The Economic Development Administration announced in April 1967 that it would invest $23 million in this city to create jobs for "hardcore 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," said one EDA official. While the EDA is creating a disposable work force 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 a skilled job training, received little support from EDA or from some unions such as the U.I.U. 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 learned more than they have achieved. They have discovered that in the process of creating a new work force for this country, it will consist of unskilled workers from racial minorities who are unorganized. Only the 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 saw the Black area as a violent area, their fear lasting for the full 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 avert 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 sterilized under Area Redevelopment Administration, a predecessor of EDA. In the Department of Commerce, which was closed down in 1965. The failure of the EDA loans already employed minority group workers. Very few employers cared about the race of their prospective employers—as long as they were willing to endure long hours and bad working conditions. They had found that Negro workers, because they were non-union and have a harder time finding work than white workers, will accept longer hours than most white workers will accept. They get a loan: "I will have no problem in finding work hard." Or, as another businessman put it: "The lower minority group works here now, so it is no problem.

MINERAL LABOR

The kinds of jobs that will open up for Oakland residents, as well as the occupations of the businesses likely to emerge from the process, are emerging at a leisurely pace. Wine workers from racial minorities are unorganized 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

The war in Vietnam is a war which forces the people of the United States to commit genocide on the people of Vietnam. We oppose the war 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 it 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. National Service ideas have young people register at 16. The government would tell them to find where they want deficient in mental and physical ability. The government would then give young, factory workers to recibir a los que el gobierno queria, no para los que el gobierno decia que eran deficientes en mental and physical ability. The government would then give young, factory workers to recibir a los que el gobierno queria, no para los que el gobierno decia que eran deficientes en mental and physical ability.

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 rich, who could not afford private schools. But compulsory education has become a means whereby the government can mass into the young people of this country. This is why our children are not taught Negro History, or only taught how the federal government bought hundreds of treaties with the American Indians in order to take over Indian lands. The federal government is racist. The values the education system teaches are racist. Thus the racial nature of our society continues.

A National Service would give the federal government better control over the youth of the nation, the people who represent the government's 'schools.' We oppose greater control by this government would be like to its people.

Only the American people have the power to stop what the government is doing
WHO ALL LIVES TELL THE 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 SNCN 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. Y'aren't a real problem with the 8-12 age group in the black community. The hippies are really open internally of leaving little places open to people, and those kids who come from poor families go in and stand 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 'dark kid's' concept of what middle class kids ought to be. A hippie is not the obvious money like the white straight cat with the white shirt and a tie. That's dictating 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, but they don't look like white middle-class people at all, in fact they say that white thing is not where it's at, it's some 'flowers' idea. That's caused a lot of tension. Tom Ramsey told me there's a real conflict 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 concept of themselves. In the terms of the black folks, it violates their concept of where it's at.

CONTENT FOR HIPPIES

Concerned about the 14-25 black group I really don't think from what I've heard that there's a lot of hostility. I think there's a content for the hippies amongst the black people that age, but it's really still kind of given.

A lot of black guys are up on Haight Avenue chasing women and this kind of thing. And, you know, that 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 Avenue and watch the guys stand­ ing out 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 ISSUE

There are a lot of reasons why people resent the hippies other than this whole question of challenging a cultural value. I really had one welfare lady say to me about how used to really have a nice black till 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 put their one less house available to lower income black people.

HIPPIE RACISM

I think that there's a lot of racism in the hippie community, both unconscious and...

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

"BETSY FLOOD"

Dearest Friend,

Thanks for printing our letter. Matters have changed for us here since then. Our 'Food Village' was a unique and unusual project that was planned, extremely well put together and worked hard for 17 months — no more. We all just came to the end of our rope. We found good order was not possible without special notices in N.O. PICALEYE and STATE. Our people will know how to regain their enthusiasm when the demand is not so great which may not be long, as all the food suppliers are quite plentiful now.

The IFV program did have repercussions. We reached mayor, council, state and congress, not only record of our support to Sen. Bayh's (D.-Ind.) good '1967 Disaster Relief Act' (S.348), based on grants that (just this) individual sufferers, retroactive to 1964; cost shared by state and federal. State and federal government failure to meet food-30S presents intent to scratch. If S. 348 passes intact, many besides us will get relief.

