



THE



MOVEMENT

DECEMBER 1966



VOL. 2 NO. 11

IN THIS ISSUE...
DON'T BUY THE OAKLAND TRIB
FREEDOM PRIMER
MOVIE REVIEW:
Losing Just The Same



Photo: Bob Fletcher

LOWNDES COUNTY NEGROES go to polls in Lowndesboro, Alabama, the first time they have voted in their lives. 1600 voted for the Lowndes County Freedom Organization candidates.

LOWNDES COUNTY

CANDIDATES LOSE, BUT BLACK PANTHER STRONG

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the only political party in America controlled and organized by black people, was defeated in Lowndes County, Alabama last month. The LCFO, also known as the Black Panther Party after its ballot symbol, a leaping black panther, was organized a year and a half ago by Lowndes County residents and members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Fear, intimidation, fraud and unpreparedness caused its defeat this Fall, but the LCFO has proved to be a strong political organization. Though its candidates lost, the Freedom Organization is the only black political group that controls and chooses its own representatives. It may win in two years. If it does, it will be looked to all over the country as the way to achieve practical Black Power in America.

By Terence Cannon

LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA -- On election eve the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, sometimes called the Black Panther Party, held a mass meeting at the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church near Hayneville, the county seat.

The minister opened with a benediction: "God, go with us to the polls tomorrow. Be there with us in the morning. There is a great feeling here. Help this feeling to spread through all the states of America."

"Our candidates represent the residents of Lowndes County," John Hulett, chairman of the LCFO, told the 400 people crowded in the church. "They represent all the poor people in the country. No matter what happens, tomorrow night I will hold my head as high as I have ever done. It is a victory to get the black panther on ballot."

Then he cautioned the audience, "Lowndes County is not organized. All we have is our organization. In the next two years we ought to know where every house in this county is. We need the help of every Negro in our community."

At the end of the meeting the candidates each stood and said a few words. Mrs. Alice Moore, candidate for Tax Assessor took the microphone. "My platform is Tax the Rich to Feed the Poor," she said and sat down. Frank Miles, candidate for Tax Collector, led the audience in a song with new words he had written. The song went:

If you don't see any Uncle Toms
You can't find them anywhere
Go on over to the Democratic Party
They'll be voting over there.

If you can't find the Tax Assessor
If you can't find the Tax Collector
Come on down to the jail house
They'll be sitting down there.

If you can't find the Coroner
Or the Sheriff anywhere
Come on down to the undertaker
parlor
They'll be waiting right there.

STOKELY SPEAKS

Stokely Carmichael, SNCC Chairman, had been jailed in Selma the Friday before on a special warrant issued by the Mayor. He remained in jail over the weekend. Two other SNCC field secretaries, campaigning for the Dallas County Free Independent Voters Organization, had been stopped in their sound truck by Selma police and arrested. One cop shoved his shotgun in the driver's face and said, "We're not going to have anymore of this voting stuff."

"It's so good to be home," Stokely began his speech. He was home. All that day where I had canvassed, people had asked about Stokely, was he out of jail, would he be at the meeting? His speech was cheered and applauded, and after the meeting ended, he moved through the

crowd, shaking hands, hugging and kissing the people young and old (This sounds sentimental: I put it in for the benefit of those of our readers who may think that Black Power people are harsh and frightening. In Lowndes, where Black Power began, it is black people together. "It is the will, the courage and the love in our hearts," said Carmichael in his speech.)

ELECTION DAY

Black people in Lowndes County have not voted in 75 years. Canvassing near Bragg, we met a man 112 years old. He was voting for the first time in his life. Almost no one had ever voted. An entire population had been totally excluded from politics. This is important to remember. It came as no surprise to the leadership that the LCFO lost. The final returns were:

SHERIFF	
Sydney Logan, Jr. (LCFO)	1643
Frank Ryals (Dem)	2320
CORONER	
Emory Ross (LCFO)	1640
Jack Golson (Dem)	2265

TAX ASSESSOR	
Alice L. Moore (LCFO)	1604
Charlie Sullivan (Dem)	2265
TAX COLLECTOR	
Frank Miles, Jr. (LCFO)	1603
Iva D. Sullivan (Dem)	2268
BOARD OF EDUCATION, PLACE #3	
Robert Logan (LCFO)	1664
David M. Lyon (Rep)	1937
BOARD OF EDUCATION, PLACE #4	
John Hinson (LCFO)	1666
Tommy Coleman (Rep)	1966
BOARD OF EDUCATION, PLACE #5	
Willie M. Strickland (LCFO)	1600
C.B. Haigler (Dem)	2170

Why did this happen?

Fear was strongest among those who lived and worked on the plantations. Many were told they would be kicked off if they voted for the LCFO, or if they voted at all. Other workers were brought in on trucks from the plantations, given sample ballots with the white candidates marked, taken in a group into the polling place, not allowed to talk with the Negro poll watchers and then trucked back to the plantation.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



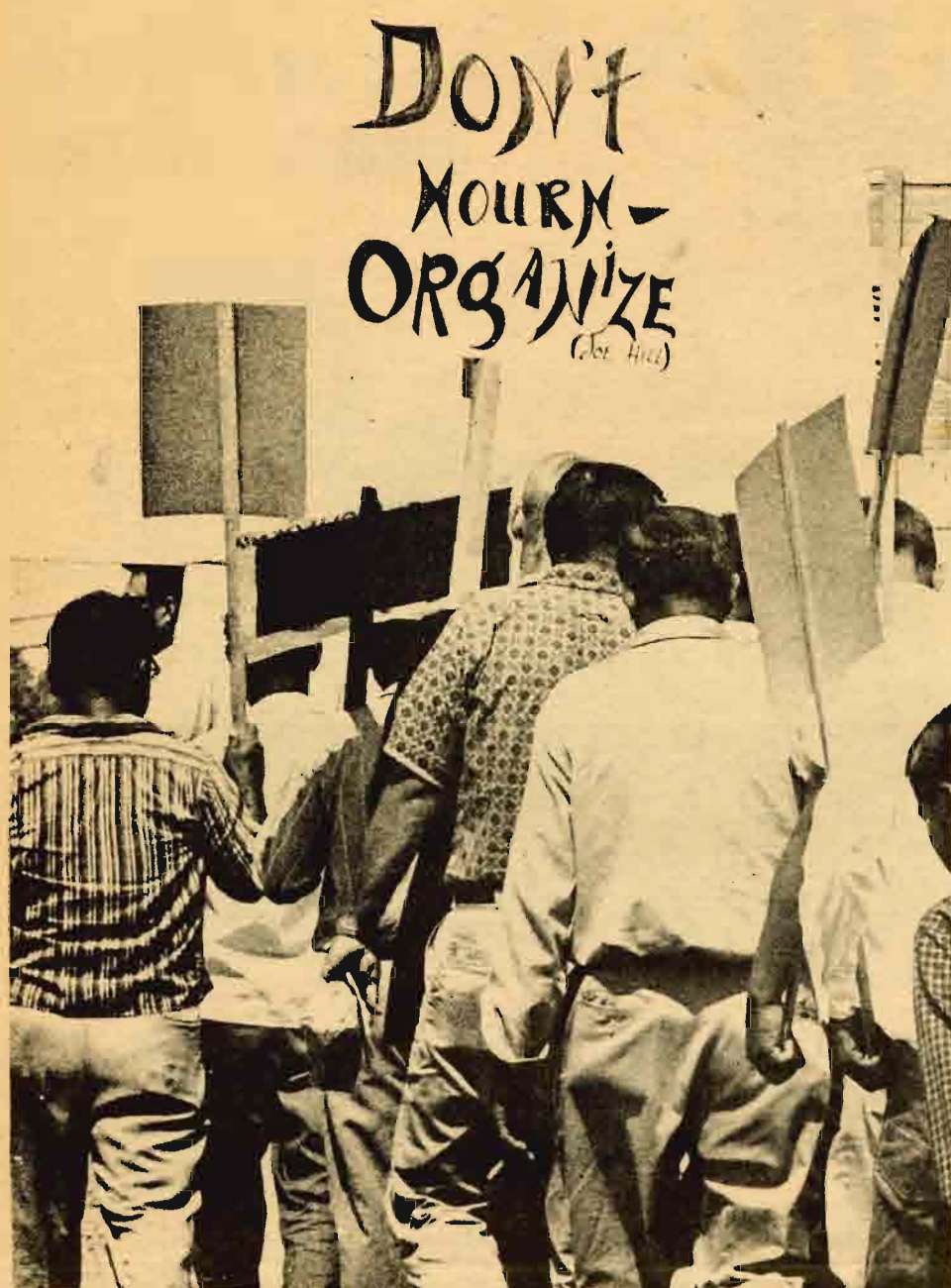
Photo: Bob Fletcher

BOB MANTS, SNCC Field Secretary, leaves the LCFO headquarters. Mants has worked in Lowndes County since the independent political movement began.

EDITORIALS

LETTERS

ON THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS....



TO OUR READERS

You will notice that our masthead this month no longer says "Published by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee of California."

This change is a legal one. We are incorporating separately as The Movement Press so that national SNCC won't get sued for anything we say.

We are still very much a part of SNCC. We have never spoken officially for the national office, but we have been the only newspaper where SNCC people can speak directly to those involved in the struggles for freedom in the United States.

The Movement Press plans to expand its publishing activities beyond the newspaper. We began with the poster of Che Guevara, and plan to print leaflets, booklets and perhaps some community newspapers and newsletters. We will also be publishing material for the national SNCC office, beginning with an analysis of the Atlanta "riots," in booklet form with photos.

DON'T BUY THE OAKLAND TRIBUNE HANDS OFF MARK COMFORT!

Mark Comfort is the organizer of the Oakland Direct Action Committee, a grassroots organization of young people in East Oakland. During the picketing of the Oakland Tribune newspaper last year, Mark was arrested for "failure to disburse" and sentenced to 6 months in jail.

He served 44 days of this unjust sentence in the Santa Rita Prison Farm, and was released when Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas gave him a stay of sentence.

Today it looks as if Mark will have to return to prison to finish his term. Like many other black organizers, Mark Comfort has been subjected to a systematic campaign by police and city officials trying to keep him off the streets and away from young people in Oakland.

At a rally in Mark's defense last month, Stokely Carmichael asked people what they could do to help free him. One person suggested that they boycott the Oakland Tribune, the powerful newspaper that has put pressure on the D.A.'s office and the police to harass Mark. We feel that the Tribune could exercise similar power to free him if they wanted.

Boycotting the Tribune is one way that people can bring direct pressure to bear on the corporation that has opposed the rights of black people for many years. We ask our readers not to buy the Tribune and to cancel their subscriptions. Let them know that you want the authorities to take their Hands Off Mark Comfort!

Do you want to know what's really going on in the movement? In detail? Subscribe to

THE KEY LIST MAILING

In which the San Francisco SNCC office publishes the documents, speeches and articles you may not be able to find anywhere else.

It comes out twice a month and costs \$10 a year.

Expensive, but worth it.

ORGANIZER'S NOTEBOOK

To The Movement:

In keeping with the idea of a revolutionary newspaper being useful to people's struggles, I would like to suggest that The Movement have an "organizers' notebook," which would be a means of exchanging ideas and experiences between community organizations. Questions like how did the Community Alert Patrol get organized, or what is the structure of a certain group and what are the advantages or disadvantages of such a structure, can be dealt with by organizers. This way new ideas and techniques that one group uses can be transmitted to organizations in other parts of the state and country. Also organizations that try different programs--like setting up a co-op or a credit union--can report on the successes or failures of these programs, and in so doing give their impressions why the program was successful or unsuccessful for that particular organization. Then other organizers could learn from the groups' experiences and ask relevant questions of that group. This would lead to a necessary dialogue between organizers and would help new groups develop without making the mistakes of older groups. It would also create a sense of "movement."

This idea for an organizers' notebook arose from a specific incident that I think is not atypical. After reading about CAP in The Movement, some of us at JOIN in Chicago wondered about the concrete problems of setting up a community patrol and wrote to L.A. twice with very specific questions; however, not surprisingly, we never got an answer. Due to the day to day activities of any community group it is virtually impossible to answer all (or any) of the mail that comes in; but questions of interest to many groups could and should be answered by one letter to The Movement. I think the letters in the organizers'

NEED ORGANIZERS

In the November issue of THE MOVEMENT I reported briefly on a community organization in Chicago known as the Latin American Defense Organization. LADO emerged from the dissatisfaction with establishment oriented leadership that attempted to quiet and stifle the Puerto Rican Community following the summer rebellion.

LADO is real and it grows due to a handful of capable Puerto Rican and Mexican Organizers, as well as a complex of unchanging oppressive conditions that exist in the Puerto Rican ghetto. Yet like most organizing efforts, it suffers both a lack of funds and shortage of full-time organizers.

The need for Spanish speaking organizers is urgent. The first priority is for Puerto Ricans, then Mexicans, then Spanish speaking whites. If you can assist by coming, giving leads on people, or funds, please contact Obed Lopez immediately, c/o LADO, 1306 N. Western, Chicago, Illinois, Phone 384-3323.

For freedom,

Michael James
JOIN Community Union

To The Editor:

You (THE MOVEMENT) are the best most honest un-bung up by leftist bullshit movement paper in the country. It's a joy to read your paper and to see you reaching people "where they are" in a creative humane way.

To Miss Muzio (Letters column, October). As a Catholic Interracial Council member myself, I would say you have misunderstood THE MOVEMENT'S reflecting the honest mood of a community -- which is necessary if we are to understand each other -- for an expression of an editorial policy. I know the S.F. officer you're speaking of, and I'm sure he feels better because of knowing what are people's honest feelings about cops in general. It's that dishonest unknowing that leads to tragedy, fear and hatred.

Vincent O'Connor
Pine Bluff, Ark.

notebook would deal with the "technical" things that other organizations would want to know. It should not be a public relations letter, but should be an honest appraisal of a program and should inform others who might want to start a similar program.

If this idea is considered important enough to be a regular feature of The Movement by other community groups, I would like to begin the questioning by asking someone from CAP in Watts to outline how it was formed (where did the members come from? who did the organizing? etc.); what the structure of the organization is (is there a full time staff? who mans the cars and who is in charge? etc.); how large the organization is, and what effect it has on police practices in the area. These are questions that people in JOIN and the Uptown Goodfellows have and some of the questions are probably shared by other groups who are thinking about setting up such a patrol.

I hope other organizers consider this exchange of information as important as I do and will be able to sit down once in a while to answer questions asked by other organizers. It will only be effective if organizers speak to each other about concrete ideas and therefore it is up to organizers to make such a feature valuable.

Bob Lawson

Los Angeles Area Friends of SNCC Action Project

is calling on Radicals of any variety to participate in

independent organizing

Meeting will be held:

Thursday, December 15; 8:15 p.m.

at: 17 Horizon Ave. Venice, Calif.

