Western, along Avalon, a Taco stand at Adams and Crenshaw — any where young people meet. "They're the ones who get it most from the cops," says Brother Lennie. "The monkeys down here are just like Gestapo — not like in Seattle."

The idea for the Patrol came from a similar operation in Seattle, where the Negro community established a Patrol.



Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle

TOMMY JACQUETTE, CAP Executive Director — "There's too many middlemen around — so-called leaders."

## WATTS PATROL CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

alive, it would have strengthened Chief Parker. "A clear and present danger" is always the best excuse for the violation of civil rights.

If you need circumstantial proof for this argument, the cops will provide it. By 12:30 there were 10 police cars in, around, and circling the Taco stand.

I stood in amazement. 20 cops for a peaceful crowd of 75-100 young kids! Out of their prowls cars, checking IDs, giving tickets, ordering kids home, I turned to someone and said "They're crazy — anything could start a riot." Someone could have fallen, been tripped, fainted. They were asking for it, the cops, asking for it.

An officer made a beeline for me. "I haven't seen you around before," he said. "May I see some identification?" I showed him the MOVEMENT press card. "What do you think about the Community Alert Patrol?" I asked.

"Oh, they don't bother us and we don't bother them," he said, in his friendliest way. "As far as we're concerned they're just a few more cars on the road." He then launched into a story about how the week before, the police had brought out bull horns and ordered the area around the Taco stand cleared, and the Community Patrol members had insisted that the people had a right to stay.

"They were directly interfering with our work," he was saying in his best community-relations style. "That wasn't right, was it? We've received complaints from the residents of the area about the kids here."

I started to get back into the car. The Patrol had left the stand and we were alone.

"Oh no, you don't," said a cop. "We're not through with you."

"Your partner said I could go," I said. "No he didn't. You stay here."

They were checking out the legitimacy of the MOVEMENT Press Card.

Then a very interesting thing happened. The partner of the community-relations-trained officer started to talk about the kids at the Taco stand and the Patrol: "What do these niggers want? I'll tell

you, they want to make trouble. They're filthy, a bunch of long-haired niggers. Now most of these colored people — they're law-abiding. It's these trouble-makers, the dirt, riding around in their cars. . . ."

(He was frenzied. I thought: he knows I'm a reporter — he must want to be quoted. I'm sorry now I didn't take down his badge number. I would carry my memory of his statement into court.)

Our Press Cards were in order: we were let go. When we turned the corner onto Crenshaw, the Patrol was lined up on the side of the street: CAP car, cop car, CAP car, cop car. . . .

Two of the CAP patrollers had started to enter their legally parked car. The next thing they knew there was one cop car in front of them, one behind them, and a cop at the window. The rest of the CAP cars, rounding the corner, pulled over, and were in turn stopped.

The parked CAP car was given a ticket for speeding.

The young man standing next to me wanted to go home but was trapped in a



BROTHER LENNIE, Field Supervisor of the CAP, talks with MOVEMENT worker in Watts — "We are the community."

"For example," Lennie continued, one night two guys were standing on a corner about 4' doors from their homes, listening to the radio. The cops jumped out, and demanded their I.D. cards. One man didn't have an I.D. — he panicked and ran toward his house. The cops started beating on the other guy, threw him to the ground, and went after the one who ran away. They grabbed his kid in his front yard, beat him. When his wife came out they pulled a gun on her. The Patrol got there just as a riot might have started.

"I find it fiendish that a cop should use a nightstick on a kid no bigger than a watermelon."

"The people on the street tell us. We are the community. None of us come from outside the area. People trust us. They call us to help locate their kids when they don't come home. We're compiling a list of complaints that people give us — stop signs down, street lights out, unpainted pedestrian zones. We handle every kind of problem."

CAP is black power, Jacquette and Brother Lennie agree. It is community power. "There's too many middlemen around," says Jacquette, 22 year old high-school drop-out. They are the so-called leaders, the preachers and doctors who try to speak for the community.

"If they live in Baldwin Hills who do they think they're speaking for? Louis Lomax, Roy Wilkins, even King — they're living on easy street. They're not experiencing it anymore. The same frustrations — they can't feel them."

"It's time we stopped being defined by others. We came up with the Patrol, not King or Lomax or Wilkins."

What is the reaction of the LA Police Department?

"They're afraid," says Brother Lennie.

The cops keep changing frequencies on their radios. They've given us 40-50 tickets for anything, everything and nothing. They pull us over and say 'Now we got you, nigger, we're going to kill you sometime.' But if you act strong they won't touch you. It's when you act apologetic that they beat your head."

Do you ever try to stop brutality?

"No, observing is usually enough. On Crenshaw and 60th some cops had kids up against their car, going through their pockets. They (the cops) had their hats off and their sleeves rolled up. The kids were in a store; when they left, the cops grabbed 'em and handcuffed them."

"As soon as the CAP arrived, the cops put on their hats, rolled their sleeves down, unlocked the handcuffs, let the kids go, and took off."

