

Mr. & Mrs. Grant Cannon  
4907 Klatte Road  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45244

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## CESAR CHAVEZ INTERVIEW

# THE MOVEMENT

APRIL 1967

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## \$23,000,000 OAKLAND FRAUD !

### Federal Money for Segregation and Scab Labor

Oakland, California

The Economic Development Administration announced in April 1966 that it would put \$23 million into this city to create jobs for 'hard-core unemployed' in order to avert possible racial violence. However, the effect of the EDA activities has been to continue the widening gap between the white worker and the black worker.

The firms receiving funds prefer black workers—BLACK WORKERS ARE NOT UNION; THEY CAN BE FIRED AS SOON AS AUTOMATION COMES INTO THE PLANT. Thus the EDA is creating a disposable work force for for Oakland's businessmen.

Serious training programs (such as The Skills Center) which were proposed in Oakland, where men and women would receive an education as well as skilled job training, received little support from EDA or from some unions such as the lily-white construction workers union. EDA claimed that the training program took too long and cost too much.

The politicians wanted a fast, visible program in Oakland. They poured in money and made headlines in the local press. But they have harmed more than they have helped. They are in the process of creating a new work force for this country. It will consist of unskilled workers from racial minorities who are unprotected by union organizations. The only benefit of this liberal reform program goes to the businessmen who get both the federal aid and the workers who will increase their production and their profit.

As one Washington EDA staff person put it: "...a serious and potentially dangerous racial situation existed in Oakland." All of the political figures around the Bay Area were predicting a violent outbreak in the flatlands for the summer. The Oakland police are well known for their harassment and brutality. Unemployment in Oakland is about 10% for whites and 20% for blacks. Housing in Oakland is bad and getting worse. There are overcrowded schools and inadequate health services. The city has been notorious for its lack of action on social problems. Here was a perfect situation for the bright young men of the Federal Government to prove their ability to stop social unrest and potential riots with "progressive" programs.

## ONE YEAR LATER

The business loans section of the program received much publicity at the outset of the project. Some of the loans had been started under Area Redevelopment Administration, a forerunner of EDA in the Department of Commerce, which was closed down in 1965.

The firms seeking EDA loans already employed minority group workers. Very few employers cared about the race of their perspective employees — as long as they were willing to endure long hours and bad working conditions. They had found that Negro workers, because they are non-union and have a harder time finding work than white workers, will accept these conditions.

"They (minority group workers) accept longer hours than most people. Since we have a lot of night work, mostly minority group people apply for the jobs." Those businesses which began their loan application under EDA generally had no qualms about hiring Negro and Mexican-American workers. Said one businessman in the process of trying to get a loan: "I will have no problem in hiring Negroes since 65% of the people working in the warehouse at the present time are Negroes and they are really good at this job because they really work hard." Or, as another businessman put it: "The lower mentality groups work here now, so it's no problem."

### MENTAL LABOR

The kinds of jobs that will open up for Oakland residents as a result of the business loans are uniformly of an

UNSKILLED nature. There is no job stability in any of the positions, nor is there any chance of advancement. Some of the jobs are warehouse work where all that is required is, "to be able to lift things up and put them down." One firm which has been funded is a car washing company. They pay \$1.58 an hour for car cleaners. There is no training involved. A worker could be replaced on one day's notice.

### UNION DEALS

Some of the firms will allow their workers to be unionized. One firm however, made an "off-the-record" agreement with the Paper Workers Union, which involved "not pressing for unionization" because the prospective workers would be from minority groups.

### LILY-WHITE UNIONISM

EDA faced an obstacle in the form of the Bay Area unions. Many of the EDA projects involved long-term construction work. The impact of the EDA money would be much greater if the construction work could be parceled out to some of Oakland's "hard-core" unemployed. The Building Trade Unions were responsible for stopping any action on this front.

EDA head Eugene Foley attempted to get an agreement with the Building Trades which would apply to those working on the EDA construction. Foley was not successful in his negotiations with the Building Trades — their policy of exclusive apprenticeship and lily-white union membership remained unchanged. Foley dropped the project without much of a fight.

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# EDITORIAL

# HELL NO

# TO THE

# DRAFT!

The war in Vietnam is the third act of genocide committed by the United States. The first was the enslavement of African people which cost the lives of millions of men, women and children. The second was the wanton destruction of the civilization of the American Indian. Now Vietnam, where already we have used more bombs and other weapons that kill people than were used in all of World War II. And Vietnam is smaller than California.

### NO GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

The United States government, which commits this murder in Vietnam, is not a government of the people.

Black people have fought for their freedom for over 400 years. They still cannot vote without having their homes and churches burned, their families, jobs and lives threatened.

In Harlem having the vote means nothing; Congress has decided that the people of that ghetto cannot choose who will represent them.

In Puerto Rico people are drafted into the U.S. Army even though they have no representation in Congress.

### PROTEST AND REBELLION

Many people have understood what is happening in this country. They have protested the Vietnam war. They have fought for the right to vote. They have protested against police brutality in their communities. They have rebelled against murder by the police in Harlem, Chicago, Watts, Atlanta and Hunter's Point. These people are blacks in the North and the South, farm workers, poor whites, factory workers and students. They are the youth of the country. They are the people who are forced to fight the government's wars while sons and lovers of the rich are given special treatment draft boards.

The Declaration of Independence states that the inalienable rights of all men include Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. It continues: "That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it."

The Supreme Court has said that the draft is not unconstitutional because the federal government has the right to defend

itself and wage effective war. But the government does not have the right to defend itself and wage effective war without the consent of the governed.

### WE OPPOSE THE DRAFT

We oppose the draft because it forces the people of the United States to commit genocide on the people of Vietnam.

We oppose the draft because it uses people to fight a war which is not in the interests of those people. This is a war which brings profits only to large corporations. It brings death and destruction to our people and the people of Vietnam.

We oppose the draft because the draft gives the government the power to kill the people of Vietnam, the poor people in the United States.

### WE OPPOSE A NATIONAL SERVICE

We oppose the draft in all forms, including the recently proposed National Service. The National Service idea would have young people register at 16. The government would test them to find where they were deficient in mental and physical ability. The government would then have young, flexible minds to reeducate and control.

As the liberal Senator Jacob Javits says, it would be just like compulsory education. The question we must ask ourselves is, "what is the purpose of compulsory education?" It was originally to educate the children of the poor who could not afford private schools. But compulsory education has become the means whereby the government instills its values into the young people of this country. This is why our children are rarely taught Negro History, rarely taught how the federal government broke hundreds of treaties with the American Indian in order to take over Indian land. The federal government is racist. The values its education instills are racist. Thus the racist nature of our society continues.

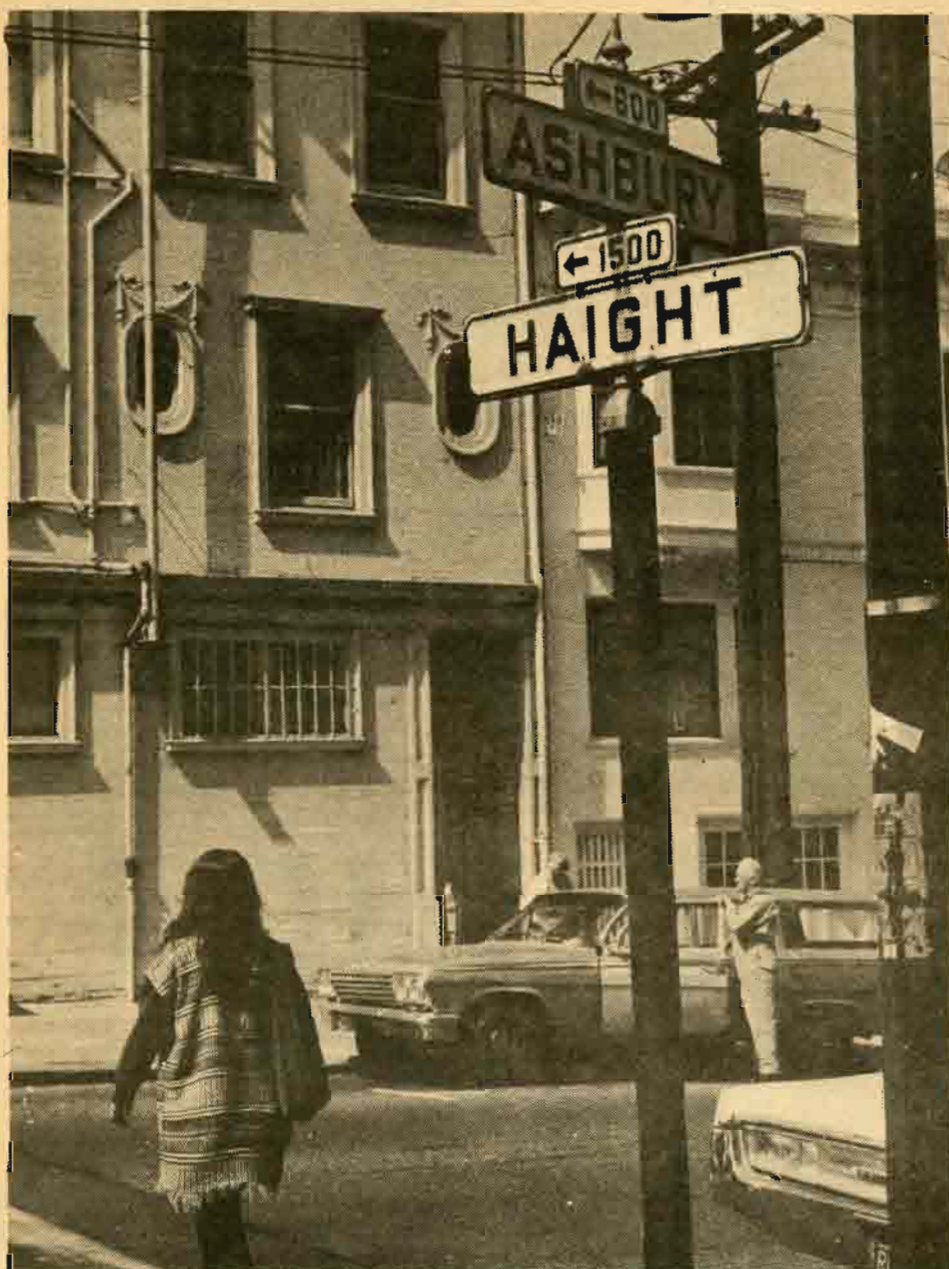
A National Service would give the federal government increased control over the youth of the nation, the people who now protest the government's actions. We oppose greater control by this government which lies to its people.

\* \* \* \* \*

Only the American people have the power to stop what the government is doing in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4





## WHO ALL LIVES IN THE YELLOW SUBMARINE?

THE MOVEMENT went into the Haight-Ashbury District of San Francisco this month to see what has been happening between the hippie and black communities. There has been much written about tension between the two groups in the BERKELEY BARB and other newspapers. We talked with Tom Ramsey, a SNCC worker, who has been working in the area for around three years. Here are some of his comments.

I think that tension between the black community and the white community takes different forms depending on what black people and what white people you're talking about.

There's a real problem with the 8-12 age group in the black community. The hippies are really open in terms of leaving their places open to people, and these kids who come from poor families go in and steal like crazy. That's caused some problems. Then there's harassment by the younger kids of the hippies on the street because the hippies violate the lower class black kids' concept of what middle class kids ought to be. A hippie is not the obvious enemy like the straight white cat with the white shirt and a tie. That's disconcerting to people when their enemies cease being obvious enemies.

### HIPPIES NOT MIDDLE CLASS

There's a lot of tension between the black middle class people and the hippies in the Haight-Ashbury, again because the hippies violate their concept of what white middle-class society is all about. If white middle class culture is where it's at, and you've spent your whole life trying to become a white middle-class person, and all of the sudden white middle-class kids show up, and they don't look like white middle-class people at all, in fact they say that whole thing is not where it's at, it's somewhere else -- that causes a lot of tension. So there's a real coalition between the white liberals in the Haight-Ashbury and the black people to get rid of the hippies. In the terms of the white liberals, it violates their own concept of themselves. In the terms of the black folks, it violates their concept of where it's at.

### CONTEMPT FOR HIPPIES

Amongst the 18-25 black group I really

don't think from what I've heard that there's a lot of hostility. I think there's a contempt for the hippies amongst the black people that age, but it's still really kind of open.

A lot of black guys are up on Haight Street chasing women and this kind of thing. And, you know, this whole thing of coming down on a white woman is a way of getting out of your own bag. The problem is that, in order for that to work, the women have to resent being used, and these chicks don't. You can walk up on Haight Street and watch the guys standing out in front of the Haight Levels, I mean they stand out there all day long and they hustle the chicks as they walk by and the only time they really enjoy it is when a straight woman walks by and reacts adversely to what they're saying. But the attempts are kind of half-hearted when a hippie chick walks by because she obviously doesn't get turned off by it, nor is she offended by it, nor does she get up tight by it.