(nr. Windward & Pacific)

For info., call:

Robin Doyno or Larry Lack
733-6119 399-6119

INCITING TO WHAT?

A correspondent from Nashville tells us that a local Nashville paper, reporting on Stokely Carmichael's appearance in Watts, said, "county Supervisors, at first fearful Carmichael might incite a riot, denied him a permit to speak in Watts."

Sometimes even the established press tells the truth.

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BLACK POWER IN BAKERSFIELD SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE

By Alfredo De Venado

Bakersfield, California -- Despite a court restraining order and a suit asking for \$600,000, the refuse collectors of Bakersfield held firm on their promise to strike and to stop any trucks driven by hired scabs. On Tuesday, October 25 at 6 a.m. some forty Negroes, one Mexican and one white stood in front of the gate of the Bakersfield corporation yard. The previous night their union representatives had appealed to the conservative City Council for a raise in pay and an end to a racist administration of their city department. Rather than take them seriously the council joked about the matter. The union offered to begin negotiations immediately, but the council apparently saw more humor than threat in the situation. The following morning their smiles were gone, and for the next three days the garbage ripened in the warm sun of the Southern San Joaquin Valley city.

POLICE ARREST ORGANIZER

At 10:15 of the same morning a special crew of policemen took Jim Mason into custody in front of the city corporation yard. Mr. Mason, the man responsible for organizing the strike, had been driven to the picket line and was standing on the sidewalk, yet he was booked on a charge of "suspicion of excessive speed, and having no operators license in his possession". With Mason out of the way city officials assured the local newspapers that the "emergency" would be ended in a few hours.

The court injunction was duplicated and city police started their jobs as LABOR RELATIONS MEN. The police began hunting down each one of the strikers, warning them to go back to work, threatening their jobs if they failed to do so, and giving each one a copy of the injunction. The men held firm. They had relied on Mason for help in organizing, but according to Herman Crawford, president of the striking unit, "With Jim gone, we're on our own, but we'll each one of us go to jail, one at a time, before they'll bust us up. We don't need any one man so long as we stick together. I don't think there's one man in the forty of us who isn't willing to go

to jail right now. The city ain't got the guts to try it though."

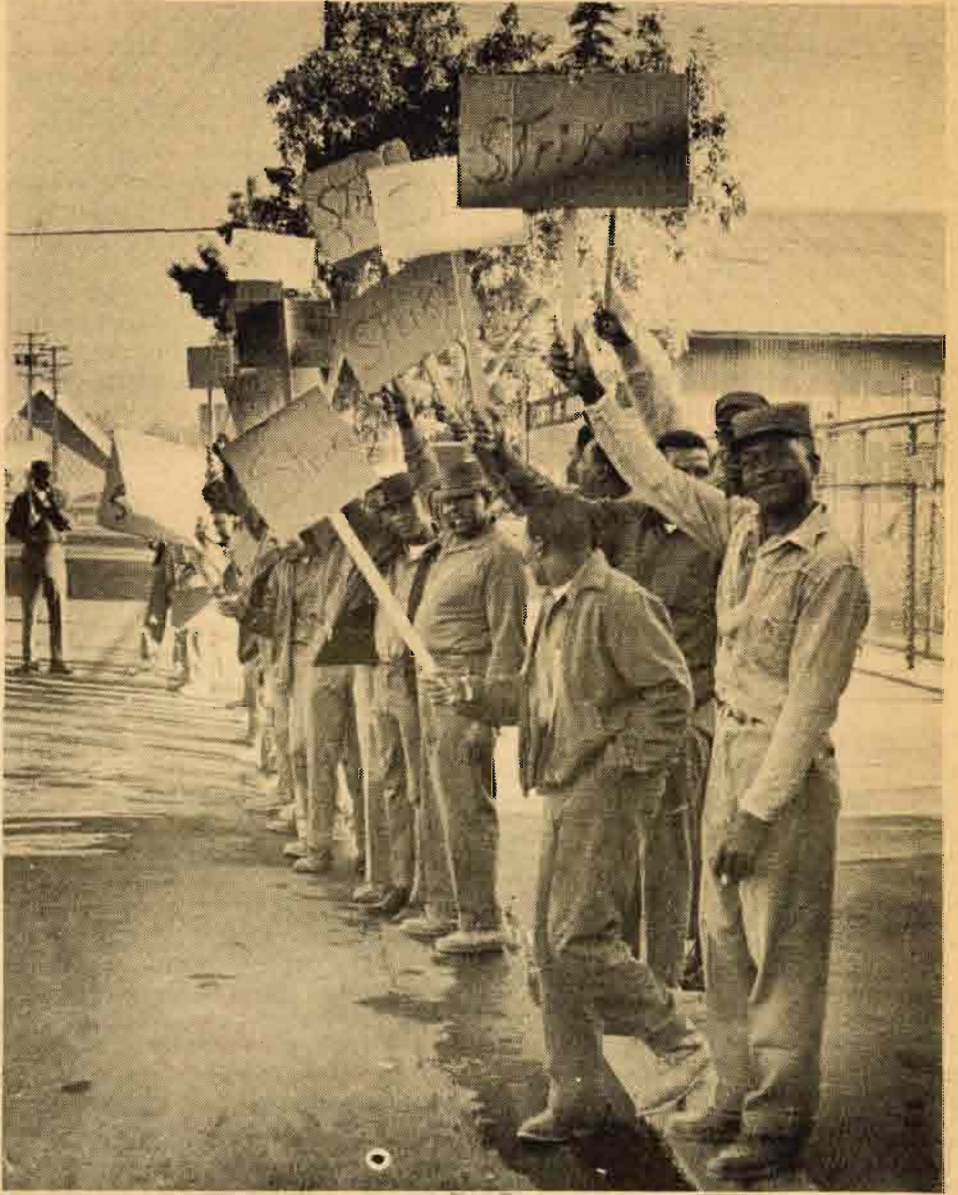
The following morning the city announced it would hire scab crews to run the garbage routes. The city phones were flooded with complaints and they started to get desperate. The men had given up picketing, but they stayed on hand to watch the yards. When one truck started moving inside the yard, preceded by a carful of city and civil service officials, forty men appeared across the street from the gate. They moved as a single unit and some started hopping around as if they were in fight training. The truck stopped immediately and within five minutes two carloads of police were on hand.

STRIKER'S DEMANDS

When a city attorney and the superintendent of the corporation yards came out to tell the men to get out of the way, the men instructed them that they might "go to hell", and more than one striker reminded them that they were taxpayers and that the officials had best start acting like public servants. Rather than allow the officials to continue their legal threats, individual strikers made their demands: "We want a 10% pay increase. How come we're the only black department, and the only one that hasn't got a raise in three years?" A burly man pushed to the front of the group, "Why do we have snitch clocks (time-travel recorders) on the trucks? No other department's got 'em." A thin short man asked, "Who pockets our overtime pay? It's in the budget, but we don't get to see it." One of the men on the strike committee chimed in, "We don't want to see any more Bill Burnett" (supervisor of the department). There's too many grey-heads in this bunch for him to be callin us 'boy.' We had enough of that 'boy' crap. Bakersfield ain't no different from Bama, but we gonna make it different. Us 'boys' are about to get treated like men, or watch out!"

NO SCABS

The city attorney and the yard super-



BAKERSFIELD SANITATION WORKERS on picket line.

visor retreated to the yard office. No men were hired as scabs. No trucks rolled. Work did not begin until three days had passed and the city agreed to negotiate.

The black community of Bakersfield watched the situation carefully and saw the power of unity. The dormant labor movement was shown an example by men who until only months ago had never

thought of a union to represent them. The situation was summed up best by a domestic worker, wife of one of the strikers, as she stood by the picket line.

"We've been having nothing but black slavery here," she said. "It's about time we got us some black power . . . whatever that is."

PUBLIC HOUSING STRIKE

By Mike Sharon

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA -- A city wide rent strike in Public Housing was called by the San Francisco Tenant Issues Council (STIC), after one of its members, the Hunter's Point Tenant's Union, called a strike on October 11.

The strike began with ten families in the Hunter's Point project and has since spread to some forty other families in the project and to five of the city's nine other projects. Now there are over 150 families on strike with several hundred pledged to go on strike in the coming months. The Bernal Heights project has sent a list of 200 hundred families which are pledged to go on strike and have asked STIC for help in their area.

ATTEMPTED BUY OFF

With a growing rent strike on his hands Eneas Kane, head of the S.F. Housing Authority, and his assistant Revels Cayton have begun a campaign to buy off projects which are thus far only slightly involved in the strike. They went to the North Beach Projects and said that inspectors would be put on hot water pipes and that a larger-than broom-closet-sized meeting room would be provided for the tenant's union. But the tenants have not taken the bait, and the strike is spreading in that project too.

The tenants are tired of the tiny offers the Authority always makes when they begin to fight for tenant rights. As one tenant remarked, "It used to be that I didn't want to join the union or strike, because I had children and a wife to support and I didn't want to get thrown out of the projects. Now I am tired of cockroaches crawling over my babies and fleas from rats biting them.

I am in their union and on strike FOR my family."

REPRESENTATION DEMANDED

STIC is demanding that three tenants be placed on the city's five-man Housing Commission. As Ray Riley, Chairman of STIC, put it to me, "We think that the Housing Commission should be made up of people living in the projects. We know that the Commission can't correct all the problems of the projects, because they don't understand them. They live in homes and high priced apartments. Two or three have never been through these projects. I wouldn't imagine living in Arizona trying to run California. I wouldn't imagine a mayor living in Los Angeles trying to run San Francisco. You can't eliminate bad conditions unless you know them."

Support for the rent strike has been coming in from all parts of the city. The welfare rights groups and the welfare workers union have endorsed the strike. These groups along with other public housing tenants: pressured the Welfare Commission into allowing tenants whose rent is sent by the Welfare Department directly to the Housing Authority go have that money deposited with the tenant's union strike account.

Several legal aid lawyers have pledged their support in the event of evictions. They argue that the rent money is available to the Authority, if it makes necessary repairs in the projects. The only OEO Board to endorse the strike has been the Mission Area Board. It is clear to the tenants why this is so. The mayor's appointees to the city-wide Economic Opportunity Council, I was told, are also staff or Commissioners of city agencies.

As the strike grows stronger, the chance of evictions grows weaker. The Housing Authority tried to intimidate the tenants by sending a letter to each local Poverty Board saying that they should prepare to find housing for evicted tenants. The tenants reacted by stating clearly and strongly that any eviction would be stopped by sit-

ins or other means.

STIC is now getting ready for a confrontation with the Mayor. With more families joining the union and the strike it seems that even if STIC doesn't win all its demands this time, a strong tenant's council will emerge.

STOKELY IN WATTS

Approximately three to five thousand black people came to Will Rogers Park, Watts, to hear Mr. Stokely Carmichael speak on Black Power.

Mr. Stokely Carmichael, so successfully captured and joined the people that many times he received the traditional symbol of Black audience approval - the talking back; "Yes," "Tell them how it is," "That's right." Mr. Carmichael moved back and forth with humor and seriousness, making a deep point at each shift. His primary objective in speaking was to communicate ideas, to share common ground, and to implore self directed action.

This audience heard, perhaps not ever elucidated in better fashion, themselves being described as a new generation, or better, a new type of Black American. This new Black man was told to define his own identity, to run his own affairs, to respect his own being.

Mr. Carmichael began his conversation with his people by telling them not to believe that they are the blame for the position of Black People in America, as they have been told by the White man.

He related that the Black people in the land have never had the choice of being in another position.

With sharp gesturing and mimicry, Mr. Carmichael described white America as racist, making it necessary for them to write rules and restrictions on civil rights in order to curb the inhumanity of themselves, and not really in the behalf of the Black populace. This is a populace that is supposed to have had these rights as their white counterparts have had them, and for just as long a period. With pointed examples, he discussed with his brothers and sisters the chicanery of the white community, its failures in the world at large, eg. Viet-Nam, its constant usurpation of the very manhood of Black society. He told the people that, in the past, as intergrationist, demanding to be the brother of the white man, the black people of this country found themselves consistently on the defensive, feeling it necessary to constantly apologize to the white man for asking for something that was already his. The Negro leaders,

ARVIN FARM WORKERS VOTE UFWOC

By Brooks Penny

DiGiorgio's Arvin Ranch has finally been broken. UFWOC has won a union representation election, the Teamsters have pulled out of the area, and UFWOC is on its way toward building a strong union for farm workers.

But no facile generalizations or projections about the future of farm labor organizing are valid. In 1947, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union under the name National Farm Labor Union began a strike at this same ranch that lasted three years. They were eventually defeated. The landscape in this area is filled with the memories of past struggles. There are people who can tell you about the great

Pixley Strike of 1933. Buildings in the middle of cotton patches constantly remind the observer of the past and of previous glorious events that became eventual defeats.

But the fact remains: DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, 290th largest corporation in the country and one of the largest vertically integrated fruit producers in the world, agreed to a union election for its workers on this 9000 acre--over 15-1/2 square miles--ranch at Arvin, California. On November 4, 283 workers voted in favor of the union, 199 against it. Workers are now drawing up contract demands for negotiations with the corporation.

A tractor driver who has been with the company for twenty years and makes \$1.60

an hour talks about asking for the \$5.16 an hour with 75¢ benefits that members of the Bakersfield local of the Operating Engineers get for similar work. He knows that his chance of getting this amount is negligible, but still he laughs and beats the organizer on the back when he thinks of what the reaction of the corporation's representative will be when he sees this figure. He smiles when he thinks about picking a farm worker just like himself who will actually go up to the corporation man and say we demand this amount and that amount.

The fact that maybe he scabbed on the NFLU strike in 1947, or that maybe at the start he felt the union was just for Mexicans is all erased now. He's a union member and it feels good. When Dolores Huerta talks to him he has to admit that this Mexican woman is well spoken, smart as a tack and pretty good looking too. And she's for the union, not for the company.

The racial aspect of the organization at Arvin has special significance. Many people criticized Cesar Chavez for organizing farm workers along racial lines when he first started the NFWA. They said that marching with the Virgin of Guadalupe at the head of the procession, putting up pictures of Zapata and Villa and talking about La Raza would lead into a blind alley. The majority of farm workers in the state might be Mexican but there were still a lot of Anglos and Filipinos and Negroes. Until all these different people were united under one banner there would be no viable organization. But the success at the Arvin ranch proves that UFWOC is not just a Mexican union.

