

TEXAS FARM WORKERS STRIKE
REAGAN'S WELFARE PLAN
NEGROES IN EARLY CALIFORNIA
ORGANIZER'S NOTEBOOK

THE



MOVEMENT

FEBRUARY 1967

204

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Stokely Carmichael

ON PUERTO RICO, CITIES,
THE DRAFT, BLACKNESS
AND MORE

THE MOVEMENT Staff met with Stokely Carmichael on the 30th of January after his trip to Puerto Rico. He was in San Francisco to attend the Survival of Black People Conference on the 28th and 29th of the month.

THE MOVEMENT: Has the American Government started to mess around, because you've started to move outside the country?

STOKELY: I asked for a passport, and they didn't give it to me. They said they had to have a decision on it. So when we got to Puerto Rico, we started by announcing at a press conference that they wouldn't give us passports. They sent them Special Delivery, when we got back.

But I'm sure that the international relations area is the one most vulnerable in the country.

THE MOVEMENT: It seems to be the area that got Malcom killed.

STOKELY: Malcom did his bit, you know, and then he was wiped out by them, and now maybe it's SNCC's turn, and, when we get wiped out, there'll be somebody else. But YOU ALWAYS KEEP AGITATING, awakening, arousing, enlightening, and you do it around the most vulnerable spot—which is international relations of the country.

PUERTO RICO

THE MOVEMENT: WHAT HAPPENED ON YOUR TRIP TO PUERTO RICO?

STOKELY: We went to Puerto Rico at the invitation of the Movimiento Pro Independencia, the MPI party, and the Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia, FUPI, the University group. They invited us because in July they had endorsed the concept of Black Power. We'd been talking to them; we wanted to see where we could find strong forces with which to coalesce. And the MPI represented to us one of those forces. They were the one group in Puerto Rico which has taken a strong stand against the draft. They are totally opposed to the draft, and they are not for peace; they're for liberation. They've been opposed to the control the U.S. has on the island. They've been fighting for their independence.

We spent three days moving around the island, finding how we could help and assist each other. They're going to take the colonial case of Puerto Rico to the U.N. in February at which point our organization will assist in every way we can to help bring that case into the spotlight. (See box)

MOVEMENT: IS THAT GOING TO INVOLVE ACTION INSIDE THE U.S.?

STOKELY: Yes, and it is a necessity for us because in the ghettos the

Puerto Rican community and the black community usually intertwine with each other and they have always been antagonistic to each other. We can now begin, using that as a lever, to bring those two groups together in this country because they face the same problems and are opposed by the same people.

MOVEMENT: WHAT ELSE DID YOU DO IN PUERTO RICO? WERE THERE DEMONSTRATIONS?

STOKELY: There was an anti-draft demonstration which went across San Juan and ended up at the recruiting station. Do you know, Puerto Ricans are drafted to fight in the U.S. Army; they have to fight for America. They have been taking a strong position against fighting, so there are some groups which are opposed to the MPI and FUPI. They don't think that people should have the right to demonstrate. Interestingly enough, most of these groups are Cuban exiles.

MOVEMENT: WHAT'S THE REACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PUERTO RICO?

STOKELY: Well, it's a puppet government. They have no power at all; everything they do must be approved by the U.S. Congress. In Puerto Rico they can not elect a Congressman so they have no voice in the government.

MOVEMENT: HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS



Photo: Frank Giachetta

THAT YOU WORKED WITH? ARE THEY LIKE ANYTHING IN THE U.S.?

STOKELY: They have the MPI, that's the adult group for people over 35; they're fighting for independence daily. They're the main political strategists. Then you have the junior MPI which is for people, say, just out of college. Then you have FUPI which is the university group with the same ideology as the MPI. Then you have FEPI which is high school group. So you have a tightly organized cadre of people who have the same political ideology.

MOVEMENT: WHAT'S THEIR STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THEIR FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE?

STOKELY: The first thing is that they don't want any strings attached with the U.S. So they're starting with the boycott, they're doing the same thing

that the Buddhists did in Vietnam. They just boycott any vote, any elections. They say that if they can't make the ground rules there's no need for them to participate in the elections. They just refuse to participate.

You have to remember that in Puerto Rico people have been fighting for independence for years and years and years. Their latest fight was led by Alvin Campos who died in 1964. They were taking over towns in the late fifties. He had taken over sixty towns in Puerto Rico before he was captured.