One other change since writing you is, the great improvement of the new PATRICK, just received your record we compared it to the MOVEMENT. We're happy with the PATRICK as it grows, in working-class content and flavor, as well as appearance. We still love the honesty, down-to-earthness, helpful, economic-political explanations of MOVEMENT. It takes all kinds of it to make a better world.

Frieda Saltz

Whatis this? It might be the February Rogers [New] Orleans, La.

DIFFICULTY

Dear Sirs.

I give you $2 for subscription to your newspaper. Although I have been a supporter of civil rights causes for at least 15 years, I'm having difficulty understanding the "Black Power" concept and think your paper will help.

Younger.

Gree 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 value. This was a typographical error. The correct amount is $800 million. To give some idea of what this means, one land area in 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 16% of the suitable urban land was actually developed for urban use as of last December 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, as the right of eminent domain and similar statutes the State has full legal authority to do, and engage in the utility business. (No other industrialized nation on earth has found it desirable to extract these natural monopolies to private own­ership.) Let's hear from 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 $159 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

Dearest Movement People:

I am very, very impressed with your (our) paper — especially the wide va­ riety of projects you cover: civil rights, black, white, white, electoral campaigns, community organizing — it presents an accurate perspective of what the Move­ ment really is — people working with people for people. I am also impressed with the quality of the reporting and writing.

Don't know the first thing about distrib­ ution a newspaper, but have a few contacts in Washington and N.Y.C. (I'm sure there have been time before and if I could, I'd like to. If you have some back issues around (gold$ 2) 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-bash private consulting or­ ganization in Washington.

Peace and freedom,

Jane Schroeder

WASHINGT0N, D.C.

SENCDS $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 have tried out one sort the Craig 212, which would be perfect for the kind of thing you'd use it for ... Our feel free not 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 the EKAP newsletter for a year, and now that that is dead, your newspaper is really the only one that covers movement activity all across America, even if it's limited in how big an area you can cover. I've given some thought to trying to start up some kind of publication covering the­ rock organization in the East, because this 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

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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 Vietnam. Today, and probably three-fourths of the total and still increasing, are black men. Recall the Negro GI from Alabama who died in Vietnam last spring. "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 the American area; the service offers you a job with physical and mental requirements."

"I'LL GO TO JAIL"

By Renee Goldsmith

Puerto Rican Rebellion

LADO works where over half of the city's 60,000 Puerto Ricans live. Division St. and Damen Ave. are also areas where the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans live in and around the area. Division and Damen is where last summer the community had its first real Puerto Rican rebellion. It occurred in June, at the end of a campaign initiated by the Mayor and "responsible" Puerto Rican organizations. As might be expected, protests 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 license the atmosphere in the neighborhood is a little dirty. A police car tried to arrest a young man he ran and shot in the leg. The cops claimed he had a gun. That set it off. A guy who saw it got angry and went to a nearby police station. He threw rocks at the building: three police cars were burned, young people grabbed hoses and turned them on the policemen. People on the rooftop threw rocks."

Obed Lopez, a Mexican, who had been the leader behind LADO, added that the rebellion was "a result of long and growing frustration that existed between people -- especially young people -- and the police. Police harassment is a factor. I've talked with the community that was involved with LADO. The community's leadership responded to the rebellion by setting up the Spanish Action Command (SAC), Daniel Maldonado, 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 branch in the neighborhood, but the militant group that was needed -- the riots proved this, but after the march on City Hall with Ted White from New York's East Harlem Tenant's Council' things changed. People had gotten together because of the urgency of the situation, but had no long range perspective. The leadership didn't see the connection 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."

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 in a chain gang. The implications of this non-action stance taken by black youth, wherever their reasons, one of insurance could sequence. 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 morals of the American people.
FANON ON TORTURE IN ALGERIA

Franz 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 LE MOUJAHID, an organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.

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 LE MOUJAHID No. 10, Sept. 15, 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.

—Gregory Davis

The Algerian Revolution, by virtue of its profoundly human inspiration and its influence on national identity and, in so doing, it is tantamount to the will of a people. But the permanent value of new revolution resides in the message which it conveys.

The genuine arrogance which the French have committed since Nov. 1, 1954, has caused special alarm; because of their attitude, the vast majority of the French troops in Algeria is rooted in the belief that the Algerian revolutionaries, universally, systematic racism, and a dehumanization that is nationally execrated. This makes torture inherent in the colonial complex.

