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# THE MOVEMENT

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## JULIAN BOND, 136TH DISTRICT, FIGHT FOR REPRESENTATION, PROTEST BAD HOUSING

ATLANTA -- Julian Bond's fight for his elected seat in the Georgia legislature continues in court this month. Support for his case has been gathering around the country. Meanwhile, Julian is carrying out his duties as the representative of the citizens of the 136th District, during a bitter cold wave that dramatized living conditions there.

### National Support

23 Democratic representatives in the House joined the attack on the Georgia legislature for refusing to seat Bond.

"We strongly protest the denial to Julian Bond of his seat in the Georgia House on the basis of the unpopularity of his political views on one of the great issues confronting our nation," the statement read. Those signing it from California are Don Edwards, Gus Hawkins, George Brown, Ronald Cameron, Jeffrey Cohelan, Robert Leggett and Lionel Van Deerlin.

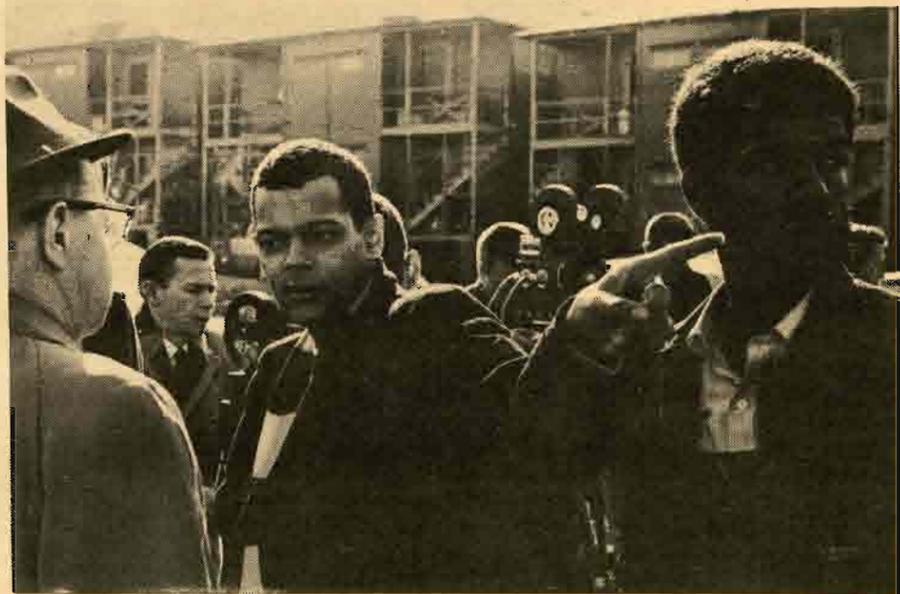
A message of support was also received from Vice-President Humphrey.

Segregationists are keeping close watch on the outcome of the court case. "We could do the same thing in Alabama if a similar case should come up," the Wall Street Journal quotes segregationist Birmingham attorney James H. Faulkner as saying.

### Cold Wave

The last week in January, a cold wave struck the south, causing widespread suffering in inadequate housing and fires in improperly heated homes, Bond, snowbound in Washington, D.C., telegrammed Atlanta's Mayor Allen, "Word has reached me of the suffering which many of the people in my district are facing because of the current cold wave. I believe this situation is the result of the city's failure in its responsibility to ensure that every resident of Atlanta has adequate and comfortable housing. There is no justification for houses without heat. . . I call upon you to mobilize all the resources of the city to provide adequate heat and blankets, emergency food and medical care. . ."

A worker for the Vine City Community Council, a group in Bond's district, stated



JULIAN BOND shows bad housing to press in Atlanta

"We've seen 50 homes today with inadequate heating. They are such slums as the house at 78 Markham Street owned by a Mr. Joseph Schafer. The house has no electricity, heat or hot water. The tenants pay \$40 to \$50 a month."

### Meeting With Mayor

The same day, Julian held a press conference in front of the Markham Street Hotel, and pledged full support to the people's efforts. Bond said,

"I stand here today in front of a hotel that has not been condemned by the city for violations of the city code. Within are many conditions representative of poor housing in Atlanta and throughout the United States.

"Markham Street is symbolic of many streets in the black ghettos of this nation where there exist slum houses from which greedy landlords make huge profits. . ."

"Atlanta has a chance to begin correcting some of the evils of slum housing in the United States by taking the following actions:

"1. Create a Freedom Village within the 136th Assembly District that is to be built before anyone is relocated.

"2. Declare an Operation Fix-It which would force slum landlords to comply with the housing code within the next six months.

"3. Request millions of dollars from the federal government to build public housing to be constructed before anyone is removed from an unfit dwelling.

"4. Mayor Ivor Allen must make a public statement assuring the right to proper heating, running hot water, adequate blankets and a house through which the winter wind does not blow, will be secured and protected by the city.

"5. A public declaration by the Mayor that Vine City is a disaster area and that all the resources of the city will be directed toward changing the living conditions in this area as well as the other areas of poor housing in the city."

### Re-election

Bond, who was elected by 83% of the voters in his district, will stand for re-election in a special election. His popularity has been rising steadily since the action by the legislature. "It would be ridiculous to run against him now," a former opponent is quoted as saying.



CESAR CHAVEZ calling from picket line to strikebreakers in fields, Delano news -- pages 3-6. George Ballis photo

## TUSKEGEE: "MODEL CITY" ERUPTS

TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA -- Early in the morning of January 4, 1966, civil rights worker Sammy Younge, 22, was murdered. Younge was one more in a long list of movement men and women murdered, but his death exposed the lie behind a southern liberal town, the town of Tuskegee, known for its "fine race relations."

Two days after Younge's death 200 students from Tuskegee Institute, where Younge had attended school, marched downtown. Gwen Patton, student body president, presented the city council with 8 demands.

They asked that Younge's killer be convicted. They asked that the segregated gas station where Younge was killed lose its franchise. They called for desegregation of all public facilities; the closing of the "so-called white private clubs formed to evade the civil rights act;" the dissolution of all-white "private schools;" more jobs for Negroes downtown. They demanded that if there was no direct action from the city council, the city council be dissolved; that if the police force could not be more competent, it too be dissolved.

There are 22,000 Negroes in Macon County and 3,400 whites. It is very kind of the whites to be so liberal. Speaking at the town square as Tuskegee student knelt in remembrance of Younge, Miss Patton said,

"...the student body at Tuskegee will do all in its power to bring justice to Macon County. The students will tear this town to bits if justice is not served. If a brick is thrown we will retaliate. If there are any people out there who wish to take us on, remember we are approximately 3,000 strong. We want action, freedom and justice now. We will be moving downtown daily if necessary with the entire student

(CONTINUED PAGE 7 COLUMN 1)

## Parents Boycott Busses, Hold Freedom School

SAN FRANCISCO -- Dudley Stone School in the Haight-Ashbury district is a "slum" school. Most of its students are Negro. Many of their parents have for some time been disturbed over conditions there: plumbing is bad, the cafeteria is too small, there is inadequate playground space.

This discontent took focus last month when an expensive plan for integration-by-bussing was proposed and passed by the Board of Education. The basic idea was to bus Dudley Stone pupils out of the area into the lily-white Sunset District. The parents objected.

"The parents at Dudley Stone Grammar School do not want this bussing plan" says a statement released by parents Hank Jones and Ethel Smith. "We think the only reason it was adopted-- was to qualify for \$3.4 million dollars. . . The School Board really doesn't want to spend tax money to provide quality educational facilities in schools with heavy Negro enrollments."

At a Parent's meeting in Howard Presbyterian Church, Dudley Stone Principal Seymour showed up, invited, to head off the insurgent group.

One part of the school board proposal that rankled the parents was the description of their children as "culturally disadvantaged." What does that mean, they asked Seymour.



HANK JONES of the Parents' Committee

"Well, doesn't that mean their parents earn less than \$4,000 a year?" he replied.

"What has culturally disadvantaged got to do with money?" exclaimed one of the mothers.

"You've got it," said another, "culture is money."

Looking unhappy, Seymour defensively claimed it was a federal definition -- he had nothing to do with it.

"We've got a culturally disadvantaged government," said one of the parents.

Another subject of discussion was the way the Parents' position seemed to jibe with the position of a reactionary group in the Sunset District called "Mothers for

Neighborhood Schools." "Mothers" wanted to keep the Negroes out of their lily-white schools.

"Our kids are being bussed and theirs aren't," said Pete Robinson, a Parents' spokesman. "I really want neighborhood schools. They just want to keep our kids out. I feel the best education is where my kids are in a neighborhood school where I have a say in school affairs. This is not being done by my choice. My influence is greater where I have access; a school is part of the neighborhood in which it exists. The real question is why should schools in the Sunset be better than Dudley Stone? If this means we begin to question the basic philosophy of education in San Francisco, well and good; it's about the worst I've seen."

### Picket at the B of E

The decision was made to picket the next meeting of the Board of Education, Jan. 18. That night the parents showed up in force, carrying picket signs reading, NO ONE-WAY BUSSING and IF THIS IS INTEGRATION, WHO NEEDS IT? They entered the meeting room, marched around the aisles, and then sat in the seats to listen to their spokesman testify.

Pete Robinson was placed last on the agenda. "The Board of Ed oozed all over the Mothers for Neighborhood Schools,"

says Tom Ramsey, SNCC organizer in the Haight-Ashbury, "but when Pete spoke they gave him the cold shoulder. The Parents really saw where the sympathy of the Board lay."

### Boycott

The Parents then decided to boycott Dudley Stone on the first day of bussing, February 1. A Freedom School was planned for that day at Howard Church. The boycott succeeded beyond their expectations. Roughly half the students stayed out; 70 attended the Freedom School.

Stokely Carmichael, SNCC Field Secretary from Lowndes County, Alabama (see interview, page 8) spoke to the students at the Freedom School. He raised to them the sort of questions discussed in Southern Freedom Schools. One of the questions he asked was "Should parents of school children have the right to select the principal of their school?"