MOVEMENT: WHAT'S THEIR POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW?

STOKELY: Their political point of view is that there should be complete political independence for the island; it

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

SNCC ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

MARION BARRY

First SNCC Chairman

BOB HOOVER

Organizer, East Palo Alto

JAZZ ENTERTAINMENT * PLACE TO BE ANNOUNCED

SUNDAY AFTERNOON MARCH 5

SAN FRANCISCO



Members of STIC picketing in front of City Hall. From the front of the line is Al Ferrett, John Williams, and Joseph Green all from the Potrero Hill project.

PUBLIC HOUSING RENT STRIKE

BY MICHAEL SHARON

San Francisco, California-- When the North Beach Tenant's Association threatened to hand out leaflets which described the slum conditions in their public housing project to tourists riding cable cars to Fisherman's Wharf, the Public Housing Authority moved quickly to remove a black fungus which was growing in many of the apartments because of poor drainage. Tenants had lodged complaints for three months about the fungus. One fifteen year old child was sent to the hospital with bronchial pneumonia and other tenants began coming down with other respiratory illnesses due to the dampness in their apartments that had aided the growth of the fungus.

This is only one example of the conditions that the San Francisco Tenant Issues Council (STIC) (See THE MOVEMENT, December 1966) has been fighting over since the Hunter's Point Project called a rent strike in October.

EVICIONS STALLED

In another project, Potrero Hill, 17 eviction proceedings have been started by the Housing Authority because of rent strike activity. With the aid of the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, the tenants have stalled the Authority with their evictions.

The lawyers of the Foundation plan to confront the Authority with the possibility of a Federal Court case, if it does not meet with the striking tenants who have paid no rent for three months and reach an agreement with them to make necessary repairs.

The Federal Court case would be based on the Authority's violation of a Contributions Agreement between the Federal Government and the Public Housing Authority. The agreement provides that the local Authority is duty bound to maintain their projects in return for federal funds.

LEGAL RENT STRIKE

Other tenants are claiming that they can deduct up to one month's rent and use that money to make the repairs themselves, according to California Civil Codes 1941, which says that a landlord must keep his property up to Health and Safety Codes of California, and 1942, which says that a tenant, after notifying the landlord of conditions in his apartment and giving the landlord time to make necessary repairs, may make the repairs himself.

A rent strike using these codes would mean that a tenant would not pay his rent for one month and place the money in a special holding bank account for the Authority. If the Authority made the repairs within the time limit, the tenant would give it the rent. If the Authority did not make the repairs, the tenant would make the repairs and return the balance of the rent, if any, over to the Authority with receipts. This procedure could go on for several months until all the repairs were made, as long as each repair did not exceed one month's rent.

In this type of strike the tenant would only stop paying rent for one month, say January, and keep paying the following months' rent, February, March, etc. However, the Housing Authority will most often not accept the following months' rent. In this event the tenant should continue to send in his rent and, when the Authority returns his payment, he should deposit it in the holding account and keep the return receipt for court proceedings.

STRIKE FUND BENEFIT

Bayview Community Center
4701 Third Street, S.F.
9 p.m. February 25



One of the Housing Authority's fungus ceilings.

EDITORIALS

STATE OF THE UNION: THE WAR ON THE PEOPLE OF POVERTY

The language of the War on Poverty should have been enough to warn us: target area, war, indigenous people. But if there were any lingering doubts about the approach of the Federal Government to the poor people of this country, then a glance at Mr. Johnson's recent State of the Union message will clarify the issue.

The major things relating to the urban poor which Mr. Johnson talked about were the control of unrest and the necessity for increased police efficiency. Fourteen paragraphs of the speech, more space than any other topic except Vietnam, were devoted to the "effort to combat crime." Among the suggested ways of "combating crime" we find such items as federal funds for "...training new tactical units, developing instant communications and special alarm systems, and introducing the latest equipment and techniques so they can become weapons in the war on crime." That all means: money to develop techniques of instantly and effectively crushing any future "riots" of the urban poor.

We no longer have funds to develop programs of even vague social reform. The War on Poverty did nothing to stop the anger and mass expression of "lawlessness" in the ghetto. So now the War on Poverty is changing into the War on People Living in Poverty.