The total number of people who voted on November 4 was about 550, including the challenged votes. Of these, probably 230 were Anglo, and equal number of Mexican descent and the rest Negro and Puerto Rican. When the organizational drive was first started, Anglo workers to whom the organizers talked said "Oh, I thought this was only for the Mexicans," and then expressed sympathy with the union. The Puerto Rican camp where few workers speak English was organized by a Filipino who speaks no Spanish. One of the most militant members, who has emerged as the de facto spokesman for the union from the ranch, is a Negro. In the heat of the struggle there has been unity among the races.

Not all of the workers are convinced, even now, that any union or this one in particular is a good thing. But now that the election has been won the workers who are still violently anti-union are a distinct minority. On certain issues they can sway some people but they represent no real power base in the union. In a dispute they have only abstract objections like "communism" or "un-christian".

This group of workers represents a phenomena that isn't always in a minority. Most, but not all, of the opposition and anti-union feeling is found among Anglos. But the significant breakdown is not a racial one, but one of class identification. Most of the pro-union Anglos are poor whites from the south or members of other unions someplace else. Most of the anti-union feeling comes from young Anglos, mostly from California, and wives of supervisors or salaried personnel. The anti-union workers have different social and economic aspirations. They feel that they are somewhat better than the rest and not going to be farm workers all their lives. They identify with the supervisory and salaried positions and consequently with the company rather than with the workers. The pro-union Anglos, on the other hand, see themselves as farm workers, even though some of them have been with the company for twenty years or more. Few hold salaried or supervisory positions or have any possibility of holding these jobs.

One worker from the deep South, talking about some of the anti-union men, said he felt about them like he used to think about "Nigger lovers back home." The concept "nigger lover" had little meaning to him within the context of the struggle with DiGiorgio; "company man" had taken its place. Taking "nigger lover" and "company man" within their proper contexts the worker felt that each was a class traitor, although he probably wouldn't use this term. From the outside it might seem incongruous that he could make this equation, but it doesn't seem so to him. He readily identifies with anyone who is involved in the same struggle no matter what their race as long as they remain within the context of their common struggle. He probably still wouldn't have a Negro in his house but he just might vote for one to negotiate his contract with the company.

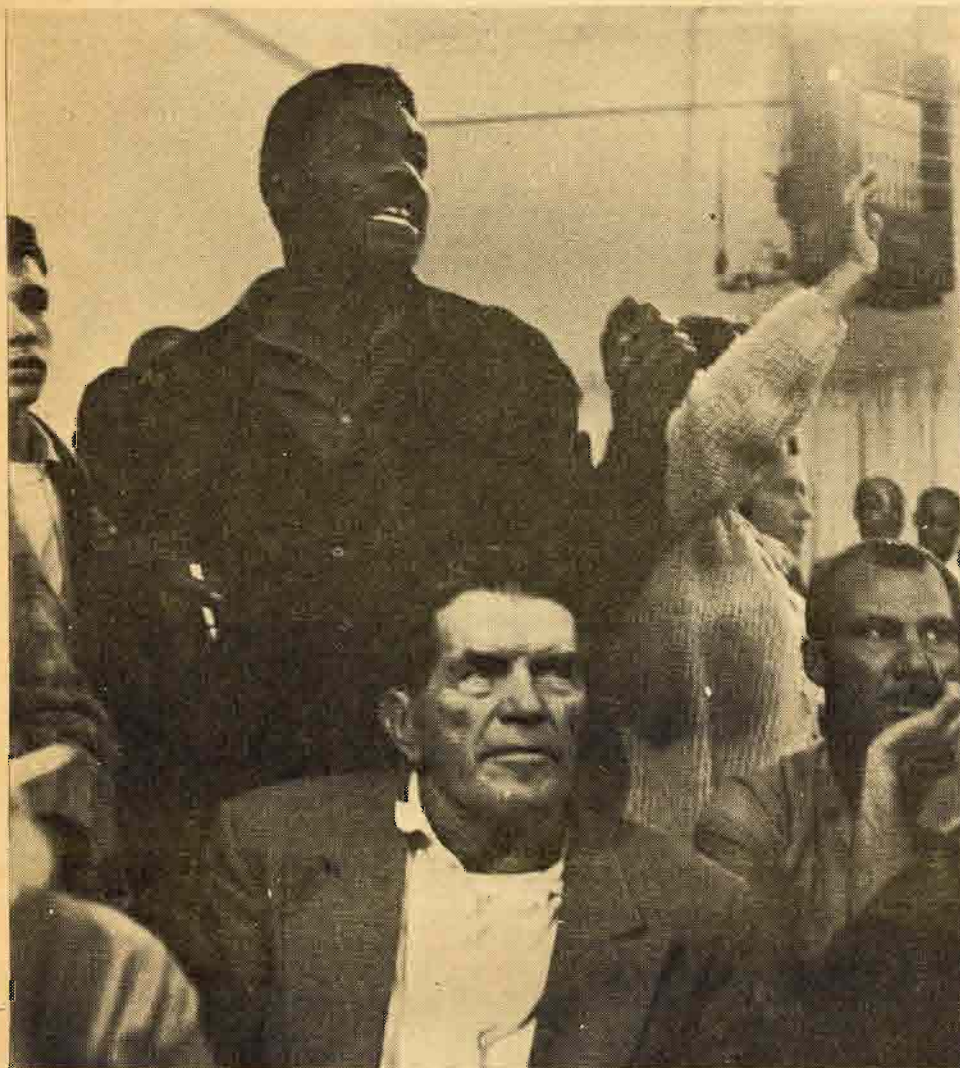


Photo: Mary King

ARVIN WORKERS MEET TO CHOOSE negotiation committee.

WHY ARVIN WORKERS WANTED A UNION

LAMONT, CALIFORNIA— Several months ago, before the union elections at Arvin, Terry Cannon attended a house meeting here with workers from the Di Giorgio ranch. He talked with the workers about the upcoming elections on the ranch. Their answers came too fast to break down individually, but he was able to report their general feelings about working and living conditions under the Di Giorgio Corporation.

WHY DO YOU WANT A UNION AT DI GIORGIO?

"Now we are making \$1.15, \$1.20. It's not a just wage. You can't support a family.

"We want a seniority not to be laid off. They ask us to train a new person and then throw us off like an old shoe. We don't want the foremen pushing us around, telling us how much we have to work. A union will tell him - this is how much you get for so much pay; if you want more from him, pay more. We want to be respected as farm workers. Now the rancher tells us each day how many boxes we have to pick or how many hours we work. We want to work a certain number of hours and after that - overtime.

"Also - on seniority: the workers who live in the Di Giorgio camp get preference over people who live in town. The company will keep the camp workers and fire the town workers. Jesse Marcus controls everybody.

WHO IS JESSIE MARCUS?

(laughter) "He runs the Mexican camp. (Checking this out later I found that Marcus leases the Mexican-American camp from Di Giorgio and operates it for a profit.)

"Marcus keeps a vigil over the camp. He tries to keep everyone from talking about the union. He wants everyone to join the Teamsters. He told me he'd hire someone to beat me if I didn't vote for the Teamsters. He hired two men to 'take care' of Saragoza and Mendez. Marcus says that people have to do what he says or starve. He told me 'You should think and act and believe the way I do - that's why I'm the Director here.' He's a man, who if he had the necessary power, would be like Hitler. He would get all the people who like Chavez, put them in one room and burn them."

WHAT ELSE WOULD YOU CHANGE IF THERE WERE A UNION?

"The company discriminates between the Anglo, the Mexican and the Negro. There were no Negro foremen for a long time. Finally they made a Negro foreman because the NFWA was organizing the Negro workers.

"Inside the packing sheds the easy jobs go to the wives of the big shots. When prunes and plums come for packing they come already graded; they're easy to pack. Then the women of the foremen and the supervisors get the jobs. There is a rotation system in the shed because one side is harder work than the other. If a Mexican woman misses a day or two

of work they don't rotate her; they put her back on the hard side. As soon as Cesar comes in we'll kick out the ladies of the supervisors.

"The wages are arbitrary. So are the weighings. You don't see them weigh it. We get paid by weight and the weights don't come out right. Also in the sheds, if a Negro or a Mexican packs an overweight or underweight box they send it back and he doesn't get paid. If an Anglo packs a box wrong they keep it and pay him.

"Some of the foremen are bad, some good, some terrible, terrible. Andrez is not good. People refuse to work for him. They refuse to get on his truck. His wife is a bastard too. If we had our say they wouldn't be there. When we get in they will have to get out."

WHY DO YOU WANT THE NFWA?

"There was a strike here before by AWOC. They pulled out and left. Then Cesar came along; we had a new leader, someone from among the people. Why did Di Giorgio give the teamsters first chance to organize? Because it is to his advantage. The NFWA is moving; it is of the people.

"Last April Joseph Di Giorgio came out to the camp. Some of the workers were getting off the truck and he came over and tried to shake hands. I told him to keep his dirty hands to himself.

"We were told to leave lunch early so we could hear him speak. He said he didn't want to see us strike and have picket signs out in front of his property. If we wanted a union we could elect one

of our members as a representative right then while he waited. He wanted to have a union run by the company. He told us Chavez would take all our jobs away and that he didn't want Chavez or any outsiders in there.

WHAT DID YOU THINK OF THE ELECTION IN DELANO?

"Before the election the workers here thought the NFWA would lose. Now the majority is in favor of Chavez. The new workers don't know what it is all about, though. Marcus isn't hiring people who support Chavez. He asks them who they're for and then turns down those who are for the NFWA."

* * *

Later, during a lunch hour I went with Saragoza and Mendez to the Puerto Rican camp at the Arvin Ranch. The Puerto Ricans are solidly behind the NFWA. The workers told the organizers that the current piece rate came to \$1.12 or \$1.25 an hour. They couldn't make a living at it.

They also were very concerned about the two men hired to beat up the organizers. "We've seen you out here alone at 11 and 12 at night," one worker said. "You shouldn't do that."

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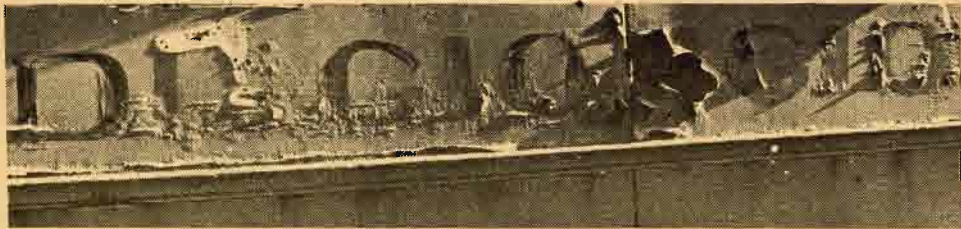


Photo: Jon Lewis

1939 DI GIORGIO PEAR STRIKE

By Richard Boyden and Ken Blum

The DiGiorgio Corporation's success at breaking strikes and subduing union activity is well illustrated by the Marysville strike of 1939. DiGiorgio owned several large ranches in the area, all operated by a wholly-owned subsidiary of DiGiorgio, the Earl Fruit Company.

The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA-CIO) had been organizing in the area of several years, together with the Workers Alliance of America, the radical league of employed which had 12,000 members in California.

Six hundred and fifty workers (fruit workers, spray men, peach thinners, irrigators, pear blight-control men and general laborers) walked off their jobs on two ranches on May 1, 1939; DiGiorgio had been bringing in Filipino workers to replace the Anglos and drive wages down. Demands included a 5¢ raise. After 10 days of picketing, the company raised wages and the strikers returned to work.

Two months later Earl Fruit brought in Filipino and Japanese crews and laid off some of the Anglos. 600 workers went out on strike again. The next day five pickets were arrested for violating a new Yuba County anti-picketing ordinance.

This ordinance, and similar laws all over the state, were largely the work of the Associated Farmers, a semi-fascist and violent anti-labor organization. In Yuba and Sutter Counties, the Earl Fruit Company was the largest single contributor to the Associated Farmers. The supervisor of the company in the area, H.H. Wolfskill, was a director of the Associated Farmers, and the Earl Fruit Company was a member.

Joseph DiGiorgio, founder of the fruit empire, was a prominent Associated member. He raised over \$10,000 to finance public relations for them.

DiGiorgio wrote letters to his big business pals and received the following responses: (note their connection to agriculture)

AT & SF railroad (shipping to market) \$780; Bank of America (credit and owner of over 1/2 of northern and central California) \$500; California Fruit Exchange \$500; California Packing Corporation \$1,000; Crown Zellerbach \$250; Kern County Land Company \$500; Safeway Stores \$1,500; Southern California Edison (power for irrigation) \$300; Southern Pacific RR \$1,300; Tidewater Associated Oil (large land holdings) \$500; Union Ice (cold storage) \$250; Union Pacific; Railroad \$500.

Under the anti-picketing ordinance, over 200 arrests of workers were made until the strike was broken. Many workers were brutally beaten by Sheriff's deputies

and Earl Fruit Company officials.

Sixty workers were arrested and three badly beaten on July 21, 1939. The judge told them at their arraignment:

"You fellows can either plead guilty to vagrancy and the anti-picketing ordinance and I will give you 6 months in jail with a suspended sentence out of the county — or you can plead not guilty and demand a lawyer and we will give you a 6-man jury, and they will find you guilty and I will give you 6 months in jail and you can do it in jail. What do you want to do, p l e a d guilty or not guilty?"

On one occasion six pickets were beaten, put in a car and taken out of the county without the inconvenience of arrest and trial. Several men deported that way returned from San Francisco with money donated by longshoremen to set up a soup kitchen in the CIO hall to feed the wives and children of other men who had been forced to leave. The hall and kitchen were raided and busted up by a sheriff's posse.

Governor Olsen called the union, law enforcement officials, and the Earl Fruit Company to a joint meeting to find a solution to the dispute. Earl Fruit refused the invitation, saying that there was nothing to discuss, that there was no strike among its employees. Instead of negotiating, the Earl Fruit Company and DiGiorgio decided to import hundreds of strikebreakers. The strike was broken.