Carmichael attacked the bussing plan. "It's part of the whole thing that afflicts ghettos. The white community says to the Negro -- "Our schools are better than yours because white is right. So you integrate with us. Don't ask our kids to go to a Negro school; that's slumming." It reinforces the feeling of inferiority that Negro kids get from the whole white educational system."

# 1st Anniversary MFDP STRONG, GROWING Mississippi Negroes Occupy Air Base

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI -- On January 2, 1966, 300 people met in Jackson for the convention of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The convention minutes and reports from state projects and districts indicate that the MFDP is still growing and becoming stronger in Mississippi. Though the FDP has not made national news lately, it has knuckled down to the problems of the state and of its constituents and is coming up with concrete programs.

## Active Party

Mrs. Annie Devine, member of the FDP Executive Board, wrote, ". . . we have been organized almost 2 years and we are proud of our record as an organization. . . What was accomplished in the state of Mississippi in the last 4 years is more significant than many people in Mississippi could ever dream. MFDP, which is not just another civil rights organization, has become the political voice of the people in the state of Mississippi. . . We are the only party active in the state of Mississippi. . . We are running congressional candidates in the Congressional Districts and also running a candidate for Senate. We have filed a reapportionment suit (significant because of the number of newly registered Negro voters). . . all of us have been directly involved in one way or another in getting the 26,000 people registered by the federal registrars."

## Registration, Boycotts

The activities of the FDP are diverse and not limited to electoral politics. There is continued work in voter registration. Although the addition of federal registrars has increased the registration of Negroes, there are, the FDP points out, 82 counties in the state, and only 19 counties have federal registrars. The FDP has been demanding that the Justice Department correct this.

Consumer boycotts in many towns have brought concessions from city councils and businessmen. Integration of many grades of the public schools has taken place -- but

not, of course, without the usual cross burnings and reprisals.

## Investigating "HELP"

Project HELP, part of the Poverty Program, is a six-month food distribution and education program. The FDP asked each county to investigate the handling of the OEO money and administration of HELP.

Mrs. Devine stated in her Health and Welfare Report, "I suggest. . . that we look further into Operation HELP. . . the OEO grant of \$1.5 million to Mississippi, which is supposed to give jobs to about 450 poor people on a county basis, and jobs to 16 poor people on a state-wide basis. We know that some of the 1 1/2 million dollars will be withheld from Mississippi if she doesn't comply with Federal regulations. It is our job. . . to see what happens in EACH county."

## Stuffing Bags

A delegation from the FDP visited the State Welfare Commissioner, Miss Evelyn Gandy, to inquire about Operation HELP. They found that the State Advisory Committee for HELP had not yet been set up.

When asked if applications for jobs with HELP were being accepted, Miss Gandy answered, "Yes. People should apply for jobs under this program now. People will be placed on a qualification basis. For example, some people can fill the bags with commodities."

## Inaction

In many counties FDP delegations visited the local welfare office to ask about the program. They were met with a know-nothing attitude. In Bolivar County, reports Mrs. Velma Bartly of Shaw, the group submitted a proposal with recommended names for the county advisory committee; ways of publicizing the program; suggestions about where food distribution offices should be set up.

"We were told by the manager that he had been sick for the past three months and knew nothing about the program."

(Finally, fed up with inaction and resistance, one group in Greenville occupied a deserted Air Force base in protest (see article this page).)

## Oust Racists

The Health and Welfare Report of the convention called for a massive increase in State spending on health services, the extension of Medicare to all poor people, and complete and immediate desegregation of all health facilities in the state.

The report also stated, ". . . we support the idea of welfare, but we do not support the continuance of the present welfare administration in the state. Welfare will not be fairly distributed until racist officials are cleared out of office."

The FDP also announced a lawsuit to throw out the recent ASCS elections in Mississippi. There were numerous cases of fraud. Wives whose names are on land deeds (which entitles them to vote according to the original federal legislation -- see last month's MOVEMENT) were denied a ballot. Sharecroppers couldn't get ballots -- or if they did they were sent to the landlord instead of directly.

Farmers discovered that their names were on the ballots as candidates without their consent (the white County Committees often placed many Negroes on the ballot in an attempt to split the Negro vote.)

Out of 243 movement candidates running in the state, 32 won positions on ASCS community committees. Nineteen are voting delegates and 14 are non-voting alternates.

## A Different Mississippi

In the two years of its life, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has changed the atmosphere of the state and the concrete living conditions of its people.

The FDP began by challenging the racist government of the state. It did not stop when that challenge was ignored by the U. S. Congress. In every district, the Freedom Democrats are working to make politics a meaningful activity to Mississippians. Freedom politics are more than elections. They are politics that involve everyday living conditions: welfare rights, cotton allotments, FHA loans, hospitals, voting rights, schools and buses for children, courtesy titles for adults, jobs, homes. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party continues to fight for these.

GREENVILLE - On January 31, a group of over 70 sharecroppers camped in an empty barracks at the Greenville Air Force Base. Their demands were land, jobs, food, shelter and the necessities of life.

The Delta farmers had attended a weekend meeting at Mount Beulah of over 700 poor people from around the state. Problems of the poor in Mississippi were discussed.

The demonstrators entered the base, bringing blankets, stoves, coal, food, mops, broom, and water. When challenged by a guard at the base, who asked what they wanted, they replied, "Freedom."

They were protesting the failure of the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute promised food.

## Demands

A list of demands was issued by the group at the Air Force Base and their supporters at Mount Beulah, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Delta Ministry and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. The demands were:

"1. We demand food. We are here because we are hungry. Our children can't be taught in school because they are hungry. They can't even get food in school because they have to buy it and don't have the money.

"2. We demand jobs. Many of us have been thrown off the plantation where we worked for nothing all our lives. We don't want charity. We demand our right to jobs so that we can do something with our lives. . .

"3. We demand job training. We demand that people be trained for things that they want to do and that they be paid while they are being trained.

"4. We demand income. We demand that poor people be given the income they deserve. But until we get an income we want commodities that are fit to eat. The commodities we get now are old and full of bugs and weevils. We want fresh vegetables, fruit and meat. We want to decide what foods we want to eat. The fe-

(CONTINUED PAGE 7, COLUMN 3)

# BOGALUSA - YEAR OF VIOLENCE AND CHANGE

By Sara Shumer

BOGALUSA, LOUISIANA -- A.Z. Young, President of the Bogalusa Voters and Civil League, set the tone of frustration and determination that marked the first anniversary of the League. The anniversary was marked by four days of activity last month.

"We have been getting our freedom on the installment plan," he said. "Abraham Lincoln paid the down-payment and the recent acts of Congress have been mere installment payments. We're tired of this installment plan. We want all our freedom now, like other Americans. And I know but one way to our freedom in Bogalusa and that's to march and demonstrate and fight back until we get it."

During the four days nightly rallies were attended by 75 to 300 people. Crown-Zellerbach and downtown Bogalusa stores were picketed. On Friday, January 28, James Farmer led a march of 500 down to City Hall.

Although James Farmer was the main attraction and many marched because he led, it was their own leader, A.Z. Young, who held their attention. At a rally, Young held up the sheet and hood of the Klan.

They did not wear the uniforms, because James Farmer, at the last minute, objected to the image it might create. Most of the local leaders disagreed, but yielded to Farmer's wishes. Young later said their hope had been, "to show the scared white merchants as well as Negroes that they need not fear the Klan."

There is a new focus for BVL -- electoral politics. During the year, the BVL had been concerned with jobs, desegregation and lack of police protection. Young announced that this year they will also be running candidates in local school board, city council and parish (county) elections.

Last summer in a voter registration drive, the BVL registered about 30% of the Negroes in the parish.

Farmer supported this move. "CORE too is no longer non-political or non-partisan. We must take part in politics, in elections, if we are to win in this

freedom revolution." Farmer did not discuss the problem of whether Negroes should organize independent parties or support regular candidates.

The BVL is undecided on this question. This is the first time they have seriously considered election politics; they have not yet organized or thought about a political party. They are also aware of the limits of their electoral power; at most, Negroes will be about 30% of the electorate.



## Crown-Zellerbach

More action is planned against Crown-Zellerbach, the largest employer in town (a box factory and paper mill). Past action centered on discrimination within the plants -- separate time clocks, lockers, unions and rates of promotion.

When complaints were filed under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Committee on Equal Employment sent in investigators, but Crown-Zellerbach refused to let them see any but those departments from which they had received specific complaints.

The BVL is awaiting the report of the Committee. They hope for a comprehensive investigation and for the merger of Negro and white lines of promotion. Past proposals by the company have created categories making it difficult for those in low paying jobs (mainly Negroes) to advance to higher categories.

Crown also employs 600 women in production, none of them Negro. When their demands were rebuffed, the BVL replied, "We don't care how jobs are found by the company; since the company created the problem, they can find the solution. We want jobs for Negro women now."

Mrs. Gayle Jenkins is organizing women for direct action against Crown. A move in the next few weeks will involve a march and possible picketing, sit-ins and a boycott.

## Background

This was the first anniversary of the BVL as an activist civil rights organization, one that has taken on the Klan, the city, the police, Crown Zellerbach and the downtown merchants. BVL as an organization began some 20 years ago. It attracted few members -- teachers, ministers and returned veterans -- and was limited to individual attempts to register.

In Bogalusa the white power structure did not see them as a threat. They were permitted to register and even had friendly discussions on the "racial question." The radical change in the BVL last year was due, ironically, to the Mayor.

Early in January, 1965, the Klan forced the cancellation of a speech by Brooks Hays a former Arkansas congressman, who was to speak on how other cities had dealt with racial problems. The action confirmed Bogalusa's reputation as a Klan-controlled town. Crown-Zellerbach found this reputation embarrassing.

Through city officials, Crown arranged for the BVL to conduct a day of testing public accommodations -- to prove that Bogalusa was a progressing if not a progressive town.