There is no question that the Federal

Government has chosen control as the means of answering the unrest of the cities; the causes of the revolts go untouched.

The Government never goes to the causes of the riots because they cannot change the lives of city black people without major social revolution. So instead they increase the state's repressive machinery. The Police are to guard, to be the repressive force which responds quickly and effectively to signs of "trouble" and "unlawfulness." They will try to protect the stores and the commuters from disturbances; they will try to keep the law and order which they have announced is the way of the land.

In this vein, Mr. Johnson has suggested, in the State of the Union message, a "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967." This bill will enable us to assist states and cities to "try to make their streets and homes safer" (which is lovely, but why not spend the money building homes and paving streets?); to "build better police forces" (we change the ratio of cops to citizens instead of the ratio of students to teachers in overcrowded schools); to make their "correctional systems more effective"; to "make their courts more efficient."

Mr. Johnson's bill will solve nothing; it will only create more rebellion against the oppression which he calls law and order.

LYNDON'S ANSWER TO THE POPULATION EXPLOSION

On December 31, America's food agreement with India expired: a new one will be signed sometime this year. In the meantime, President Johnson publically hesitated to sign an interim agreement to bridge the gap, thereby withholding food from the millions of people who are starving in the northeast sector of India.

Johnson was angry at Mrs. Gandhi for boycotting the Manila conference and holding a counter conference in New Delhi. He was using starving people as pawns in power politics to get greater commitments of food for India from other countries.

A recent issue of Science magazine quoted Defense Department figures that 150,000 acres of crop land in South Vietnam have been treated with plant killers. The program is being tripled next year. Its purpose is reportedly to starve out the soldiers of the National Liberation Front but Dr. Jean Mayer, professor of nutrition at Harvard's School of Public Health and consultant to the Army's Quartermaster Corps and the Surgeon General, says the only casualties of this campaign are children, old people, pregnant women, and women who are trying to nurse their babies. Ranking military medical officers back from Vietnam, according to Dr. Mayer, say that captured Viet Cong prisoners have yet to show any evidence of starvation and malnutrition.

Harrison Salisbury reports seeing bomb craters in North Vietnamese dikes and dams. Bernard Fall in the September 5, 1966 Nation states that according to the pro-American L'Express the U.S. destroyed over 500 small dikes and dams in North Vietnam between February and July 1966. The American ambassador to Australia has publically proposed all out bombing of North Vietnam's dike and canal system. When the U.S. Air Force destroyed the dikes and dams during W.W. II in an attempt to starve the Japanese, over one million civilians starved to death in the resulting floods and famine.

Here's what Edgar Snow says in Red Star Over China about death by starvation: "Have you ever seen a man--a good honest man who has worked hard, a 'law-abiding citizen,' doing no serious harm to anyone--when he has had no food for more than a month? It is a most

agonizing sight. His dying flesh hangs from him in wrinkled folds; you can clearly see every bone in his body; his eyes stare out unseeing, and even if he is a youth of twenty he moves like an ancient crone. Dragging himself from spot to spot. If he has been lucky he has long ago sold his wife and daughters. He has also sold everything he owns--the timber of his house itself, and most of his clothes. Sometimes he has, indeed, even sold the last rag of decency, and he sways there in the scorching sun, his testicles dangling from him like withered olive-seeds--the last grim jest to remind you that this was once a man!

"Children are even more pitiable, with their little skeletons bent over and misshapen, their crooked bones, their little arms like twigs, and their purpling bellies, filled with bark and sawdust, protruding like tumors. Women slumped in corners, waiting for death, their black blade-like buttocks protruding, their breasts hanging like collapsed sacks. But there are, after all, not many women and girls. Most of them have died or been sold."

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A DOLE TO INDUSTRY REAGAN'S WELFARE PLAN

BY MICHAEL SHARON

Richmond, California—The new governor of California has set out to get poor people off the "welfare dole." He claims he will enlist the support of industrialists of this state, like Los Angeles' H.C. McClellan who is directing a job finding and training program in Watts. The Governor proposes a temporary 11-member Governor's Job Training and Placement Council to be headed by Lt. Governor Robert H. Finch. A brief look at the unemployment and welfare statistics of California, however, shows that the Governor's proposals are a fraud at best, but more likely a source of cheap non-union labor for California's business men.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE

According to California Department of Employment statistics for November 1966, 4.9 per cent of the workers in the state (360,000 people) were unemployed.