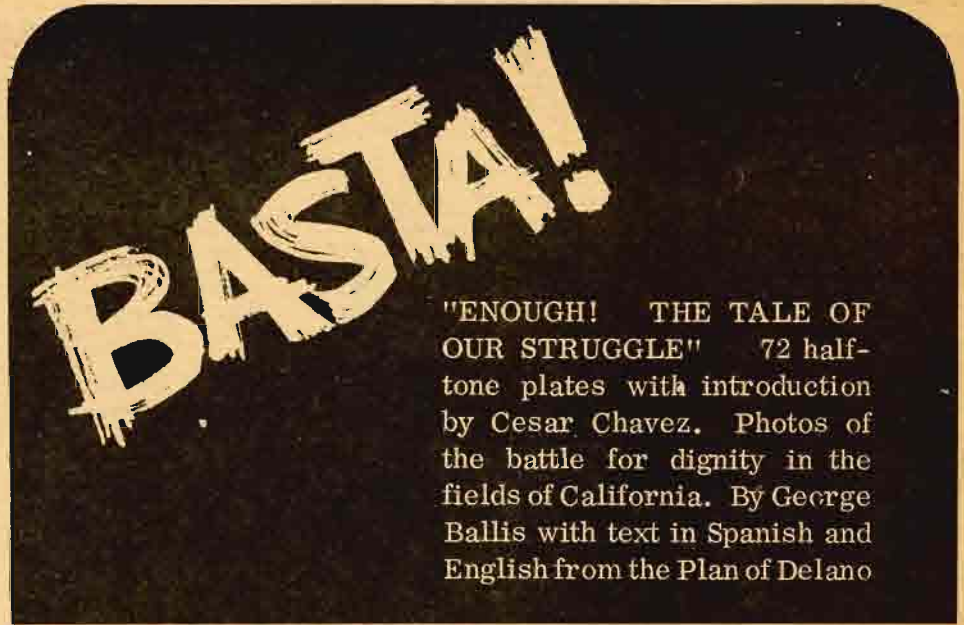
It is important to note the racial implications of the strike. Earl Fruit used Oriental workers to lower wages of whites, thus causing racial tensions among the workers and making organization across racial lines extremely difficult.

FARM LABOR SUPPORT GROUP FORMED

SAN FRANCISCO — A permanent committee to support the organizing activities of rural workers has been formed here. Called the Agricultural Support Committee of San Francisco, its members are from labor unions, student groups and political organizations.

According to a statement issued by the committee, its purposes are to "support fully the efforts of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee," to "institute community action and educational projects" to "raise money and provisions for the striking workers," and to "develop an understanding of the common problems which face rural and city workers."

"The trouble with previous farm worker support groups," a committee member



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STOKELY IN WATTS Continued from page 3

particularly of late, have aided and abetted the brainwashing of Black populace, by always insisting we raise ourselves by the measure of white mans' standards.

It was in this last area that Mr. Carmichael sailed home to the people. He related, they must recognize themselves for what they are and stop being ashamed of it. Describing Black people as thick lipped, broad nosed, and nappy headed, he said that with this as a frame of reference, a standard, then Black people were beautiful.

Mr. Carmichael told the audience to

make efforts to run their own affairs, their own school boards, their own law enforcement agencies. In other words to place the destiny of Black people in the hands of Black people.

Mr. Carmichael had told Los Angeles that he was coming to define Black Power. His talk was this definition. Speaking more directly on Black Power he emphasized its meaning as being for Black People, and for their own determination and defining. He said white people, despite their seeming confusion, already understood the term power. The Black Power movement is their own, one not likely to be usurped by white people as other movements had been.

In speaking, Mr. Carmichael, did not imply that his people were purist or unblemished by the long years in a sub-status contact with white people. He said that it was going to be hard for Black people to liberate themselves from white thinking. He implored them to start now by teaching nonviolence in their own communities and not to white communities, also to support their local organizations, to work with one another, to respect and love one another.

This Black spokesman for Black people manages to form a very close relationship with his listeners. He is not empathizing their ideas and feelings. Rather, he gives one the feeling that he is talking about a common knowledge, something he lives with his people.

Harold C. Hart-Nibbrig
 Director, Police Malpractice
 Complaint Center, Watts



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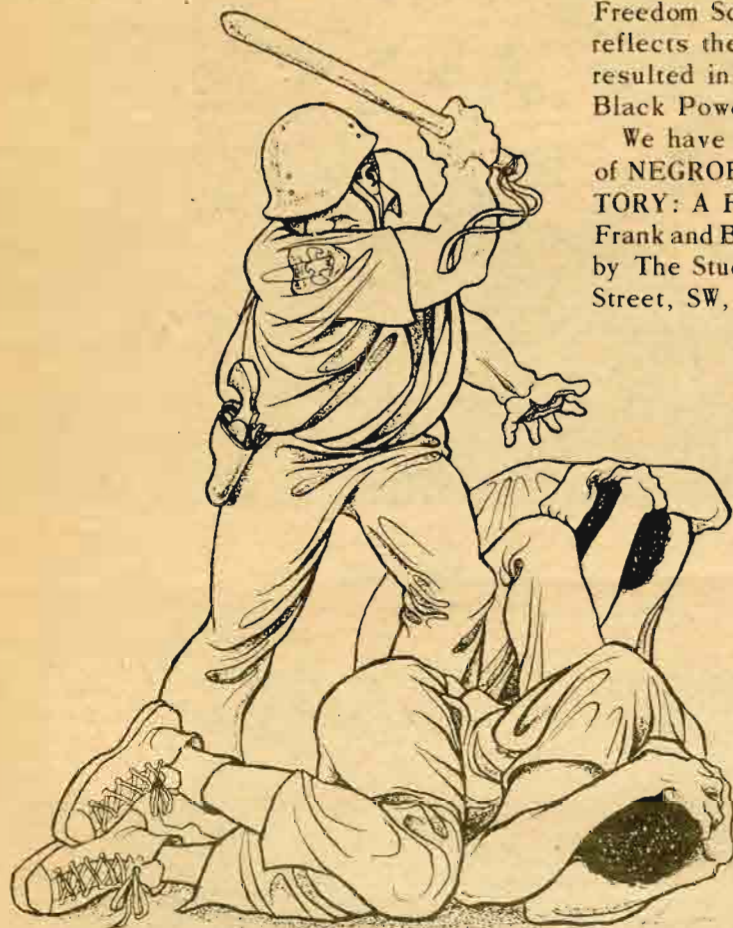
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FREEDOM PRIMER



This history of the civil rights movement was written for SNCC's Freedom Schools in the South. It reflects the mood and thinking that resulted in the SNCC call for Black Power.

We have printed here Chapter II of *NEGROES IN AMERICAN HISTORY: A FREEDOM PRIMER*, by Frank and Bobbi Cieciora, published by The Student Voice, 360 Nelson Street, SW, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Modern Movement

BY THE BEGINNING of the 20th Century, the Negroes in America were in many ways as badly off as they had been under slavery. Legally Negroes were free, but in fact they labored under economic and political and social slavery little different from the past. Negroes who left the South found themselves crowded into northern ghettos, unable to get work.

Even the trade union movement, which was organizing workers to try for better working conditions and higher wages, usually did not let Negroes join. White businessmen used the old southern trick of playing Negroes and poor white workers against each other. When a union threatened to strike for higher wages, the boss would threaten to fire all the strikers and hire Negroes instead. A lot of Negroes needed work so badly that they were willing to work for very low wages. That way businessmen tricked Negroes and poor whites into fighting each other instead of joining together to



work for higher wages. Because of this, when a company did recognize a union, that only meant that Negroes had a harder time getting jobs.

Negroes did not give up fighting and hoping, but very little was gained during those years. In the South, more and more black landowners lost their land. They had to become sharecroppers or leave the South. In the North, a system of de facto segregation grew as more and more Negroes migrated to the cities and were confined in

ghettos. Lynching continued in the South, and race riots happened more often in the North.

THEN CAME 1960. Almost 100 years after the Civil War, four Negro students sat down at a Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were courteous and well behaved. They asked only what was theirs by right — that they be allowed to eat like anyone else. Their tactic was an old one, and yet it was revolutionary. It was simply refusing to accept injustice. The tactic had been used before. There had been sit-ins and freedom rides before. But somehow 1960 was different. The movement spread at once. All over the South other students also held sit-ins. Within days, thousands of young people were sitting-in and being attacked and arrested.

Two months later, in April, 1960, some of the sit-in students, with the help of advisor Ella Baker, organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. SNCC set up communications between the many different groups that were demonstrating.

In 1961 came the freedom rides to protest discrimination in interstate travel. There had been Supreme Court decisions outlawing such segregation before. But it was not until the freedom rides that Jim Crow was finally kicked out of the bus stations. People came from all across the country to try to integrate bus stations nonviolently. In Alabama and Mississippi buses were attacked and burned. Many freedom riders were beaten and arrested. Since then the Movement has gone on and grown.

WHAT IS THE MOVEMENT? On the outside, it is civil rights organizations like CORE, SNCC, SCLC and the NAACP. It is places like Albany, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; McComb, Mississippi; and Lowndes County, Alabama. It is people like Martin Luther King, Jr., Medgar Evers, and Fannie Lou Hamer. To people across the country, reading newspapers and watching on television, the Movement is the horror of bombed churches and senseless murders. It is the excitement of a March on Washington or a Selma-to-Montgomery March.

On the inside, the Movement is day-to-day hard work. It is walking and knocking on doors and talking to people. It is people getting together in mass meetings. It is fear and learning how to overcome fear. And maybe most of all, the Movement is people learning to ask questions.

Mississippi is a good example. In many ways Mississippi is one of the worst states in the country. The Movement decided to concentrate on Mississippi. CORE, SNCC, SCLC and the NAACP have all worked in Mississippi and still work there.

In the fall of 1961, some people began to question whether public accommodations testing was

enough to do in the fight for equal rights. They saw that most Negroes were too poor to eat in the white man's restaurant, even when they had the right to. Some people decided that what Negroes needed more than public accommodations was the right to vote. If Negroes could vote, then they could have some voice in making decisions about their lives. So a voter registration project was started in southwest Mississippi.

Voter registration workers found it was very hard to get Negroes registered. They found that most white people didn't want Negroes registered now any more than they had wanted them registered back in Reconstruction. The white people were still using the same methods to keep Negroes from voting. The registration test was hard. There were no rules to say who passed and who failed the test. The Registrar just decided. If you were black, you probably wouldn't pass, even if you answered all the questions right. If you did pass, your name was published in the paper. You might lose your job or be shot at. Even if you did get registered, you couldn't help decide who would be candidates. Often you weren't allowed to vote. People began to question whether just trying to get Negroes registered was enough.

Then someone had a new idea — freedom registration. Freedom registration forms asked only a few simple questions about how old you were and where you lived. You didn't have to take a test. Anyone who wanted to register could.

In 1963, a freedom vote was held in Mississippi. Negroes who had not been able to register but who wanted to vote, could vote in the freedom vote. It was not an official election. But it showed that 80,000 Negroes in Mississippi knew how to vote and who they wanted to vote for. People asked more questions about what it meant if so many people in Mississippi wanted to vote and were not allowed to vote. Some people decided it meant that the regular Mississippi Democratic Party candidates were not legally elected since they did not represent the majority of the people in the state.

People decided to set up a new democratic party called the Freedom Democratic Party. This new party would challenge the legality of the regular Democratic Party.

During the summer of 1964, civil rights workers all over Mississippi talked to people and freedom registered people and helped to set up the FDP. The FDP sent democratically elected representatives to Atlantic City to challenge the representatives of the regular Mississippi Democratic Party at the national Party convention. But the national Democratic Party refused to seat the FDP



representatives. That made a lot of people ask more questions about democracy and our national government.

The FDP had a freedom vote and elected Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray to represent them in Congress instead of the regular Democratic candidates. Then they went to Washington, D.C., to challenge the seating of the regular Democratic candidates because they were elected illegally. During the Challenge, there was lots of testimony gathered about how black people in Mississippi were not allowed to register or vote. The testimony proved that the Mississippi Congressmen were not legally elected. But the House of Representatives voted to seat the regular Representatives anyway. It voted to deny democracy in Mississippi.

Now people in Mississippi are asking questions again. What does it mean when Congress accepts members who are not elected legally? What kind of Congress is it? What kind of voice in the government do people really have? How can people get their fair share of representation in this government which is supposed to be theirs?

SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE that one of the best ways to get equal rights is to go on demonstrating to make the nation aware of all the ways Negroes are discriminated against. These people say that when the country becomes aware of injustices, it will act to correct the injustices with new laws, such as the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. Martin Luther King, Jr., is the most famous spokesman for his point of view.

Dr. King first became well known during the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. In Montgomery, the Negro people chose to stop riding city buses rather than ride at the back of the bus. They held a boycott which lasted over a year. They formed car pools to take each other to work. Finally they won their right to sit where they chose.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed as a result of the boycott and Dr. King became its president. Dr. King has since led demonstrations in many different places both in the South and the North. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, and he has become famous all over the world for his work in the freedom movement. Dr. King was the leader of the Selma-to-Montgomery March in the spring of 1965.

Dr. King believes that Negroes should continue to use nonviolent means of protest, but he admits it is hard to be nonviolent. He has often said that Negroes in America cannot be expected to stay nonviolent if the country does not respond to Negro demands for justice. Dr. King says that there are just laws and unjust laws. He says people have a moral responsibility to obey just laws. But they also have a moral responsibility not to obey unjust laws. A just law, Dr. King says, is one which "uplifts human personality. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. . . . All segregation statutes are unjust . . ."

Dr. King also says that any law is unjust which affects a minority which had no voice in making the law but which does not affect the majority which made the law. "In disobeying such unjust laws," says Dr. King, "we do so peacefully, openly and nonviolently. Most important, we willingly accept the penalty, whatever it is. But in this way the public comes to reexamine the law in question."

Many people feel that Dr. King's approach is the right one. But other people question whether new laws will ever bring the Negroes real freedom. In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States made a ruling that separate schools were not equal and that schools in the South were to integrate with all reasonable speed. In the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Title VI says that federal funds will be cut off from any school which is not integrated unless it turns in a plan for integration which is accepted. In spite of these federal laws which were passed to correct the injustice of segregated schools, before 1964 less than 5% of the Negro school children in the South attended integrated schools. Since 1964 the number is still less than 10%.

Dr. King believes, with many others, that this approach has been slow, but he sees this as the best way the Movement can go forward. Some disagreed with this way. Among them was Malcolm X, the militant black leader who was shot to death early in 1965. Malcolm said: "The political philosophy of black nationalism means: we must control the politics and the politicians of our

community. They must no longer take orders from outside forces. We will organize, and sweep out of office all Negro politicians who are puppets for the outside forces."

This is the kind of thing that many black people in the South are beginning to say now. They are beginning to think that black people should control politics in communities where black people are a majority.

Malcolm did not think new laws would better things for Negroes. What was needed, he said, was that the laws we already have be fully enforced. He talked about some of the reasons why laws are not enforced. He said, "The Constitution itself has within it the machinery to expel any Representative from a state where the voting rights of the people are violated. You don't even need new legislation. . . . If the black man in these southern states had his full voting right, the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C. . . . would lose their seats. The Democratic Party itself would lose its power. . . . When you see the amount of power that would be lost by the Democratic Party if it were to lose the Dixiecrat wing . . . you can see where it's against the interests of the Democrats to give voting rights to Negroes in states where the Democrats have been in complete power and authority ever since the Civil War."

Malcolm also believed that Negroes should defend themselves. He said he would be nonviolent only if other people were nonviolent with him. He said that since segregation was illegal, anyone who tried to enforce segregation was a criminal and should be treated as a criminal, even if he was a chief of police or a sheriff. He said, "In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency . . . the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked."