The Algerian Revolution, in adopting as its main cause 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, therefore, constitutes a demand 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 country. However, the French—Algeria war has certain peculiar features, although, of course, it shares a wider historical background, and is part of the progressive movements of national liberation.

As a colonial settlement (and therefore a proclaimed territory of the mother country) Algeria has lived under xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and authoritarianism for over a century. This may paradoxically explain why Algerian does not provide for colonial disarmament, and the enforcement of international law is too.

Fanon's remarks on the French use of torture in Algeria reveal the true extent of the situation. Colonialism cannot be understood as such, or for that matter, the principle of armed intervention or the attempts to reach the freedom of a people.

TORTURE NECESSARY

For some time now there has been a lively discussion about the torture practiced by French authorities and their patriots. Document have been published, as abundant and as full as they have been precise. Historical parallels have been drawn. Reputable foreign observers as well as Frenchmen have condemned these atrocities.

The Frenchmen who speak out against torture deny its existence or its consequences. They vaguely bring to mind those pure souls of whom the philosopher speak and the innocent victims of political passions who have been tormented upon them by their tormentors... is very appropriate. How is it possible to destroy the maintenance of French domination in Algeria and at the same time to condemn the main causes of this struggle? 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 practicing 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.

In the film "Yellow Submarine" directed by George Dennon in the 60's, one of the characters is a hippie. The entire film is about a gang of hippies, their activities, their political and social movements. It is a very interesting film, and it shows how the use of torture is practised by the Frenchmen in Algeria. The film is a good representation of the French use of torture in Algeria and it shows how the use of torture has to be justified at all.

DRAFT CONT FROM PAGE 1

Vietnam. Only the American people can take the weapons of destruction away from Vietnam. Only the American people can bring this war to an end.

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DRAFT CONT FROM PAGE 1

Vietnam. Only the American people can take the weapons of destruction away from Johnson, MacNamara, Henry, Westmoreland and the rest. The Army provides the power for the war to continue.

For Draft Agers Who Have Shunned, or Refused Induction into the Armed Forces...

We are aware that these actions are undertaken by those who are overtly racist. They come from the lower class kids; they've been raised in a racist atmosphere. They don't like minority people; they don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved. They don't want to be involved.

We will refuse induction into the armed forces.

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

We urge and advise 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.

In March 1966, 15 people have signed this statement.

DRAFT CARD BURNING AT THE NEW YORK CONCERT...

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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.

**MOBMENT: 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 as their union and not Cesar Chaves’ union or Marshall Ganz’ (UFWOC organizer in Arvin - ed.) union?**

**LYONS:** The majority of them in the people who were active before the election. Others have quit and gone to 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.

**MOBMENT: What did you do before you come 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. But I never saw any grape picking.

I first went here and worked 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 MULLIGAN signs, I didn’t know what they meant, I asked some other guys that I was riding with. They didn’t know either, they just was going up working, they wasn’t interested enough to find out what was going on.

I really found out that was happening after a few days, I heard a few stories about these guys was on strikes in Delano, so I started working on the picket line 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 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 about 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 would go down in the fields, we’d just go and talk to the men. But most of the people (strikers) was Mexican people. I never did talk to any of them.

I got scared off half-picking grapes, going up there and not doing anything. I bad got married at the time. I didn’t want to do this, I wanted 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 pesting our leaflets, trying to get them to sign authorization slips and talking to them about union. 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 they was going to fire all the workers and bring up 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 any organizer or nothing, I wanted to see what actually was going on. He talked to Mr. Chaves 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, 5 or 7 of us. Marshall and Richard Flowers would come. We would have meetings at my wife’s uncle’s house, talking to the meetings at my wife’s uncle’s house, talking to the workers. Sometimes we would do a little meeting out at Lamont. We 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 and I 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. These 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 is in the South 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 in a Negro. So I wouldn’t have any problems involving race.
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, because 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, that 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 is this 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 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 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 union. And the agitation doesn't stay still. It's like a cyclone: it swoops, you lose your help, and the movement and to us have moved on. The movement that the same people that say the AFL-CIO does this doesn't have it. It has given us an opportunity to educate the workers--the scabs who are trying to break the union.