In October 1966, the Department of Social Welfare reported that 16,057 unemployed people—that is, people out of work who never received or could no longer receive Unemployment Compensation—received welfare grants. In the same month 147,390 families received Aid For Dependent Children (AFDC) grants.

Excluding those people who receive grants under other programs, such as Old Age Security or Aid to Needy Disabled, there are left 163,447 people on "welfare." What jobs does Reagan propose to train these people for?

Will they be trained to work in the manufacturing industry where 43,800 skilled workers are already unemployed? Or in the service industry where 22,590 people are out of work? Or in the construction industry where 39,400 people are out of work? etc. etc.

CHEAP NON-UNION LABOR

Past experience with government and private job-training and experience programs, be they backed by liberals or conservatives, has shown that they are used to provide business and government agencies with a "legitimate" way of getting cheap non-union labor.

For example, in San Francisco where unemployment in the Laborers Union is around thirty per cent, the Department of Public Works got Job Corps workers at \$1.30 an hour to clean up around parks and the airport. A supervisor from the union got around \$700 a month to watch over and "train" the corpsmen. So rather than pay \$3.62 an hour to a member of the union, the county got its worker for a \$1.30 an hour.

RICHMOND WRO

The Richmond Welfare Rights Organization (WRO) faces a similar problem in their fight with the County Board of Supervisors. The Supervisors started a program of "vocational rehabilitation." Welfare recipients were first forced to work out their welfare checks by cleaning drainage canals. After protests from the Laborers Union, the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union, and the Richmond WRO, the Supervisors said that the welfare recipients would work out their checks but at union scale.

This proposal was still unsatisfactory to the unions and the WRO. First, many unemployed union members needed those jobs. Second, the recipient still had to deal with social workers, was still forced to work or be cut off, and still had to pay the same rates to the Public Housing Authority even though he was working. (Agreements between the Housing Authority and the Welfare Department require that welfare recipients pay about 45% of their grant for rent. Employed persons living in public housing by law pay about 20% of their income for rent.)

WRO then proposed to the Supervisors that welfare checks be counted toward a wage check for work with county agencies like the Health Department or the Library. The balance of the check would be made up by the agency so the recipient would get a full month's union scale pay check.



"I'd get a lot more done here," Reagan said, as he walked out the ranch gate "if it weren't for this other thing."

PUBLIC WORKS PROJECT

The Welfare Department then came up with a "Public Works" Project proposal in response to WRO pressure. The program does not meet all of WRO's demands but there is still room for them to get some say if the proposal goes through Federal and State channels.

This is the department's proposal: "... it is proposed that a waiver be obtained under section B 2800 of Supplement B of the Handbook of Public Assistance Administration, a waiver of those sections of Title IV of the Social Security Act and a waiver of the California State Plan which would permit Contra Costa County through the State Department of Social Welfare to convert Federal, State, and Local share of the AFDC grant into a payroll. Title V funds would be added along with funds budgeted by cooperating agencies to disburse this payroll check to 25 AFDC fathers in return for meaningful work.

Example:	
AFDC-U GRANT (2 adults and 3 children)	\$239.00
Title V Training-related expenses	
Unmet need	\$15.00
Personal need	25.00
Transportation	16.00
Title V supplement	56.00
	\$295.00
Sponsoring Agency Budget	199.00
Payroll (monthly computed \$3.06 hr. x 8 hrs. x 22 days/month)	\$494.56

It is proposed that this project involve an assignment of a time-limited nature with a minimum assignment of two weeks and a maximum assignment of three months.

PROBLEMS WITH THE PROGRAM

The program makes no provisions for ridding the recipient of social workers and department forms which invade his privacy, for union affiliation for instance through a special apprentice program, or for lowering his rent if he lives in public housing.

Also the plan still leaves many skilled workers unemployed, while it adds more workers to the field. Perhaps a similar proposal could be worked out by the Department of Employment with unemployment checks.

The project should have no definite time period.

CHALLENGE TO THE RIGHT

If Reagan and business are really serious about putting people to work without just making a lot of noise in order to get cheap non-union labor, then they should back this plan, including the provisions listed above.