The Temporary Alliance is a loose coalition of individuals in the black organizations of Los Angeles: CORE, Central LA NAACP, SLANT, US, the United Civil Rights Committee.

TALO has put about \$500 into the Patrol. "CAP is one of the few programs in Watts that has the support of everyone, young and old," says Tommy Jacquette.

"The reason CAP patrollers haven't been arrested and beaten up," says TALO Public Relations Chairman Chester Wright, "is that they have the support of that TALO umbrella organization."

What are the major problems in running the Patrol?

"Money, of course," says Tyrone Small, Program Director of CAP. "Then we have a tough screening process for those who apply. We want young guys from 18 to 28 who come from the community and who won't sell us out. We've accepted 150 applications from people who want to serve on the patrol."



Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle

TYRONE SMALL, CAP Program Director — "We've approved 150 applications for the Patrol."

hamburger stand parking lot. He had a tail light missing and knew that if he tried to leave the police would ticket him. We stood watching the cops ticket the car full of kids. "There's only one way to stop all this," the young man said finally, very coldly and seriously, "and that's to get out our guns and start shooting." He was

sincere.

I did not stop, but cruised the area. There seemed to be a tactical reason for holding up the Patrol. On the blocks around, cars with Negro kids in them were being pulled over by the rest of the police, while the Patrol was stalled on Crenshaw.

Tickets were being given for:

Frayed drivers license (have any of you white folks ever been given a ticket for a frayed drivers license?)

Unlighted license plates.

Tail lights too blue.

I watched a cop thumb for half an hour through the Vehicle Code for something to ticket a car of teenagers. The CAP patrollers were watching this one. A girl inside the car asked them, "How do we join your club? You guys are great. Ever since they shot that guy (Deadwyler) something's got to be done."

Standing in the dark of a side street off Adams, watching one car of teenagers draw two LAPD prowls cars, one unmarked prowls car, and a half-hour search for an obscure violation, 2 am. It's true that Los Angeles treats the Negro community like a colony.

"What is Black Power?" said Brother Lennie. "CAP is Black Power."

I get the feeling that for the people of Watts, Black Power isn't come a day too soon.

Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle



**STOKELY CARMICHAEL**

This is an important source of support. PLEASE SEND YOUR TRADING STAMPS TO BOX 210, MILL VALLEY, CALIFORNIA 94942.

According to Professor Donald Kalish, who organized the protest, the vigil will continue every Wednesday until the United States stops bombing North and South Vietnam. Response to the vigil has been growing; up to 300 persons have participated.

20 STEINER STREET  
SAN FRANCISCO

TELEPHONE  
863-9417

Titles I and II, which are supposed to deal with the problems of jury discrimination in the state and federal courts, contain clauses which make jury discrimination even easier. The qualifications for serving on a jury according to this bill are the same qualifications (including

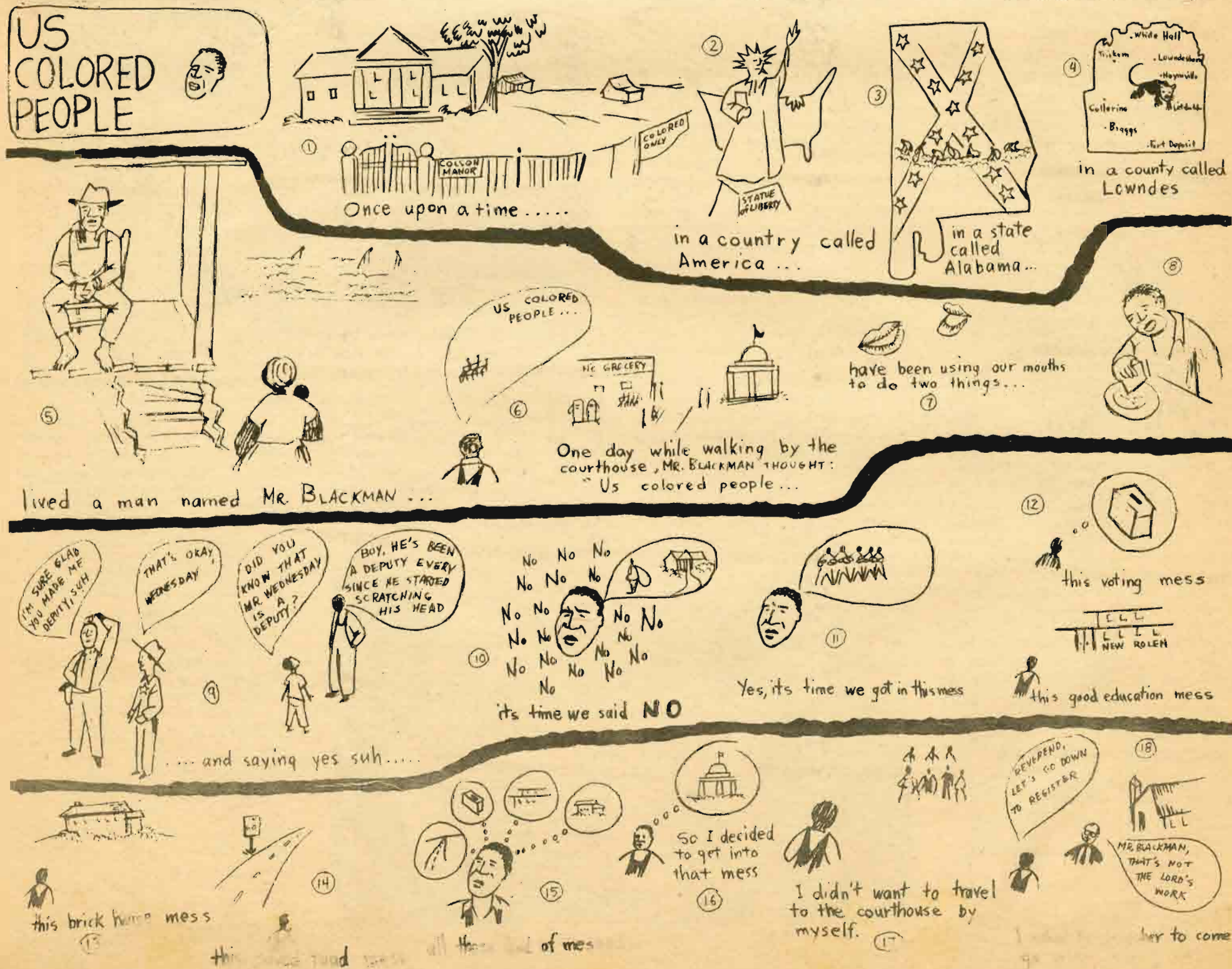
When James Brown got off the plane for a singing engagement, a reporter asked him, "What do you think about Black Power?" James Brown replied: "It feels GOOD."