### CULTURAL VALUES

There are other reasons why people resent the hippies other than this whole question of challenging a cultural value. I really had one welfare lady talk to me about how she used to really have a nice block until all these hippies moved in.

### HOUSING

The kids up there are crammed in about as much as they can be crammed in. They're living 10-15 to an apartment now. As rapidly as welfare families have to move, because the rent comes due and they don't have the money, the hippies grab it up and that's one less house available to lower income black people.

### HIPPIE RACISM

I think also there's a lot of racism in the hippie community, both understood and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

## LETTERS

### "BETSY FLOOD"

Dear Friends:

Thanks for printing our letter. Matters have changed for us here since then. Our "Betsy Flood Victims," on which a valiant handful have worked hard for 17 months -- is no more. We all just came to the end of our strength. We wound up in good order, with special notices in N.O. PICAYUNE and STATES. Our people will know how to begin again when conditions demand it -- which may not be long, as all the flood-slum-debt-health problems remain.

The BFV program did have repercussions. We reached mayor, council, U.S. Congress, and are proud of our support to Sen. Bayh's (D-Ind.) good "1967 Disaster Relief Act" (S.348). Based on grants (not loans) to individual sufferers, retroactive to 1964; cost shared by Federal and State Governments; latter must bring flood-controls up to scratch. If S. 348 passes intact, many besides us will get real aid.

One other change since writing you is, the great improvement of the new PATRIOT, just received (you recall we compared it to the MOVEMENT). We're happy to see the PATRIOT has grown, in working-class content and flavor, as well as appearance. We still love the homey, down-to-earth bluntness, and careful economic-political explanations, of MOVEMENT. It takes all kinds of us to make a better world.

Fraternally,  
Walter & Elizabeth Rogers  
New Orleans, La.

### DIFFICULTY

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is \$2 for subscription to your newspaper. Although I have been a supporter of civil rights causes for at least 25 years, I'm having difficulty understanding the "Black Power" concept and think your paper will help.

Yours,  
Pat Grant  
Grass Valley, Ca.

## CORRECTION

In the introduction of the article last month on California politics we said that \$800,000 million was lost to the state each year in under assessment of vacant lots. The figure was a typographical error. The correct amount is \$800 million. To give some idea of what this means in land areas: San Francisco County has 23% of its usable land undeveloped; Alameda County 62%; Santa Clara County (around San Jose) 86%. In the ten county Bay Area Metropolitan Area only 15% of the suitable urban land was actually developed for urban use in 1955 according to the Water Resources Board.

The Governor has called for constructive suggestions on the matter of meeting the budgetary requirements of our institutions of higher learning. I propose that the State enter a revenue-producing venture, namely, the ownership and operation of the private utility monopolies. Via the right of eminent domain and similar statutes the State has full legal authority to buy out and engage in the utility business. (No other industrialized nation on earth has found it desirable to entrust these natural monopolies to private ownership.) Let me give you some idea of the amount of money involved in California based utility operations. The annual earning of Pacific Gas and Electric each amounts to about \$150 million. The figure for Southern California Edison is about \$90 million. Thus the total annual profit of these three giant utilities alone amounts to almost \$400 million.

### WANTS TO HELP

Dear Movement People:

Am very, very impressed with your (our?) paper -- especially the wide variety of projects you cover -- white, black, black-white, electoral campaigns, community organizing -- it presents an accurate perspective of what the Movement really is -- people working with people for people. Am also impressed with the quality of the reporting and writing.

Don't know the first thing about distributing a newspaper, but have a few contacts in Washington and N.Y.C. (I'm sure you have thousands) and if I could help, I'd like to. If you have some back issues around (like 10 or so), send 'em along and I could put them in some appropriate places.

I am presently a student at the Institute for Policy Studies, which, if you haven't heard of it, is a lib-rad private (no government or CIA \$) res-action organization in Washington.

Peace & freedom,  
Jane Schroeder  
Washington, D.C.

### SENDS \$40

Dear Movement staff:

I have enjoyed reading the Movement recently, and read in your last issue about your need for help. I'm enclosing a money order for \$40, and suggest you use it to buy a tape recorder. Specifically, I just tried one out called the Craig 212, which would be perfect for the kind of thing you'd use it for. Of course feel free to use the money for anything you want; I'm sending it because the Movement seems like the best thing around at the moment to contribute the money I've saved.

I find the Movement especially exciting because I edited SDS's ERAP Newsletter for a summer, and now that that is dead, your newspaper is really the only one that covers movement activity at all adequately, even if you are limited in how big an area you can cover. I've given some thought to trying to start up some kind of publication covering organizing in the East, because communication between local groups here is so bad. I don't know if it would work, or if I could do it even if it was possible. In the meantime, I'm glad the Movement exists. If there's ever anything in the Philadelphia area you want covered, let me know.

Yours,  
John Bancroft  
Swarthmore, Pa.

### THE MOVEMENT

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The Movement Press  
449 14th Street  
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626-4577

### EDITORIAL GROUP

Terence Cannon	Joe Blum
Ellie Isaksen	William Mandel
Frank Cieciorka	Fran Fertig
Bobbi Cieciorka	Mike Folsom
Mike Sharon	Ellen Estrin
Brooks Penney	Dave Wellman
Hardy Frye	Carolyn Craven

### LOS ANGELES STAFF

Karen Koonan  
399-8734  
Bob Niemann  
P.O. Box 117  
308 Westwood Plaza  
Los Angeles 24, California

### CHICAGO STAFF

Mike James  
4533 N. Sheridan Rd.  
Chicago, Ill.

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# BLACK YOUTH AGAINST THE WAR

By Renee Goldsmith

Hunters Point, Calif. It has just been released to the American public that there is a high ratio of Negro GI's serving and dying in combat in Vietnam today. And the reenlistment rate for Negroes is almost three times higher than it is for Whites. These Pentagon statistics on Negro casualties until now have not appeared in public print. But it is a well known fact that the Americans have built and are building their comfort and ease on the shoulders of the black man. Recall the Negro GI from Alabama who died in Vietnam last spring and could not even be buried in the cemetery in his home town because of his color. The black youth of Hunters Point know this scene well.

Why is there such a high percentage of Negroes from Hunters Point serving the armed forces in Vietnam? Jobs are hard to come by in a poverty stricken area; the service offers you a job with decent pay and avenues for advancement not ordinarily accessible to Negroes in White America. Food, clothing and shelter are assured. Most of the males I interviewed were in the ambiguous position of having relatives and friends in Vietnam but were not there themselves whether due to their record or failure to meet the physical and mental requirements.

## "I'LL GO TO JAIL"

The majority of black youth interviewed, expressed strong feelings against the Vietnam war and further stated that they would not participate in such an "evil and unnecessary war." As one eighteen year old put it, "I hope it just stops, cause I'm not comin'..." More vehemently he continued, "I'm not going into no army. They could take me in front of the firing squad, I'm not going into the army." Another youth stated that "if Uncle Sam calls me, I go to jail you know." And if they are drafted and do not cooperate, the example of Stokely Carmichael is instructive.

There does not seem to be a movement of black draft dodgers to Canada

or another refuge as among white middle class student types. But there is a substantial amount of Negroes who deliberately "fuck up" the mental exam to get out of the service. A youth of nineteen years who received his draft notice took this course of "messing up" his mentalexam. He argues that the United States is destroying the traditions of the Vietnamese people.

He stated flatly, "... it ain't none of our concern. If a person wants to keep with his tradition, families that came down from generation to generation, it should be that way and the United States shouldn't try to change 'em. They have a right to follow their own tradition, see."

## "I AIN'T GOT NO COUNTRY"

These black youths are more alienated from the American society than the white liberal or radical. Recently this feeling of alienation expressed itself in the form of a street rebellion in Hunters Point in the late summer of 1966. When I was registering voters for the November election, I asked one youth who had just turned twenty-one if he wanted to sign up. He turned to me angrily and retorted, "Why should I register? I'm not votin'. I ain't got no country!"

Another black youth of sixteen years

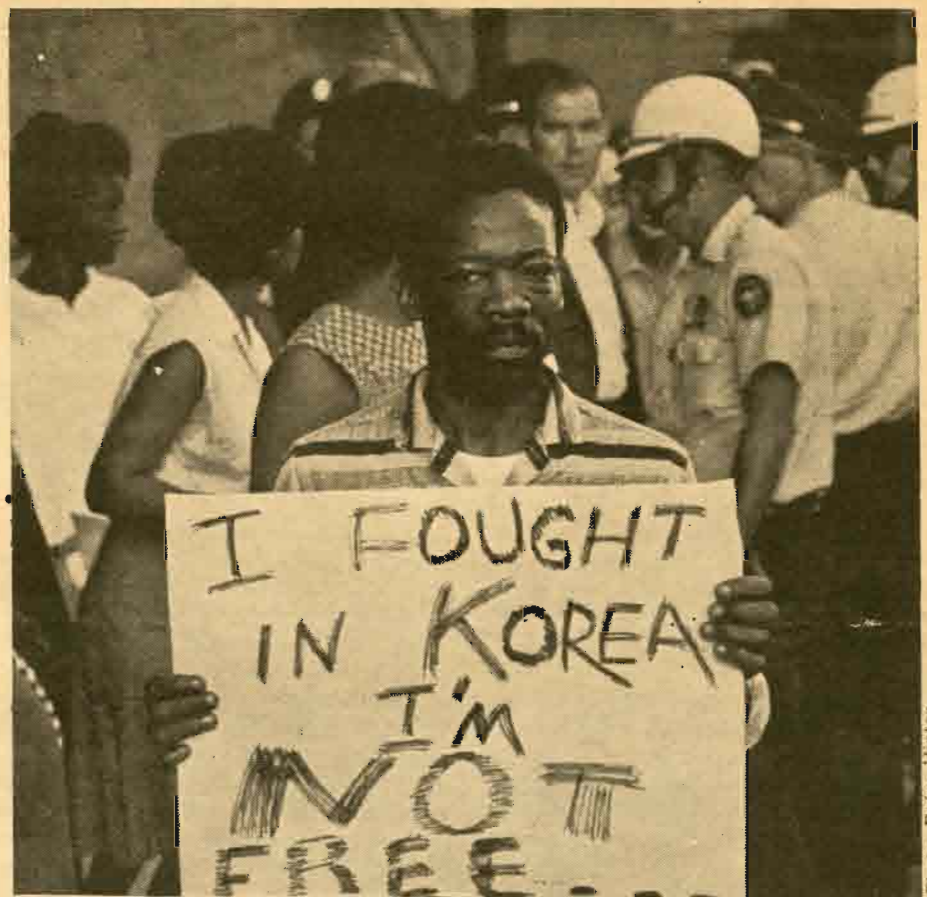


Photo: Rufus Hinton

WILSON BROWN, a SNCC worker, pickets at the August '66 anti-draft demonstrations in Atlanta, which resulted in sending Johnny Wilson, another SNCC worker to three years on a chain gang.

old eloquently makes a case for the self-determination of the Vietnamese people. "Well, I feel like, why are the Americans going to Vietnam? Vietnam is not in the United States. Why do they want to go bother with these people? Them people, let them run Vietnam the way they want to. Our boys over there, they don't need to get killed, but the people who's sending them there need to get killed, the President or whoever. Because that's Vietnam. You can't send no Americans over there to take over that country. I'd fight till I died too, if I was a Vietnamese, cause if I live in this room and you live in that room, I can't tell you when to clean up your house. That's your house, you do what you want to with it... People

ain't got no business over there trying to kill the Vietnamese."

The implications of this anti-war stance taken by black youth, whatever their reasons, are of immense political consequence. One only has to look at the harsh sentences meted out to seven black SNCC workers indicted by a federal grand jury, February 10th in Atlanta, Georgia on charges of "interfering with the administration of the Universal Military Training Act." If found guilty, they could be imprisoned up to five years and fined \$10,000 each. If the black youth of this country united together against the draft and the Vietnam war, there is no doubt that it will have a profound effect upon the morale of the American people. ◆

BY MIKE JAMES

Chicago, Ill. One of the jobs of an organizer is to be present, develop ways that slowly break down people's walls, get inside their hearts and minds and say: "maybe if enough of us care together we can make a difference." In this city there is a new community union, the LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION (LADO), that is trying to break people out of their own private jails, get them together, and build a movement. LADO is slowly building networks of contacts and relationships in Chicago's largest Spanish ghetto.

## PUERTO RICAN REBELLION

LADO works where over half the city's 60,000 Puerto Ricans live. The Division St. and Damen Ave. area is also the home of about 15,000 of the 80,000 Mexicans in Chicago. A large concentration of Negroes live in and around the area. Division and Damen is where last summer the country had its first real Puerto Rican rebellion. It occurred in June, at the end of a carnival initiated by the Mayor and "respectable" Puerto Rican organizations. As might be expected, profits were made by non-Puerto Ricans.