BVL had never engaged in direct action; they asked CORE to come in and help them. The Mayor agreed. The "day of testing" went off smoothly. Then the BVL leadership moved to complete its end of the bargain by asking CORE to leave.

At this point the membership of the BVL realized that they had been tricked and rejected one-day-integration. They in-

sisted that testing continue and that CORE stay. A struggle ensued; a new leadership and a new movement arose.

The Klan, not unexpectedly, was upset. A large lynch mob was formed to force the CORE workers out. When they refused to leave, the Klans emissary, the Police Chief, refused to give them protection.

This combination of Klan terror and police indifference was to be typical of Bogalusa in 1965. In response, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, an armed and highly organized group whose presence at trouble spots has prevented violence, was organized.

But patience is wearing thin. Young has warned that if the Klan burns another cross, "We'll be striking a match, too." Charles Sims, President of the Deacons, told an anniversary rally, "If there is another day like bloody Wednesday last October, I will take the Deacons for Defense off the defensive and on to the offensive."

He was not referring to Klan action. Klan terror has largely been subdued by the threat of return fire. Last fall, the police took over the Klan's role. During a school boycott in October, they arrested almost 250 students for delinquency and six BVL leaders for contributing to delinquency.

With the leaders in jail, the police stormed the Negro section, pulling parents out of their homes and people out of cafes and bars. Dogs and billyclubs were used freely in one of the bloodiest incidents in Bogalusa's history of civil rights ferment.

The police were subsequently sued for breaking an injunction to protect civil rights demonstrators. But thorough reform of the Police Department is the only real solution.

BVL began by confronting the downtown merchants on the issue of integration. This has developed into a highly effective boycott, now six months old. The power structure has fought back more openly. It is clear to Negroes that they must seek to change that power structure through elections as well as through the pressure of marches and boycotts.

\* THE GRAPE GROWERS have started an "accelerated schedule of speaking engagements before agribusiness, civil, church and political organizations," according to the Bakersfield Californian, to tell the "grower version" of what is happening in the strike that the growers don't admit is happening.

Martin Zaninovich, Jack Pandol, and Luis Caratan have appeared before such organizations as the California Canning Peach Association and the Hayward Young Democrats.

\* THE TULARE COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT was ripped by a NFWA report issued last month. The report exposed unfair practices of the Department, and declared that Tulare County is a poverty-stricken area. 27% of the population earns less than \$3,000 a year.

\* SEVEN WORKERS WHO QUIT THE SCHENLEY RANCH went to get their pay from the pay office, accompanied by Alex Hoffman, NFWA attorney. When they were given the runaround, Hoffman protested. The payroll clerk asked him to step into the office. When he walked in the door, a Schenley foreman saw his HUELGA button and started to curse and shove him, Hoffman plans to sue Schenley for assault and battery and is filing a formal criminal complaint.

\* A FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT is developing at the Delano schools. When the children of Cesar Chavez and Gilbert Padilla came to school wearing HEULGA buttons, the principal tried to expel them. Padilla's two daughters, who were transferring to the Delano high school were not allowed to register by the registrar until they took off their buttons. They refused. The girls asked the principal why they were told to take off the buttons. He replied, "because we're neutral." One of the girls told him, "either you're against the strike or you're a liar." When they threatened to picket the school the principal backed down and allowed them to wear the HUELGA pins.

\* A MILE-LONG PICKET LINE was reported by Picket Captain Luis Valdez. "We had 60 cars out last Saturday," he stated at a February general meeting. "We scared hell out of the scabs."



SCAB PRUNER. Note grapes still on vines.

\* There is a severe shortage of basic commodities needed by the NFWA kitchen. We urge our readers to contribute LARD, SALT, BAKING POWDER, SUGAR, COFFEE, FLOUR, RICE, PINTO BEANS AND OATS.

\* THE DI GIORGIO CORP. has sued the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for \$200,000 in damages for respecting the NFWA picket lines in San Francisco, Oakland, and Stockton. Di Giorgio claims that at Pier 37, \$29,319 worth of grapes were turned back, costing the Corporation an additional \$7,835 in trucking charges and \$4,500 in general damages. It is also claiming losses of \$125,000 a year due to harm done Di Giorgio's business relations and its "reputation for reliability."

\* SUPPORT FROM CATHOLIC AND METHODIST groups came through last month. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference adopted a resolution supporting the strike. "The failure on the part of most growers to recognize the right of workers to organize and conduct a peaceful strike shows that much must be done to develop a Christian conscience toward such issues," the committee said.

The Southern California - Arizona Methodist Conference Board of Christian Social Concern urged grape growers in Delano to

"The initial planning period of the boycott is over," says national coordinator Reverend Jim Drake in Delano. "Now we're going to start to move."

To do the organizing, full-time National Farm Worker Association staff members have been sent to major cities around the country to coordinate the anti-Schenley boycott. In the first week of February, staff workers left Delano for St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, New York and Boston.

There they plan to set up on-going boycott committees and to involve labor, church and civil rights forces in the campaign to force Schenley to negotiate with its farm workers.

Meanwhile, communication is not all that it should be, but an incomplete sketch of national boycott efforts shows the following actions:

NEW YORK CITY: Four NFWA staff members succeeded after much work in getting a strike sanction from the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). Grapes shipped into New York from New Jersey were turned back by longshoremen, who refused to unload the barges. At last count, roughly 12 truckloads had been turned back to cold storage plants in Hoboken.

Hundreds of signs have been placed in liquor store windows, asking patrons not to buy Schenley products and listing the brand names. 100,000 leaflets have been handed out at subway entrances and exits. It's reported that this is one of the most effective ways of increasing the picket size; many people leafleted have volunteered to help. There has been good radio publicity.

LOS ANGELES: There are 13 boycott subcommittees under the direction of Gil Padilla, NFWA Vice-President. According to Gil, Los Angeles is rapidly being closed to major Schenley and Delano grape sales in major markets. According to reports given Gil by the ILWU, Teamsters and Retail Clerks, hardly any Delano grapes are being sold. Thousands of cases of grapes have rotted in cold storage.

DETROIT: Boycott committees are being formed. Organizations giving support are CORE, SNCC, SDS, Jewish Labor Congress, and the Northern Student Movement.

The United Auto Workers has offered to pay for the printing and housing expenses of the NFWA boycott committee, but has refused to give the boycott open support. "We don't know why they don't want their name used," Jim Drake reports, "but we're going to try to smoke them out into the open."

PITTSBURGH: A group of clergymen, led by Rev. Donald McIlvane of the Catholic Interracial Council, went to Schenley, Pennsylvania and presented a request to the Schenley offices that they negotiate with the farm worker unions.

ARIZONA: The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union has organized an all-out offensive against Schenley in all states where they have strong locals.

A common reaction of liquor store owners, particularly the small ones was voiced by Mr. Eddie Valdez of University Avenue in Berkeley. "I'll be glad to take Schenley off my shelves," he said. "Schenley is one of the most chiseling outfits in the liquor business. And you can quote me."

There are now Schenley boycott committees in 53 cities in the United States. Committees are also being formed in Canada.

A letter was sent to Steve Allen by Schenley's director of publicity, darkly threatening a suit against Allen for supporting the boycott. In the letter they quoted a figure for the "average wage" of male farm workers, challenging the figure quoted by the Steve Allen committee. But apparently Schenley can't agree with itself about what its average wage is. A month earlier, a Schenley press release had quoted an exact "average" figure for its male farm workers; this figure was substantially different.

Jim Drake reports that he called Schenley Vice-President James Woolsey in San Francisco; "I just called him up to ask him if he'd like to negotiate." According to Jim, Woolsey told him, "There is no strike in Delano." Then he added, "Well, we did have some workers leave their jobs... but those were our employees."

MOVEMENT EXCLUSIVE

In a special interview granted to The Movement, Robert Di Giorgio, Executive Vice President; Bruce Sanborn, Vice President in charge of Industrial Relations; and Robert Hamm, Assistant to the president, spoke at length about the Di Giorgio Corporation's position in the strike of grape workers in Delano, California. Di Giorgio is the largest grower in Delano and one of the most powerful in California. (See the chart of interlocking directorates, this page).

Mr. Di Giorgio did most of the speaking. The others offered information and corrected him on certain minor points. Most of his statements were read from a prepared statement.

"I feel that it is necessary for both sides of the dispute to be fairly reported. I have gone through several back issues of The Movement and I feel that there have been some gross misstatements of fact."

"One story in the October Issue stated that every grower has used a revved up tractor to drown out the shouts of pickets. The Di Giorgio ranch has never done this even though it meant at times working with pickets harrassing and embarrassing our workers at close range."

Portable Toilets

"In another article a woman striker stated that in five years in the grape fields she had never seen a portable toilet. It is state law that there are to be toilets in the fields where there are women workers. On all of our transport buses there are toilets and we comply with the law. We cannot be responsible for the actions of other growers but it is most certain that this woman never worked for the Di Giorgio Corporation."

The "Welfare and Dignity"

"I would like you to believe that the Di Giorgio Corporation is as concerned for the welfare and dignity of our workers as anyone. We attempt to provide good housing and living facilities for our workers."

At this point Mr. Di Giorgio described new dormitory facilities being built and maintained by the Di Giorgio Corporation for single men as well as housing furnished at nominal cost to the married workers. He also said the Corporation maintains kitchens that provide three meals a day for the workers.