Titles III and VI pretend to grant to the Attorney General powers which he already has and is not using in education, equal justice, public facilities, and employment. No matter how often the Congress re-establishes the power of the Attorney General to sue for the protection of constitutional rights or to desegregate schools, the power is meaningless as long as the Attorney General will not act when black people are denied the right to

The bill is a sham. Any civil rights organization or congressman who works for the passage of this bill, and any legislator who votes for it, is sharing in the hypocrisy of President Johnson and his Administration.

*This primer was written by SNCC members for use in Lowndes County, Alabama by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Other primers, outlining the responsibilities of the Sheriff and the Tax Assessor, were also used by organizers of the Black Panther Party. We think that US COLORED PEOPLE is one of the best explanations of what SNCC really means by Black Power.*





THE WELFARE WORLD

BECKY MILLS

In 1960 72,000 California families received Aid to Families With Dependent Children, getting checks twice a month for a monthly average of \$163.24. They had 200,000 children, and the number has probably vastly increased in the six years since then.

The money is not enough to live on, and properly clothe school children, and look into job possibilities, husband possibilities, or other paths out of the ghetto and off welfare. Just paying rent usually takes from \$30 to \$100 more than the housing allowance in the monthly grant. Recipients say "They just give you enough to keep you down where you won't be no trouble, won't raise no fuss."

Getting the grant means having a social worker, and usually a steady changing stream of social workers. Social workers, or most of them, wouldn't have chosen the job if they hadn't wanted to help people, if they hadn't had interest and sympathy for other people. But recipients say "they act like it's coming right out of their pockets, you know how they do." Social workers are the next biggest problem most recipients have, next to the size of the grant.

Welfare and Institutions Code of California provides that 1) the provisions shall be liberally construed to meet the intent of the programs, 2) no applicant should be made to feel like a pauper, 3) applications shall be processed promptly with no undue delays, and 4) recipients shall be informed of the rules of eligibility and their responsibilities. All four of these provisions are violated daily throughout California welfare agencies and even by the most well-meaning social workers.

Why? What is wrong? Politics is just part of it. It's well known that welfare recipients are thought to be lazy, incompetent "freeloaders" by many Americans. Welfare supporters have to lobby heavily every time the legislature votes, so as not to lose gains already won. Welfare agencies are staffed and directed by County Boards of Supervisors, notoriously

conservative and responsive to pressure from local "taxpayers' organizations." Actions like Alameda County's infamous "bed check raids" on welfare recipients three years ago and like Tulare and Kern County's refusals to take applications from striking farm workers--these are clear-cut political policies.

But besides politics and the desire of the powers-that-be to get people off the welfare rolls, the bureaucratic structure of welfare agencies is itself responsible for violations of recipients' rights. Recipients are not properly informed of the eligibility rules because they're too complicated. Most social workers spend over two months on the job before they know how the rules work in practice, and then it's a job just to keep up with the weekly rules changes.

Recipients don't know why they get \$100 or \$145 monthly because the budget computations are too complicated. Social workers and clerks often make mistakes, but the recipient has no "coded cost schedule," like a social worker, to check the figures. Even more to the point, many social workers don't know the basis for a decision anyway, because the supervisor made the decision and they accepted it rather than struggle against the weight of the hierarchy.