If they can't find the money to support the project the governor's office might begin to collect a full property tax from large corporations such as the Kern County Land Company. According to special state audits of the Kern County Tax records brought on by the recent tax assessor scandals, this one company gets out of paying \$4 million in taxes because its land holdings are assessed at \$60 an acre, rather than at their fair market value of \$1,500 an acre.

If anything, it is industry and county agencies that have been on the dole in terms of cheap non-union labor and fraudulent tax assessments. ♦

COMFORT ARRESTED.. AGAIN AND AGAIN

SAN FRANCISCO — Mark Comfort, organizer of the Oakland Direct Action Committee, was arrested again in Oakland last month. This time it was for "interfering with a police officer" and "possession of a concealed weapon."

This isn't the first time this black organizer of ghetto teenagers has been arrested and harassed by the Oakland police.

In February, 1964 Comfort was arrested at a demonstration against police brutality. Students from McClymonds High School had walked out of school to join the picket line. Police complained that Comfort did not tell them to go back to school. He was sentenced to 30 days in jail and two years probation for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

The probation was strictly political. Comfort could not talk to any school children (other than his own) during school hours! He would have to leave any demonstration, no matter how legal, if ordered to by a policeman.

Then in December, 1964 he was arrested for "failure to disburse" at a fair-hiring sit-in at the Oakland TRIBUNE offices. He was not sitting-in but was arrested anyway and sentenced to 6 months in jail. He served 44 days; his case is now on appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court.

COPS BEAT NEIGHBOR.

Late in the night last December 21, the Oakland police stopped a 17 year old boy who lives next door to Comfort, and accused him of stealing a car. They handcuffed him and began hitting him. His sister, 2, started yelling at the cops to let him alone.

Comfort heard the yelling, ran out barefooted and told the cops to stop hitting the youth. The police then arrested the young man's mother and sister, who were trying to keep him from being arrested.

The police apparently then went back to the station house and got a warrant for Mark's arrest. But they didn't arrest him until a week later.

ARRESTED, FRAMED

Comfort was leaving a bar on the evening of the 28th when the cops finally decided to arrest him. He was carrying a small derringer pistol at the time, tucked in the front of his belt. When he was arrested he says one officer took the derringer from his waist and dropped it in Mark's pocket. The searching officer then found the "concealed weapon."

Mark was carrying it because his life has been threatened several times. The garage next to his house was firebombed,

windows on his house have been broken, his phone has been tapped and he has received numerous phone threats.

Recently he had been trying to get a headquarters for his youth club, the Amboy Dukes (who call themselves the Freedom Fighters). Just as he was applying for a Use Permit several unusual things happened:

The owner of a store across the street, who up till then had been friendly, suddenly told the police that Mark had threatened him.

"BLOODY RACE RIOT"

The Intelligence Division of the Oakland Police sent a memorandum to the State Attorney General that Mark Comfort was planning to lead a "bloody race riot" at 2 in the afternoon of January 16!

The Use Permit was (of course) denied.

During the Oakland school boycott last year, almost every child questioned by police was asked to testify that Mark Comfort had told them to boycott.



Last November, Comfort and the editor of THE MOVEMENT drove to Lowndes County, Alabama to help the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the elections. "That's where it's at," Mark said afterward. "The people in the South are going to have to show people up North the way." ♦

CARMICHAEL

Continued from Page 1

belongs to Puerto Ricans. That is, Puerto Ricans should vote to decide the type of government they want. And the U.S. should get off the island entirely, every facet of it--they don't need any bases, any military arms. And they don't need the U.S. owning 13% of the island, and having 13 military bases. In San Juan the poor can't even go to some of their best beaches; in that city Americans build hotels and casinos, like the Caribe Hilton, just for tourist trade.

MOVEMENT: THAT'S THE SAME WAY IT WAS IN CUBA.

STOKELY: Si. That's why it's going to make for interesting fights.

MOVEMENT: THE CASE BEFORE THE U.N. IS GOING TO COME UP IN...?

STOKELY: February.

MOVEMENT: WHAT IS SNCC GOING TO DO?

STOKELY: Well, we have a lot of contacts in the U.N., the Afro-Asian contacts. We're going to start asking them to pressure for the resolution. Through our publicity, we can put out a lot of materials on it, explaining the importance of the case to the black community.

MOVEMENT: WILL THERE BE AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF SNCC TO PUT THE CASE OF AMERICA BEFORE THE U.N.?