A young Puerto Rican told me about the rebellion. "The riots went on for three days. Nobody knew it would happen, but the teenagers were aware of the breeze; the atmosphere in the neighborhood was a little dirty. A policeman tried to arrest a young man; he ran and was shot in the leg. The cops claimed he had a gun. That set it off. A guy who saw it got angry and set a police car on fire. Things began snow balling: three police cars were burned, young people grabbed hoses and turned them on the firemen. People on the roofs threw rocks."

Obed Lopez, a Mexican who has been the key mover behind LADO, added that the rebellion was "a result of long and growing friction that existed between people -- especially young people -- and the police. Police harassment is a fact here." I asked him how people in the community thought about the riots. "On the second day I saw this old Spanish lady; she yelled 'show them that we won't get pushed around' to some young guys going by in a car. Even the 'solid citizens' who say they can't condone violence agreed that the way the police were acting had to stop, and something like this was needed. Most people in the area were able to understand that the riots had legitimate grievances behind them."

## SAC FLAKES OUT

The community "leadership" responded to the rebellion by setting up the Spanish Action Committee (SAC). Daniel Melendez, a Puerto Rican high school student who was initially involved with SAC but now

works with LADO, talked about SAC. "I thought this was it. Finally, an organization had arisen that didn't tend toward social functions, or wasn't a slow moving sort of thing like NCO Northwest Community Organization, an Alinsky operation tied to the Catholic Church with a Spanish



Photo: Mike James

OBED LOPEZ, LADO ORGANIZER talks with a resident on Chicago Puerto Rican Ghetto in front of the LADO office.

# MILITANT ORGANIZERS DIG IN

branch in the neighborhood, but the militant group that was needed -- the riots proved this. But after the march on City Hall with Ted Valez (from New York's East Harlem Tenant's Council) things dwindled within the organization. People had gotten together because of the urgency of the situation, but had no long range perspective. The leadership didn't see the relationship between the problems of Puerto Ricans and those faced by Negroes and poor southern whites. Militancy was only a one or two day affair. I met Obed and we started talking."

Obed cites the so-called leadership's lack of BEING WITH the people in the community, and their REFUSAL TO MAKE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNITY AND OTHER GROUPS OF POOR PEOPLE in the city as the reason LADO started. "A group of us knew a little about what JOIN was trying to do, and we were very concerned with black people's struggle. We felt we had to start a group that would be open to the ideas of the Movement and work within the Spanish community, to help make people see we had to break the isolation we were in and start working with other minority groups. We had to work independently of the machine, and the community leaders aren't independent of the machine."

## LADO BEGINS

LADO started by trying to help get young guys out of jail. Their first action was picketing a National Foods store on the issue of no Spanish employees. The manager was one of the first to complain about his windows being broken during the rebellion. "They wouldn't give us the figures on employment, so we put up a picket line

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# FANON ON TORTURE IN ALGERIA

Frantz Fanon died in 1961 at the age of 37. During his life he produced important political writings which grew out of the revolutionary struggles in which he participated.

One side of his experience as a revolutionary is represented by his articles for EL MOUDJAHID, an organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.

In this and subsequent issues, The Movement will present excerpts from Fanon's writing which relate to his work in Algeria. The following excerpt is a free translation of a piece which originally appeared in EL MOUDJAHID No. 10, Sept. 1957.

The reader may notice parallels between the Algerian and Vietnamese situations. Fanon's remarks on the French use of torture in Algeria seem painfully topical today.

—Gregson Davis

The Algerian Revolution, by virtue of its profoundly human inspiration and its intense cult of freedom, has been proceeding, over the past few years, towards the methodical liquidation of several myths.

To be sure, the Algerian Revolution is concerned with reinstating its rights to national identity; and, in so doing, it is testimony to the will of a people. But the permanent value of our revolution resides in the message which it conveys.

The genuine atrocities which the French have committed since Nov 1, 1954 have caused special alarm because of their extensiveness. In fact, the attitude of the French troops in Algeria is rooted in an interlocking structure of police domination, systematic racism, and a dehumanization that is rationally executed. Torture is inherent in the colonial complex.

The Algerian Revolution, in adopting as its goal the liberation of the national territory, sets out both to destroy this complex and to elaborate a new society. Algerian independence represents not merely the end of colonialism but the elimination, in this part of the world, of a gangrene germ and epidemic source.

The liberation of the national territory of Algeria constitutes a defeat for racism and the exploitation of man by man....

## COLONY IMPORTANT

Wars of national liberation are often represented as the expression of internal contradictions within the colonizing countries. However, the Franco-Algerian war manifests certain peculiar features, although, of course, it shares in a wider historical context characterized by the progressive emergence of movements of national liberation.

As a colonial settlement (and therefore a proclaimed territory of the mother country) Algeria has lived under a regime of repressive military subjugation without equal in colonial countries. This may partly be explained by the fact that Algeria has practically never laid down arms since 1830. But (and this is more to the point) France is fully aware of the importance of Algeria to its colonial complex,

and nothing can account for her persistent and incalculable efforts if not the realization that Algerian independence will entail the liquidation of her empire.

By its location at the gateway to France, Algeria allows the western world to see in detail and in slow motion the contradictions of the colonial system.

The call-up of national reserves, general mobilization, recall to active duty of various ranks of personnel, periodic appeals for sacrifice launched upon the population, increased taxation and the freeze on salaries -- all these have served to commit the entire French nation to this war of national reconquest.

The widespread and, on occasion, blood-thirsty enthusiasm which has marked the participation of French workers and peasants in the war against the Algerian people has shaken to its foundations the theory of the 'genuine' France which would rise up against the 'official' France.

In the apt words of the President of the French Council: "the nation identifies with its army which is fighting in Algeria."

The Algerian war has been waged in full awareness by the French people as a whole; and the few criticisms which have been expressed so far by dissenting individuals merely deplore certain methods which "precipitate the loss of Algeria". But (in these liberal circles) there is no explicit condemnation of colonial reconquest as such, or for that matter, the principle of armed intervention or the attempt to stifle the freedom of a people.

## TORTURE NECESSARY

For some time now there has been a lively discussion about the tortures practised by French soldiers on Algerian patriots. Documents have been published, as abundant and appalling as they have been precise. Historical parallels have been drawn. Reputable foreign observers as well as Frenchmen have condemned these practices.

The Frenchmen who speak out against torture or deplore its continued use invariably bring to mind those pure souls of whom the philosopher speaks; and the appellation "tired intellectuals" which has been bestowed upon them by their com-



AS IN ALGERIA, torture in Vietnam is a common practice of the Ky Army and the United States Army.

patriots... is very appropriate. How is it possible to desire the maintenance of French domination in Algeria and at the same time condemn the means of this maintenance?

Torture in Algeria is not simply an accident, or a regrettable error, or a mistake. Colonialism cannot be understood without the possibility of torture and

massacre.

Torture is a modality of relations between colonizer and colonized.

French policemen understand this very well (they have been practising these methods for a long time). In fact, they have always considered it paradoxical, if not scandalous, that the use of torture has to be justified at all. ◆

## DRAFT CON'T FROM PAGE 1

Vietnam. Only the American people can take the weapons of destruction away from Johnson, MacNamara, Hershey, Westmoreland and the rest. The draft provides the power for the war to continue. Without the draft, there could be no war. We urge every person in the United States to say "HELL NO TO THE DRAFT!"

Here are two examples of what other people are doing to oppose the draft:

\*NONCOOPERATION WITH CONSCRIPTION (5 Beekman Street, 10 Floor, New York, N. Y. 10038)

SAYING NO TO MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

For Draft-Agers Who Have Shunned, or Broken Their Ties To, the System

### STATEMENT

We, the undersigned men of draft age (18-35), believe that all war is immoral and ultimately self-defeating. We believe that military conscription is evil and unjust. Therefore, we will not cooperate in any way with the Selective Service System.

We will not register for the draft.

If we have registered, we will sever all connections with the Selective Service System.

We will carry no draft cards or other Selective Service certificates.

We will not accept any deferment, such as 2-S.

We will refuse induction into the armed forces.

We will not accept any exemption, such as 1-D or 4-D.

We urge and advocate that other young men join us in non-cooperating with the Selective Service System.

We are aware that these actions are violations of the Selective Service laws, punishable up to 5 years imprisonment and/or a fine of \$10,000.

As of March 11 43 people have signed this statement.

\*DRAFT CARD BURNING AT THE NEW YORK MOBILIZATION AGAINST THE WAR.

Some Cornell University Students have formed a WE WON'T GO group which has put out a call for at least 500 young men to burn their draft cards in opposition to the Vietnam War at the April 15th Mobilization in New York. The act is in flagrant violation of federal law. The penalty is 5 years in jail and/or \$10,000.

In a letter of support for the Cornell students Staughton Lynd and Dave Dellinger said, "Civil disobedience... remains essential. The aim of draft refusal must be... not protest but resistance." ◆

## YELLOW SUBMARINE CON'T FROM PAGE 2

not understood. They're white middle-class kids; they've been raised in a racist society. Many of the hippies, say under 22, had no contact with the movement during '64-'65. Many of those kids have been raised with the racist society's built-in attitude toward black people and though they may have liberated themselves through LSD or something out of the status struggle, they have not gotten rid of a lot of those racial hang-ups they have. The problem is that they think they have. They don't understand the racism that they carry around with them.

There's another group of hippies that are overtly racist. They come from the South or they come from the South-west. They don't like minority people; they don't push it, because it's not fashionable to push it, because we're supposed to love everybody in the hippie community, quote unquote. At the same time it's there and they don't bother to hide it too much.

### MYTHS ABOUT HIPPIES

In this morning's paper there was this big furor about the hippies being unsanitary and unhealthy and there was this great move to get the Health Department to come out and inspect apartments in the Haight-Ashbury district. They were going to cite all the Hippies for being dirty and unclean. Well, yesterday, ac-

cording to the paper, they inspected 691 apartments in the Haight-Ashbury. Out of those they cited 39 apartments. Out of the 39 cited only 6 were hippie apartments.

### COMMUNITY POLITICS

But that was a tactic the straight community I'm sure put the people downtown up to. The police harassment is another that I'm sure the straight community is putting people up to. It's hypocritical on the part of the straight community to do that kind of stuff and at the same time run around touting Town Hall. (Ed: an open meeting of Haight Ashbury organizations and individuals that is supposed to deal with community problems)

We tried to set up an organizing committee in Town Hall. It was to be made up of representatives of all the different organizations in the Haight-Ashbury. We, that is SNCC, raised the question, "what are you going to do about the fact that 25 to 30 per cent of the people in this neighborhood are black? Everybody said, "that's a serious problem." I said, "fine, then contact black institutions." The hippies said, "we don't want to get involved in institutions; we don't trust them." The straight community said, "you do that." So for all intents and purposes Town Hall is a white organization.

They frankly don't give a damn about the black people being involved or not being involved. ◆



## The Farm Workers' Most Important Year

A year ago this month, a band of striking farm workers from Delano, California began a 300 mile Pilgrimage from their home town to the Capitol in Sacramento. Their slogan was "Pilgrimage, Penitence, Revolution."

Then, "Delano" was a movement, today, it is the center of an AFL-CIO union. THE MOVEMENT staff has tried to set out here, in three interviews and a story, how a series of victories has transformed a movement into a union, how far the "Revolution" has gone in a year, and how far it has yet to go in this country. As farm workers are organized across the country, the union will go through many changes. But its basic direction and character have been set this year.

# TURNING A "YES" VOTE INTO A UNION

## SPECIAL MOVEMENT SUPPLEMENT

### A YOUNG UNION LEADER

Mack Lyons, 27, is the head of the Di Giorgio Arvin Ranch Committee of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The Ranch Committee is similar to a "local," but UFWOC structure is more informal than other unions. The Arvin Ranch is the heart of the Di Giorgio agricultural empire. Mr. Lyons is typical of young leadership coming into positions of power and responsibility as union contracts are signed.

**MOVEMENT:** How do the workers at Di Giorgio look at themselves: has that changed from before the union? And how do you work to get them to see it as their union and not Cesar Chavez' union or Marshall Ganz' (UFWOC organizer in Arvin - ed.) union?

LYONS: It has changed since the election. Things like that just don't change overnight. Since all the organizers left, they don't have people coming out to the ranch asking them to do this and do that. They found that they had to come to the union hall to pick up information that they really wanted. As they came down to the union hall more often, they found it was more and more their union.

**MOVEMENT:** The people who work for the union now, were they always the ones who were active?

LYONS: The majority of them is the people who was active before the election. Others have quit and gone other places. And some of the people who wouldn't say anything or do anything before the election have come to be pretty good people.