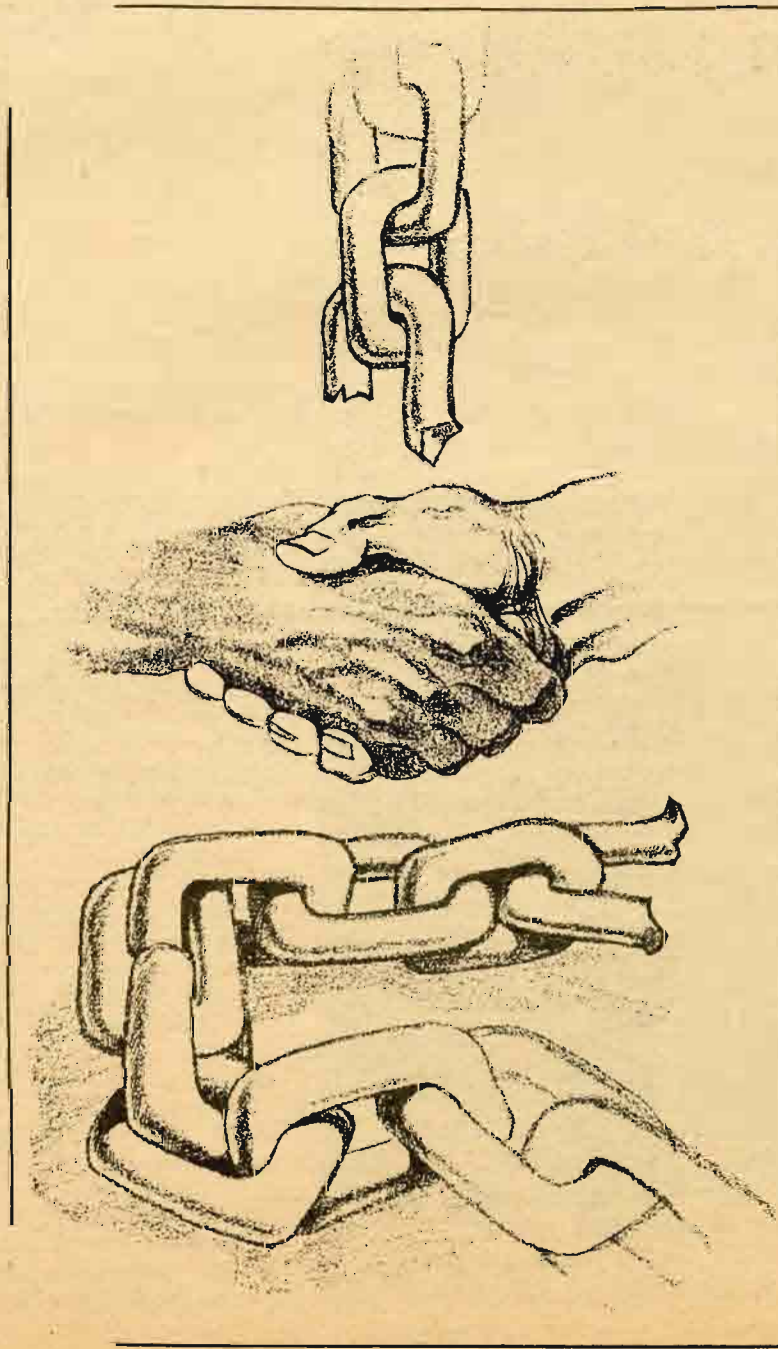
Not all black people agree with Malcolm X and not all black people agree with Dr. King. Many people have different ideas about how you get freedom and equality. But many black people are beginning to feel that they must find ways of controlling and bettering their lives if they are ever to attain real freedom and equality. New questions are being asked about control. Where does it come from? Who really controls a community? How can people who live there get control of their own community?

IN MISSISSIPPI, PEOPLE are searching for new ways to gain control over their lives. One idea is the Freedom Labor Union. The FLU started when the workers on one plantation went on strike for higher wages and better conditions. They were thrown out of their houses and are living in tents. They are trying to develop new ways of making a living. New branches of the FLU are being formed in other parts of Mississippi.

In Mississippi there is also a Poor People's Corporation. This is an organization where poor people can get money to start their own cooperative businesses. This way people can own their own companies instead of being hired to work for someone else.

In Alabama, black people are setting up a separate political party which will represent their interests. Some people call this a third party. They mean it is number three next to the Democratic and Republican Parties. But for Negroes in the Alabama black belt, it is the "first" party.

Where is the Movement going? That depends on the people in it, the questions they ask, the decisions they make.



When did the Movement start? Was it in 1775 when the first abolitionist society was formed? Or in 1663 when the first slave revolt was planned? Maybe it was in 1526 when the first slaves ran away and joined the Indians. Then, again, you might say that it began thousands of years ago when, even then, human beings were oppressed by their fellow men and they found that there is something in the human spirit which can't stand chains. . .

LOWNDES CO.

Continued from page 1

A precinct worker told us of an elderly man who was being shown how to use the demonstration voting machine. After the precinct worker had demonstrated the machine he asked the man to try it himself. The man started trembling and refused to touch the demonstration machine. "I'll do it on election day," he said, "but not now, not now."

"You know that man didn't go down on election day," said the worker.

A tenant farmer in Benton was told that if he went down to vote he would have to move that day. He went to vote, and was kicked off. The LCFO is trying to buy land for those who were evicted.

A retired teacher was told that she would lose her pension if she voted. She did not vote.

Others were afraid that their employers would know how they voted. This seems strange to people who are used to a secret ballot. It's not. Whites built the voting machines, installed them, ran the polls, made up the rules; the voting booths were in white sections of the county. From the point of view of people who had never voted before, why wouldn't the whites know how they voted?

Black people in Lowndes County do not all own cars or trucks. Many old people could not leave their homes comfortably. The LCFO organized car pools and pick-up routes, but it was impossible during the 10 hours the polls were open to check every home in the county.

Some people were confused by having to vote twice, once in the primary and once in the general election.

The whites pulled a very effective trick. They did not assign people to vote in the precinct where they live. There are eight precincts in the county. Only about half voted in their own precinct. Others had to be driven across the county to vote 10 or 15 miles away. This also meant that if a voter lost his voting slip and did not remember where he was to vote, a driver had to take him to three or four precincts, checking the rolls each time to find his name. This caused a great deal of confusion. Husbands and wives would have to vote in different sections of the county.

The LCFO plans to change this before the next election. LCFO leaders feel this was a deliberate attempt to confuse the voters.

UNCLE TOMISM

I was standing near Mosses School,



Photo: Bob Fletcher

where people had gathered all morning to be taken to the polls. Mrs. Maggie Connors had just returned from voting. "I pulled that lever till the black cat howled," she said. Just then one of the teachers drove up to the school in her new car. "I'll bet the rooster crowed, when she voted," said Mrs. Connors, nodding at the teacher. The rooster is the symbol of the Alabama Democratic Party.

There is a small black professional and middle-class group in Lowndes. They do "all right" under the white regime and most of them, according to LCFO leaders, either voted Democratic or split their votes, marking the ballot for some of the LCFO candidates.

"When Moses crossed the Red Sea he left some people behind," Carmichael said at a mass meeting election eve, "We're going to leave some Uncle Toms behind."

Hulett said he thought that about 300 Negroes voted Democratic. Since all the whites, with a few exceptions voted Democratic; that means that roughly 2000 whites voted. That seems to be the top white voting strength.

Actually, the whites voted "White," not Democratic. Two of the elected white candidates were Republicans. The Republican candidates won by less than 300 votes, victims of straight Democratic ticket voting by whites who forgot to vote for them, not being used to a two-party system.

The feeling of the LCFO leaders is that the Toms will come around in the next two years as they see the LCFO growing stronger.

FRAUD

The whites used two kinds of fraud; the "graveyard vote" and "helping."

Before the election there were 2700 white voters registered. This was about 700 more than were eligible. The extra white voters were either dead or had moved out of the county. Many of these voted by proxy in the November election.

The LCFO poll watchers were instructed to challenge all whites who were not who they claimed to be. Even if there was the slightest suspicion that someone was claiming to be someone he wasn't, the poll watchers and clerks were told to challenge. Many white voters were challenged, but in some polls, like Sandy Ridge, home of the white sheriff, the LCFO had no poll watchers. Again, the black people had no experience in observing an election. Some left the polls when they were ordered to by the white officials, though the officials had no right to do that. Others were ordered not to take notes, which they had a right to do. In some cases, like Sandy Ridge, poor planning resulted in the absence of poll watchers.

Plantation owners instructed their tenants to ask the white officials for "help."

The whites of course told the Negroes to vote Democratic.

TERROR

Fort Deposit is the stronghold of white strength. Late in the afternoon of election day, Stokely Carmichael, who was driving people to the polls, pulled up to a service station in Fort Deposit. The attendants, recognizing him, refused to serve the car. Shortly after that, as Carmichael pulled away, someone standing by the side of the road fired several shotgun blasts at them, narrowly missing the car behind, also driven by LCFO people.

Dusk fell before the polls closed. In Fort Deposit, the courthouse lights are kept on every evening of the year. But as Andrew Jones, a resident of Fort Deposit, and a leader in the LCFO, drove up to the polling place after the polls closed, the lights were off.

Jones had come to pick up the LCFO poll watchers. As he stepped from his car he was approached by a group of whites. One of them, a Fort Deposit merchant, was holding a pistol and swung at Jones. Mr. Jones blocked the blow with his hand, staggered back, and was struck from behind with a rifle butt. He was beat-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

CARMICHAEL'S SPEECH AT MT. MORIAH CHURCH IN LOWNDES

It is so GOOD to be home, and we've worked so long for this.

We have worked so hard for the right to come together and organize. We have been beaten, killed and forced out of our houses.

But tonight says that we were right! We have done what no one said we could do. Colored people have come together tonight.

They said that niggers can't come together. Tonight says that we CAN come together, and we can rock this whole country from California to New York City!

They have called us Black Panthers, separatists and nationalists. But in Montgomery, all the big shot Negroes, they don't have ANYBODY to vote for. We got somebody to vote for. We did things our way and we won!

Black people can do things by themselves and for themselves. They told us the black people couldn't go anywhere. We have, and we're shaking the whole world.

It is time for Negroes to stop fussing over white folks. We have let white people run our lives. We tended their babies and left ours alone.

We told them we knew what we were doing. We told them we were smart enough to do for ourselves. And all those school teachers in Lowndes County who told us we were stupid and uneducated. Who are they going to vote for tomorrow?

Tonight is our night. Tomorrow is our day.

When we pull that lever we pull it for all the blood of Negroes that the whites have spilled.

We will pull that lever to stop the beating of Negroes by whites.

We will pull that lever for all the black people who have been killed. We are going to resurrect them tomorrow.

We will pull that lever so that our children will never go through what we have gone through. We don't need education -- all we need is the will, the courage and the love in our hearts.

Lowndes County used to be called the Devil's Backyard. Now it's God's Little Acre.

We will open the eyes of all the black people in Alabama. We're saying to them, come to Lowndes County and we will show you HOW!

We are telling them - you don't have to depend on a cracker like Wallace. We are not non-violent. We are not saying to the whites - we are going to hit you over the head. We are saying - you stop hitting us.

WE CAN STICK TOGETHER!
Black people are going to have their own political party. We are going to control it lock, stock and barrel!

White people all over the country are going to stop living on the sweat of our backs.

There are some who are not with us. When Moses crossed the Red Sea he left some people behind. We are going to leave some Uncle Toms behind.

We have a lot to remember when we pull that lever. We remember when we paid ten dollars for a schoolbook for our children. We remember all the dust we ate.

We are pulling the lever to stop that! When we pull that lever we remember the buckets of water we pulled, because we have no running water.

We are pulling the lever so people can live in some fine brick homes. We are going to say goodbye to shacks, dirt roads, poor schools.

We say to those who don't remember -- You better remember, because if you don't MOVE ON OVER, WE ARE GOING TO MOVE ON OVER YOU!