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 whenever helping in the boycott. It has gone a long while before it becomes bekommen, and there is no real help 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 those 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 sweeps, 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.

AFF-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?

CHAVEZ: We were at much pains as they were. We were pains for different reasons. We were pains that all of these forces--I'm talking about the students and others who felt this way--and not much 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 calmly told them what we felt. I personally felt pains to see and others who felt this way--had such little faith in people.

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MALCOLM X

He's saying that these guys will go to work for the devil it clear but I'm sure this is his thinking) -that the Negro discipline wouldn't be there. There has to be discipline in a party.

If HE gets ahead he is going to be getting his white man. Really he is saying a lot more (he doesn't make any effort to get that much power to counteract what they are doing. They are the pros. They are in power and the only criticism there is money and there is zeal. They have had a few setbacks, but forgetting about the strike and just talking about the organizing part of it, it's going, I mean. And now that we have people involved, there's a lot of power - like people, like money is taken away from them they fall. When you have people, you'll have a union - you have to involve the workers in the country and the kind that is going on among Mexi-American farm workers.

ORGANIZING BLACKS AND FARM WORKERS

MOVEMENT: What is your thinking on the kind of organization? CHAVEZ: We organize for power so that you can get something. You organize so that you can build power to do something with it, and when you look back, you've got as much as anybody does 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 the people don't have a group that plays its own way. They don't have a teamwork group. This is the kind of power that is needed.

I would agree that Malcolm X was an organizer, but Stokely, well, it's entirely a different thing. I don't see any Stokely, 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 locally, I know there wasn't before.

Now the approach that Malcolm X used was the base meeting - what we used, you know? - he was doing those things that we know, to be a one-man show. There was no one involved. Once you have people there then it's power to do things. But money won't do it alone - all these groups, they have a lot of money. The other thing, you see, that is why they don't continue the money it takes 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, then you've lost the people to whom there is no reason to continue anyway.

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

CHAVEZ: We're not 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 can carry it on.

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 ended up all in one union, it will be a miracle but that's the way it ought to be.

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 blacks. But do the Teamsters have enough sheds or canneries organized to make it worth their while to try and bust your efforts?

CHAVEZ: I said that this is what they had told us, but I don't know only that they say, and you can't try to second guess them. They have a lot of cannery workers. Then you don't have to have too much of anything. All these things are carved up and little empires and this 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 talk his brothers outside the cannery. 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 full time people, it seems. They just get up and say "aw, we quit," you'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 members. They were coming here with their only objective to help farm workers to 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 possible for them 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 people who work with homosexuals, be it Black or Migrant Minstrel, be it the AFL-CIO, be it whatever. They have no membership. That's why we are not making a special case out of it. It is just the way it is going to be. We know from past experience it will be a long time before farm workers can take the leadership of the union. That leadership spot has to be open for them. If they don't choose it, they may 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.

CHAVEZ: I don't see it as such yet. The biggest help they can give us in the boycott, we send to San Francisco and we have very little help, we're very successful, more than ever before. I just imagine what we wouldn't had if we had more help.

VIETNAM

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

CHAVEZ: You see on 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. The thing I know, there was a committee of picketers who wanted to know if he was a Communist. We've seen him a lot harder than Negroes. In the Second World War, the Negroes weren't on the front line, but the Mexicans and the Filipinos were. Many were killed, and you know, when someone is killed, their family becomes twice as loyal.
DELANO, CALIF.

Lorey Chaffield, head of the Farm Worker Service Center in Delano, is usually known as the "Mother." 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 ser-
vice wing" of the union.

MOVEMENT: We're trying to trace the changes the union has gone through in the last six or seven years. What is the Service Center? What is the Service Center and what does it do?

CHAFFIELD: 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, whatever it was, income tax problems, any problems that they needed, then they came to the union. And the union at that time, as I said, was Cesar, Dolores and Gil. Cesar worked full-time, 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 means for us it's something for us to develop 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-AVC.

Coming under the parallel structure, which we call the National Farm Worker 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'aller (Teatro Campestre) and the Farm Worker Press (publisher of El M全国ico).