Not Up to Standard

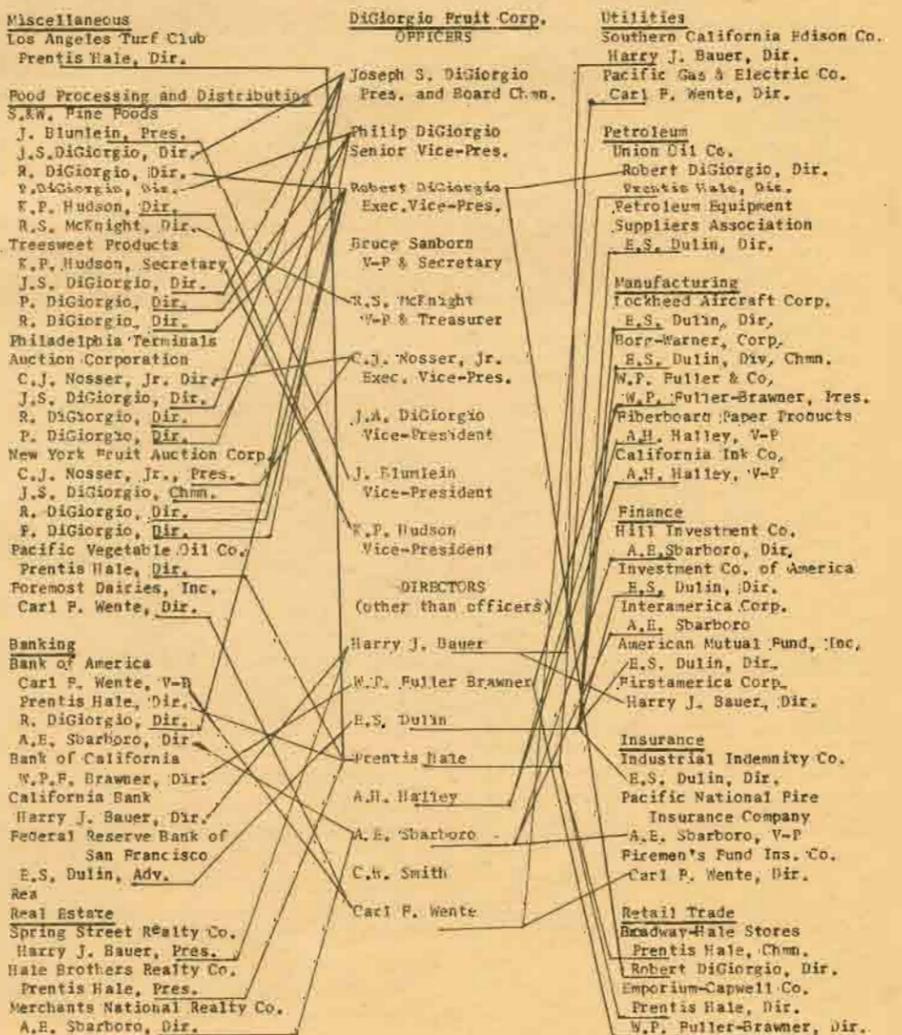
"Of course," he continued, "since our Sierra Vista ranch near Delano is up for sale, the facilities there are not up to the standard of our other ranches. We simply cannot justify capital investment on property that is to be sold."

"There is a further problem the grower faces; if a steel worker takes his pay out and drinks it up and doesn't provide for his wife and family and lives in a hovel, then no one blames U. S. Steel, but if a farm worker does the same thing it's the grower's fault. We can't be our brother's keeper."

"We can't be responsible for the manner in which our employees spend their money and their time. We do try to take care of our workers as much as possible though. Even though it has just been mandatory by state law since 1955 to pay workers compensation, we have payed it since 1917; we have had a doctor on our payroll since 1938 and have provided medical services for our workers."

INTERVIEW WITH DI GIORGIO VICE-PRESIDENT The Grower's Point of View

DI GIORGIO FRUIT CORPORATION AND INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES



# WHO OWNS CALIFORNIA?

On the opposite page is a map of the Delano - Bakersfield area, published by the Kern County Land Company.

The grey areas are owned by Kern County Land. Each square is a mile on a side, 640 acres.

We publish the map here because it vividly demonstrates a major point about California agriculture and farm labor -- that the men who own the land we live on rule the land. The richest sections, hundreds of thousands of acres, of California's San Joaquin Valley, are owned by enormous corporations. Their economic and political power cannot be "balanced" in anyone's mind with the power of the individual farm worker.

This cannot be neglected when people talk about the organization and unionization of farm workers. Directly behind the conditions of life in rural California are Standard Oil, Schenley, Southern Pacific Railroad, Di Giorgio, the Los Angeles Times -- and the Kern County Land Company. These are the colossi the Delano workers are fighting.

Corporate spokesmen love to talk about the "family farm," the tiny grower victimized by weather, crop failure, price fluctuation and unionization. We intend to show that they are inventing a myth. There are plenty of small farmers; they too must be unionized, but it's the giants that control them and keep them in line.

Sometimes the giants seem too large to be visible. They must be made visible: they control California agriculture and to a large extent California politics. We will begin with the Kern County Land Company.

We hope this begins a regular series. We may not be able to publish other maps, due to cost, but we will report on the findings. George Ballis (SNCC Field Secretary and Editor of the Valley Labor Citizen) is preparing a map that shows who owns, section by section, the southwest San Joaquin Valley. We have seen the map. Senator Paul Douglas also has seen the map. It led him to call the misuses of land and water in the Valley by the large corporations, "One of the greatest land steals that has ever been attempted in the history of this Nation."

When this map is available in quantity, we will let our readers know how to obtain a copy. As those who labor upon the land increasingly fight to control the conditions of their lives, the question of who owns California becomes more and more relevant to all who live there.

## THE KERN COUNTY LAND COMPANY - TODAY

The Kern County Land Company (KCL) owns about 380,000 acres in Kern County. This holding was acquired in post-civil war days through a clever combination of conventional purchases, economic pressure, legal harassment and fraud.

### Corporate Octopus

In 1966 KCL is far more than a land giant in a remote agricultural county. It is an international corporate octopus.

KCL owns outright 1.8 million acres of land in the United States. It operates cattle feeding yards in California and Kansas. Oil leases along the Gulf Coast and in Australia and Canada, 60% of KCL's revenue comes from oil royalties.

One-fourth of all American automobiles are equipped with exhaust products made by a KCL subsidiary, Walker Manufacturing. One of Walker's three plants is located in Aberdeen, Mississippi. Another subsidiary, Deluxe Products, makers of oil filters, has a plant in Holly Springs, Mississippi.

KCL holds controlling interest in J.I. Case Farm Machinery. KCL is a real-estate developer of residential, commercial and industrial property in Bakersfield, Santa Monica and Hawaii.

KCL controls an electronics plant in Palo Alto, a Coalinga asbestos mine, a co-op winery. It owns canal companies, an almond hulling plant, a fruit packing corporation.

### Directorates

KCL's directors sit on many boards, including: Bankers Trust, General Electric, Matson Navigation, Pacific National Life Insurance, Wells Fargo Bank, United California Bank, Lockheed Aircraft, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance, California Ink, Hewlett-Packard, Varian Associates, Pillsbury, Owens-Illinois Glass, Western States Life Insurance, American Trust, Emporium-Capwell, Pacific Telephone, Western Pacific Railroad, Pacific Gas & Electric, Rand Corporation, Brunswick Drugs, Security First National Bank, First National Bank, Fireman's Fund Insurance and others.

Dwight M. Cochran, president and chief executive officer of KCL was elected last month to the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago.

Of KCL's acreage, 118,000 acres are highly irrigated land, of which, according to the LA Times, "110,000 are leased to some of the wealthiest sharecroppers in the country. They drive Cadillacs and fly private airplanes..."

Let's look at how they got this land.

## ROGER TERRONEZ (1933-1966), LABOR LEADER



Last month Roger Terronez died. He was a big man, had been a prize fighter and a farm worker. The week before he was killed he was elected, the most popular candidate, to the Kings County Anti-Poverty Committee.

He was killed in a freak automobile accident. The details are not important: the sorrow and bitterness of his death go beyond the details of his death. He was a leader of the National Farm Workers Association; he was loved by those who worked with him; and he need not have died.

We knew Roger well in San Francisco. He was assigned to coordinate and plan NFWA activities in the Bay Area. We knew him on the picket line; we heard him speak; we knew him personally. He was a leader,

not only of his people.

The accident occurred in Delano. Roger was taken, still alive, to the Delano hospital. He could not get medical aid; there were no competent doctors available; there was no equipment. They waited, Roger unconscious, for two hours until specialists could be brought from Bakersfield. But the Delano equipment was inadequate, an ambulance was called, it was necessary, the doctors said, to take Roger to Bakersfield.

On the way to Bakersfield, he died.

The American government pays billions for a war; it subsidizes the Delano growers; it pours more billions into a "race" to the moon. There is no reason understandable to any man, why every town in the United

States cannot have an adequate hospital, specialists on call day and night, and all the equipment that science can provide. There is no reason why poor towns and rich towns, and poor people and rich people cannot have, within minutes, the best medical aid.

When people say there is no reason for Roger's death, they overlook how easy it might have been to keep him alive. A doctor, a good hospital, and some medical supplies. Why do people call that impossible?

A SNCC Field Secretary visiting San Francisco at the time of Roger's death, offered in conversation what would be a good epitaph for Roger. Speaking as one who knew personally many of those killed in the South, he said simply, "When people are killed, work harder."

## MAN WHO RUNS SCHENLEY: HOW HE LIVES, WHO HIS FRIENDS ARE

NEW YORK - According to a January 26, 1966 article in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, the President of the Schenley Corporation, Lewis S. Rosenstiel, seems to be a paranoid, conspicuously wealthy man who runs his corporation with an iron hand and "idolizes" the chief investigator for the late Joe McCarthy.

### His Loot

Lewis S. Rosenstiel, 71, owns 29% of Schenley stock, worth over 30 million on the market. In the 5-year period between 1956 and 1961 Rosenstiel's "household expenses" totaled \$626,000.

Testifying at one of Rosenstiel's several divorce trials, his personal accountant stated that the Schenley Corporation paid \$355,000; Rosenstiel paid only \$271,000 of his household expenses -- which is mighty lucky; his total income for those 5 years was only 9.1 million dollars.