**MOVEMENT:** What did you do before you came to work for Di Giorgio?

LYONS: I didn't do any farmwork before, very little, a long time ago back in Texas. I came here from Nevada; I lived in Nevada for about 5, 6 years. I came over here to get married, I didn't want to live in Nevada. It was kind of new to me, I had never saw any grapes.

I first went to Delano with some people who were out here from Texas. We went up there to pick grapes and this was when I first saw the union organizers. They were standing on the side of the road with these HUELGA signs. I didn't know what they meant, so I asked some other guys that I was riding with. They didn't know either, they was just going up working, they wasn't interested enough to find out what was going on.

I finally found out what was happening after a few days. I heard a few stories about these guys was on strike in Delano. They didn't want anybody working in Delano and found out that they were trying to get a contract.

I have never been a member of or been involved in a union in any kind of way until this. So I kind of got interested. I had heard how unions operate and what they can do for people, but actually I didn't know what to do at that time. So I just thought that I would help a little bit by telling the guys that people was riding

around with shotguns, and was going to come out in the field and shoot us, you know, stuff like that, and it worked.

We went up there a couple of days, but we saw these guys on the side of the road. We'd go in the field and the guys would come up to the side of the field with their signs and the people would get scared. Sometimes we wouldn't even go in the fields, we'd JUST go and come back. But most of the people (strikers) was Mexican people so I never did talk to any of them.

I got tired of half-picking grapes, going up there and then not doing anything. I had got married at the time and I decided to go to work at DiGiorgio. That's where most of the people round here work that do farm work.

#### COMMUNISTS

Right after I started working there, this union started passing out leaflets, trying to get them to sign authorizations and talking to them about unions. And I heard a lot of different stories, you know, about how these were communists, and Mexicans were going to run the union, and they were going to fire all the Negroes and Anglos. One time I heard the story that they were going to fire everybody and bring in Negro people from Mississippi and Alabama.

I got curious and interested and wanted to know what actually was going on. I decided to find out for myself. One day I saw Marshall. I didn't know who it was at the time. We were going home one afternoon and I asked him who was in charge, who was the head man. I didn't want to talk to no organizer or nothing, I wanted to see what actually was going on. He told me that Mr. Chavez was in charge and he was pretty busy and couldn't come down just to see one person.

#### AFRAID

So I talked to some of the fellows and we started having these little meetings, 6 or 7 of us, Marshall and Richard Flowers would come. We would have meetings at my wife's uncle's house sometimes twice a week. And Marshall or Richard would come over and explain things to guys. I knew these guys was scared of signing authorization slips, so every meeting I would sign one, just to show the guys there was nothing to be afraid of. This worked and pretty soon we had a couple of big meetings out at Lamont. I would pick people up in my car and take them to meetings so they could hear the story from the source.

Ever since then people kind of depend on me for information. They know that I go to all the meetings and I try to be in on everything that happens in the union.

One day some of DiGiorgio's represen-

tatives from San Francisco came down and they called us out of the fields at about 11 o'clock. And they made a little speech about how the companies had good relations with the workers, and they don't want the workers to have a union, but if that was what the workers want they were willing to let them have a union and let 'em vote. They said that the NFWA was a weak union; Seemed like to me that this was a union that they didn't want. To me this meant that it was the best union for us. They made this big front that they didn't mind us having a union, but it was the other way around.

#### TEAMSTERS

A couple of months after then the Teamsters came down. They started trying to organize. These guys would come down in their big cars, their '66 Mercurys or whatever, wearing nice suits and white shirts. And the workers felt that these guys were too far up for them to talk to, they didn't have a good enough understanding to talk about farmworker's problems. But the National Farm Worker organizers they seemed more like farm workers themselves. They would come out to the ranch wearing bluejeans — they looked like farmworkers. If they didn't have pads and papers and leaflets you couldn't tell them from anybody else. This was the best way to organize because the people feel more free to talk to you.

People knew the company wanted the Teamsters Union, by the way the company acted. The company wouldn't let the Farm Workers organizers come on the ranch, but they would let the Teamsters organizers come on the ranch. They could go anywhere they wanted to, but they barred the Farm Workers organizers. The way the people looked at the Teamsters, they were the company union, and if that's what the company wants, then that's not what you want.

**MOVEMENT:** One of the unusual things about the union in Arvin is that you have whites, Negroes and Mexicans in the same union together. How have you handled the problem of racism and the language barrier?

LYONS: We haven't had any problems as far as race is concerned. The biggest problem we have down here is people not knowing what is best for them, not being interested, not understanding. And the language problem, some people not being able to speak Spanish, and others not being able to speak English. Those are the biggest problems, we don't have any problems involving race.

I'm from Texas, you know, and I didn't have any problems like this down in Texas. The only thing I know about the racial problem in the South is what I read in the paper and what I hear. I just think about them as people: I never think, this is a Mexican or this is an Anglo. The only time

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Photo: Hag Stewart

MACK LYONS on the UFWOC picket line at the Di Giorgio offices in San Francisco in Oct. '66.





# CESAR CHAVEZ:

## "NOTHING HAS CHANGED"

Delano, California

**MOVEMENT:** Last year you said that NFWA was half-way between a movement and a union. Now there seems to have been a change in the NFWA from a year ago as it moved from agitation to organization.

**CHAVEZ:** I don't agree with you. It's a case of carrying on 40 different strikes. We haven't changed. I think the outside world has changed, 'cause we're not a new thing. It's happened to civil rights. It happens to everybody. Our help is not coming from the same place it was coming from before.

The labor movement is by and large our biggest help. And we've been able to keep the church help. But we're getting very little help from the student groups or the civil rights groups--well some, but not anywhere what we were getting before. Even our correspondence with our contacts in these groups is almost nil.

And the agitation doesn't seem to be there, because it doesn't make a big spill like it did before. Yet, we've got the biggest and the best organized boycott we ever had going on right now. It's the type of boycott that you can see the progress in day by day. That's all we have. We don't have the large numbers of people boycotting or picketing with us.

**MOVEMENT:** Generally speaking, would you say that the boycott, as it seems to be in Texas, is the major strategy for winning the strike?

**CHAVEZ:** Well, it appears to be that way, but it isn't really. The strike out in the field is the first type of pressure, because, if we went on the boycott and we forgot about the strike locally, then we would never be able to win elections.

The strike has done more than just put economic pressure on the growers. It has given us an opportunity to educate the workers -- the scabs who are trying to break the strike. No doubt the boycott plays a very significant role, but the boycott itself wouldn't do it.

## AFL-CIO

**MOVEMENT:** One of the reasons people give--students especially--as an argument for not working with the strike anymore is the merger of the union with the AFL-CIO. People felt that the union would go bureaucratic and control would slip from Delano into the hands of George Meany. Would you speak to this issue?

pose: very few people do.

You know, one of the things that is distressing is that the same people that say the AFL-CIO does this and say that God is dead in the church -- these same people are guilty of idolizing the poor. This is not right because it is not the truth. I remember some of the fellows that helped us in the beginning had a very strange picture of poor people, in this case the farm workers. Like farm workers are all saints, you know.

**MOVEMENT:** What effects does that have?

**CHAVEZ:** It has a very bad effect on people. You can't help people if you feel sorry for them. You have to be practical. This type of feeling doesn't carry you for more than what it carried those people who were helping us. After a little while it becomes old, and there is no real basis for doing things that you're doing. There's got to be more than that.

But I think that what has really happened is that these forces that have been so helpful to the civil rights movement and to us have moved on. The movement doesn't stay still. It's like a cyclone: it swoops, you know? This is what we are faced with.

But if we hadn't had that help we would have never been able to get our start.

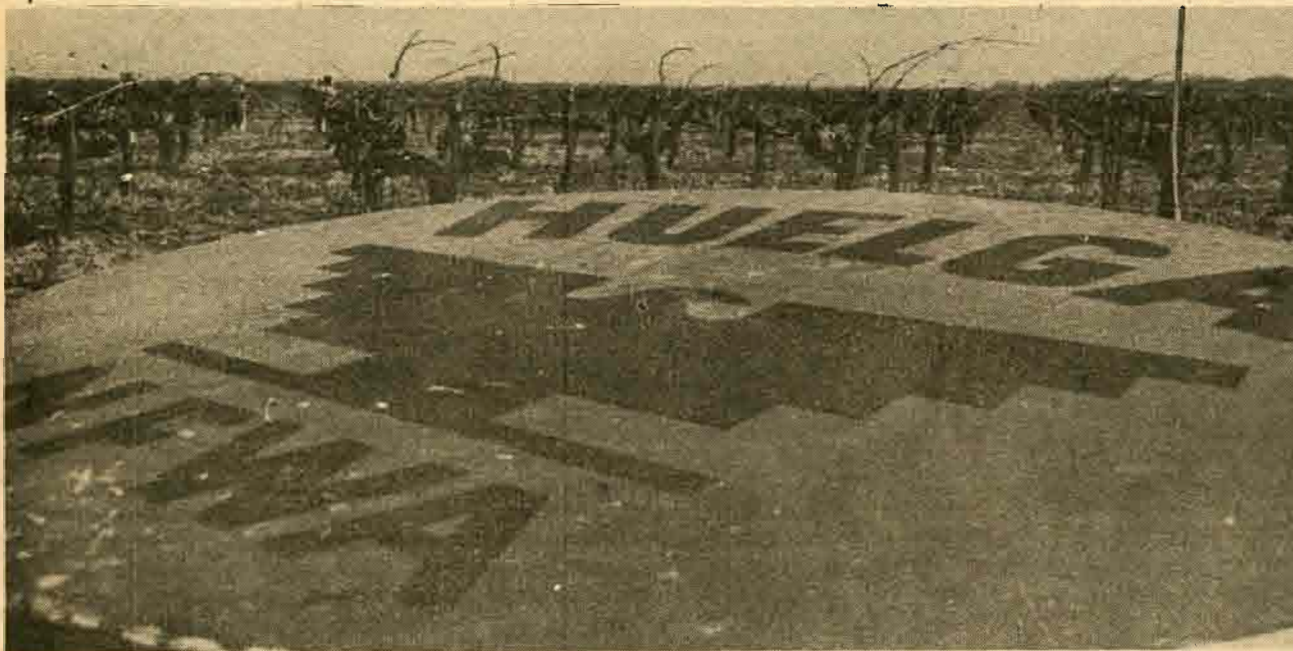


Photo: Jon Lewis

**CHAVEZ:** We were as much pained as they were. We were pained for different reasons. We were pained that all of these forces -- I'm talking about the students and others who felt this way -- had such little faith in people.

So every time they would bring up the merger, we would say, "we don't think it is going to be that way," or "it is the worker's choice." But we very seldom told them what we felt. I personally felt pained to see how little trust they had in people. It's a real case of prejudging people. They think they know what's going to happen, and maybe it is going to happen, maybe these things that they're afraid of eventually will come, but the point is that they were saying "we don't know it's going to happen, but we think it is -- therefore goodbye."

**MOVEMENT:** But there are other people who say "what about the way the AFL-CIO treats movements in South America with CIA help..."

**CHAVEZ:** I don't know anything about how the AFL-CIO treats the movements in South America and I sup-

## POLITICAL POWER

**MOVEMENT:** People compare things the civil rights movement is doing and things that Delano is doing. They say that SNCC and CORE and other black movements are working for economic power. A year ago you said "we want to get involved in politics". How do you see that economic base moving into politics?

**CHAVEZ:** I've always contended that if you have some economic power you would have the easiest road to political power. You would have money and the union people that are around together which makes it easy for political power. But I don't understand why labor unions don't have any power in America.

**MOVEMENT:** They can't pass a simple thing like repeal of 14-b.

**CHAVEZ:** I've been concerned with this for many years. You see, labor is effective in many other areas

like social legislation. Medicare and social security -- it's labor that brought it about. And the end of the bracero program. Most of the time more people outside labor gain benefits than people inside the unions. This is not understood, because labor doesn't know how to let people know what it is able to do.

**MOVEMENT:** Do you think that it is just a public relations problem?

**CHAVEZ:** No, it's more than that. Lately, I've been able to understand the huge expenditures that the AFL-CIO puts on legislation and on all its other programs. They get this legislation and in most cases it benefits non-union members. Now, if I were to do something like that, I'd take every ounce of good will out of it; I'd use that good will in turn for my movement. Civil Rights would do it; I'm sure any movement would do it; but labor is somehow not able to do that. They can't take things they do and say to people "look this is what we have done." Maybe it's just the size, or maybe after you've been around for a long time no one pays that much attention to you.

## TOWARDS A LABOR PRESS

**MOVEMENT:** In England at least you have a Labor Party for what it's worth, but here you don't even have that. Labor sees itself as one part of a great big coalition in the Democratic Party of which it is only a section. It is not independent.