What I mean by a tenuous relationship is that Cesar thinks it is desirable to have an umbrella organization that will coordinate, clarify, serve to develop all of those things that I've mentioned, We don't go into the Health Clinic, but, on the other hand, we do have to be interpreters. We don't want the Health Clinic or the Credit Union or the Social Services to go around on their own and not be subordinate to the purposes of the union.

An interesting thing to see for ten min-
ters can tell that he will sacrifice every thing 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 just a garage. We service all 6 of them. The guy Earlimart with those five people - they've got something for nothing, goes back, they would expose these problems better to the union membership, for a plan of action. Which is a shame; everyone should be able to interpret. We don't want

MOVEMENT: What is the Service Center trying to do?

CHAFFIELD: Exactly. What I would for­

CHILLHIELD: That is an open membership

MOVEMENT: Do you see a time, after the Service Center begins to take on questions such as the schools, how does the service center function?

CHAFFIELD: I would foresee that as we develop the Social Service part, they will become more and more the center, and much more efficient in applying pressure. And actually they do pretty well - in the Welfare Department, the State Department, and things like that - but I don't think they have a staffed or full-time person, they all live in the community, and they say, I got the same thing the union people get. You don't have to pay dues. That is, they are not union members. The guy that got something for nothing, he goes back to Earlimart, they are the people that say, we have a lot of non-Union members who have, any new structure that got something for nothing, goes back, they'll want to see something for nothing. We still have a long way to go.

MOVEMENT: How would you sum up from your personal experience, what has happened in a year and a half? People tend to characterize it; say something for nothing. What's your experience and what would you say just another part of the labor unions...

CHAFFIELD: I find it hard to believe that we're in 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 Farrell Minetti thing, organizations does. There are so many of these things develop. A lot has happened in a short time. My reaction to the bureaucratic idea - of course structures have developed and departments and 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 to organization, you don't believe in authority, you don't believe in bureaucracy, when you start minimizing and damming things those...}

MOVEMENT: How can you talk about organizing people and as the same time not submit to the discipline of organization? I don't 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, complacent or not. But at this point the farm work-

CHAFFIELD: Well, suppose we're going to sell to the growers, but the point is, you have to have a staffed person, I mean a give a grant to get you started. We're not pretending we don't need outside assistance, but I am also not saying that outside person who gives us outside assistance can tell us how to spend it.

MOVEMENT: What the Co-op for example, will have to pay its bills from the start. At least the Service Center is attempting to underwrite its begin-

CHILLHIELD: The Service Center money comes from a joint grant that was provided by the California Department of Social Services and the LUD. This grant extends for fourteen months, beginning last November. The way I look at it is by next May we have something going, paying for it, the farm workers can have some everything for me, I can't figure it out now, but, the Social Service part of the Service Center will begin to take over the management 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 completely lost now.

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

CHAFFIELD: Yes. The service station, garage, and consumer co-op. Say, everything will be cooperative.

MOVEMENT: Cooperative means that, when we receive approval from the State Commission, we could issue 200 shares of stock, to be sold at $10 apiece. This stock will be made available to Union members only.

MOVEMENT: Our by-laws do not call for Union members only. Yes, to say that the people who will be buying this stock will be farm workers. We're going to issue stock, and the members are going to be open-members, that is an open membership.

MOVEMENT: Not going to sell to the growers?

CHAFFIELD: Well, I suppose we'll have to wait to see the growers, but the point is, you have to have a staffed person elected, just like every other corporation.

MOVEMENT: Who gets the profits?

CHAFFIELD: The profits will go to the Co-op.

MOVEMENT: Not to the union?

CHAFFIELD: No. Many of these things are separate corporate entities, because (1) We're not all a State Credit Union; it has its own corporate structure and is governed by a Board of Directors of California. The same way with the Health Clinic, the Co-op, the Credit Union.

Those of us who work in the office, we keep these things separate; most of the times, the union's money doesn't. This, all of these means one thing - the union.

MOVEMENT: Do you have a separate Co-op member to shop at the Co-op. Does your union member-

CHAFFIELD: 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 get your $10 back. I see a problem arising. Maybe a by-law change will be necessary. If we begin to lose faith in the Co-op members, that could be tricky. But the whole idea is, for the time being, at least we're not talking about selling the shares. Our thrust should be 90% toward farm workers in setting shares. I would just like to keep from us having a special price for Union mem-

SIGN IS 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; say something for nothing. What's your experience and what would you say just another part of the labor unions...
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 no accident that 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 50,000 Mexican citizens are employed in the fields. The median income for a Spanish-speaking male worker in the valley is $579 a year.