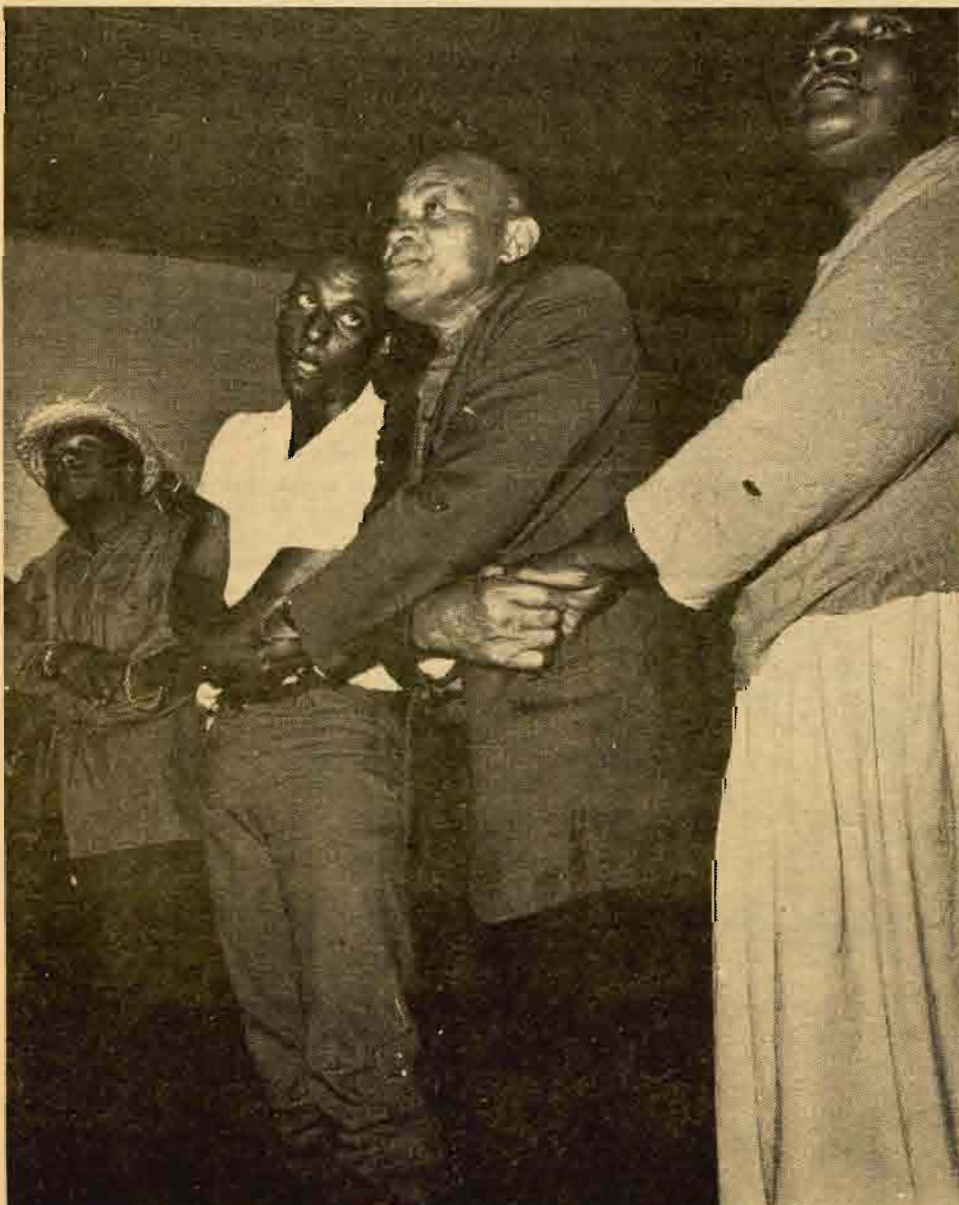
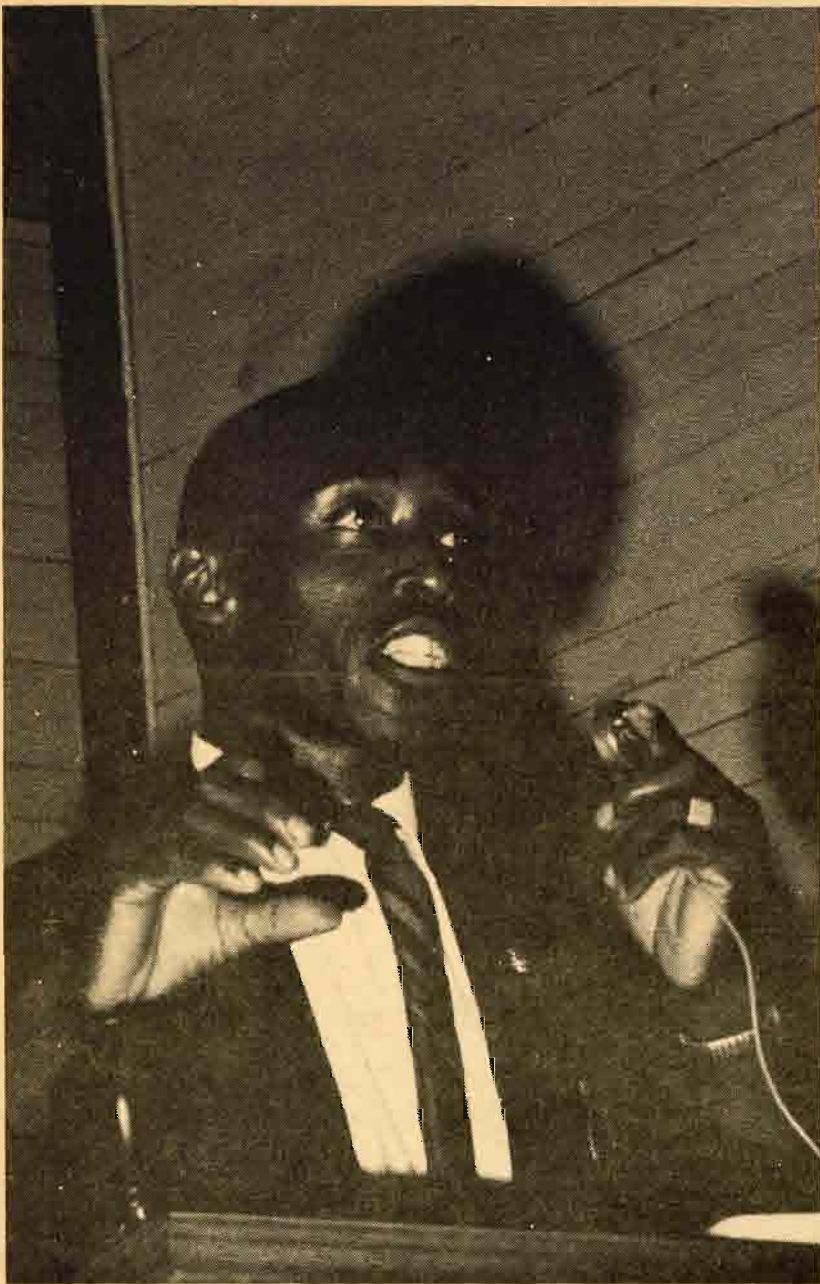


Photo: Bob Fletcher

(l. to r.) MARK COMFORT, organizer of the Oakland Direct Action Committee; STOKELY CARMICHAEL; TWO LOWNDES COUNTY RESIDENTS, join hands and sing at Mt. Moriah Church election eve.

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN HULETT "We Weren't Really Prepared"



JOHN HULETT, Chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

I sat with John Hulett, Chairman of the LCFO, on the stoop of a white-run store two days after the election. He had been driving around the county getting the final vote counts from the polling places. We sat and drank soda pop and swatted away the honey bees. Why did we lose? I asked.

"We weren't really prepared. We thought we was but we wasn't. People didn't know how to keep the records at the polls.

"The machines were controlled by the whites. For the next election we will seek to move the polls out of the white districts into the Negro areas. We should have 16 polling places instead of 8. Eight in the white areas and eight in the Negro.

"We have enough evidence to prove there was voting fraud, if we could get the federal voting officials to join us."

What is the LCFO going to do in the next two years?

"The first thing is houses for the evictees. We're going to build grocery stores run by the LCFO. Most of those who voted against us were plantation workers. They need to know that we will provide for them if they are fired. They would have done much better if they were not under pressure.

"We've bought 7 acres where Tent City is. We'll build a black grocery store, then a service station. Maybe we can get each person in the LCFO to donate 3 or 4 trees off their land. Then we'll have the lumber to build the store and homes.

"We are applying for a poverty program grant of \$241,000. This will

train 100 people to be carpenters. Local people would get the salaries. They tried to get us to take people from Macon County to train the people, but we said no. Our people are going to get the money. Then we'll have people to build houses and stores."

How is the spirit of the people?
"Even though we lost, the people have strong confidence. Things are getting stronger."

Then Mr. Hulett had to leave. He has been the only LCFO person working full time for the Organization. He drove off to begin the work of the next two years. In 1968 the positions open will be on the Board of Revenue (the governing body of the county), the Superintendent of Education and the County Solicitor, (county attorney).

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will...men may not get what they pay for but they must certainly pay for all they get."
-Frederick Douglass

en on the head with the riflebutt and a tire chain by members of the mob.

One of the two Lowndes County Negro deputies sauntered up as one of the whites was pointing his rifle at Jones' head. The deputy made no arrests, but LCFO people feel that his presence saved Jones from being shot.

Jones was driven to the LCFO headquarters, bleeding heavily, where election workers and residents were gathered to hear the election returns.

"Mr. Jones was the last person I thought they'd try to get," Carmichael told the people at the headquarters. "He's one of the toughest men in the county." Jones had been offered a house and land by the whites if he would ask Negroes to vote Democratic. He refused, and continued to live in Fort Deposit.

After the election returns were in, armed guards were assigned to the homes of the LCFO leaders. It was feared that if the whites were brave enough to attack Jones, they might try to attack other LCFO leaders. No other assaults took place; the willingness of Lowndes County residents to defend themselves may have been the reason why.

Jones was taken to a Selma hospital. When he returned to Fort Deposit several days later, his family had been evicted from their home. The LCFO is now buying land and will build him another home. He still refuses to leave Fort Deposit.

THE BLACK PANTHER IS STRONG

I went to Lowndes County with Mark Comfort, organizer of the Oakland Direct Action Committee, and Evelyn Knight, an organizer with the Richmond Welfare Rights Organization. Mark and I stayed with Mrs. Francis Moss, who has lived all her 70 years in Lowndes. She talked with us a long time about life in Lowndes County.

"I can remember when I used to run in the house whenever I saw a white man coming down the road. I was afraid I'd be killed." The memory was very strong in her. She put her head in her hands and started to shake, halfway between laughing and crying. "And I wasn't a baby then," she continued, "but a grown woman."

Life is better now. "The freedom organization is doing God's work," she says. "But God moves terrible slow sometimes. I want to make him hurry up."

A neighbor of hers, 85 years old, said after she voted, "I don't know if we'll win. I know we will keep on fighting. If I'm beaten I'll know I was whipped fighting. I'm not doing it for myself. I'm

After the election I had dinner with Sidney Logan, Jr., LCFO candidate for sheriff, and his parents.

Why did we lose?

"The plantation owners gave ballots marked Democratic to their workers. A lot of the plantation workers stayed home. They brought the others down in trucks from Fort Deposit, Sandy Ridge and Bragg. Some people wanted to be with us, but they wouldn't attend the mass meetings. Then they didn't know how to vote.

"They'll see that nothing has changed by electing the whites. Then they'll come on over to us. It's always been hard on Negroes down there in Fort Deposit and Bragg. The Negroes are on the fear side of the whites down there."

I asked his father what he thought when his son decided to run for sheriff.

"I didn't feel so good about that part. Any other office if it could be. He have to take so many chances. He's a brave man. I'm thataway. Standing up for my rights. White folks done everything to colored people, but I never give up. I just want to do right."

Sidney Logan, Jr. served in the U. S. Army during the Second World War. He was stationed in Belgium and Germany, and received an award for marxmanship. I asked him how he

felt returning to Lowndes County after the war.

"I come back here and was treated like a kid. You had to take anything. You go over to save this country, then you come back and ain't even considered."

We talked about the economic situation of black people in Lowndes.

"They won't let you have enough money to do any good," he said. "You can't borrow money. The banks charge you 8% on a loan. We've talked about starting a Credit Union. You have to get some place where you can get some money. People have to look after their health. We don't have a hospital. There's two doctors in the county and they live down with the other people.

"You see, if a colored person gets kicked off his land, where you going to get money? That's what they were afraid of. That's why they didn't vote.

doing this for the next generation, for our children."

They are not downhearted by the defeat. They are together and they will win. To live in Lowndes County under the dictatorship of the whites is to be tough, disciplined and resourceful. They will not be turned back now, so close to victory.

Stokely Carmichael said at the mass meeting, "When you mention Selma, people say - There's some mean white folks down there. But when you mention Lowndes County, they say -- There's some mean niggers down there!"

Interview with Sidney Logan, Jr. "THEY'LL COME ON OVER TO US"

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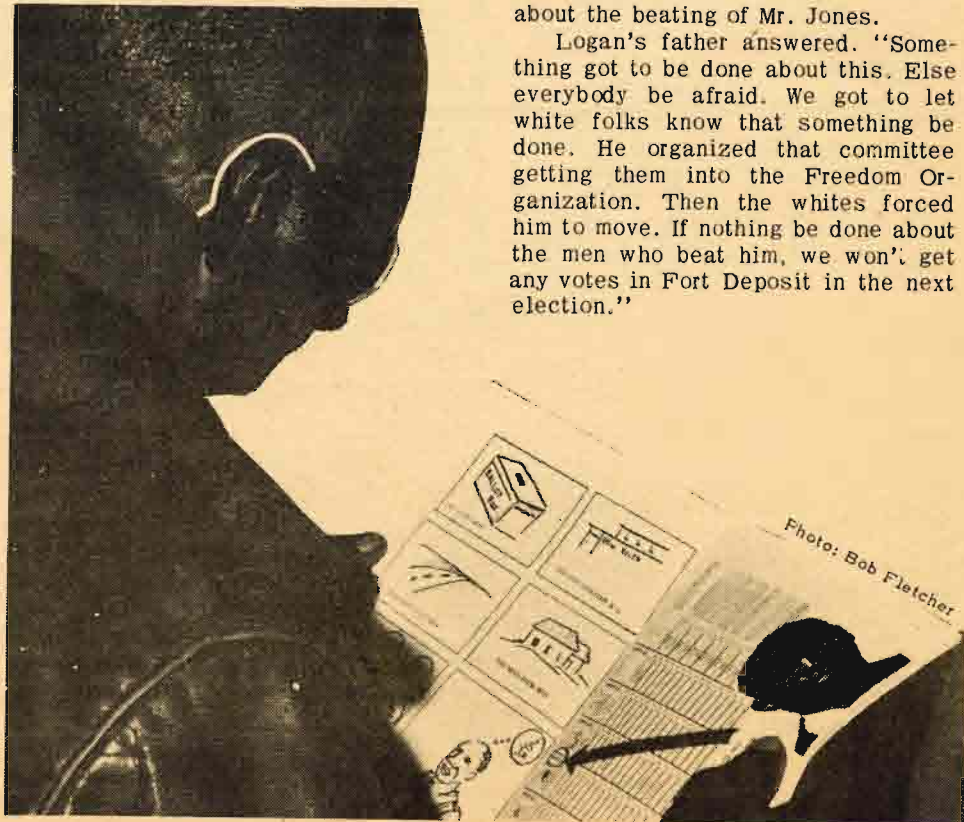
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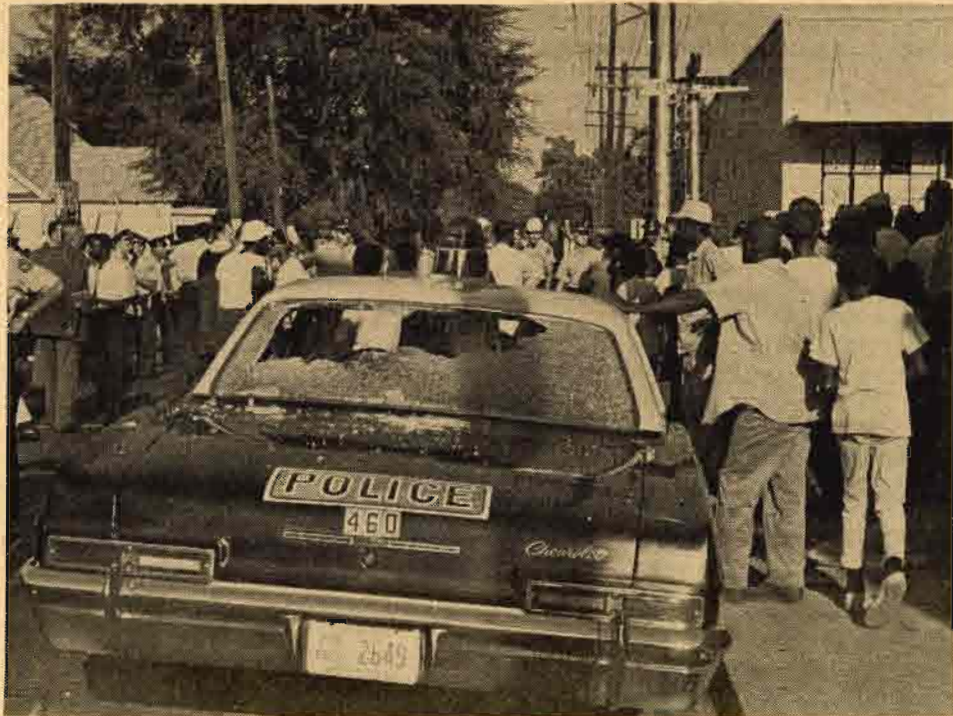


LOWNDES COUNTY RESIDENT reads SNCC primer on voting.