STOKELY: Right, but that will be at some distant time. There are no immediate plans.

SNCC IN THE CITIES

MOVEMENT: SO HOW DO YOU SEE THIS MOVEMENT BEING CARRIED INTO, SAY, NEW YORK CITY? DID YOU TALK ABOUT A JOINT STRATEGY?

STOKELY: Right. Oh yes. When we bring MPI people over here they can talk in the Puerto Rican communities and we can go in with them. And Puerto Rican and black communities in New York are a quarter of a million people. This is one place to start, but we also have a large Puerto Rican community in Chicago, and also we started contact with Mr. Chavez, with the Mexican workers down here. (in southern California) Now we want to develop these and tie them in much stronger.

MOVEMENT: THIS RAISES THE WHOLE THING ABOUT HOW SNCC IS GOING TO START WORKING IN THE CITIES AND WHAT THE STRATEGY IS.

STOKELY: We have an entry into the Puerto Rican community, whether or not some of the Puerto Ricans here believe in independence. It's an entry because we're officially involved with the island.

MOVEMENT: WHAT'S HAPPENING TO SNCC IN NEW YORK IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

STOKELY: Well, we're just slowly working. Most of the workers are around the schools right now, the I.S. 201 problems. We're building the Peoples' School Board where people take over the school board.

MOVEMENT: CAN YOU BREAK THAT DOWN?

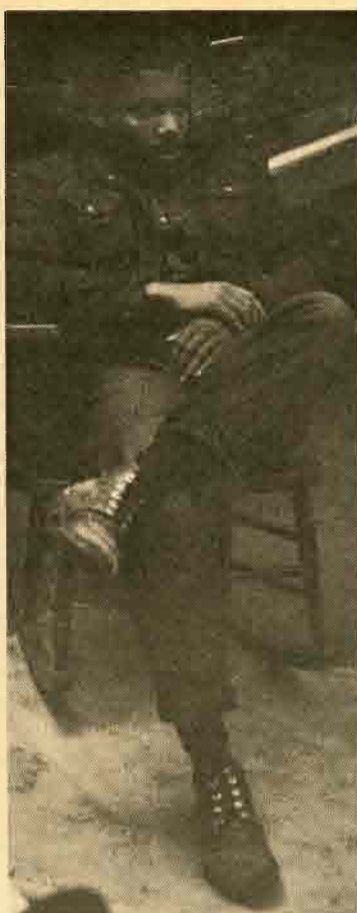
STOKELY: Well, we have the concept that parents should make up the school boards and they should decide the appropriations for schools and have final say on the hiring of teachers. We're slowly being able to do that by setting up parallel structures to the regular school boards.

MOVEMENT: HOW DO THESE PARALLEL STRUCTURES TAKE POWER?

STOKELY: We haven't decided that yet. We're just developing the idea. See, first you have to develop the atmosphere in which one can seize power. You never seize power in an abstraction, and you can't do it in an isolated area. If you take over one (area) you could easily be squashed, but if you develop a number of footholds around the city and you take them all at the same time then there's a problem squashing it.

MOVEMENT: DO YOU SEE THAT, IN WORKING IN THE CITIES, SNCC WILL MOVE MOSTLY AROUND THE SCHOOLS? IS THAT HOW SNCC SEES ITSELF GETTING INTO THE CITY?

STOKELY: No. We get in any way we can. We see the problem to be a political problem--who can control the votes. But in order to get in, we have



STOKELY CARMICHAEL
AND THE MOVEMENT STAFF



Photos: Frank Cieciorka



to follow whatever problems people are affected by, and if they're affected by schools, then that's where we start.

MOVEMENT: HOW DOES THAT RELATE TO THE BIGGER THINGS SNCC IS INVOLVED IN, LIKE THE ADAM CLAYTON POWELL FIGHT?

STOKELY: We've used the Powell fight to show black people where the Democratic Party is at. Our job is to alienate, in every way we can, black people from the Democratic Party--just get them out and begin to form an independent political force around the country.

FORCES VS PARTIES

MOVEMENT: DOES SNCC SEE ITSELF AS A FORCE TO ORGANIZE ANOTHER POLITICAL PARTY?

STOKELY: To begin to organize political FORCES, rather than PARTIES. I think most SNCC people reject that concept of "party," that is, what it means in this country.