Ironically, the strike at La Casita is a strike nobody wanted. (Farmworkers there, 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 find any vegetables, as a result of irrigation. The Starr County growers understand the importance of this strike (see the editorial from "La Verdad" below). They have invited growers 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 two parts:

BOYCOTT
Since the border cannot be closed to the Mexican workers who are used as scalps, much of UFWOC's effort is going into boycotts. 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, UF­ WOC organizers talk with them, explain the union, and get inside information that helps the union.

PACKING SHED ELECTIONS
These Nevada's were able to meet the re­ quirements 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 employed workers must request an election.

Starr 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 yet on any election.

If the union wins the election, this means only that the company must sit down and organize 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.

TERRORISM
TEXAS IS A WILD SCENE
This state was a fitting place for the assassinations 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 Furbush. The AFL-CIO has been unable to encourage voter registration among Negroes and Mexican-Americans. The major industry besides oil is aerospace. The UAW has organized this industry, but it has considerable economic power. Politically, the AFL-CIO seems to be tied in with the Johnson-Connelly conser­ vative faction. It emphasizes union organ­ization rather than voter registration.

All labor and liberal factions support the strike, but it has a more important than the winning political parties. South from Texas go cars and liquor. The local judge has go cars and liquor. The local judge has go cars and liquor. The local judge has

THE TEXAS STRIKE (clockwise from left):

Workers link in front of UFWOC headquarters;
Two riotersAC^ prepare to strike kitchen;
The leader of one of the striking workers, a union guard's col­league;
Paschi Mallman of the UAW and Jim Drake, NFWA admin­istrator, discuss the strike with reporters (center);
Scab workers being hauled in a La Casita truck;
Signing in the union dining hall.

GROWER'S VIEW OF TEXAS STRIKE

LA VERDAD is a four-page newspaper, published in English and Spanish whenever money is given to its publication. It supports the right­ wing growers 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 1, Feb. 10, 1967.

We all know that all of the people stirring up trouble are paid "leafless" who have come from Delano, California to help instigate and harass the poor folks of Rio Grande City. . . . Some of the leadership of the union at the site of the strike is composed of "honda" criminals . . . .

Incidentally, there will be a banquet of some sort here (Corpus Christi, ed.) . . . "officially" turn over some of the money collected to the striking workmen. Everybody is invited . . . for a

meal ticket . . .

We have seen farm laborers invited to banquets and speeches.

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 any that bull.

If these guys come here and start trouble as they have in Rio Grande City, I won't feel around with them. I'D GIVE THEM 24 HOURS TO CLEAR OUT and 51AY OUT. If these troops think that the constitu­ tion 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.
FEDERAL DOE TO WORLD AIRWAYS

One of the firms which was approved from the Employment Review Board was World Airways, Inc. They will be leasing an airplane hangar, financed by grants and loans from EDA and from the Port of Oakland. They claimed they will create 1,136 new jobs, World Airways is in line to receive $10 million in proceeds.

World Airways was not content with getting this federal financing. They subsequently went on the offensive, announcing a program of creating a FEDERALLY FINANCED job training project for airplane maintenance mechanics.

At a Munpover 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) a residence in Oakland for six months or more, and (2) a 10 grade level education, especially in mathematics. It was estimated that $1.5 million would be needed for this program. A representative of World Airways stressed that they "would probably be the one major employers" who hired men out of the program.

A mail from the San Francisco Department of Employment suggests that the Board has representatives present at the meeting. He said, "How can you say that those 500 mechanics will be trained and hard-core unemployed, if they need a 10 grade education?" The EDA REPRESENTATIVE TO YOU said "MUNPOVER WAS TO TRAIN LONG-TERM UNEMPL­ OYED MALES ONLY." So the Board may wish to ask the DOE, if "we don't absorb these people now, in five years they will become hard-core unemployed men.

The program was the result of the MDT-Board. The general feeling was that "something must be done" and that there was a "need for training programs at this late hour." World Airways has a government-financed training program for future employees in the field. The Airplane Mechanics are at a PREMIUM. As attested to in the S.F. Chronicle October 25, one airplane mechanic is making $4,000. The Government's "acute shortage" of mechanics. The International Association of Machinists is making this very clear.