**CHAVEZ:** Well, yeah. Of course we don't know what all the problems are, but I'd like to see two things happen in America with labor: one, I'd like to see the labor movement have a labor press, -- a daily paper or papers throughout the country that are really labor papers, that let the people know their side of the story, instead of having papers which go only to the membership. The public press has too much over them; and, two, if we could do that, eventually there would be a political party.

**MOVEMENT:** So you think that the building of newspapers should precede the building of a political party?

**CHAVEZ:** I don't know the problems, but I think this is what would be important. Still there would have to be coalitions, because you can't do it yourself. You're not that big a group. Labor is the biggest organized group in the country outside religion, but still...

## A POLITICAL FORCE

**MOVEMENT:** What groups do you think of when you think of coalitions for farm workers to get political power?

**CHAVEZ:** I think of labor, the church; I think of the civil rights movement; I think of the students -- all the student movement with all of its various groupings. Anyone and everyone who is really concerned about the ills of the thing.

**MOVEMENT:** Do you think that a movement like that, which would help the farm workers, would be independent of the Democratic Party? Do you see it as trying to make itself be independent?

**CHAVEZ:** Oh, that's something different. I meant a coalition that would make itself felt in legislative matters, like public protests to elected representatives.

See, one of the biggest problems is that there is too much complaining on the part of the good guys and not enough work. They complain that adequate laws do not exist. Now a good many of the good guys are content with making the charge -- but you know that's never going to make it. I contend that almost any legislator in this country can be gotten to move if the right kind of work is done.

But to form a political party, well, we're not equipped. I think that labor is the only group that could build a party, but a coalition like this for a political party... There is no understanding. For instance, the students and all the more liberal groups would come into the picture with preconceived notions about labor, and labor would go in with preconceived notions about students. To build a party, well, these things don't mix.

**MOVEMENT:** So you're talking about something that would be a political force, not a political party?



CHAVEZ: Now a political force, yes, but not a party, the discipline wouldn't be there. There has to be discipline in a party.

See, it's not bad what the two parties do, because they are the pros. They are in power and the only criticism we can make is of ourselves for not being able to get that much power to counteract what they are doing. But to criticize them is, well, like...

**MOVEMENT:** *It's like criticising them for being what they are.*

CHAVEZ: But that's not going to change anything, if we criticize ourselves, then that begins to change things.

## MALCOLM X

See, I think groups that deal in power become impatient with groups who are strangers to power. I think even in individuals you can see this. A good example is Malcolm X. (I am reading his autobiography right now).

When he talks about Uncle Toms, he puts it very clearly. He's saying that these guys will go to work for the devil white man. Really he is saying a lot more (he doesn't make it clear but I'm sure this is his thinking) — that the Negro thinks that if HE gets ahead he is going to be getting his people ahead. Malcolm really knew about power although he didn't put it in those words, he knew that you can't do it that way.

**MOVEMENT:** *Because individual solutions to the problem don't work.*

CHAVEZ: That's right. I think the biggest power in America besides the church among Negroes — well, this is also a religion — is the Muslims. There is discipline, there is money and there is zeal. They have had a few set-backs, otherwise they'd be rolling right along.

**MOVEMENT:** *Malcolm has had a tremendous effect on black organizers.*

CHAVEZ: He knew what he was doing. They understood him, and they didn't understand the others. But he had a very good base: he came right from the gutter so he wasn't compromised. The guys who don't come from the gutter have to compromise because they're going to school, they're getting a job, they're working for the government. All these little compromises which, by the time you get to be leader, have got your hands tied up.

## ORGANIZING BLACKS AND FARM WORKERS

**MOVEMENT:** *What is your thinking on the kind of organizing that goes on among black people in this country and the kind that is going on among Mexican-American farm workers?*

CHAVEZ: You organize for power so that you can get something. You organize so that you can build power to do something with it, and so, when you look back, you've got to see some people out there doing something. What I'm trying to say is you can't organize by just speaking. The civil rights movement's biggest drawback is that they don't have a group that pays its own way. They don't have a membership group. This is the kind of power that is needed.

So I would agree that Malcolm X was an organizer, but Stokely, well, it's an entirely different thing. I don't see any BUILDING. Maybe there is and I don't know, but I don't see any building of any power — like people, like money, like things that they themselves get so they can make their own determination. Maybe there is lately. I know there wasn't before.

Now the approach that Malcolm X used was the house meeting — what we use, you know? — he was doing those things that we know pay: being patient and just accumulating, accumulating, committing people and so forth. And he's gone, but the movement continues.

Now over on the other side . . . well, Martin Luther King in Chicago — nothing, you know? It's organizing, but not . . .

**MOVEMENT:** *What do you feel is missing?*

CHAVEZ: People. You don't have people working in it. I mean, who are you organizing? You have to have involvement, you know. It's not a one man show. There's got to be people involved. Once you have people then there's power to do things. But money won't do it alone — all these groups have had a lot of money. That's the other thing, you see, that is why they don't continue: the moment the money is taken away from them they fall.

**MOVEMENT:** *Because they're depending on money from the outside...*

CHAVEZ: As long as you have people, you'll have money, and if the money stops, that means you've lost the people so there's no reason to continue anyway.

**MOVEMENT:** *Do you find that problem yourself, here? Because the union gets outside money?*

CHAVEZ: Well, it's an entirely different matter when it comes to a strike. But forgetting about the strike and just talking about the organizing part of it, it's going, I mean you know, it can carry itself.

**MOVEMENT:** *Do you see organizing of farm workers into one big union?*

CHAVEZ: It will be a miracle if there comes to be one big union of farm workers.

**MOVEMENT:** *Do you think there will be many different unions?*

CHAVEZ: I don't know. All I can say is, if it ends up all in one union, it will be a miracle but that's the way it ought to be.

**MOVEMENT:** *How long do you think that will take?*

CHAVEZ: It's been 18 months and we've only got 4 growers.

**MOVEMENT:** *Yes, but they keep coming a little faster, don't they?*

CHAVEZ: No. Perelli-Minietti is the longest. Of course, there we have to take the teamsters on too. And for a little union to do that is a big accomplishment. Someday, if this is written up, the biggest accomplishment won't be beating Perelli-Minietti or the rest, or beating DiGiorgio; it will be continuing the strike and making progress against the combination. That's a hell of a lot of power. Every move you make throughout the country, they're there to stop you.

## THE TEAMSTERS

**MOVEMENT:** *You explained that the Teamsters were afraid for their packing sheds, because the person who organizes the field workers is going to end up organizing those sheds. But do the Teamsters have enough sheds or canneries organized to make it worth their while to try and bust up your efforts?*

CHAVEZ: I said that this is what they had told us, but I don't know; only they know, and you can't try to second guess them. They do have a lot of cannery workers. But then you don't have to have too much of anything. All of these things are carved up into little empires and the guy that has the cannery empire is enough to give you trouble, because, if he feels it is a direct assault on our part, he can rally his brothers outside the canneries. I can see a 5 year strike in Delano. But if we can solve the Teamster problem it will be less.

Eighteen months is a hell of a long time. With this kind of strike with only a couple of pickets being paid full time people will disappear. They'll just get up and say "aw, we quit." We've had this happen before.

## STUDENTS AND OUTSIDERS

**MOVEMENT:** *What could students and outsiders do now? Many people have been hung up on the relationship of volunteers to the union.*

CHAVEZ: We didn't make it that clear when they came because we were busy. Some understood and some didn't. My idea was that they were coming here as servants. They were coming here with their only objective to help farm workers have a union.

They would not be involved in any of the politics. Because if they were going to be involved in the politics, sooner or later it would not be justified in having them here, because the help they could give us would be destroyed in a political struggle.

That's my interpretation of it. That's why they are not members. We pretty much hold the other people who work with us to the same thing, be it the Migrant Ministry, be it the AFL-CIO, be it whoever. They don't have membership. So we are not making a special case out of it. It is just the way it is going to work. We know from past experience that it will be a long time before farm workers can take the leadership of the union. That leadership spot has to open for them, because if you move to close to it, they'll never make it, or it will take years and years.

**MOVEMENT:** *It seems like you do have more union people doing the jobs that volunteers once did.*



Photo: Al Hicks

CHAVEZ: Oh, we are pushing that very hard. I get a lot of pressure from the workers themselves, but I'd rather have the workers out on the picket line, and out organizing. This is the thing they should be doing.

Now as far as the administrative work and all of that — the boycott — that's important, but it isn't as important as manning that first line of defense. Another thing is that we don't have as yet many well trained people for some of the work. We still have to train them.

My idea of the volunteers is that they would be a force. They would not be concerned with union politics. Their concern would be building a union and getting knowledge and experience. They'd be in Delano today and tomorrow they'd be in Texas and the day after New Mexico. Wherever there was a fire, we'd send in the force to take over with a strike and then pass the leadership to the farm workers. This is the kind of thing I'm looking for.

**MOVEMENT:** *What do you need outsiders to do?*

CHAVEZ: We still have 30 strikes going. The biggest help they can give us is the boycott. We went to San Francisco and we had very little help. We were successful, more than ever before. But imagine what we would have had if we had more help.

## VIETNAM

**MOVEMENT:** *How would you describe the effect the war in Vietnam has on farm workers and Mexican-Americans? Is there a reaction you could define?*

CHAVEZ: You see as a group we take great pride in being very loyal and very brave. You can't be brave and loyal unless there is a war.

There is a lot of fear and a lot of misunderstanding, if someone objects to being killed in Vietnam, then someone raises the question, "Isn't that un-American?" See we are in the same place that everyone was in the First World War. Like Gilbert (Padilla), when the strike first started, he questioned the whole involvement of our country in Vietnam. First thing I know, there was a committee of pickets who wanted to know if he was a Communist.

We've been hit a lot harder than Negroes. In the Second World War, the Negroes weren't on the front lines. But the Mexicans and the Filipinos were. Many were killed, and you know, when someone is killed, their family becomes twice as loyal. ♦



Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle



# Delano's #2 Institution: FARM WORKER SERVICE CENTER

DELANO, CALIF.

Leroy Chatfield, head of the Farm Worker Service Center in Delano, is usually characterized as an "ex-Christian Brother." He left the religious order to join the farm worker movement, spent a year raising money for the Farm Worker Co-op headed the Los Angeles NFWA office, and is now directing the "social service wing" of the Union.

**MOVEMENT:** We're trying to trace the changes the union has gone through in the last year, since before the Pilgrimage. One of the things that was not here a year ago and is very much here now is the Service Center. What is the Service Center and what does it do?

**CHATFIELD:** I think the Service Center in a certain way has always been in existence. Especially in the early days of the union when Cesar, Gil (Padilla) Dolores (Huerta) and Julio (Hernandez) were the Service Center. Any problem a member had with an employer, any welfare or income tax problems, any services that they needed, then they came to the union. And the union at that time, as I said, was Cesar, Dolores and Gil.

Last October, after I came back from my assignment in Los Angeles, Cesar and the union officers decided to form a parallel structure to the union. One of the things which prompted this was our affiliation with the AFL-CIO, which meant that it would be more desirable for us to develop our union structures more along traditional union lines. Probably this is more desirable from the labor union point of view, more easy for them to understand what is going on, and for them to deal with us too. This parallel structure took the service part of the program out of the NFWA-AWOC.

Coming under the parallel structure, which we call the National Farm workers Service Center, Inc., is the Health Clinic, the Credit Union, the Consumer Co-op, the social services that I just mentioned briefly, and probably a tenuous relationship with the farm workers theater (Teatro Campesino) and the Farm Worker Press (publishers of El Malcriado).

What I mean by a tenuous relationship is that Cesar thinks it is desirable to have an umbrella board that serves to coordinate, clarify, serves to develop all of these things that I've mentioned. We don't go in to the Health Clinic and tell them how to run their Health Center; they're a separate entity. But on the other hand, someone has to be able to interpret. We don't want the Health Clinic or the Credit Union or the Social Services to go off on their own and not be subservient to the purposes of the union.

Anyone who talks to Cesar for ten minutes can tell that he will sacrifice everything for the sake of the union. Unless we build a union that's strong and does the job, we can have the most beautiful Health Clinic in the world but it might as well be financed by OEO or someone like that.

**MOVEMENT:** Does the Service Center help the organizing? Why isn't it just a do-gooder kind of thing?

**CHATFIELD:** If someone comes in with a problem, what we do first is ask, "are you a union member?" If he says "yes", then ask to see his blue card. And not only does he have to show his blue card, but he has to be a paid-up union member. And the reason for this: it isn't a charity program. We're not a welfare agency. It's an organization that people belong to, and if people belong to the organization they have certain rights.

Let me give you a practical example: suppose we have six people in the office. Five of them are union members, one is not. They live in Earlimart, let's say, all of them. We service all 6 of them. The guy that got something for nothing, goes back to Earlimart with those five people — they all live in the colonia — and brags. "I got the same thing the union people got. You don't have to pay dues." That will destroy the union. Now, when we refuse him here in front of those five people: first of all that individual is confronted with the advantages of belonging to the union, and the necessity.