During the same 5 years, Rosenstiel's yacht expenses came to \$366,000. Again,



Schenley Corporation helped out by paying \$216,000. Taking \$2,000 a year as the average wage of a California farm worker, a quick calculation shows that the money Rosenstiel spent on his yacht could have doubled the wages of 35 of the men and women who pick his grapes in Delano for the same five years.

### Bugs and Fear

Mr. Rosenstiel seems to be afraid of something. A former aide of his says, "He's suspicious of the world. He's concerned that people are trying to undermine him."

To prevent this, Rosenstiel takes some

interesting precautions. "Our house..." testified his ex-wife, "is a veritable electronic maze, with concealed microphones, wiretapping equipment and recording instruments throughout the entire house. Practically every telephone call or conversation with visitors was recorded..."

The WALL STREET JOURNAL reported, "In dealing with subordinates, former Schenley executives picture Mr. Rosenstiel as domineering and suspicious -- a combination several have found unnerving."

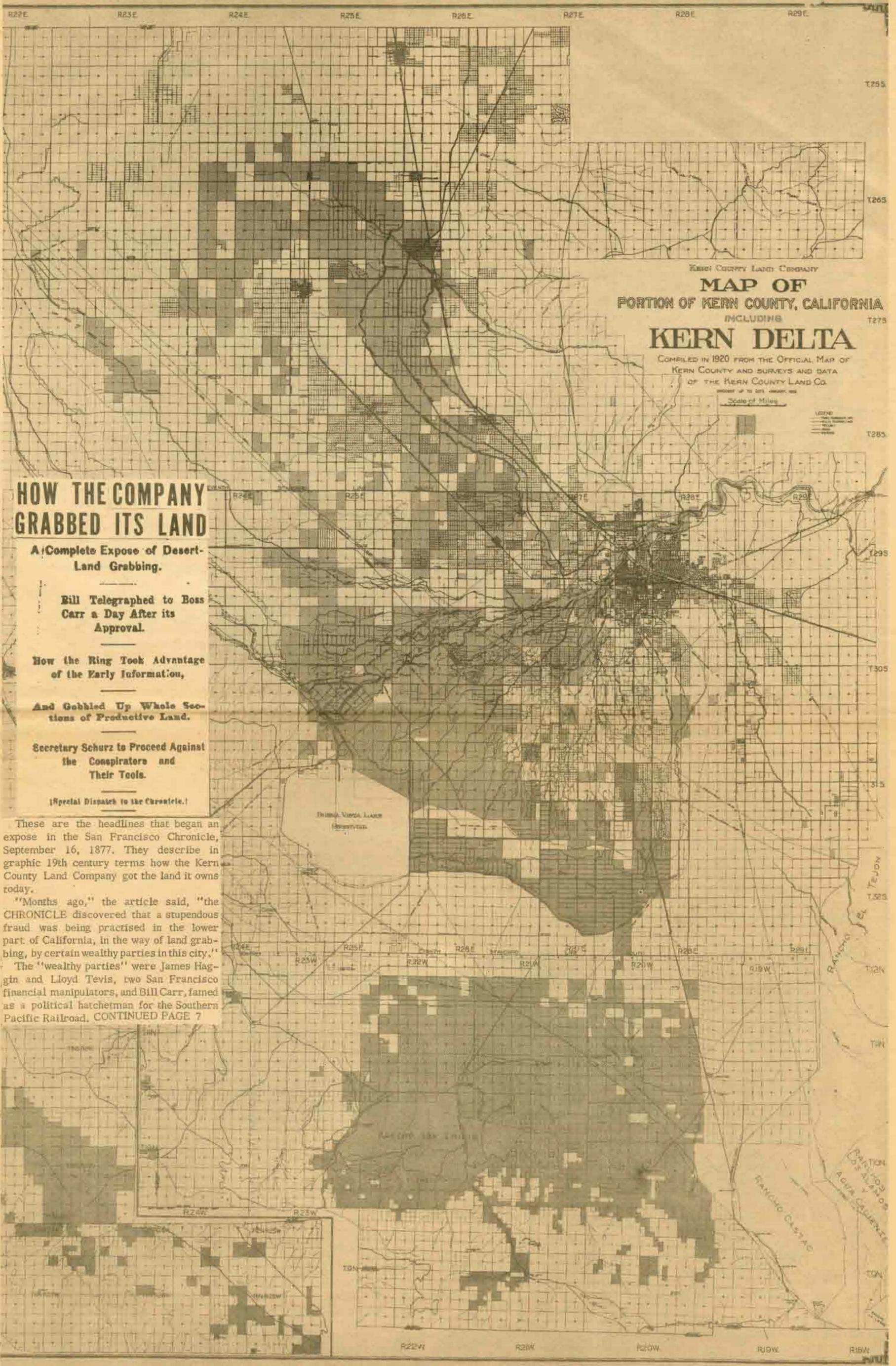
### McCarthy and the FBI

That's just the beginning to what seems to be a tough anti-democratic streak in Mr. Rosenstiel's nature.

The Number 2 man in Schenley, who may take over when Rosenstiel retires, is Louis B. Nichols. Mr. Nichols joined Schenley in 1957 after 22 years with the FBI, where he had risen to the position of administrative assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

Mr. Nichols apparently was recommended to Rosenstiel by Schenley's counsel, Roy Cohn. For those who may have forgotten, Roy Cohn was the chief counsel for Senator Joseph McCarthy during McCarthy's hysterical witch-hunting days in the Senate. A source, quoted in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, stated, "Rosenstiel idolizes Roy. He looks on Roy as a son."

(CONTINUED PAGE 6, COLUMN 1)



KERN COUNTY LAND COMPANY  
**MAP OF**  
 PORTION OF KERN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA  
 INCLUDING  
**KERN DELTA**  
 COMPILED IN 1920 FROM THE OFFICIAL MAP OF  
 KERN COUNTY AND SURVEYS AND DATA  
 OF THE KERN COUNTY LAND CO.  
 SCALE OF MILES

## HOW THE COMPANY GRABBED ITS LAND

A Complete Expose of Desert-Land Grabbing.

Bill Telegraphed to Boss Carr a Day After its Approval.

How the Ring Took Advantage of the Early Information,

And Gobbled Up Whole Sections of Productive Land.

Secretary Schurz to Proceed Against the Conspirators and Their Tools.

(Special Dispatch to the Chronicle.)

These are the headlines that began an expose in the San Francisco Chronicle, September 16, 1877. They describe in graphic 19th century terms how the Kern County Land Company got the land it owns today.

"Months ago," the article said, "the CHRONICLE discovered that a stupendous fraud was being practised in the lower part of California, in the way of land grabbing, by certain wealthy parties in this city."

The "wealthy parties" were James Haggin and Lloyd Tevis, two San Francisco financial manipulators, and Bill Carr, famed as a political hatchetman for the Southern Pacific Railroad. CONTINUED PAGE 7

"Cut Out All That Jazz And Pay Them Enough"

Reverend Jim Drake, a member of the Migrant Ministry working on NFWA staff, was asked by THE MOVEMENT to comment on the statements by Robert Di Giorgio: ON HEALTH IN THE FIELDS - "If the Di Giorgio Corporation is now complying with the portable toilet requirement, it is a new thing. We will check them carefully to see if this is true.

ON LIVING FACILITIES - "Why provide any living facilities? Why not pay workers a living wage so they can provide their own housing? This is an admission that they don't pay their workers enough. Furthermore, Di Giorgio doesn't even do what it says it does.

"We have testimony from a woman worker at the Sierra Vista Ranch; she lives in Porterville (about miles, ed.) She is not provided with any housing or transportation. If they were really concerned with the 'welfare and dignity' of their workers they would cut out all the jazz and pay them enough. The same goes for their rattletrap buses.

ON SIERRA VISTA - "We are glad Mr. Di Giorgio admits that the Sierra Vista Ranch facilities are not up to standard; we have always known that the Ranch was run down. The whole trouble is that Di Giorgio's concern with the 'welfare and dignity' of workers depends on their current capital investment. It's obvious that the individual can go to hell on the property Di Giorgio is selling.

ON "WE DO TRY TO TAKE CARE OF OUR WORKERS" -- "No one's asking Di Giorgio to take care of their workers. We're asking that they bargain with them.

ON WAGES AND "CULTURAL HABITS" - "Mr. Di Giorgio and I are in hearty agreement that California farm workers are underpaid, but he's off the beam when he compares them with other states. You have to take the cost of living into account. Actually, Hawaii pays the highest wages of all to farmworkers; they're organized by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. As to the 'cultural habits' of farmworkers -- that's too absurd to comment on.

ON THE NUMBER OF STRIKERS -- "I know more than 36 workers walked off Sierra Vista. For example, quite a while after the strike began, one whole Di Giorgio Camp quit; at least 50 workers. This was covered by the Fresno Bee. I can't believe that the Sierra Vista Ranch has 700 workers. That must include tractor drivers, maintenance men, packers -- probably their foremen too. Also -- the workers didn't just not show up; they left the camp. The NFWA bussed them down to Oxnard for other jobs.

ON THE WAGES - "We have here a sworn statement by Olivas Martinez, Border Card #93485, from El Paso and Armando Alvarez Lopez, Green Card #10-710-196, from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, dated Jan 17, 1966. This is their testimony: On Friday, Jan. 7, their first day at Sierra Vista, they worked 8 hours; all other days they worked 9. They worked every day until Jan. 15, except Sunday. This was in the pruning -- a skilled job.

"They were paid \$1.40 an hour, \$12.60 a day. Out of this was taken \$2.25 a day for room and board. For food they were served boiled potatoes and white beans every day for lunch, and for breakfast 2 eggs. \$10 was deducted from the wages of each man for pruning shears and a blanket; this was returned when they left.

"At the end of the first payroll week they had made \$68. \$35 was deducted for passage from El Paso, leaving \$33 total wages for a week of work.

"The second pay week they worked only 3 days and were paid \$37.80 gross. \$32.80 was deducted from their wages for passage and meals. That left \$5. Each of them had borrowed \$5 to live on. Total wages earned for a week's work -- nothing!