As a member of the Berkeley Welfare Rights Committee said to a social worker, "You can't put your John Henry on that piece of paper unless you take responsibility for the decision. Don't tell me it wasn't your decision. I see your John Henry right there on that line." Unfortunately, it takes a Welfare Rights Organization to check that kind of irresponsibility, the common corruption of a bureaucracy. Most recipients can't do it alone because they're afraid of antagonizing the social worker.

According to the Assistant Director of Alameda County's welfare department, the social worker-recipient relationship is one of "confidence and mutual trust." He said this in response to complaints by a group of Welfare Rights Organization

members about how social workers extracted signed statements from them about their relationships with men.

The worker-recipient relationship is seldom one of mutual confidence. How could it be when the social worker holds the power of the purse and the recipient doesn't know what the rules are, if any, that guide the social worker? Even if recipients knew about the rules, it would still be true that "a good worker will get it for you; a bad worker will lecture you for asking." The rules are flexible, there is room for interpretation, and it is a fact that many welfare grants and special needs are not equitably administered.

But social workers concern themselves with "establishing a relationship" with the recipient because they view recipients as people with problems, in need of counseling and "rehabilitation." A psychological ideology pervades the welfare departments. It is undoubtedly helpful to some recipients. But for others, it is insulting, degrading, even vicious.

Recipients whose financial problems are due more or less to such social evils as unemployment, discrimination and poor education, are encouraged to believe they don't see the world properly, that the illness is inside of them. Workers talk to them about "the reality." But "the reality" is different for a social worker who hasn't experienced such hard facts of life as police brutality, job discrimination, etc.

Recipients generally feel they could "rehabilitate" all right if they had enough money. Small wonder that they say "You go down to the welfare. You have to get down on your knees and beg. You sit there all day and maybe have to come back again and again. And then when they finally get it for you, it isn't enough to live on."

(This begins, we hope, a regular feature column on the Welfare World. Mrs. Mills is a social worker for Contra Costa County and an "advocate" for the Oakland and Berkeley Welfare Rights Organization.)

NEXT MONTH IN  
THE MOVEMENT:



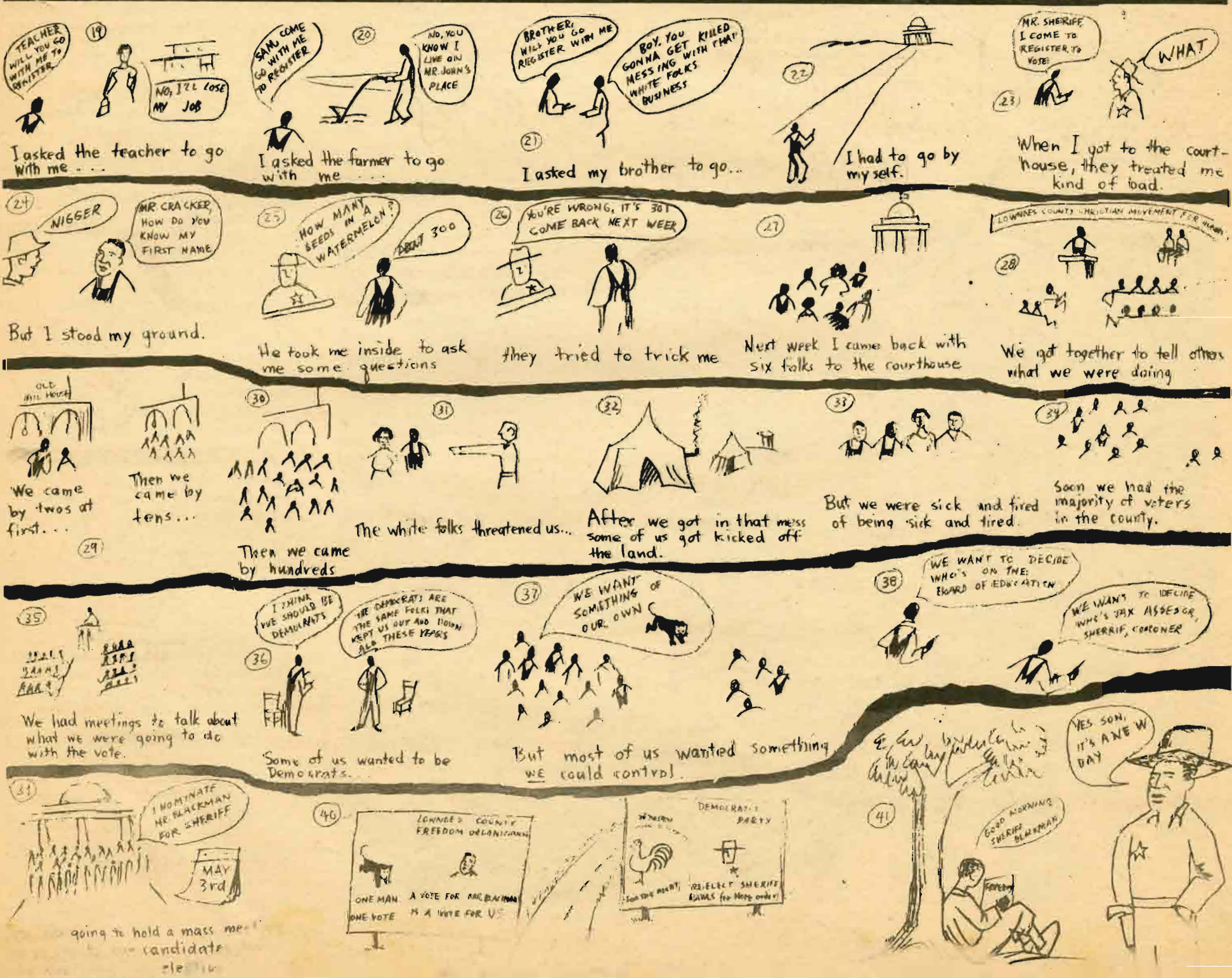
The first in a series of columns written especially for THE MOVEMENT by Jack Minnis, SNCC Central Committee member and long-time director of SNCC research.