**MOVEMENT:** Do you see a time, after the strike is won, when the Service Center would begin to take on questions such as the schools, inadequate housing, welfare, hospitals?

**CHATFIELD:** I would foresee that as we develop the Social Service staff, they will become more sensitive, more aware and more efficient in applying pressure. And actually they do pretty well — in the Welfare Department. Maybe this is a cruel thing to say but, I would say that union members are treated better by the Welfare Department than non-union members. Which is a shame; everyone should be treated equally. We can't assure that everyone will be treated equally, but we are getting to the point where we can pretty well guarantee that union members are going to be treated better.

**MOVEMENT:** That's the result of power.

**CHATFIELD:** Exactly. What I would foresee is that as the Social Service staff becomes more aware of continuing problems, they would expose these problems better to the union membership, for a plan of action.

**MOVEMENT:** You started out this discussion by saying that one of the reasons you set up this parallel structure is that if you incorporated the social services into the union, it would not be the "labor union" way of doing things. That's interesting. I wish you'd break that down.

**CHATFIELD:** Well, I guess I give that as a reason because that was one of the reasons given to me.

What's going to happen to the union is, that little by little we're going to develop locals. The AFL-CIO Constitution has certain by-laws and rules and regulations that govern the development of locals. So I think it behooves us on our side to create those structures that those things do apply to, I mean there's nothing wrong with those structures. But the movement in Delano, as you're well aware of, has much more than traditional labor union development.

Also the whole question of financing is involved. Some groups cannot, will not, provide money for a labor organization. Some groups want to finance certain aspects like a Health Clinic. When I say finance I mean give a grant to get you started. And I might say in parenthesis that we don't accept any money that we don't have control over. I'm not pretending we don't need outside assistance, but I am also not saying that outside people who give money or assistance can tell us how to spend it.



JESSICA GOVEA of the Service Center Staff.

**MOVEMENT:** And you hope that at some point the fees themselves will pay for the Clinic?

**CHATFIELD:** Oh yes. You know Cesar's attitude about these things — that lots of outside money is needed but there comes a point when outside money stops. Either the organization has developed the means to grow and build and finance itself, or it collapses.

The Co-op for example, will have to pay its own way. At this point the Service Center is attempting to underwrite its beginning. Very soon we will have to make decision about when the Co-op will begin to pay its own way. And if it can't, the whole thing will have to be re-examined, and maybe we're not ready for a Co-op.

**MOVEMENT:** Where does the Service Center money come from?

**CHATFIELD:** The Service Center money comes from a joint grant that was provided by the Stern Family Fund in Washington and the I.U.D. This grant extends for fourteen months, beginning last November. The way I look at it, either by next January we have something going, paying for itself, or we don't. The most difficult thing for me, I can't figure it out now, is how the Social Service part of the Service Center will pay for itself, since we don't charge for the services, except for the Income Tax returns. Either we start charging fees, or it is suggested and approved by the membership that a certain small fraction of the dues goes toward that. I don't know, I'm at a complete loss right now.

**MOVEMENT:** The garage is the first project of the Co-op?

**CHATFIELD:** Yes. The service station, garage and cooperative auto-parts store. Well, everything will be cooperative.

**MOVEMENT:** Cooperative means what?

**CHATFIELD:** Cooperative means that, when we receive approval from the State Commissioner, we will issue 2000 shares of stock, to be sold at \$10 apiece. This stock will be made available to Union members.

**MOVEMENT:** Only?

**CHATFIELD:** Our by-laws don't call for Union members only, no. The primary people who will be buying this stock will be farm workers. We're going to violate some of the time-honored principles, that is an open membership.

**MOVEMENT:** Not going to sell to the growers?

**CHATFIELD:** Well, I suppose we'd have to sell to the growers, but the point is, you have to show a membership card in the Co-op to be able to use the Co-op.

**MOVEMENT:** That's very different from, say, the Berkeley Co-op.

**CHATFIELD:** Once again we're adopting the principle that Cesar so strongly believes in — that is: people don't want something for nothing.

**MOVEMENT:** Let's take the garage as a model. Who will that be administered by?

**CHATFIELD:** That will be administered by the Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc., which is a corporation formed under the cooperative laws and the corporation laws of California. It has its own board of directors. Cesar is the president of the Farm Workers Cooperative. After we issue shares, at our first general meeting we will have a slate of officers elected, just like every other corporation.

**MOVEMENT:** Who gets the profits?

**CHATFIELD:** The profits will go to the Co-op.

**MOVEMENT:** Not to the union?

**CHATFIELD:** No. Many of these things are separate corporate entities, because they have to be, for example the Credit Union is a State Credit Union; it has its own corporate structure and is governed by the laws of the State of California. The same way with the Health Clinic, it is licensed under the state.

Those of us who work in the office, we keep these things straight; most of the time the membership doesn't. To them all of these things mean one thing — the union.

**MOVEMENT:** But you still have to be a separate Co-op member to shop at the Co-op. Does your union membership entitle you to membership in the Co-op?

**CHATFIELD:** Just because you pay your dues doesn't mean we don't charge you \$2.50 for your income tax. The \$10 (for the Co-op) is only paid once for a life-

time. You buy 2 tires at the Co-op and you'll get your \$10 back.

I do see a problem arising. Maybe a by-law change will be necessary. If we have a lot of non-Union members who are Co-op members, that could be sticky. But a lot of that depends on how we go about selling the shares. Our thrust should be 90% toward farm workers in selling shares. There's nothing to keep us from having a special price for Union members.

**UNION MEMBERS  
HAVE A RIGHT  
TO THESE SERVICES:**

- ① NOTARY PUBLIC
- ② CREDIT UNION
- ③ INTERPRETERS
- ④ INCOME TAX SERVICE
- ⑤ HELP WITH WELFARE PROBLEMS
- ⑥ HELP WITH FILING OUT FORMS
- ⑦ HELP WITH IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS
- ⑧ HELP WITH INSURANCE CLAIMS
- ⑨ HELP WITH SOCIAL SECURITY

*Non-Union Members  
Can File Membership  
Applications at 102 Albany*

SIGN in the Service Center.

**MOVEMENT:** How would you sum up from your personal experience, what has happened in a year and a half? People tend to characterize it; some say it's become bureaucratic; some say just another part of the labor unions...

**CHATFIELD:** I find it hard to believe that we're at the point where we are. That we actually have a Service Center. I'm amazed that such things can happen at the same time as much tremendous pressures; the strike, the Perelli Minetti thing, organizing going on, and somehow all these things develop. A lot has happened in a short time.

My reaction to the bureaucratic idea — of course structures have developed and departments have developed and people have been put in charge of departments, and they are held responsible and they have also been given authority. You have to take the position that you don't believe in organization, you don't believe in authority, you don't believe in bureaucracy, when you start minimizing and dismissing those things.

Also, it's a little strange to me — but how can you talk about organizing people and at the same time not submit to the discipline of organization? I don't think you can have it both ways, and I think anyone who thinks that Cesar doesn't believe in organization misreads what really is going on here in Delano. As to the charge you hear, "what about 10, 15, 20 years from now; you're going to be just another middle-class union." Then we'll have choices to make for a change. Whether we want to be middle-class, complacent or not. But at this point the farm-workers don't have the choice. And I don't think it's right for others to make those choices for them.

You have to ask, "is the union growing, developing and getting strong?" And if the answer is "yes" then you have to accept, it seems to me, the bureaucracy that goes along with that.

But another way to keep the union honest and socially conscious is to build things like the Service Program, Health Clinic and Consumer Co-ops. I'd be hard pressed to explain how, in what specific ways, but they do have a role to play in the overall organization that tends to balance, because health needs are different than economic needs, which the union addresses itself primarily to. ◆



# FARMWORKERS OPEN SECOND FRONT

By Terry Cannon

Rio Grande City, Texas

For the farm worker movement, Texas is the new frontier, the second front in the battle with America's growers and plantation owners. Strategically, it is as important as Delano, for the Rio Grande Valley, a rich farm area extending 140 miles north of the river, is a center for hand-harvested crops. Two-thirds of the residents of the Valley are of Mexican descent. During the May-June peak 30,000 Mexican citizens are employed in the fields. The median income for a Spanish-speaking male worker in the valley is \$879 a year.

Ironically, the strike at La Casita is a strike nobody wanted. (Farmworkers there, as all over the country, are ready to strike, but the union's ability to organize is limited). Nor was Starr County the best place to begin organizing: only 5% of the Valley's farmworkers work there; the county is most noted for its oil production, five million barrels a year. The land is mostly semi-arid. Only in the eastern part of the county do you begin to see vegetable crops and irrigation.

The Starr County growers understand the importance of this strike (see the editorial from "La Verdad" below). They have invited grower representatives from Delano to "advise" them on how to meet the threat of unionization. (Presumably the Delano growers are the experts in the field of union fighting).

The union's strategy falls into three parts:

## BOYCOTT

Since the border cannot be closed to the Mexican workers who are used as scabs, much of UFWOC's effort is going into a boycott of La Casita products: lettuce, celery and melons.

The boycott has been very successful in the major Texas cities. The boycott team, mostly students under the leadership of Gil Padilla, NFWA vice-president, are more knowledgeable than, say, the Schenley boycott teams of a year ago: the union has had a lot of experience in

agricultural boycotts since then.

Ray Rochester found it necessary to tell the press that "his business has picked up because of a union boycott." From Delano we know that growers begin to make such comments when a boycott begins to hurt.

Also, according to the Valley Evening Monitor of McAllen, Texas, "Soon after the union announced its boycott, Rio Grande Valley lettuce shippers rallied behind La Casita and offered to let the farm use their brands in shipping La Casita produce."

## SIGNING UP WORKERS

A team of organizers under Bill Chandler is signing up workers presently working at La Casita, both those who live in Texas and those who come over from

Mexico. Each morning as the Mexican workers gather for the bus that picks them up at the International Bridge, UFWOC organizers talk with them, explain the union, and get inside information that helps the union.

## PACKING SHED ELECTIONS

Gene Nelson was able to meet the requirements for a National Labor Relations Act representation election at the Starr Packing Shed. In order for an election to take place, the shed must be an agent, packing products for other growers; they must do at least \$50,000 in interstate trade, and 30% of the packingshed workers must request an election.

Nelson was able to get signatures of 70% of the workers there. The NLRB has held a hearing and issued a statement

that an election will be held. No date has been set as yet.

If the union wins the election, this means only that the company must sit down and negotiate with the union. The Act has no teeth requiring that the company must sign. Such elections and negotiations are usually followed by a strike, when the company refuses to sign a contract.

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## TEXAS IS A WILD SCENE

This state was a fitting place for the assassination of Kennedy and the birth of Johnson. It is a one-party state; political factions fall along individual loyalty lines. This makes for some strange bedfellows, particularly when liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans join forces to gang up on the conservative Democrats.

The state AFL-CIO has only 200,000 workers and is relatively weak. It is tied to the "liberal coalition" around Senator Yarborough. The AFL strategy has been to encourage voter registration among Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

The major industry (besides oil) is aerospace. The UAW has organized this industry and has considerable economic power. Politically, the UAW seems to be tied in with the Johnson-Connally conservative faction. It emphasizes union organization rather than voter registration.

All labor and liberal factions support the strike, which has to walk a careful way among the warring political groups. (In 1958 a group of Mexican-Americans tried to form an Independent Party, separate from the Democratic Party factions in Rio Grande City. Its leader was assassinated on the courthouse steps during a rally; that's Starr County politics).

Starr County seems to be, according to local people, a center for smuggling. North from Mexico comes marijuana, narcotics and people. South from Texas go cars and liquor. The local judge has had no criminal trials for two years. When strikers were arrested for a sit-in at the International Bridge none of the local authorities knew how to book them.

## GROWER'S VIEW OF TEXAS STRIKE

*LA VERDAD is a four-page newspaper, published in English and Spanish whenever money is given for its publication. It supports the right-wing grower line and is, according to local people, distributed by the Starr County Sheriff's Department on their daily routes. We reprint here parts of an article appearing on page one Feb. 10, 1967.*

We all know that all of the people stirring up trouble are paid "loafers" who have come from Delano, California to help intimidate and harass the poor folks of Rio Grande City. . . the core of the leadership of the union at the site of the strike is comprised of "known" criminals. . .

Incidentally, there will be a Banquet of some sort here (Corpus Christi, ed.). . . to "officially" turn over some of the money collected to the striking workers. Everybody is invited. . . for a \$2.50 meal ticket. . .

First time in our lives that we have seen farm laborers invited to banquets and socials.

In several of the towns we visited last week, there were city officials who dare the union to start their shenanigans in their cities. Most of these said that law or no law these union clowns would be run out of the city in nothing flat.