"At no time were they informed by Di Giorgio of a strike. So when Di Giorgio talks about a \$2.46 an hour wage, it would be interesting to know how much of that \$2.46 their "most productive" workers got."

ON CONDITIONS -- "One of the most barbaric things we saw last summer was a camp of single women workers. They were completely isolated from the outside world. They wanted to join the strike, but they had no way to leave the area. They were prisoners of Di Giorgio."

ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING -- "If Di Giorgio supports collective bargaining, why are they members of the Council of California Growers, which has lobbied against the extension of NLRB legislation to agricultural workers?"

ON ROBERT DI GIORGIO -- "You know what he is? He's a shrewd big business man who is pretending to be a small farmer. He cries about the wages, the weather; he complains about the government, the water supply, the labor unions. He's not a small farmer at the mercy of others and he can't ever convince anyone that he is."

DI GIORGIO'S VIEW - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The "Cultural Habits"

"Now, there is no question that farm laborers are underpaid -- although I believe that California farm workers are among the highest paid in the country.

"There are reasons for the low pay of farm workers: 1) the nature of farm work, that is, its seasonality and 2) the cultural habits of the farm workers."

When asked to expand upon this last point Mr. Di Giorgio said, "Well, there are different skills involved in farm labor and because of the different cultural habits certain workers earn different wages."

Wages

He then went on to say, "At the Sierra Vista ranch near Delano, when the strike was called, 36 out of a work force of 700 hourly workers walked out. Most of those who walked out, or rather, just didn't show up, simply went someplace else to work. We never saw more than five on the picket lines.

"For the pay period ending Sept. 8, the ones who left averaged \$2.46 per hour with the most productive workers making \$4.32 per hour; and for the pay period ending Sept. 29, the same workers averaged \$1.79 per hour with the most productive worker making \$3.27 per hour. We have many permanent hourly employees, that is, people who work for us over 1600 hours per year and they receive one weeks paid vacation after two years with us and two weeks after five years."

"We feel that most of these people who want to start a union are looking to that fat income that comes from the monthly dues. We don't believe that they actually represent the wishes or the will of the workers. We're certainly not opposed to collective bargaining -- over 1000 of our employees are members of unions."

When he was asked about the long history of labor disputes of the Di Giorgio Corporation he said the interviewer was ill-informed. The 1947 - 50 Arvin strike was mentioned; Di Giorgio said the strike was settled and a congressional hearing completely vindicated the corporation. "When the picket line was unsuccessful," he continued, "other tactics were tried like illegal secondary boycotts and a libelous movie. We sued the union and the courts found the film libelous and ordered all copies destroyed."

The Foreman Said.

At this point, he was asked if they had attempted to determine whether or not the workers who did not walk out were sympathetic with the union. This question was answered by Bruce Sanborn. "I went to Delano when this trouble first started and asked my foremen if they had any people under them who were sympathetic to the union. The foremen said that the workers weren't interested."

The Lack of Legislation Is the Law of the Land

Mr. Di Giorgio continued, "When the National Labor Relations Act was passed by Congress, after much investigation, it was decided that farm labor should be exempted. In no way does it come under the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board. We feel that we must abide by the will of Congress."

"The grower's hands are tied because of this discrepancy. Under the NLRB the employees of a company can vote on whether or not they wish to join a union or not and which union they wish to join. The employer is then required to bargain with the chosen union. Once this has been decided, no other union can bother the employees for a year; if they chose not to join a union then there would be peace for a year. Since this procedure isn't available to farm labor, if we were to sign with one union there is no guarantee that another union will not move in within a month and start agitating all over."

What is a Union?

"One of the purposes of a labor union is not only to represent the worker but to insure an adequate work force when and where it is needed. There is simply no union around that can guarantee this. The union could really destroy the farmer if they were to strike at harvest season. The grower would be in a position in which he must capitulate or be ruined -- there would be no room to bargain."

"I feel that farm labor isn't ready to be placed under labor legislation."

MAN WHO RUNS SCHENLEY- CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Cardinal Spellman

Some of Rosenstiel's other connections are interesting. His daughter, Mrs. Sidney Frank, sued Rosenstiel in 1961 to prevent him from naming three new directors to the "Rosenstiel Foundation," a non-profit foundation that owns \$21 million worth of Schenley stock.

She accused her father of using the Foundation "to dominate Schenley." Rosenstiel was adding the new directors to take control of the Foundation away from his daughter. It's safe to assume that the three would do what he told them.

The three were Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, the Rabbi Nelson Glueck of Cincinnati, and Russell G. Smith, executive vice-president of the Bank of America and a Schenley director.

Cutty Sark

On the straight business level, Schenley hasn't been doing too well. Schenley profits have stood still the last 10 years, hovering around a mere \$11 million a year. A boost was given to the Corporation in 1964 when they got the exclusive rights to distribute Cutty Sark scotch, a best-seller.

All Cutty Sark profits are included in the Schenley profit figures, which helps explain why in 1965, Schenley profits jumped from that \$11 million figure to \$18 million. In 1946 Schenley was the top U.S. distiller, making a profit of \$49 million. Today Schenley has about 13% of the liquor market. Their bitter competitor, Seagrams, has over 20%.



George Ballis photo

They Do OK

That doesn't mean that Schenley is about to close up shop. Rosenstiel is in no danger of giving up his \$400,000 Manhattan house, or his \$113,000 Miami home, or his \$139,000 country home in Greenwich, Connecticut.

In 1956, when his gross income was \$1.1 million, Mr. Rosenstiel paid \$20,000 in taxes. That's less than 2%. Or, to bring it down to earth, it's as if a person earning \$5,000 were to pay \$100 in income taxes.

It's safe to say that the President of Schenley Industries pays a much smaller part of his income to the government each year than any California farm worker.

But that's all right -- the California farm worker gets a lot more for his money from the government. He gets unemployment insurance, social security, a minimum wage, the right to bargain collectively. . . don't you, campesino?

MRS. KING ON VIETNAM

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.: For God's sake, let us stop the bombings in Viet Nam . . . . It is a long hard struggle to put an end to such foolishness. Men do not easily give up their pet theories and prejudices. For centuries we have attempted to use violence as our means of defense and conquest. Our men have studied the strategy of violence . . . . if we are to save our nation and save ourselves, we who are called to be peacemakers must realize that our fight is only beginning . . . . We must begin to build a strategy for peace . . . . God grant that we will work with new and bold determination for that glad day when men will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; and nation will not rise up against nation, neither will they study war any more.

DELANO BULLETINS - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

bargain with their workers' unions. Dr. Kenneth Watson, pastor of the First Methodist Church in Hawthorne, and chairman of the board, said the growers have "consistently refused to bargain in good faith."

\* A MAJOR VICTORY OVER DI GIORGIO was won in court. A special Tulare County judge struck down the injunction used by Di Giorgio to try to stop picketing on the docks. The \$75,000 damage suit against the NFWA and AWOC was also rejected. Those arrested for "violating" the injunction will probably have their cases dropped.

The National Labor Relations Board ruling against the ILWU, prohibiting it from respecting the NFWA picket lines, still holds, however. What effect it will have remains to be seen. No grapes have been shipped out since Christmas week, but Di Giorgio has said it will try again.

BOYCOTT SURVEY - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

"That's interesting reasoning," Jim told THE MOVEMENT. "I can't argue with that."

A major part of the boycott effort is the distribution of Schenley Pledge Cards. These are three-part cards. The signer of the pledge not to drink or buy Schenley products sends one section to Schenley headquarters, one to the NFWA, and keeps the center section listing the Schenley brand names. If you have not seen these, write to SCHENLEY BOYCOTT COMMITTEE, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco 94117. Everyone should try to distribute as many of these cards to their friends as possible.

The trio moved into Kern County with immense financial resources and political pull. In less than 20 years they gained title to nearly 400,000 acres, over 100,000 acres in one afternoon.

The Haggin - Tevis - Carr operation was called "the Ring" by the Chronicle. In 1873, the Ring, using forged soldier's applications for land under the Homestead Act were able to grab 30,000 acres north of Bakersfield. But the biggest steal was yet to come.

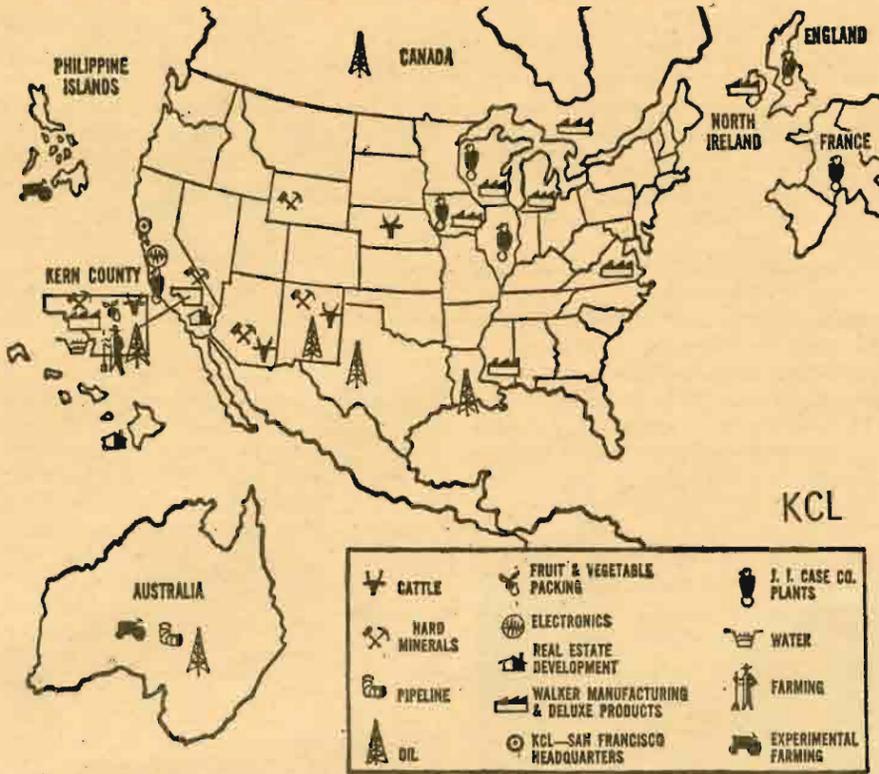
On his last day in office President Grant signed the "Desert Land Act." The Act allowed people to purchase lots up to 640 acres for \$1.25 an acre. Under the regular Homestead Act (a plan intended to help settle the West) land sold at \$2.50 an acre for 160 acre lots.