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## BEST PAPER

TO THE EDITOR:

My best wishes - THE MOVEMENT gives me more of the information I want and can't find any other place, than any newspaper I take. Every issue gets better.

Jean F. Stewart  
Berkeley

## AUTO ROW

Editor  
The Movement

Sir:

The San Francisco hotel and auto row sit-in demonstrators who made national headlines in March 1964 won a series of remarkable victories hailed at the time by civil rights leaders across the country. At the height of the demonstrations the San Francisco Hotel Association, representing 33 major hotels, signed an agreement meeting all of their demands. A spokesman for the Association termed it a "milestone in community relations." Later a similar agreement was negotiated with Auto Row. The Human Rights Commission, established by the Mayor shortly after the sit-ins, has acknowledged that the pioneering demonstrations facilitated its work.

This is all ancient history. One would think that the demonstrators might have received the public gratitude of the city fathers and, after the customary presentation of medals, desk sets and parchment scrolls in recognition of their services, be allowed to go about their business. But no.

This month, two and a half years later, some 160 men and women charged with misdemeanors are beginning to serve jail terms totalling 4,940 days and must pay fines totalling \$13,289 for their part in the sit-ins. Outside the San Francisco Bay Area there has been hardly a word in the press about these mass imprisonments, although there are some newsworthy names amongst those presently in jail: Mrs. Vivian Hallinan and four of her sons; Mrs. Robert Scheer, wife of the Congressional candidate; Dr. Thomas Burbridge, University of California professor and former president of NAACP. The majority of the prisoners are young people whose lives are being bitterly disrupted by these vicious sentences. Those unable to pay the fine must serve an additional day in jail for each \$5, which in some cases amounts to 44 days.

I am reliably informed by lawyers who represent pimps, shoplifters, bookmakers and the like that the usual outcome for a convicted first offender may be suspended sentence or a token fine. Trespassers and disturbers of the peace--if they are hearty, healthy, white, all-American panty raider types--routinely get off with a simple reprimand. Why this vindictive "justice" for civil rights demonstrators? Perhaps because these defendants are being used as pawns in the coming election campaign.

Governor Edmund G. Brown has the power to extend executive clemency to all the defendants, yet he seems paralyzed into inaction, some say out of fear of a certain television actor. Letters, telegrams and phone calls to the Governor urging him to grant a full pardon would be in order. So would cash contributions to help pay the fines of those being punished for obeying the dictates of conscience. Checks may be sent to: Funds for Justice, Edward Stern, Trustee, 690 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

Yours truly,  
Jessica Mitford

Dear Terry -

Your review of HUELGA is probably worse than the poorish part of Gene's book. 60% of the review is devoted to making a point about the author's personal orientation towards minority groups. The book does not warrant that attack and a book review is no place to make such a point even if Gene's work with farm workers gives you that impression. I personally would question such a conclusion, but that is up to you.

Your point about the Anglo orientation of HUELGA has merit and has not been brought out in previous reviews. I think most people recognized that.

Perhaps what is involved is the whole question of non-minority people working with minority groups. This would be a legitimate subject for a paper such as yours. But we are all involved in that one.

Thanks for your help and please continue. If I didn't care about your opinion and THE MOVEMENT I wouldn't take the time to write.

Viva la causa,  
Phil Farnham  
NFWA

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

## CONTINUED FROM LAST MONTH

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.

Only recently, the voter registration approach has begun to be seriously re-examined. The total absence of Federal protection for the right to register and to vote suggests the dimension of the problem. It is clear that Negro voters could change the whole complexion of the South and of the nation; it is not so clear how to get them registered. It is in this connection that SNCC Chairman, John Lewis, speaks of a massive drive to register Negroes in Mississippi this summer. Lewis suggests that only by getting tens of thousands of Negroes into the streets seeking to register to vote will it be possible to force the federal government to enter the situation. But, it is unclear whether the troops will do anything more than preserve law and order. That, as far as I know, is always the role of outside troops. They do not bring justice; they preserve the status quo. It will, I think, require more than a crisis in Mississippi to bring justice to Mississippi. It will take a national movement near the proportion of the March on Washington to force the federal government to move to bring justice

to the South.