A sheriff in one of these cities said that he would NOT put up with all that bull. "If these guys come here and start trouble as they have in Rio Grande City, I won't fool around with them. I'D GIVE THEM 24 HOURS TO CLEAR OUT AND STAY OUT. If these tramps think that the constitution of the U. S. was drawn up for their protection only they are nuts. There are decent folks that happen, by their conduct and records as citizens to come FIRST in line."



THE TEXAS STRIKE (clockwise from left): Workers talk in front of UFWOC headquarters; Two wives prepare meal in strike kitchen; The home of one of the striking workers, a union picket captain; Pancho Madrano of the UAW and Jim Drake, NFWA administrator, discuss the strike with visitor (center); Scab workers being hauled in a La Casita truck; Singing in the union dining hall.



Photos: Emmon Clarke



## OAKLAND CON'T FROM PAGE 1

### FUNDS TO BIGOTS

Many of the loan applicants, although happy to exploit black workers, made comments while being interviewed which indicated their attitude towards Negro workers. One employer stated: "I have to get here for the morning shift so that I can personally oversee my employees — some of these people, no matter how hard you try, won't work since they can get welfare and unemployment." This employer referred to black workers as from the "lower mentality group."

### MUCH MONEY—FEW JOBS

The number of jobs which will be created as a result of the EDA money for business expansion is extremely small in relation to the huge amount of money which is being spent. The seven approved business loans, as of February, 1967, promise to create 364 jobs. The loans amount to \$1,042,000.

### RUBBER STAMP REVIEW OF JOBS

In order to evidence "community support" and approval of the EDA program, an EMPLOYMENT REVIEW BOARD was set up. This Board was supposed to review all the employment plans of the firms asking for business loans. The Board consists of one representative from labor, one from business, one from each of the five Oakland target areas, and one from EDA.

Up to the present this Board has simply rubber stamped all the EDA proposed plans. The members of the Board from the target areas feel that "they have been taken." Until very recently they had no idea what their role was supposed to be. EDA never set out any policy guidelines for them. The representatives rarely received copies of the employment plans before the meetings of the Board took place. They had no time to study them or talk them over before they were requested to vote approval or non-approval. When they did receive plans previous to the meeting, they often found "revised" copies when they got to the meeting.

One Board member stated that the Board was reluctant to vote down a plan and ask for major changes because the firms which came up for review had spent a great deal of money and time on their expansion. The Board had nothing to do with the firms until the loan process was nearly complete. Often this would be nine months or more after the firm began work on the loan.

## LADO CON'T FROM PAGE 3

on weekends. Stores like this were taking Spanish people's money but not putting anything back. The picket line gave us an opportunity to distribute leaflets and show people things could be done. It helped us to become known. It was a beautiful sight. People would stop, read the leaflet, talk, and we would explain why we were there. People would say 'you're right'. Many turned away. The store finally released employment figures and has hired some Puerto Ricans."

LADO opened its storefront at 1306 N. Western in October with the help of the Industrial Union Dept. (IUD) of the AFL-CIO. According to Lopez, "IUD was trying to get Sen. Douglas re-elected. They paid the rent, but they pulled out in December when they realized that they couldn't control us and use us for their own purposes."

For a while an outpost of the Illinois State Employment Service was located in the LADO office. It was a good way to bring new people in, and some people who came to the outpost are now working with LADO. Pressured from the machine and other social agency's in the area resulted in the outpost pulling out just after IUD. "People wouldn't believe we're bad if we had an ISES office here."

### ATTACKS AID LADO

Lopez said that LADO has been attacked by other groups since it started. "We're a new group and they feel threatened. We are militant, and even though NCO is sometimes militant, they consider us outside the boundaries of traditional organizations and leadership. They've called us communists, like when trying to keep a local principle from being friendly to us."

## FEDERAL DOLE TO WORLD AIRWAYS

One of the firms which won approval from the Employment Review Board was World Airways. They will be leasing an airplane hangar, financed by grants and loans from EDA, in the Port of Oakland. They claimed they will create 1,126 new jobs. World Airways is in line to receive \$10 million for their program.

World Airways was not content with getting this federal financing.

EDA then embarked on a program of creating a FEDERALLY FINANCED job training project for airplane maintenance mechanics.

At a Manpower Development and Training Act Advisory Committee meeting at the end of November, a program for training 510 people over a two-year period was proposed. The qualifications for the applicants would be (1) residence in Oakland for six months or more, and (2) a 10th grade level education, especially in mathematics. It was estimated that \$1.5 million would be needed for this program. A representative of World Airways stated that they "would probably be one of the major employers" who hired men out of the program.

A man from the San Francisco Department of Labor questioned the EDA representatives present at the meeting. He said, "How can you say that these 500 men who will be trained will be hard-core unemployed, if they need a 10th grade education?" THE EDA REPRESENTATIVE REPLIED THAT EDA'S PURPOSE WAS TO TRAIN LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED, NOT "HARD-CORE" and anyway, "if we don't absorb these people now, in five years they will become hard-core unemployed."

The program was passed by the MDTA Board. The general feeling was that "something is better than nothing," and that there "is a need for training programs at this level too."

World Airways has a government-financed training program for future employees — AT A TIME WHEN TRAINED AIRPLANE MECHANICS ARE AT A PREMIUM. As an article in the S.F. Chronicle states, (Dec. 12, 1966) there is an "acute shortage" of mechanics. The International Association of Machinists "could put 2000 to 3000 airline mechanics to work immediately — if they could find them." While other airlines (such

as United Airlines) are paying to train their workers themselves, World Airways' trained personnel will be a gift from the taxpayers.

No one in Oakland can figure out why World Airways is getting such a present from the Federal Government. Even Federal Officials proclaimed ignorance on the topic.

## WHAT IT MEANS

The large sum which is promised to World Airways may simply be a way of keeping the men at the Port of Oakland in sympathy with the Federal program. The projects which revolve around the Port make up the bulk of the \$23 million grant-loan package from EDA. The Port plans to build an industrial park. Many of the businesses which are asking for EDA loans are going to locate in this industrial park.

The Port was essential to the EDA program because the City of Oakland was unable to propose any public works projects in time for the EDA public announcement of their program. The city administration was ineffective so EDA picked up on the businessmen of the Port and committed the money to them.

It is possible that someone in the Federal Government has recognized that an expanded port facility will be useful in commerce with the East, war commerce with South East Asia, or possibly trade with China at some future date.

It is also possible, and perhaps more likely, that the funds to the Port of Oakland were committed in much the same way that the business loans were handed out; that is, haphazardly, with no planning or design for long-range social and economic change. The theory under which EDA is supposed to be working is that money which goes into business expansion will eventually "trickle down" to the ghetto resident. This theory doesn't pan-out. Has the increase in this country's wealth in the years since the Second World War "trickled down" to the black citizen?

Yet even with this framework of allocations for business (as opposed to giving directly to the unemployed themselves), EDA has given away and committed its funds in a reprehensible manner.

The EDA Program is not oriented towards a planned program of socio-economic change in Oakland, despite its well written press releases. They attempted to "move as fast as we can before something blows up." As a result they committed millions of dollars with little effect.

Daley called him back and apologized.

I talked briefly with Castro on the street about the neighborhood, the leadership, and the potential for building a movement. "The people who call themselves leaders don't know the people who were hurt, the lady who lost her baby at seven months. I share this lady's pain when I held her in my hands. They were talking to the press, trying to stop their own people. The young people are the hope of the community. They are aware of jail, job loss, and staying out of school. But we've got time. We will march, march, march. The older people will follow. Some of the small businessmen give us a little money. They know they're being treated rotten, but they won't say anything in public."

### BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN UNITY

"Carmichael talks about Negroes and Puerto Ricans working together. Division St. is the place where it can be done. The leaders don't want that."

advertisement

### HELP

the author of the book  
**TOMORROW WAS YESTERDAY**  
organize a National Financial Investment Pool for the Economic Freedom of Negroes by buying a copy of said book or by offering ideas, suggestions, etc. of how to get the apathetic Negro masses to become interested enough to organize himself against the exploitation of the wealthy privileged few.

Write:  
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4171 22nd Street  
Sacramento, California 95822

## LYONS CON'T FROM PAGE 5

I think about race is when a Mexican is speaking Spanish and I can't understand it. I wish I was a Mexican at that time.

**MOVEMENT:** Why do you think you haven't had those kind of problems? In the past that has been one of the biggest problems in organizing farm workers.

LYONS: I think it's mostly the way everybody is treated — all farm workers is treated. They're mostly interested in a better way of life; they're not interested in color or race or anything like that. They feel that if they get together for one time, they can get what they want. I don't think anybody's thought about the race problem as far as I can see.

**MOVEMENT:** How about the fact that the packing shed jobs, the tractor jobs and the truck jobs have been restricted to Anglo workers? At least only Anglo workers are doing these jobs.

LYONS: Most of these guys in the higher paid jobs have been around here a long time. The supervisors, most of them are from Oklahoma and Arkansas, and a lot of the Anglo workers are from Oklahoma and Arkansas. And I think it's probably because they like one another, he's from the same home state, something like that.

**MOVEMENT:** Don't the Mexican, Puerto Rican and Negro workers object to that?

LYONS: Actually the job don't pay that much more than any other job. Enough to be upset or angry about it or anything like that. A guy was telling me that they have had Mexicans and Negroes that they put on the tractors, and they didn't want the job; it was too hard, or it was too dusty.

**MOVEMENT:** That sounds like "Negroes and Anglos can't cut asparagus" or "only Filipinos can pack fruit in the field."

LYONS: The supervisors, they're the ones that separate the races. Like they have Mexicans and Puerto Ricans that just prune trees, no Anglos and Negroes pruning trees. The Negroes and Anglos don't think anything about it, because probably they don't want to prune trees. They don't know how to prune trees. I haven't been here that long, but the way I see it, the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans were the first ones that started on trees, so they just kept it that way.

**MOVEMENT:** You really don't think there's any dissatisfaction with that?

LYONS: there may be some that I haven't seen, but I really haven't heard anybody squawking about — "I haven't got that job because I'm a Mexican or I'm a Negro." Maybe it's because Negroes never had opportunities for these jobs, so they don't squawk about it.

You know these are farm workers and this is about the last place they can go to get a job. They have to be kind of satisfied with what they get.

**MOVEMENT:** But the whole thing about the union is that people aren't satisfied with what they get.

LYONS: Now that the union is here, I think they'll feel like they have more rights and have more voice and more strength to ask for these things. Before the union they was just afraid to speak up, afraid to ask for something. They more or less HAD to be satisfied with what they got. Or they'd probably be looking for another job if they wasn't. I think that's what kept it quiet mostly.

**MOVEMENT:** People saw farmwork as being the end of the road.

LYONS: That's the way farm work is looked at. But since the union, they got a different attitude. They feel as important as a mechanic or a construction worker, or an electrician. Farm labor was the last place you could go. If you get fired off a farm labor job and you don't have no skill, where else you going? The only place they can go is up.

**VIVA LA  
HUELGA!**



**L.A.D.O.**  
LATIN AMERICAN  
DEFENSE ORGANIZATION

He was good, saying he's open to any group if they're helping people. The attacks haven't hurt us much. In fact, they've tried to keep me and Carlos Castro from getting together, but that brought us to talking to each other. It's guys like him, people here, and others with small followings that will make a movement if we can get together."

Carlos Castro is a former YMCA street worker. He recently quit over differences in policy: "I'm with the people; the professional people aren't — they want to control." Castro, a young, dark Puerto Rican who was raised in the states, is closer than anybody else to the young guys in the community. He was the only person to defend the young guys at Daley's invitational "keep things quiet" hearings after the rebellion. Castro walked out of the meeting.



## ORGANIZER'S NOTEBOOK

## PART 2

## THEATRE THAT DOES SOMETHING

Chicago, Illinois

By Melody James

Many radicals have spent thoughtful hours considering the question of art's place in the Movement. Certainly art for its own sake has little meaning to a movement attacking the basic structure of our society. What has art got to do with changing the landlord-tenant structure, the welfare system and the entire structure of the economy? There is little time to pursue art as a hobby when life is made up of immediate concerns like ending our involvement in Viet Nam, and ending the suppression of freedom and human rights that gallops so steadily through our country.

But there is another view of art that has been used and has had meaningful results throughout history. And that is the use of art as a tool or weapon for change, as a radical force in society. Anything that excites the mind to action and the body to move is radical, and it is with this perspective that the Movement can explore and use the areas of art.

JOIN Community Union has started a theatre project to begin such an exploration in Uptown Chicago. Uptown is composed mainly of poor southern whites who have migrated to the city to look for jobs. But there are also groups of poor Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Negroes. JOIN was started several years ago as a project of ERAP of the Students for a Democratic Society and has become a permanent organization rooted in the community to be used as a base of a political movement that unites with similar groups for social and economic change in the city.