The day after the passage of the law, the news of it was telegraphed to Carr. "Immediately thereafter," reports the Chronicle, "the land grabbers called upon the Registers and Receivers of the Land Office in the so-called desert land district and wanted to make their applications for sections under an Act of whose existence the officers had not been informed. They were permitted to enter 76 applications, covering 48,640 acres. . ."

Later that month, land that the Ring had obtained with forged Homestead scrip was entered under the Desert Land law by the Ring, using dummy names.

"On Sunday," says the Chronicle article, "the agents of the Ring were admitted to the Land Office, and page after page of entries was written in, so that on Monday, when the office was open to the public for the transaction of business, it was found that a vast quantity of the best land, aggregating thousands of acres, had been gobbled up by the Ring."

In order to get this land under the Desert Land Law, it was necessary for the dummy purchasers to testify that the land



was non-productive, without irrigation. A Federal investigation showed that the dummy entrymen had perjured themselves in affidavits. "Thirty-five Federal officers in San Francisco had acted as dummies for Carr, Higgins, and Tevis in entering desert land," said the Chronicle. ". . . not one of them had the slightest knowledge of the character of the land which they declared under oath was non-productive without irrigation."

Other dummies were employees of firms controlled by Tevis and Haggin, including Wells Fargo and the Central Pacific Railroad.

"The Desert Land Act of Congress was simply a Ring job," the Chronicle declared, "and was made the medium for an organized colossal steal by the Ring, to the prejudice of thousands of honest, bona fide settlers, against whom it was used. . ."

"They have above a hundred thousand acres in Kern Valley, and they propose to apply the waters of Kern lake as well as of Kern river to the irrigation of this immense tract. The lands they have thus grabbed and now hold would supply homesteads for more than a thousand settlers, support their families, and give employment to another thousand hands."

The Chronicle was wrong on only one thing: they were sure the Federal government would prosecute Tevis, Haggin, and Carr. It did not. The Ring had too many connections in Washington. Haggin testified that the fraudulent operation was justified because reclamation and irrigation projects were feasible only under large owner-

ship. He also claimed that once the projects were complete, they would sell the land to settlers. The government bought the argument. Several years later the Ring incorporated as the Kern County Land Co.

Haggin's argument has a familiar ring. That's exactly what Di Giorgio, Schenley and KCL claim now. The Federal Central Valley Project and the State Water Project subsidize these growers today. There is a law on the books, the "160 Acre Limitation Law," which says that no company can receive subsidized water for more than 160 acres. If it were enforced the great corporations would be forced to break up and sell off their land. It has never been enforced.

The power that Tevis, Haggin and Carr used to steal the land that started Kern County Land Company on its way to a multi-million dollar operation is similar to the power that keeps KCL, Di Giorgio, Schenley, and their associates in control of the Valley today.

Perhaps this power will never be broken. It is a power illegally gotten and illegally maintained. It is all the more ironic when these same corporations and their spokesmen talk about the "immoral" unions and their "irresponsible" supporters in the civil rights movement and the church.

The Ring is very much alive today. (We hope to publish a photocopy of the 1877 Chronicle articles in the KEY LIST MAILING, a publication of the San Francisco SNCC office, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco.)

### To All Boycott Committees—

**IMPORTANT!** Add CUTTY SARK Scotch to all boycott lists. Schenley has the exclusive rights to distribute CUTTY SARK in the United States. All CUTTY SARK sales are included in Schenley's profit sheet. CUTTY SARK is a top-selling liquor and accounts for much of Schenley's profit.

This scotch was left off of many boycott lists, including THE MOVEMENT. This proves a point about large corporations: they are so large and so complex that it is not easy to trace ownership. Schenley acquired 53% of the stock in Buckingham Corporation in 1964. The Buckingham Corporation produces CUTTY SARK, which is now one of Schenley's best selling liquors.

## "INSTANT PICKETS" AT SCHENLEY PARTY

SAN FRANCISCO -- On the morning of January 12, the following note appeared in Herb Caen's San Francisco Chronicle column:

. . . Along with instant prayer we now have instant cocktail parties -- as witness the one to be given tomorrow by the Calif. Heritage Council at 2090 Jackson. Flying up from LA to do the dirty work will be a Schenley Task Force, headed by Actor Jean Pierre Aumont and including bartenders, waitresses, three-piece combo. . .

The Heritage Council party was a thinly-disguised publicity gimmick for Schenley. In the other cities where the "Task Force" went: Chicago, New York, Miami, LA, there was no attempt to disguise this roving advertisement for Schenley's "instant cocktails".

Since Schenley is notorious for its Instant Poverty in the grape fields of Delano, local Farm Workers Association members decided to hold their own "party" on the sidewalk outside. There was an added insult to California farm workers, since the Calif. Heritage Council was obviously ignoring the heritage of Mexican-Americans in this state.

A picket line of 30 was set up at 5 p.m. in time to greet the good members of the Heritage Council, who were at the least, startled. One British gentleman stopped dead in his tracks and exclaimed, "What on earth is this foah?" A mink-draped wife grabbed a leaflet from her husband and shrieked, "Don't read that trash!" Others were more friendly, but none thought respecting a picket line was part of their heritage.

### The Pres Shows Up

An additional surprise -- for the pickets -- was that the President of Schenley Distillers Company (the Schenley Industries sales subsidiary), Ernest Feldman, was with the Task Force. Everytime the heavy door to the building opened, the picket line chanted, FELDMAN NEGOTIATE!

Finally, Roger Terronez, NFWA representative, tried to see Feldman personally. Feldman refused even to talk with Terronez, who was not allowed into the building.

### Wouldn't Cross

One person refused to cross the picket line. A photographer, hired by Schenley to take publicity shots, on learning that this was a union picket line, stayed out and went back to his hotel. The other union members -- bartenders, musicians, and waitresses, crossed the line with no obvious qualms.

When the party ended, about 8 p.m., Feldman did not reappear. Apparently he must have sneaked out the back way.

## How A People's Strike Is Financed

Holy Angels School  
Sacramento, Calif  
Jan. 14, 1966

Dear Father Kenny,

We have been working for the Delano strike. We had a cup cake sale of 5¢ a piece. We have \$5.00.

Nellie Cadena  
4th Grade

## TUSKEGEE - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

body, staff, administration and faculty if this action is not forthcoming. . .

"It seems so unreal that such a brutal act can be done in the "model" community of Tuskegee. The great community of black and white folks sit together on the same city council. The great community of black and white folks serve on the same police force. But it has happened. They have refused to allow us the use of public facilities. They beat us when we tried to enter a church. Now they have killed Sammy. . ."

When the crack came in the liberal town, the split grew and the truth came out. "I was writing the bank's annual report last week and saying how proud we could be of our progress and prospects," said J. Allen Parker, a local bank president and council member. "But it's a hundred years out of date now. Electing a biracial government has been a noble experiment, but after what's happened here the past few days, it's an obvious failure."

Mr. Parker was referring to the demon-

strations and the threatened economic boycott that could paralyze Tuskegee. Miss Patton was referring to the violence that had never gone away, the segregation that had never ended; the racist life that the lie could not cover up.

Young was killed after attempting to use the restroom facilities at a Standard Oil service station. After his death Negroes tried to use "public" facilities in Tuskegee and were met with violence.

On January 15, Arthur Smith attempted to be served at Lakeview Restaurant and was assaulted by a white customer. Wendell Paris was attacked by city dispatchers (uniformed employees of the police department) after asking about the attempted arrest of Smith. More violence erupted during the student demonstrations around downtown stores and banks. Thirty witnesses reported that attacks were viewed by police who made no attempt to stop them.

The next election in Tuskegee, 80% Negro, may see a further, dramatic change.

## AIR BASE SIT-IN - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

deral government tells us to go directly to the state and county for food, but when we get there they do not know what we are talking about.

"5. We demand land. There are thousands of acres here that the government owns. We are supposed to be part of that government. We want the clear and the unclear land and we'll clear the unclear land ourselves.

"6. We want 'Operation Help' to be stopped. We don't want the Mississippi county Board of Supervisors to have another chance to decide whether poor people should get food. We don't recognize the county boards because they don't recognize us. We want the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Department of Agriculture to hire poor people who we say represent us. We, the poor people, want to distribute the food.

"7. We demand that Operation Head-

start schools be started now. We demand that OEO give us the money which they promised us last September so that our children can be taught in Headstart schools.

"We are now ready to ask of President Johnson, 'Whose side are you on: the poor people's or the millionaires?'"

### Evictions

A jurisdictional dispute delayed the evictions. According to a local law officer, the air base was "city property on a government reservation in the country."

The next day the jurisdictional dispute was settled, and 140 Air Force troops, under the leadership of Major General R.W. Puryear, evicted the demonstrators.

"People are hungry," said one of the Negroes, "and they believed Mississippi had some free food and wasn't delivering it. So they voted to come over here."

# "It's Very Simple: We Intend to Take Over Lowndes County."

## Interview with the Alabama Black Panther Party Organizer

—When SNCC reports on the Power Structure of Alabama one of the things they stress is that Alabama isn't really run by the politicians, it's run by the businessmen, the corporations, the people who have the economic power. Do you feel that Negroes getting voting power is going to change the real power?