SNCC has begun to make the allies necessary for such a national thrust. In Hattiesburg, only last week, 50 ministers, representing Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations across the country, joined with SNCC field secretaries to bring hundreds of local Negroes to the Court House to encounter Registrar, Theon Lynd. At the SNCC national conference, leaders of UAW, Packinghouse and other unions played an important role — though I fear that most of them fail to grasp what is happening in the South.

I might add that SNCC's concern for political freedom is not limited to the Deep South. It is our commitment to political freedom that is the basis of a policy that brings SNCC speakers before political groups of all persuasions, from conservative to radical. At the root of this is a faith in the democratic process even if it is continually abused and if its premises are ignored by the practices of local, state and federal government.

Economically, SNCC knows it faces deep and serious problems whose solution cannot be found on a regional basis. Unfortunately the Mississippi police have my files with facts and figures on the Mississippi economy, so I cannot be as precise as I would like to be. The Holmes County Sheriff also has a tape I made of Bob Moses addressing himself to this question. If I had it, I would stop talking right now and play it for you. To the already existing problem of poverty is now added the mechanization of cotton picking and the use of chemical sprays to kill weeds once chopped by hand. Both of these have been self-consciously introduced into the Mississippi Delta area to force Negroes to leave the areas in which they form a potential majority vote. Add to this firings, evictions, withholding of credit and other economic sanctions against Negroes who become involved in the movement. Add, finally, the total discrimination in new industrial employment, little enough as it is to begin with, and in various federal programs you have a crisis in Mississippi. As Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamer put it one day in Ruleville, "I hear people talking about the panic of the '30's — well we've been in a panic all our lives."

SNCC workers are attempting desperately to cope with this. At the policy level, they have urged a massive program of federal spending to meet social

needs — spending for schools, hospitals, homes, and so forth. They are also seeking ways to work within existing programs such as ARA and MDTA, meager as they are. Self-help programs are being investigated and co-ops are now in operation in Selma, Alabama, and Ruleville, Mississippi. Finally, national campaigns for food and clothing are organized to meet actual starvation conditions that exist for too many Negro families in the South. And, as a sideline, SNCC workers in Atlanta have served as union organizers when the AFL-CIO and Teamsters didn't want to get involved.

None of this is extraordinary. I think the uniqueness of SNCC is to be found in its program to deal with problems of identity and motivation in the Black Belt of the South. Here I feel on less steady ground; the problems are certainly not as clear — and the solutions are more remote. I THINK THERE IS A BELIEF WIDESPREAD IN SNCC THAT EVERY MAN MUST BE REACHED: THERE IS A BELIEF IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL; THEIRS IS A COMMITMENT TO THE CREATION OF THOSE INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH EACH PERSON CAN EXPRESS THAT WHICH IS IN HIM. This is the Beloved Community of which John Lewis speaks. SNCC is really concerned with the development of new men — not in the future, not the product of a transitional period, not the result of the work of a self-conscious apparatus creating conditions for this kind of freedom after other problems are solved, but new men who are developed and who develop themselves in the process of the struggle for freedom. THUS THE FIRST PRIORITY IN EVERY SNCC PROJECT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP; THUS IN SNCC IS THERE THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACIAL HISTORY, THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEEDS TO ELIMINATE FROM BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THE DESIRE TO BE WHITE, BUT, AND EQUALLY IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY FOR MOST OF US HERE, IS THE VIEW THAT THE CONSCIOUSNESS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE EXCLUSION OF WHITES FROM THOSE TO BE SAVED. BORROWING FROM THE NATIONALISTS, THEN RISING ABOVE THEM, SNCC IS CREATING IN ITS COMMUNITY CENTER PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH, THE INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH THE FULLNESS OF FREE MEN WILL BE EXPLORED AND

IN WHICH THE NEEDS OF MEN FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM — LITERACY, HISTORY, HEALTH, CHILD CARE, AND SO ON — WILL BE MET.

I was struck, when John Lewis was here, by the ease with which he discussed the need for an integrated America and the need for a black identity — the two were not exclusive, rather each the necessary counterpart of the other. AND IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH LOCAL AFRO-AMERICANS, HE WAS NOT OUTFLANKED IN A COMMITMENT TO THE BLACK REVOLUTIONS OF AFRICA. THESE LEWIS SEES AS PART OF WHAT HE IS BUILDING. TO BE STUDIED AND TO BE A PART OF, BUT NOT TO MECHANICALLY APPLY TO THE CONDITIONS HE FACES.

As the break with the past was a necessary condition for the emergence of this fresh movement in the South, so is the new international situation part of what will be its success. The world is a more complicated place today than many thought it to be. I was in an informal gathering with some of the recent visitors from the Soviet Peace Committee and we were discussing the Sino-Soviet dispute. The discussion triggered a series of thoughts: China trades on nationalism in its dealings with the third world; Spain trades with Cuba; France affords recognition to China and accepts the Oder-Nisse Line; the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. move hesitatingly toward détente. This setting is part of the world which makes SNCC possible as something new in America.