The EDA Program is not aimed toward the plane mechanics, but is an attempt to give a financial back-up to the EDA program. The Port make up the bulk of the $23 million grant-loan package from EDA. 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.

It is possible that someone in the Federal Government who hired a former rubber stamped all the EDA proposed plans. The members of the Board from the Oakland area, and one from EDA, Up to the present this Board has simply rubber stamped the EDA proposed plans. The members of the Board from the areas that feel that "they have been taken advantage of" believe that their role was supposed to be, EDA, based on their area, and not doing any of these plans. They had no time to study them or talk them over before they were requested to vote approval of the EDA-proposed plans. When the Board met after December, 

One board member stated that the Board was faced with a great many financial or major changes because the firm which came up for review had opened a great deal of waterfront property.

The Board had nothing to do with the firm but the first project was nearly completed. The Board was faced with the problem of what to do now after the firm began work on the loans.

HELP: TOMORROW IS MENTORDAY organize a National Financial Investment Pool for the Economic Freedom of Negroes and Puerto Ricans working together, Division St., is the place where it can be done. The leaders don't want that.

LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION

Daley called into work and apologized. I talked briefly with Castro, at the street about the neighborhood, the leadership, and the movement for a possible Negro laborer. "The people who call themselves leaders don't know the people who were hurt, but they had to be satisfied with what they got."

This share this lady's pain when I held her in my arms. They were talking to the press, trying to stop their own people. The young people are the hope of the community. They were aware of the job loss, and were cut off from school. But we've got time. We will march, march, march. The older people will follow us in the steps of the businessmen give us a little money. They know we are "being burnt red, but they won't say anything in public."
Chicago, Illinois

**Melody Jones**

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 the task of education, the welfare system and the 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 galls so steadily through our society.

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, to move in the right direction is with this perspective that the Movement can explore and use the arts.

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 Negros. JOIN was started several years ago as a project of ERAP of the Students for a Democratic Society. It 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 take place in Uptown.

This will really mean "poor people removal!" from Uptown. We are working on a petition to persuade the community to fight for the kind of Urban Renewal we want, decent housing with a community spirit that will return after the "clean up" without being touched.

**MAINSPRING OF DIRECT ACTION**

The JOIN theatre project is designed to support this community action and to fit into JOIN's overall program of community efforts around these issues. "The theatrical experience," has always been an effective mode of communication for the people. But we are attempting to make that experience participatory, to use the expression, so that people will not just go to see the use of the experience to serve as a mainspring to direct action.

The JOIN theatre project certainly is not new to America, but the JOIN Theatre group is new when one looks at who does the theatre. Simplistically, the JOIN groups are the same. JOIN groups like San Francisco Mimeo Troop, the Broadway Group, the Southern Theatre, Theatre in New York, the JOIN group is made up of an interested group of concerned people.

Since November a slowly growing group has gotten together once a week to put on a show. But 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 meetings. At first we were pleasantly surprised at what we could "throw together." We really didn't expect to get a group of people to come up with a couple of individuals to improvise, and risk making fools of themselves. We would put up some skits that we have heard expressed in exaggerated situations, broaden characterizations, stick in a bit of music, add a search for a punch line, pin some costumes on, scatter a few props around the stage, and roar "Action!" and the JOIN theatre group was on.

(Join that first night of skits there had been quite a debate about whether to open as a series of a theatre project for JOIN. The main argument was that if JOIN could survive the expansion of another committee that would obviously be more time consuming and the time of the same group of people.

**PROPHECY OF DOOM**

There never was a formal discussion. The skit about the "Peoples of Doom" (a JOIN anti-war skit) was written as a sign declaring, "The End is Near!" which was presented at a meeting held by a group of people who had been angered by the approach to the Vietnam War by the U.S. military. They decided to present a skit that would show how the war was affecting their lives and the lives of others.

The skit was shown at the first meeting and was well received. The room was filled with people excited who had never seen a performance of this type before. The skit was repeated at the next meeting and was equally as well received. The group was pleased with the response of the audience and decided to continue with the project.