"I don't know that it will. One of the things we question now in Alabama is whether the vote will make propertyless people equal to property owners. I was told in college, and in my political science textbooks that the way to get the roads fixed, to get better streetlights, and jobs and better housing, is through the vote. I don't know that for a fact. And that's what I've been telling people in Alabama. We're about to find out."

—Do Negroes in Alabama feel -- do you feel -- that Negroes will be able to get real improvements in their everyday situation through the vote?

"There are a number of things that come into play here. Number one -- the attitude of the country has changed enormously. We've had the passage of several bills-- these bills have changed the atmosphere of the country. But they haven't made any change on a concrete basis for Negroes. There are, for example, a number of Negroes that have gotten jobs in the Poverty Program, and a few Negroes that have gotten jobs on Wall Street. Beyond that they haven't got very much.

"What the Negroes in Alabama want to see now is whether the vote can bring them the changes they want to see in their everyday living. Whether they're disillusioned remains to be seen. They've never voted before.

"We're organizing people around their own interests and trying to hold political power inside the community. Not outside of the community, as it lies throughout the country."

—What issues do you organize around?

"The first issue is poverty. And lies. It's very easy to organize around lies, because this country lies. This country has been saying that if you work hard every day you can make it. That's not true. Negroes work from sunup to sundown and they make \$2 a day. So that's a lie. A hardworking person doesn't make it; it's the person with money who makes it.

—How do you change that?

"We're not sure. You organize people. You change the emphasis of the vote. You create a new organization that is not tied to the Democratic Party. All your power will rest within the community. Each county organization will be an entity unto itself, so it isn't geared to outside of the county politics.

"Today we have a county political executive that gears its politics to the politics outside the county. Ours would be geared inside the county, so the money that's coming into the county will be controlled by the people of that county.

"We've been doing some exciting things within the political spectrum. For example, every weekend we take people over to Atlanta. Last weekend we took over 150 people to Atlanta. At the Research Department we taught the people what the duties of the Sheriff are. The following weekend we do Tax Assessor, and then we go on to the duties of the officials on the county level. The people come back to Alabama, and they then conduct the same workshops in their community.

"What that means is that there are now in Lowndes county about 400 people who know what the duties of a sheriff are. All of those 400 people feel qualified to run for sheriff. So you will in fact not have someone running for sheriff who can outlie the other, because that's what campaigns are all about, you know. (One man gets up and says he will not escalate the war in Vietnam and the other says he will, and you vote for the one who lies the best and keeps an honest face.) So you won't have that in Alabama.

"More than that, once the Sheriff is elected, he can't step out of his bounds, because everybody knows just what his duties are."

—Who controls politics in Lowndes County?

"The courthouse. Negroes have to gain control of the courthouse. We're changing everything. We make no bones about it. In the Black Belt counties of Alabama, for example Lowndes County, where 80% of

the people are black, whites run and control everything, every single thing. The courthouse has come to be an oppressive tool -- Negroes are afraid of it. When they go there to pay their taxes they go with their hats in their hands.

"Now we're going to change that, and the only way to change that is to get rid of all those whites. It's very simple -- we're taking over the political machinery. The political machinery now in existence is tied to the Democratic Party. That Democratic Party holds in it a Kennedy -- it also holds in it an Eastland. It holds a Katzenbach and a Wallace. When those four guys sit down at a table and talk and they make a compromise, Negroes get hurt. We have to make it so that Negroes don't get hurt.



STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC Field Secretary, organizer of Lowndes County Black Panther Party. (Scheidle photo)

"The Democratic Party has showed just where they stand. They told the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party -- we don't recognize you, but we recognize Coleman and Johnson and all the other racists in power in Mississippi. So we said to them -- fine, in Alabama we don't recognize you. We're the power in these counties and that's the way it has to be."

—What pressure has been brought against you on the county and state levels?

"Well, there have been shootings and regular violence but we're getting used to that now. Aside from that they've been using all kinds of propaganda -- it's Black Muslim, it's black nationalist, it's splitting the negro vote. People don't seem to be bothered by it, 'cause we've had white nationalism for so long. While two wrongs don't make a right, it doesn't seem that any one is willing to right the wrong that has been done for so long except Negroes. And they'll have to right it as they see fit -- and that's what they'll do."

—What's your timetable?

"November 8th. November 8th we're going to take over all the political offices that are open."

—Are there enough Negroes registered in Lowndes County now for you to do that?

"Yes, there are. And we have until 45 days before the November election to register. We will have them registered."

—What are the steps for getting on the ballot?

"If you are forming an independent political party you don't vote in the Democratic or Republican primaries. It is illegal; you can't vote in two primaries. On the same date as the regular primaries, we will have a county convention. We want all the Negroes to come to elect their slate of candidates. Sixty days before the election, the names will go on the ballots, the regular ballots. And our symbol, the Black Panther, goes on too, so people who can't read or write can see the symbol.

"You can't be called a political party until after you vote. After the vote, if you receive 20% of the vote, then you're a recognized political party. We're now

called the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. After November we'll be called the Lowndes County Freedom Party."

—Why are you organizing on a county-to-county basis, instead of taking all the Black Belt Counties and forming one organization?

"For one, Alabama has a unique law that allows for such organization on a county level. Secondly, I feel very strongly about local politics. If you organize on a state level, things get too confused and you lose a lot, and if you organize on a national level, the same thing happens, there are too many compromises you have to make, too many of what people call "political decisions", and what happens is that the powerful people make those decisions and the other people just get stepped on.

"If you control your county level then you control everything else. We're not interested in the state level. If you control the county level then you're in a position to bargain. You can tell whoever you're bargaining with -- this is what we want. If you go to the state and you don't have the power then you just have to get what you can. Once you have the power, I don't care whose government you're under -- George Wallace or James Eastland -- they still have to meet your power on that level."

—What is the white strategy for keeping in power?

"They have Negroes who are saying that the Democratic Party is the salvation for the Negro race. They have Negroes who are saying that we're trying to split the Negro vote. And up until Sammy Younge was shot they had Negroes who kept saying look at Tuskegee, look how nice it is. After Sammy was shot, they couldn't say that, and we organized a Freedom Organization in Macon County.

"The other strategy is what Wallace introduced into the legislation to try and keep Negroes from voting in any way that he sees fit, and that was what he asked for, in his own words, on the floor of the legislature."

—What happened to that?

"It passed 7 to 2 -- a study in what they call 'ways to keep the Negroes from voting. But that's all irrelevant. In 1966, there are going to be black people sitting in those offices come hell or high water."

—How many county offices are open for election this November?

"We filed a suit in Lowndes County to make all offices void as of Nov. 8, because those people were elected by illegal means, by murder, that's how they got those offices, by disenfranchising 80% of the population. If the justice of this county is as we have known it to be, and they do not rule in our favor, we'll have the sheriff, tax assessor, two school boards and tax soliciter open for voting."

—What will the response be from the Democratic Party? Will they run Uncle Tom candidates to split the Negro vote?

"I'm sure they will do that. I'm sure that pressure will come not only from the state Democratic Party but from the national Democratic Party. When Johnson gave the Voting Rights Bill, the assumption was that all those votes would go into the Democratic Party and they wouldn't have to worry about the South. That's just not true with these independent political parties, if Negroes don't vote in the Democratic Party, I am sure they will use all sorts of means to stop the independent political organization.

"It also will become a very dangerous thing if the idea spreads. For example in Lowndes County, the Dan River Mill has a building there, and that's just tax-free. Suppose we got a tax assessor in, and she taxed the Dan River Mills? Which we intend to do, on the basis of the profit they make."

—Dan River would probably move out of the county.

"So be it, we'll have lost nothing. But

what if that idea spreads?"

—Let's talk about it spreading. What about counties in Alabama that have 30%, 20%, 10% Negroes -- what is your strategy there?

"The first thing you do is that those Negroes organize themselves in their own interest. Negroes vote in the Democratic Party across the country, but they're not organized within the Democratic Party. That's why in Chicago, Daley doesn't have to do anything, because Negroes are going to vote Democrat.

"So if those Negroes organize themselves, then they have a weapon. Then even with 10% of the Negroes voting, you have some kind of voice. That's what we're doing -- we're organizing Negroes to consolidate all the gains they've made in the last six years. In the last six years Negroes in this country have come a long way, and it would be silly to throw it all away over the question of whether you vote Democratic or Republican. That's irrelevant. You want to see that the things you have been asking for get done.

"If they do organize themselves, I'm sure they will find some voices in other organizations in the white community who probably have the same problems they do. But they have to be organized."

—Do you see any chance, then, on the state level?

"Of course. If you organize Alabama Negroes, that's 30-35% of the population. If those Negroes are organized into one solid block, the rest of the people voting will split in factions. There are three factions: the Republican Party, which is putting a lot of money into Alabama this year, trying to make its gains; and with the Democratic Party we have a split between the Wallaces and the Jim Clarks and the Richmond Flowers. So you have three factions fighting for that 65% of the vote. And you have 35% of your vote solid. If you can't at least control the state, you have a very very powerful bargaining weapon. And the same thing with that 10% of the vote. If it is well organized, you become a very strong bargaining force."



This Man Has The Power In Your County. It Is In His Hands.

"If You Get Together

In The Freedom Organization, You Can:

1. Control The County Officials- Black Or White!
2. Make Sure There Is Organized Political Power In The Hands Of People Who Need It Most!.
3. Choose The People Who Will Represent You- The People Just Like You!
4. Be The Sheriff -Don't Be Afraid Of The Word 'Qualified'

—How do you see the Freedom Organization movement spreading from county to county?

"We're sending Negroes from the organized counties all over Alabama to talk to other Negroes and organize them. That's buffering the people in Alabama who've been saying that SNCC has been splitting the Negro vote, because now you have Negroes from Alabama who are saying that other Negroes should join the freedom organization. If counties that have large Negro populations are strong, I don't see why they couldn't make political deals to help out the county next to them."

CONTINUED NEXT MONTH

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