I would like, in concluding, to return to an earlier statement I made and here modify it. I guess I haven't lost the academic habit of the footnote. I said that SNCC's early isolation was valuable and traced it to the period of McCarthyism. I think it also must be said that a price is paid for that isolation. The price is the loss of a continuity with the past and, with that, the danger of refusing to learn from history. In part, we in SNCC try to resolve this by discussing what we are and where we're going with as many people and groups as will give us a platform. No two SNCC workers will sound alike. — I hope I've made that clear — but there is also a core of shared values, and I hope I've made that clear too. I think a phrase used by Chuck McDew is apt to conclude "We who have fought to make the world safe for democracy must now fight to make democracy safe for the world."

MIKE MILLER

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# WHY KENNEDY OPPOSES SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

## Those U.S. Dollars Again!

(An editorial from SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA, June 24, 1966, SPOTLIGHT is a publication of the African National Congress of South Africa, headquartered in exile at Dar Es Salaam.)

While African states that have recently achieved independence struggle to eradicate the grinding poverty, disease, illiteracy and other social ills left in the wake of colonialism, at the southernmost tip of Africa there is a Republic where old and new colonialist forces outdo one another to pour in capital investments.

This economic activity of the imperialist countries is extraordinary and glaring because in the rest of newly independent Africa they have left behind a legacy of underdevelopment and the social problems related to it. One could justifiably ask why the streams of investment and trade has bypassed needy Africa and why it continues to flow into a fascist police-state that stands condemned in the eyes of progressive mankind.

The USA occupies second place to Britain in the field of investments in South Africa. Instead of honoring the Resolutions of such bodies as the United Nations, the Committee of Experts of the U.N. and the International Conference on Economic Sanctions on South Africa, we see the United States taking up a shameful position of defender of the base upon which White privilege is entrenched and where it thrives -- economic exploitation of cheap African labor in South Africa.

Now let us examine why the U.S. continues to shore up the economic structure of apartheid with millions of dollars. . . Profits from investments in South Africa are among the highest in the world for American investors, having risen from an average return of 19.7% in 1961 to 26% in 1963. In some cases, the ratio of earnings to investments has been 30% and since 1958 the average return has been 12.5%. To understand the significance of these figures one should compare them with the average return of 6.6% for American investments in Western Europe, and 5.5% for the overall average.

Since 1958 according to the Moorgate and Wall Street Review in 1964, profits from U.S. investments in South Africa have been higher than in any country except West Germany. These astronomical returns on their investments in South Africa have triggered off an avalanche-

increase of U.S. companies in that country: from 85 in 1960 to 180 in 1965. We should emphasize the fact that the 26% return which the American corporations receive on their capital outlays guarantees them recovery of their entire capital in 4 years after which the returns will represent nothing other than unadulterated exploitation. This is the basis of American refusal to apply economic sanctions against South Africa.

For the same reason, Robert Kennedy has impetuously allowed his personality and the prestige of his deceased brother, President J.F. Kennedy, to be used in this dirty propaganda campaign against the imposition of sanctions on South Africa. There is hardly a shred of economic or political justification for Kennedy's assumption that the economic boom in South Africa breaks down apartheid and liberates the oppressed.

The Verwoerd government has taken measures to deprive the Africans of any economic benefit that might have accrued to them from the boom. The present gap between White and African economic levels is governed by the political set-up in South Africa which ensures that the benefits of the boom shall flow mainly to the

privileged white group more than to the Africans, thus further strengthening White domination.

In 1963 the Standard Bank estimated the average per capita income of Whites as 17 times higher than Africans, and the Bantu Wages and Productivity Association reported in 1965 that more than 45% of African workers in commerce and industry were paid below the poverty datum line, which is about \$67 a month.

But the fallacy of the Kennedy argument is forcefully exposed by an examination of African wages in the building trade and in mining. In the building industry African wages were fixed in July 1964 at \$7.50 per week whilst the Whites averaged \$82 a week without any limitation. In the mining industry African wages have fallen from \$203 per year in 1935 to \$196 in 1960, whilst those of Whites rose from \$2264 per year to \$3214 for the same period. Africans have no political rights, their trade unions are unrecognized and it is illegal for them to strike. Africans are denied freehold ownership of land even in the Bantustans.

We hope Mr. Kennedy will mend the error of his views on sanctions against South Africa.

### THERE'S TWO SIDES TO EVERY QUESTION DEPARTMENT:

We found this card under our car windshield at San Francisco State College.

DON'T LIKE THE DEAL THEY JUST PULLED ON PROP. 13?

WRITE: AMERICAN NAZI PARTY  
P. O. BOX 5066 (D) SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

WE'LL GET ACTION....

### MIME TROUPE AUGUST SCHEDULE



Moliere's THE MISER is being performed by the San Francisco Mime Troupe in commedia dell'arte style throughout San Francisco. This is the 6th season for the free summer park shows. The Mime Troupe will be in the following parks:

August 6 and 7-Lafayette Park  
August 13 and 14-Hunter's Point Park

August 20 and 21-Aquatic Park  
August 26-University of California Lower Plaza

Sept. 3 and 4-Washington Square Park

Each show begins at 2 p.m.