JOIN's most recent issue is to change the city's plan of Urban Renewal scheduled to tear down this area within a year. This will really mean "poor people removal" from Uptown. We are working on a petition campaign to organize the community to fight for the kind of Urban Renewal we want; decent housing with a guarantee that we can remain after the "clean up" without rents being doubled.

## MAINSRING OF DIRECT ACTION

The JOIN theatre project is designed to supplement the organizing being done around these issues. "The theatrical experience," has always been an effective means of communication for people. But we are attempting to make that experience a political experience. We want to use the experience to serve as a mainspring to direct action.

Radical political theatre certainly is not new to America. But the JOIN Theatre group is new when one looks at who is doing it. Unlike the recent radical theatre groups like San Francisco Mime Troupe, the Free Southern Theatre, or the Living Theatre in New York, the JOIN group is made up of an interested group of community people and students.

Since November a steadily growing group has gotten together once a week to discuss ideas for short skits. The majority of these ideas for situations we want to portray, people and institutions we want to stick some pins into and changes we want to see always come from community people.

At first we were pleasantly surprised at what we could "throw together." We relied heavily on the willingness of a couple of individuals to improvise... and risk making fools of themselves. We would put together some ideas of exaggerated situations, broad characterizations, stick in a "dramatic conflict," search for a punch line, pin some costumes on, scatter a few props around the front of our meeting hall and suddenly the JOIN theatre group was "on".

Until that first night of skits there had been casual disagreements over the virtues of a theatre project for JOIN. The main question was whether, at this time, JOIN could survive the expansion of another committee that would obviously tax the precious organizing time of the same group of people.

## "PROPHET OF DOOM"

There never was a formal discussion. The skit about the "Prophet of Doom" (a JOIN organizer parading in a toga with a sign declaring, "The End is Near") who visits the slums to warn Mrs. Deprived about the approaching "Angel of Death" (Chicago's Urban Renewal bulldozer cloaked in black and carrying a scythe) was put on at a Thursday night community meeting. The laughs were loud, but louder still was the new presentation of the familiar message, "Uptown people must organize to try to stop Poor



"I SPY FOR WELFARE" skit; (left to right) Shirley Hall, a JOIN member; Dovie Coleman, Chairman of the Welfare Staff Committee; and Melody James, JOIN Organizer.

People Removal and to have a say in Urban Renewal." The theatre project was born and has continued "happening" and avoiding long theoretical talks about its use or direction.

## A SHOT OF ENERGY

Since that night we have never questioned the value of the skits. And soon we began to discover the skits had other purposes too. They told a very pointed story. But they also warmed-up and integrated the new groups of people we faced each Thursday, a night set aside for interested new people, talk, laughter, coffee, and singing. And rather than take people away from organizing, it has served as a shot of energy and focus for several people who had been fumbling to find the best ways to work within JOIN. It has also served as a method of bringing new members into an active role in JOIN's work. Already several new people who have seen the skits have suggested ideas or even written scripts.

As the weeks went on we began to structure the skits more carefully. We studied our faults and began the long process of putting style, control, and polish into our skits.

## BIG BAD URBAN RENEW-WOLF

A favorite evening is pulling out the "JOIN Fairy Tales of Love, Flowers and Freedom" and describing the plight of Three Little Pigs who had to keep running from the Big Bad Urban Renew-wolf who was huffing and puffing and blowing their homes down until they got organized by a JOIN member; or the trek of Little-Red-Riding-JOIN to an Uptown slum to warn her hippy grandmother about Urban Renew-Wolf. Finding the wolf instead of Granny, Little Red shoots him proclaiming a changed James Thurber line, "Poor People aren't as easy to fool as they used to be."

We get together and improvise the situations and then a quick script is typed up selecting from a tape recording or quick notes the scenes and lines that worked best during the improvised meeting. Then we meet again, read through the scripts a few times and discuss important statements that must be made. The skits are similar to the "agit-prop" theatre of the thirties, the situations primitive, the characters very black and very white. Nothing is ever "memorized"... the message and relationships became instinctive to all of us at JOIN.

## COMMON PROBLEMS

Several weeks ago we were asked to do some skits for East Garfield Park Union to End Slums, another community union in the city composed mainly of black people. We did a series of three skits, one for each of the main issues JOIN is organizing around: welfare problems, housing, and police brutality. We were received enthusiastically, and without any speeches a very warm understanding of similar enemies and the need to fight them together had united the room of strange people. We also found this true

with the cops in Uptown.

The skit is a series of humorous scenes showing the progression of organizing a young hillbilly, called June Bug. A cop beats him up for standing on the street corner and he is taken to court. He can't understand the judge, the judge can't understand him. Furthermore the judge assumes the loyal, helpful officer, "who has sworn before his God," has no reason to lie where the "punk hillbilly" does. June Bug is sentenced and a month later back on the same street corner minding his own business.

The same cop starts to push him around but this time "JOIN-Man" interrupts the attack and informs June Bug of his rights. Yet one "JOIN-man" can't always be there to rip off his coat in the telephone booth, and he can't change the situation alone. So the next time the cop approaches, three "JOIN-Men" break up the attack on the hillbilly by taking a picture of the beating, getting the cop's badge number, and his description, "fat, stupid, bully." When the cop manages to recover from his shock he states, "Hey you can't do this to me! I'm a cop. What's goin' on?" The three "JOIN-Men", coolly and in complete control slowly turn toward the cop as a plank of united men. They answer simply, "We're from JOIN... Jack."

The last scene is a line of organized guys on the same street corner. The cop approaches, and seeing them his strutting, pompous walk turns into a jumble shuffle. He says, "Good day," and scurries to June Bug to answer a question. The cop refers to him no longer as "Hillbilly Punk," but as "Sir," and "Mr. Boykin." He is truly a civil servant. And all go off to "Dancing in the Streets."

## QUESTIONS

But the problem posed by the skit was the same problem of JOIN. We know our aims, and we know a lot of changing must take place, but how do we fill those in-between scenes, what strategies are most effective, how do we encourage people to stand together, and how will the ending really find us? And as we keep working to clarify and strengthen the skit, organizers are also searching for those deeper answers for the success of JOIN and the Movement.

As we gradually build up a strong group of skits, our most recent plan for the theatre project is to line-up visits to some college SDS chapters. Hopefully these visits will serve as a needed fund-raiser for JOIN while also explaining community organizing and how our issues are related to the ones the campus confronts.

## STREET CORNER SKITS

Our enthusiasm also grows toward the spring and summer plans for street corner and park performances. They'll be helpful re-enforcements to JOIN's actions in the welfare, housing, police brutality, and human rights struggle.

The group's impression of the theatre is still one of fun and excitement. We have not really embarked on the hard "work" of art yet, but perhaps the hope for our survival and success lies in the fact that we have chosen to use the most co-operative area of art, the theatrical experience. For it relies on the unity of its participants' efforts.

It would seem that "ensemble playing" in a radical theatre like the one JOIN is starting, can only serve to re-enforce the "ensemble struggle" in Chicago and throughout the country. Our theatre, JOIN, and the Movement must supply a growing cosmos that our society and system have failed to provide, nurture, and answer to.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article on the JOIN Theatre is the first in a series of articles on radical theatre across the theatre. The next article will be about the Teatro Campesino by Luis Valdez.

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NOTES FROM CHICAGO ..... MICHAEL JAMES

# LESSONS OF ELECTORAL POLITICS

Chicago has one of the oldest, most powerful and influential political machines in the country. Sitting at the top of this complicated structure is Mayor Daley, an expert at revamping the face of the machine when its working parts become visible and bring about some public concern. Although faces may change, the machine's economic and political grip on people's lives remains tight. A component of the machine is the city council, composed of fifty aldermen. Aldermanic elections were held last month, and there was a bid by anti-machine independents in twelve wards to capture seats on the city council.

Most of the independents were black, running in middle class Negro and transitional (white to black) wards. While the candidates weren't radical, and the overall independent effort unsuccessful, the independents, whether they be potential friends or enemies of the movement, suggest several things that radicals interested in electoral activity might find helpful.

## ONLY VICTORY

Sammy Rayner, the only independent victory, unseated one of the "silent six" Negro machine alderman. He did not talk about issues in his campaign, but is relatively good when asked. An affiliate of the civil rights movement, Rayner will follow Leon Depres (white ex-radical from Hyde Park), the only reform oriented anti-Daley muckraker on the council. Rayner will be as good as the people of the 6th ward push him, and unfortunately the organizations of people to do that have yet to be built.

## PRECINCT ORGANIZATION

Rayner won his campaign after 4-1/2 years of work in traditional political fashion. After losing in 1963, he was always present in the community attending funerals (he's an undertaker), block club meetings and social functions. He received the support of Veteran's for Peace, of which he is chairman. Important to note about his campaign is that he had precinct organization (the independent campaigns indicated that results are in direct proportion to precinct organization), and he had poll watchers who guarded his 60% of the vote.

## NEED FOR POLL WATCHERS

In contrast to Rayner, Fred Hubbard, former YMCA street worker, seems to have lost his campaign in the 2nd ward of Congressman Dawson's southside stronghold because he did not have sufficient poll watchers. Observers feel certain that he won, but was robbed. The matter is in the courts with evidence that includes 106 affidavits from people in one precinct who said they voted but are not shown to have done so on the voting records.

Hubbard's campaign was not issue oriented, but based on the need of "independent black representation." He is not a radical, but knows about community organization and employed some of it in his campaign. Important about the Hubbard campaign were it's theft by the machine, his presence in the community, and organization. Hubbard's organization contrasts with the fight waged by Gus Savage who lost in the 21st ward. Savage was a more radical black candidate, was popular, but had less organization.

## NOT RESPONSIBLE TO POOR

While most of the independent black campaigns were run in middle class Negro wards by middle class Negro candidates, there were two campaigns in poor black wards. In the 28th Curtis Foster, a middle class candidate, received 30% of the vote in his bid against the Italian incumbent controlled by the syndicate. Foster had some precinct work, but clearly not enough in that he should have done better running against a white opponent. Foster did not come out of, nor was he responsible to a constituency of poor people. The building of that constituency has yet to be done, and Foster's campaign was not run for that purpose.

ing to build strong organizations of the poor. Those people most active in his campaign were a handful of gang members who worked closely with a staff member of the new School of Community Organization.

## BLOCK WORK PAYS OFF

Clark Kissinger, candidate of the Citizen's for Independent Political Action, ran in the white, middle class Catholic and Jewish 49th ward. His campaign was the most radical of all the independents, focusing on issues that most of the others failed to deal with. CIPA has not yet devoted much attention to finding and working around issues directly felt by people in a middle class neighborhood. Kissinger did poorly, but the campaign helped build the organization, which continues to maintain an office and two full-time staff members. What CIPA learned was that in the 9 precincts worked intensively they received 3 to 4 times more votes than in precincts that were worked only moderately or left relatively untouched. In the moderately worked pre-



Photo: Fred Hecht

incts, as in those relatively untouched, Kissinger received 5% as opposed to 15-20% of the vote in the intensive precincts.

Movement people in Chicago have many questions about the future in electoral politics. Those questions are unanswered, partly because they are only beginning to be formulated. What we did learn, however, is that organization pays off--if only slightly. Organization remains our task. ♦

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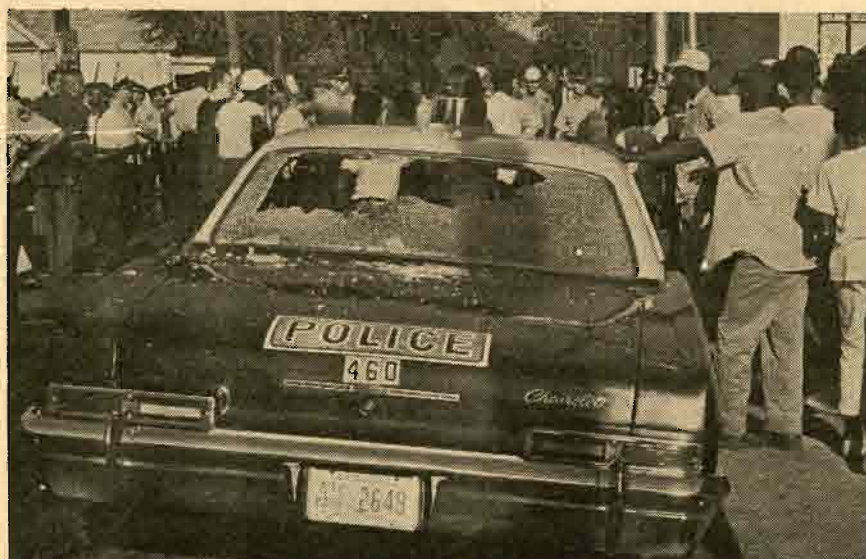
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