**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 the problems and the need to fight them together had united the room of strange people. We also found this true when we put on two skits in Washington-D.C. last summer: "Radical Vocations in the White Community." We when we put on two skits in Washington DC. last summer: "Radical Vocations in the White Community."

**DONNA LEE DOWN-AND-OUT**

Our favorite skit is a tale of welfare run-around and the medical services "given" to the recipients. The story, based on a real recipient's experience, about Donna Lee Down-and-Out and us in a agency the welfare doctor Pane-Aught-Worth. Since that night we have never questioned the message and relationships became the same problem of JOIN. We know our aims, and we know a lot of changing must be done. The group's impression of the theatre project is "poor people removal and to have a say in when we put on two skits in Washington D.C. last summer: "Radical Vocations in the White Community."

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**Q U E S T I O N S**

But the problem posed by the skit was the same one we face every time we go out to anyone in the community and ask their opinions.

**STREET CORNER SKIRLS**

Our enthusiasm also grows toward the spring and summer plans for art and performances. They'll be helpful to JOIN as an organizing tool to the welfare, housing, police brutality, and human rights struggle.

The group of performers of the theatre is still one of fun and excitement. We have not really returned to 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 on the productions.

It would seem that "reasonable" playing is in its infancy, and the only way to start going to the right direction, can only serve to re-enforce the "senseless struggle" in Chicago and throughout the Movement. The skits are a way of putting the Movement and the Movement must supply a growing commons that our society and system have failed to produce products, and answer to.

**EDITOR'S NOTE: This article on the JOIN theatre project appeared in a series of articles on union-theatre activities throughout the theatre. The next article will be about the Teatro Comunitario by Luis Valdez.**

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NOTES FROM CHICAGO

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 in the city council, composed of fifty aldermen. Aldermen 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 (from black to white) wards. While the candidates weren't radical, and the over-all independent effort unsuccessful, the independents, whether they be potential friends or enemies of the machine, suggest that the building of a radical electorate interested in electoral activity might be helpful.

ONLY VICTORY

Sammy Rayner, the only independent victory, unseated one of the "all-time all Negro machine (CIPA) candidates. While Rayner did not talk about issues in his campaign, but is relatively good when the results of the right wing machine, Rayner will follow Leon (who's really radical) from Hyde Park, the only reform oriented anti-Daley muckrakers on the council. Rayner will be as good as the people of the 6th ward push him, and unfortunately the organization 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 precinct organization (the Defender, Chicago's most important Negro paper, and he was supported by the West Side Organization (WSO), a strong and militant welfare union. Unfortunately for Rayner's campaign, WSO's resources were not employed in the race, but rather in their continuing effort work toward building a precinct's union and fighting police brutality. The hopeful thing about Rayner is that he is open to working with aid helping 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.

Blok WORK PAYS OFF

Clark Kissinger, candidate of the Citizen's for Independent Political Action, ran in the white, middle class Catholic and Jewish 4th 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 is that the 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 precincts, 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 unanswered, partly because they are only beginning to be formulated. What we did learn, however, is that organization pays off--off only slightly. Organization remains our task.

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), participating in neighborhood planning, block club meetings and social functions. He received the support of Veterans of Peace, of which he is chairman. Important to note about his campaign is that he has precinct organization (the independent campaign indicated that results are in direct proportion to precinct organization), and he had poll watchers who showed 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 Congressmen Dawson's southside black wards. 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.

NOT RESPONSIBLE TO POOR

While most of the independent black campaigns were run in middle class Negro wards by middle class Negro machine (CIPA) candidates, there were two campaigns (poor black, wards. In the 26th Congresswoman Foster, a middle class candidate, received 30% of the vote in this ward against the Italian incumbent supported by the machine. 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.

NEED FOR MANY ISSUES

Lester Jackson did poorly in the 29th ward. The syndicate replaced the white incumbent with a Negro, having Jackson without the white-black issue that characterized all the independent black campaigns except Hubbard's. Jackson did not have an organization, although he received considerable publicity in the Defender, Chicago's most important Negro paper, and he was supported by the West Side Organization (WSO), a strong and militant welfare union. Unfortunately for Jackson's campaign, WSO's resources were not employed in the race, but rather in their continuing effort work toward building a precinct's union and fighting police brutality.

The hopeful thing about Jackson is that he is open to working with aid helping 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.

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