EYE WITNESSES TO THE ATLANTA "RIOTS"

The press and the politicians tried to blame SNCC and Stokely Carmichael for causing the "riots" in Atlanta. Here are two sworn affidavits by people who saw what took place. They tell a much different story.

I, GENEVA BROWN, live at 45 Ormond St., S.E., Atlanta, Georgia. I am 27 years of age and a housewife. I have never been arrested. I've lived in the Summerhill area about three years. I'm a native of Atlanta. Quit school while in the 11th grade. It was on Tuesday, September 6, 1966. I got home about five minutes before it happened. I was getting out of a taxi cab about 1:00 that day. I heard two shots. At this time I saw a boy running and a policeman after him. They were about 30 or 40 feet apart. He was hollering, "Mama, don't let them kill me." I had panicked and run to meet him. I got to the front of his mother's house just as he fell on her porch. When the boy was laying on the porch, the policeman pointed the gun at his head and snapped the gun, but it was empty. If he had had another bullet in the gun, he would have killed that boy. By this time, the boy's mother had come out of the house. She asked him who shot him and he pointed to the policeman and said, "He did mama, he did." She said, "You didn't have to shoot my child." By this time a crowd had gathered. The boy was bleeding and the policeman said he had attempted to resist arrest. About 20 minutes later, over 40 people had gathered around the porch. The girl next door came and got me because she thought I was going to pass out. When the policeman saw the crowd gathering, he got very nervous. He put the gun in his holster and told everyone to be calm, that he was going to call an ambulance. Then he went to a police car that had driven up. He reloaded his gun. Later a Grady Ambulance came and took the boy to the hospital. The way that policeman was shooting, he could have killed anybody. I returned home, which is only a couple of doors from the Prather house. I heard from some children that there was going to be a demonstration at 4:00 p.m. on the corner of Capitol and Ormond St., so I walked up there around that time. About 15 or 20 people were standing around. I stayed about 10 minutes and then left, because the crowd was making me nervous. I returned home and waited until my husband came from work. Then about 5:00 I walked back up there. The mayor was out there and he was on top of a car. There was a colored man up there with him. Mayor Allen tried to get people to go home. Then he tried to tell them to follow him to the stadium. People said it happened here and they would demonstrate here. I don't know if it was SNCC had anything to do with it or not. This thing has been building up a long time. People have been shot around here before and nothing was done about it. People were not told what to do, they were just mad. No one had to tell the people to do anything wrong. One man in the back of the SNCC panel truck said to get the white policemen out of the area and leave the black ones there. He never said anything about violence. He was brown-skinned and he had a beard and a lot of hair on his head. There was another fellow with a lot of hair and he had on sandals with long straps. Then I met some SNCC people the day after the shooting. I've seen Carmichael on T.V. before. Stokely Carmichael came around that Thursday after the shooting. He sort of was walking around talking to people in the neighborhood. He stopped at my house and asked if he could talk to me. I invited him in and told him what happened on that Tuesday. After he left, the police came to my house and asked to talk to me. I let them in and they wanted to know what Stokely and I had talked about. I told them. One of them was named Kelly. This officer Kelly told me they were trying to get something on Stokely so they could lock him up. He was a colored officer. As they were leaving, this officer Kelly saw a "Black Power" sticker on my door. He asked if I had let them put it on my door. I told him yes. He said if Stokely Carmichael had put it



ATLANTA STREET SCENE during September insurrection.

up without my permission, they could lock him up. The police left and followed him, Stokely, through the neighborhood.

I, BETTY JEAN McFAVORS, live at 806 Washington St., Atlanta, Georgia. I'm 22 years of age and separated from my husband. I have two boys, one 5 and the other 8. I'm unemployed.

It all happened on a Tuesday, Labor Day was on the 5th and the riot was on the 6th. I was on Ormond St. walking towards Capitol. I heard some shots. I saw a policeman running. I ran to see what was going on. I stopped at Capitol and Ormond. I saw the police in front of this boy's house. It was about 12:45 p.m. After that happened, an ambulance arrived and parked in front of the boy's house. There were a lot of people gathered there. People went back to the intersection of Capitol and Ormond and began writing up signs. They wanted to block off the street and have a march. I had heard three shots. It sounded like a .38 pistol. I went to the boy's mother's house after the ambulance left. Three white and one Negro policeman were there, but they wouldn't let us go up on the porch. Over a 100 people gathered by this time. I stood out there about an hour and when I finally did go up on the porch, I saw blood on it. I didn't know the boy who had been shot. His mother said that

after her son ran up and fell down, he asked for a glass of water and she said the police stated, 'don't give that S.O.B. any water.' She said the policeman was going to shoot him on the porch but that she told him, 'don't do that.' She said she told him to shoot her, but not her son, that she could take it. She told me he had a tumor on his heart and had heart trouble. After talking to her, I walked back to the intersection. People were writing signs for their march. They carried some up to Georgia Avenue. These were all local people from this area.

The people from this area were very angry. I went home about 2:00 p.m. and returned to the intersection again about 3:45. From Georgia Ave. on down Capitol and Ormond, there were about 300 people out there. I stopped at the intersection and that's when I saw a man with a beard, long bushy hair and his beard was about two inches long. This was my first time seeing him. He was screaming "Black Power." He was also asking people to take the mike and trying to find out who had seen the shooting. He told them that if they saw it, they should come forward and talk about it, to say what they thought should be done about it and to also tell who they thought was responsible for what happened. One man took the mike and he said that the police told the boy to halt after stopping him in his car. The boy got out of the car and started running. All this time, the policeman was shooting at him. There were a lot of rumors going around that

day on how the boy had been shot and why. Then a girl spoke. She was saying, 'Justice should be done.' She wanted to know what people were going to do about this. Some more people spoke. After a short time, I left and went to my sister's house. I talked to her for awhile, then returned to the intersection. The guy with the beard was talking Black Power. Perry, this colored policeman said, "You have to move." The man with the beard said, "Mr. Perry, will you please stop pestering me." Then there was another fellow with this man, and he had on overalls. He had a long beard and he had on sandals. The policeman, Perry, told the man to shut up. So the man with the mike kept right on talking. They arrested both of the men. That's when the people really got mad and started shaking the paddy wagon, trying to get those two men out. Some people wanted to know why the police were locking those two men up. Others let the air out of the tires so they couldn't drive the paddy wagon away. Some police started shooting in the air. People ran and when the policemen stopped shooting, they all came back. The truck moved forward, and it was dragging, because the tires were flat. I wasn't pushing the paddy wagon, but I was in the crowd watching. A lot of people got on one side and tried to push the paddy wagon over on its side. About five or six policemen got on the other side of it and tried to hold it up. No one told people to throw anything. People in the neighborhood were really hot. No one had to tell them to throw anything. Mayor Allen was out there. He was looking scared and he was telling people what he was going to do.

One boy with a light mustache was talking to the mayor and the mayor said let's go downtown and talk man to man. People shouted, "He's not going anywhere." Then the mayor got on top of a car. Hundreds of people started shaking the car. He was smiling before he got on the car, but people could tell he was faking. Then the mayor sent for reinforcements. They came with shotguns, submachine guns, etc. I saw a policeman get knocked down. He was getting ready to shoot somebody, so someone knocked the gun out of his hand and then they knocked him down. Policemen shot the tear gas and people started running. Then when it cleared, they came right back. Ivan Allen gave the orders to shoot the tear gas. I was standing on my sister's porch. I remember some white policemen were telling people to get off the street. They didn't give people time to leave the street before they shot the tear gas. One canister hit me on the leg and two fell at my feet. One of them didn't go off. I really told them off. I told them it was good they had hit me instead of my children or they would have had to kill me. They also brought dogs out here. I went home about 9:00 p.m., because they wouldn't let anyone back on the streets before that time.

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Who Killed the CDGM?

By Joan Bowman

The Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) was established by liberal and radical groups in Mississippi, who saw a program of HEAD START centers as one way of firming up gains of the civil rights movement. The program opened in the summer of 1965 with a grant from OEO of \$1 1/3 million to operate centers in 75 communities across the state. (The program expanded to include 125 centers and 13,000 children by February of 1966, when the program was refunded). From the outset, the program has been controversial; it has been hounded by OEO, as well as Senator Stennis. The communities have held out against harassment from night riders and finks from OEO. The Movement has followed the fortunes of CDGM since it opened its doors to Mississippi children and their parents last year. Unless a miracle emerges from the negotiations currently going on, this article will be the last, for the interests of the Mississippi communities, which CDGM shelters, have been eclipsed by the interests of the national Democratic Party.

Much of the story which follows is excerpted from a book about the South by Joan Bowman, who worked on the central staff of CDGM in its infant days.

It became clear by the end of the summer that CDGM's days were numbered, as rumors flew that OEO and President Johnson were engineering a new poverty program in Mississippi, one which would submerge CDGM in the interests of the Democratic Party. On October 3, OEO announced that CDGM's radical program of community education would not be refunded. In its stead OEO has offered funding to Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), an "integrated" program sponsored by white moderates, with token Negro representation.

MAP emerged in the short space of about a month, a new organization receiving \$10 million in poverty funds. The circumstances surrounding the emergence of MAP, and the ease with which things seemed to get done, are in contrast with the experience of CDGM. After initial funding by OEO, CDGM's refunding was held up, and for 6 months communities operated virtually without resources. In February 1966, the desperate communities occupied a de-activated air base in the Delta, demanding that the federal government release the \$5 1/2 million they had been promised to operate an expanded program; 125 HEAD START centers and 13,000 children. Operating funds were shaken loose for 6 months, but the forces against CDGM were mounting.

UNDER CUT AND UNCLE TOMMED

The story of MAP may be traced through the pages of the NEW YORK TIMES and the NEW REPUBLIC. Though the details are controversial, it appears that Sargent Shriver and high OEO officials met in September with loyalist Democrats from Mississippi at the instigation of President Johnson. Through his agent in the state, Greenville lawyer Douglas Wynn, Johnson persuaded state officials, industrialists and civic leaders to cooperate in a statewide Community Action Program which would undercut the remnants of the civil rights movement in the state. Further, it appears that Roy Wilkins played some role in securing the cooperation of Aaron Henry, State President of the NAACP, who was appointed co-chairman of the 18-man MAP Board of Directors with Delta industrialist Owen Cooper. And letters were mailed to the CDGM communities over the signature of Henry and NAACP field secretary Charles Evers, urging them to join the MAP program.

Twelve of the 18 board members have been chosen, of which 8 are white. A listing of names and credentials is a chapter from the book of power and influence

in the state, including liberal journalists Hodding Carter and Oliver Emmerich, prominent planters, industrialists and ministers. In order to maintain the fiction of maximum feasible participation of the poor, 6 representatives will be chosen from "target areas."

The interest of the White House is in shoring up the loyalist wing of the Democratic Party in Mississippi, which is under assault from both the lunatic right in the party, and well-financed and enthusiastic Republicans. The outcome of the 1966 elections, which found Democratic stalwarts like Jim Eastland fighting for their lives, dictates an urgency to bringing Negro voting strength into the loyalist fold by 1968. The "War on poverty" can provide the vehicle, if the Negro communities which are currently sheltered under CDGM can be brought into line. These communities have pledged to remain independent of the white power structure, but the financial incentives offered by MAP probably cannot be resisted.

The emergence of OEO as an instrument of patronage has completed trends which were apparent in that agency from its early days. There has always been in OEO a curious blending of pragmatism and idealism which reflected the Kennedy approach. The militant rhetoric of OEO has

attempted, and has failed. In 1965 representatives of NAACP, white liberals, civil rights activists and the state AFL-CIO created the Mississippi Democratic Conference, with a structure and program, but lacking popular support. Relations within the organization were stormy, there were charges and counter charges between white liberals and movement activists. A previous effort to form an integrated Young Democrats organization failed for the same reason.

Bad faith cannot account for the failure of these coalitions, however, for these interests are too divergent to coalesce democratically. The failure of the Delta ministry of the National Council of Churches to achieve its aims is part of that story, for their selfconscious role of mediator seemed to offer hope for building a middle way, thus offering Mississippi the same political alternatives that exist in Georgia. When the Delta ministry entered the state in the fall of 1964, they seemed to be the "natural allies" of Mississippi liberals. They attempted to live in white middle-class communities, attend the churches and visit the homes of whites, to persuade and mediate a humane position on race relations. (Why anybody thought that possible in 1964 is another question). Very quickly they were rebuffed, and treated like other civil rights activists.

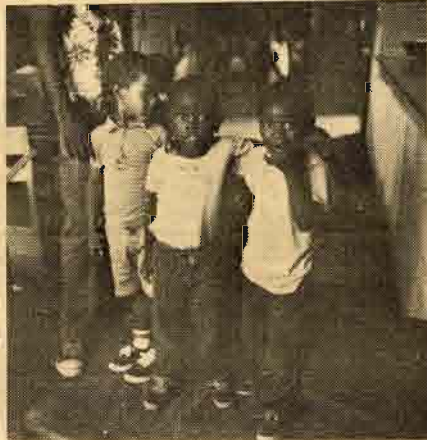


Photo: Gerhard Gascheide

attracted activists to its staff, but lacking muscle in a showdown, the idealistic side of the agency has almost always given way to the lawyers, the labor men, the hacks recruited from other Washington agencies who joined OEO when it promised career advancement.

Under the stress of the war in Vietnam, which has trimmed budgets in every area of domestic spending, and the poor fortunes of Democrats at the polls since the Great Society got underway, the OEO has become fixed in the mold of every other public agency. The radicals have departed, many of them over the issue of CDGM, and only the "team men" remain, vendors in a patronage dispensing apparatus.

HOWARD LAW FINKS

What is worse, OEO has apparently adopted some of the worst features of bureaucratic organization. In a letter to Shriver, Dean Clyde Ferguson of Howard Law School complained that workstudy students at Howard were forced to become AGENTS PROVOCATEURS. They were required by OEO to dress like movement activists and try to get evidence that CDGM was harboring SNCC workers, and that they were using CDGM facilities.