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## DI GIORGIO ELECTION CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

ERS, AND FOREMEN. A GREEN BALLOT WILL BE USED FOR ALL OTHER EMPLOYEES, e.g. cooks and carpenters. White is the color of the NFWA authorization slip; green is the color of the Teamster authorization slip.

8.-VOTERS MAY CHOOSE "NO UNION"

9.-IF THE NFWA WINS THE FIELD WORKERS VOTE AND TEAMSTERS WIN THE OTHER WORKERS, THERE WILL BE TWO UNIONS. Since field workers far outnumber "other workers" on the ranches, it is probable that NFWA would carry the whole of the workers. With this provision the Teamsters will probably carry the "green ballot workers".

10.-Eligibility to vote:

a. Any worker who has worked at one of the DiGiorgio ranches for 15 days or more between September 1965 and August 30, 1966 can vote. This provision is important, since Mexican nationals may vote, a provision to which the Teamsters have never agreed in the past (see: Are the Teamsters A Union?, pg.6).

b. A UNION AUTHORIZATION IS COUNTED AS A YES VOTE FOR THE UNION, EVEN IF THE WORKER DOES NOT VOTE. The NFWA is working hard to get as many authorizations as it can before the workers leave the area for any reason.

11.-THE LOSER CANNOT BOYCOTT OR ASK FOR ANOTHER ELECTION FOR THE PERIOD OF ONE YEAR.

12.-NFWA SHALL SUSPEND THE STRIKE AND BOYCOTT, IF THEY ACCEPT THE ELECTION PROCEDURE.

13.-NFWA MUST ACCEPT ALL THESE RECOMMENDATIONS, IF IT ACCEPTS ANY.

## WHEN FEDERAL TROOPS SEATED NEGROES IN THE GEORGIA LEGISLATURE

In the Georgia election of 1868, despite fraud and intimidation, three Negroes were elected to the State Senate and 29 Negroes to the House of Representatives. The Legislature ratified the 14th Amendment and Georgia was restored to the United States.

The state being re-admitted, federal military authority was withdrawn. As soon as Congressional power, in the form of the military, was withdrawn, the state legislature turned on its Negro members. White Democrats announced that "their presence is an offense" and declared that Negroes were not citizens and could not hold office.

### Negroes Expelled

By September, 1868, the Georgia Senate had expelled its three Negro senators, by a 24 to 11 vote. A resolution was introduced and passed by the House of Representatives expelling their Negro members. Four Negroes, "who were so white their Negro blood could not be proven," were allowed to remain.

Henry McNeal Turner, one of the Negro state legislators, stated, "It is very strange, if a white man can occupy on this floor a seat created by colored votes, and a black man cannot do it. . . If Congress has simply given me merely sufficient civil and political rights and made me a mere political slave for the Democrats, or anybody else—giving them the opportunity of jumping on my back in order to leap into political power—I do not thank Congress for it. Never, so help me God, shall I be a political slave."

In September, 1868, the Legislature said all colored members were ineligible. They placed in their seats the people who had received the next largest number of votes. This action was a signal for the Klu Klux Klan to begin widespread terrorist activities against Negroes and poor whites.

Immediately Negroes began a movement to reseat their elected officials. Republicans brought the case to the State Supreme Court. Two of the Three judges decided that Negroes were eligible for seats in the Legislature.

A meeting of 136 Negro delegates at Macon, Georgia resulted in a report to

be taken before the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction. The Negro delegates demanded that the Federal Government act in their behalf.

### Federal Reply Firm

The Federal response was firm and fast. A white Senator from Georgia was denied his seat in Congress on the grounds that Georgia had failed to comply with the regulations governing her re-admission to the Union. The Committee on Reconstruction in the House of Representatives took testimony on Georgia: 260 cases of violence against Negroes, in the period from January to November, were cited. The question was raised whether Georgia's vote would be counted in the Presidential elections. Members of the House of Representatives from Georgia were excluded from their seats in Congress.

In March, 1869, Georgia refused to ratify the 15th Amendment. (The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.) Congress then passed a bill which made ratification of the 15th

Amendment necessary before Georgia could be readmitted to the Union.

### Troops Used

As a result of this act, Georgia again came under Federal military rule. All people who had originally been elected to the Georgia Legislature were called to a special session by General Meade, who was in charge of the Federal troops.

The session convened and passed the 14th and 15th Amendments. They not only recognized the 24 Negro representatives, but paid them for salary lost the previous year.

Federal power had enforced the law of the land. For a brief period of time, the Negroes of Georgia had the Federal government on their side, and their own officials in the State Legislature. One hundred years later a Negro representative, duly elected by his constituents, in Atlanta, Georgia, was denied his seat in the State Legislature. The Federal government would not enforce his election. The 14th and 15th Amendments are still unenforced.