MAP must be seen in a political context. The ideal of building a political coalition of liberals and Negroes has been

At the same time, the conditions the Ministry found in the Negro community meant that its activity would become indistinguishable from other components of the movement. In Greenville, where the Ministry set up headquarters, relations with Hodding Carter and the Delta liberals were assumed, but the possibility of moving these relationships into the political arena failed when the Ministry began to adopt those forms of activism which caused liberals to desert the movement.

MINISTRY JOINS MOVEMENT

For example, the Delta Ministry joined the picket line at a Greenville mill where Negroes were protesting discriminatory hiring practices. The action slammed the ministry up against Hodding Carter, who is one of the state's chief ideologues for "Balance Agriculture With Industry," an effort to attract runaway northern industry. Some years ago Greenville had an election to authorize bringing the mill to town, supported by taxpayers. Negroes were offered jobs in the mill, in exchange for support of the referendum. By 1964, only a few Negroes were in the plant, working as menials. The Negro community was attempting to force the plant to hire Negroes, supported by the Delta Ministry.

Then the relationship with Carter was further weakened when the Delta Ministry would not support a "bi-racial committee" established by Greenville liberals — because the Greenville Negro community rejected it. By the summer of 1965, ministers were organizing strikes of farm workers and setting up living quarters for poor Negroes thrown off plantations in the Delta. By now, their constituency was clearly defined. And throwing in their lot with the poor of Mississippi meant their role as mediators was severely compromised.

Thus the support of MAP is an effort to forge the kind of alliance in the state which Negroes and their friends would never join without the coercion which federal funding represents.

The Delta Ministry and its parent, the National Council of Churches, were instrumental in bringing CDGM and the HEAD START program to Mississippi. Indeed, OEO would have deserted CDGM long ago except for the lobbying efforts of the organized Churches, liberal groups such as the Citizens Committee Against Poverty, and the Auto Workers. (The support of Walter Reuther for CDGM may account for silence of Claude Ramsey, head of the AFL-CIO in Mississippi, who might be expected to take a role in MAP).

In October, after Shriver's announcement collapsing support for CDGM, these forces rallied. Pickets blossomed in front of OEO offices in Washington. A full-page ad appeared in the TIMES, sponsored by prominent churchmen, charging OEO was knuckling under to political pressures. (The ad announced unequivocal support for the CDGM program, based upon findings of a commission of churchmen). Joseph Rauh, ADA lawyer, roasted OEO in a Washington press conference.

SHRIVER TAKES BACK HIS TOYS

Shriver, in a letter to the New York TIMES defending his decision to end support of CDGM, noted the "... substantial evidence of gross mismanagement and irresponsibility... payroll padding, nepotism, conflict of interest and misuse of property." (I am told that federal trucks went around and collected the toys from the HEAD START centers). While he denied that "forces outside my agency" made the decision, the evidence is overwhelming to the contrary.

It is rumored Senator Stennis, who has been a spear in the side of CDGM since he brought charges of misuse of funds against the program and forced a congressional hearing, has evidence of military unpreparedness which he threatens to release if OEO refunds the program. But the specifics do not matter; it is in fact the rage felt by the Senator at a federal program which bypasses state structures, it is the nation of southern Negroes teaching their children, planning their activities, shopping for food in white markets, taking their children to the white library or the zoo which cannot be borne by white Mississippians.

The rage of Mississippi whites is institutionalized in the racist Democratic party of that state, it is in turn a fixed component in the national Democratic system. No federal judge is appointed in the United States without the approval of Jim Eastland, and no war can be conducted — even against colored people — without the support of John Stennis.

Squeezed by these forces — pressures from the White House, from Mississippi, from OEO — there seems to be little chance to keep CDGM alive. There is a faint hope that the friends of CDGM, coupled with the tenacity of the communities, may salvage something. We hear that Shriver is negotiating with CDGM officials in Washington and Atlanta at this writing. By 1966, the CDGM program of community education, with the democratic participation of the poor, has become an anachronism in a society whose values are "good management practices" and "fiscal responsibility."

PEOPLE AND POWER

JACK MINNIS

WHY ARE WE IN VIETNAM.....?

FOR "BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES"

MONTHLY REVIEW of November, 1966, contains an excellent analysis of why the U.S. fights in Vietnam. The article says, in part: "A look at the map of the region is enough to show the central strategic position of the Vietnamese 'hump' which juts out into the South China Sea from roughly Hue in the north to Saigon in the South. Any one wanting to build up a strong counter-revolutionary base and pole of attraction in that part of the world would naturally select South Vietnam as the locus of the effort. And the historical background of faltering French colonialism provided the Americans with the needed opening, first for their financial and political influence and later for their military take-over . . . the days of the older imperialisms in Southeast Asia are numbered and the only alternatives before the region are revolution or increasing dependency on American economic and military power. If the revolution could be checked, the imperial fruits would ripen and fall of their own accord."

Adding a kind of premature footnote to the MONTHLY REVIEW analysis was the September, 1965, issue of TEXTILE INDUSTRIES, a leading trade journal of the U.S. textile industry. The entire issue was devoted to articles about the international expansion of the U.S. industry. It is well worth reading throughout for those who are interested in understanding the mechanics of U.S. imperialism. However, one article, "International Textiles: Far East," is of particular interest here.

The article opens with a description of a Viet Cong attack on a textile mill near Saigon. The guerillas killed four guards



Photo: Frank Ciechanke

and one worker. "No attempt was made," says the article, "to sabotage the plant." The article concludes: "Until communist aggression is rolled back in South Vietnam, obviously this is not a healthy locale for businessmen seeking new opportunities in Asia." The article does not again discuss "opportunities" in South Vietnam.

Taking up Malaysia, A.B. Cullison, the article's author, comments that in that country "American business finds a government and commercial community hospitable to new ventures." But, goes the Malaysian analysis, "President Sukarno, of Indonesia, is disrupting the internal Malaysia markets with his 'confrontation' pressures, attempting to use jungle guerillas and subversion to sabotage an otherwise stable economy." The

Sukarno problem has, of course, been eliminated since the article was written and, presumably, now, American business can exploit the hospitality of the Malaysian government. Thank you, CIA, Taiwan "is a stable and prospering nation where many American investments are finding their most profitable ventures . . . Operating a plant on Taiwan runs into almost no labor problems in the normal sense. Chinese workers there in many cases consider two days off a month to be progress."

The Japanese textile industry is highly developed and the primary consideration of the government and the industry "is to extend automation, already the dominant factor in the bigger plants, to offset rising wages . . . Japan . . . offers splendid promise for the long haul."

In Korea "the trend is established for an increasingly sophisticated Korean textile industry . . . The domestic market is small, largely because of the impoverishment of the countryside, and ventures in Korea must give major consideration to the re-export potential."

The article goes on and on, recounting the benefits of South Asia for American business. An "efficient and inexpensive labor force" in Taiwan; a "plentiful supply of inexpensive labor" in Hong Kong; "up to five years free of taxes and duties" in Malaysia.

It is this sort of information, right from the horse's mouth, so to speak, which gives the lie to the beneficent rhetoric of American statesmen and their industrialist counterparts. The real goal of the U.S. in South Asia is the profitable

BILL MANDEL TO SPEAK ON

"YEVTUSHENKO'S RUSSIA"

William Mandel, the noted KPFA commentator on Russian affairs, will present slides and conversations with the Soviet Man on the Street, Sunday, December 11, at 7:30 p.m. The showing will be at the SNCC Auditorium, 449 14th Street in San Francisco.

This will be Mr. Mandel's first showing in San Francisco of his slides and conversations from his recent journeys through the U.S.S.R.

Mandel's most recent trip was his fourth to the Soviet Union. He travelled 1000 miles by train and 1200 miles by boat up the Volga River.

He emphasizes that his 80 slides are not "tourist photos." He has tried to illustrate lessons that he has learned in his meetings with Russian citizens. Part of his program is an in-depth study of a typical Russian village.

"Yevtushenko's Russia" is presented by The Movement. Admission is \$2.00 general, \$1.50 for students. A special discount of 50¢ on the admission will be given to those buying a subscription to The Movement.

exploitation of the labor of the people in the "underdeveloped" countries; and the profitable exploitation of the markets of those countries which are "developed."

A noble goal indeed, with which the mothers and wives and children of the 5000-odd dead American soldiers may comfort themselves during the lonely years ahead.

MOVIE REVIEW:

Losing Just The Same

AN HOUR OF LIBERAL RACISM

By Dave Wellman

"Losing Just The Same" is a television "documentary" about West Oakland. You won't learn much from it. And if you're poor or have worked with poor people you will see people and a ghetto you have never seen before—and probably never will. You should see the movie—just the same. It is an attempt to view the ghetto from the eyes of people who live in it. The product is incomplete and humiliating: it sees only one side of ghetto life, the side that white liberals and social workers see. And since THEY are "losing just the same" all we see is despair and defeat.

The picture of poor people is strictly and simply a negative one. Life is hard; money is stretched, food is rare, and dreams and hopes are smashed on the hard rocks of inadequate schools, welfare restrictions and police brutality.

The movie claims to describe a "world of violence and monotony, processed hair and welfare checks, fantasy and despair." It does this quite well, so well, in fact, that one is left with the idea that is ALL there is in the lives of poor people. The people in the movie are cowed, resigned, and unreal. Nowhere does the movie show the tensions and struggles which poor people go through and which are positive assertions of their integrity as human beings. See the movie if you can. It will tell you a lot about people who think the only way change will come to poor people is if people outside the ghetto do something about it. The movie makers, as you can see, seem to be unconscious victims of the racist paternalism so prevalent in this country.

The movie is misleading and simple. It paints a picture of poor people that calls for sympathy and not respect. As we follow a black family around West Oakland we see only three things: monotony, fantasy, and despair. The oldest son, Robert, on whom the movie focuses most closely, comes on as if the only things he wants out of life are a Cadillac, a process, and a chance to be a singer. If we are to believe the movie, then Robert is a very dull young man. He lifelessly walks down

the street with a "do rag" on his head; does nothing but comb his hair and watch TV; and lives in an unreal dream world with very little on his mind.

"If I get enough money I'd buy me a car and I wouldn't have no worries or trouble. It'd be out of sight," he says staring off into nothingness.

According to the movie there isn't much more to Robert's life. All he does is lounge in pajamas watching TV; ride on buses thinking about fancy cars; walk the streets; work half-heartedly on a lousy job; and sometimes he fights with his mother. Bob is despairing about his situation. He doesn't have much fight in him.

"I say, 'boy, you ought to make something of yourself before it's too late.' But the next day it's the same old dull day and it doesn't do."

We meet a defeated young man. He is docile. He is defiant and angry about very little.

You don't have to know Robert to question the accuracy of this "documentary." All you really have to do is watch black kids walk across a street; you will see more defiance and anger, more self-respect and dignity, than you will see in the full sixty minutes it takes "Losing Just The Same" to end. The sign over the driver's shoulder will say "no smoking, radios silent." But you won't be able to avoid the sound of transistor radios and the heavy smell of smoke as the kids carry on "business as usual."

The film claims to probe beneath the ghetto surface. It fails miserably. It doesn't even deal with the SURFACE accurately. Robert is rarely shown with his friends. There are no scenes of the street life of black youth. Robert never seems to go to parties, never goes to the pool hall, doesn't associate with girls, and seems to have no friends or "partners." Is one to simply conclude that Robert has no 'soul'? We never see Robert seriously discussing problems that are bothering him. The dilemmas, contradictions, and struggle that characterize poor people trying to solve problems and maintain personal integrity are nowhere to be found in this movie. One wonders how, if life is as meaningless and placid as this movie

suggests, could the ghetto have produced the complex music of jazz, the intense insight of the blues and the powerful driving sound of rhythm and blues? Are we to conclude that the music and art which has developed among black people is another example of losing just the same?

The movie leaves you with the feeling that there is nothing positive or of worth in the ghetto, including the people. But even the inhuman conditions of ghetto life cannot prevent people from reacting to injustice in uniquely human ways.

Despair is only one reaction. Defiance and the assertion of human dignity can be seen on buses, in school, on the job, and in the street; but not in this movie. This might be considered simply as an oversight. We don't think so. They are absent because they don't fit in with the point of the movie. You can't be a loser and be defiant or have dignity. For example, Robert's dropping out of school is attributed to his inability to perform and his lack of self-discipline. This may be true. But the movie never even considers the possibility that his dropping out of school may have been itself an act of defiance or a realization on Robert's part that school and the quality of education in West Oakland is a dead-end. Another example is the way the movie portrays Robert when he is working. The impression we are left with is that he is incapable of doing the job satisfactorily. And again, the idea that Robert may be putting-on someone or doing as little as possible never seems to enter the minds of those who made the movie.

The effect of this is humiliating. And the directors heap insult upon humiliation with their constant emphasis on conjured "fantasies." They even have a "dream scene" in which Robert rides through West Oakland in a Cadillac. The only thing missing is a scene showing him eating watermelons, scratching his head and doing a shuffle for the big time movie makers from Berkeley. (Memory is short, but did the folks in Watts throw watermelons at Cadillacs, or was it something else at something else?) The movie makers seem to suggest that if Bob would only stop 'dreaming' about being a singer and face up to the reality of making \$37.50 a week, he

(they) would be much happier. This, of course, is a 'fantasy' the luxury of which only the directors and producers of 'Losing Just The Same' can afford.

Not only is Robert's life without meaning and dignity. But for a ghetto youth he has remarkably few encounters with the police. The only time we see the police is either cruising down the street or screaming by with sirens blaring and lights flashing. Robert never confronts them. This is remarkable, when you think about it, since we are told later that he has a long police record and lives in a city where the police are not noted for their interest in the problems of black youth. Dealing with the police is not the only thing missing from the movie. For a movie that claims to probe beneath the ghetto it is strange that we never see social workers, probation officers, or even church meetings. More oversights?

Luckily for the people making the movie, Robert was, in reality, arrested. We say luckily since it is clear from the beginning that they expect him to eventually be arrested. Seeing the movie, one would expect him to be arrested for vagrancy, loitering, or maybe curfew violation, since he is so dull and lacks any fight. But no. Robert is arrested during the San Francisco riots for throwing a molotov cocktail! Rather strange behavior for someone as full of despair and as the movie indicates Robert is. And as we see him walking from the jail to a waiting prison bus, we see the first real act of pride and defiance on his part. He swaggers into the bus and tells his mother in no uncertain terms:

"Don't be mad!"

But that's about all the defiance and pride that we see in the movie. Perhaps the directors are more comfortable with "Good Negroes." It's probably very clear that the movie leaves out and distorts more than it "documents" about ghetto life. One wonders why it was even made. It's obvious to this writer that if the ghetto is to be accurately and sensitively portrayed, another movie needs to be made. And if the next movie is to be at all meaningful, it will have to be done by the people who live in the ghetto themselves.

That's the only convincing thing about "Losing Just The Same."