MOVEMENT: HOW DO YOU DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE IDEA OF A FORCE AND THE IDEA OF A PARTY?

STOKELY: Well, I think that a party is something that is already established, and we're not established yet. And a force, without being a party, can take over an entire government if the parties are fighting each other. For example, black people either control outright, because of their numbers, or have the swing vote in over 100 Congressional districts in this country. That's because of the way the country reapportioned

itself in 1962-63, giving the weight of its power to the major urban areas--where we live. That means that you develop independent forces of black people and you can take over those cities. If, for example, you have 40% black people in an independent force and 60% whites fighting between the Republican and Democratic parties, you can just take over.

MOVEMENT: HOW DOES THAT RELATE TO BLACK DEMOCRATIC FORCES ALREADY?

STOKELY: Well, that's why we're against them. Once you're inside the party, your leverage can't be felt. For example, the Lowndes County Freedom Party started out as an independent force and came within 200 votes of taking over the county. The LCFP represents a real threat to white people inside that county because they recognize that if in a year and a half you can come within 200 votes of taking over the county, then in 2 more years you CAN take over the county. Coalitions will now be from the white community to the LCFP, and the LCFP has the power now to decide whether or not they will accept, because they don't have to accept.

MOVEMENT: SO YOU THINK THE LOWNDES COUNTY METHOD CAN BE TRANSFERRED TO THE NORTH? SNCC HAS ALWAYS BEEN CAUGHT IN THE BAG OF HOW TO ACTUALLY ASSUME POWER. HOW DO YOU GO FROM BEING A PARALLEL FORCE OR FROM BEING A MORAL FORCE TO ACTUALLY EXERCISING POWER?

STOKELY: We've never been a moral force. We've always seen ourselves as a political force. We have been interpreted as a moral force. Many of our fights have been interpreted on a moral level simply because we did not have the political power. The MFDP: the inter-

pretation of that fight might have been moral, but that was certainly a political fight. It was not a moral fight: that parallel structure was grasping for POWER. Had they gotten the power they would have received all the political patronage inside the state of Mississippi. They would have been the governing force.

MFDP

MOVEMENT: WHAT IS DEVELOPING IN THE WAY OF THE MFDP TAKING OVER AREAS OF MISSISSIPPI?

STOKELY: They more and more talk in Mississippi of forming structures like the LCFO. I see all that in terms of growth in my own political philosophy and that of SNCC. The MFDP was the beginning. The LCFO was a more concretized idea. And as we move North there will be even more concrete examples of what we're reaching out for. There must be an entire revamping of the type of politics; for example, a complete cutting out of the state structures and just having local places bargain with the Federal Government for the money needed to take care of their own programs--a cutting out of a large segment of middlemen, of bureaucrats that tie up the money.

MOVEMENT: HAS THERE BEEN TALK OF WHETHER THEY'RE GOING TO PLAY THAT DEMOCRATIC GAME OR STAY OUT?

STOKELY: There's been a lot of talk inside the FDP they haven't made any major decision. Mrs. Hamer was just ruled out as being qualified to run for Mayor in the March elections. I don't know what bearing that's going to have. I'll be back there next week,

so I'll be able to understand it better.

ALINSKY

MOVEMENT: YOU HAD A RECENT MEETING WITH SAUL ALINSKY...

STOKELY: Yes, we came to the general conclusion that powerless people needed power in order to implement their demands and that there must be strong organizations to give people power.

MOVEMENT: THE WAY ALINSKY OPERATES IS TO TIE TOGETHER LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS. NOW SNCC HAS NEVER REALLY TRIED TO DO THAT.

STOKELY: We've usually tried to build new organizations. Because if all those organizations are there and they're not functioning, then we assume that they're not reaching the type of people we're interested in reaching. In every case where we've developed those new organizations, they have become the prime organizations in that community. They have surpassed all the other organizations that have been there before.

I think Alinsky has a lot of techniques that he could teach us. I know in terms of political outlook SNCC goes much further. Alinsky talks on the local level. We see the connecting of black communities on a national level, and on the international level.

MOVEMENT: WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE FREEDOM BUDGET, THE PLAN OFFERED BY RUSTIN, RANDOLPH AND OTHERS?

STOKELY: You know we took our names off the Freedom Budget. We were politically maneuvered into signing it--and we're young, so we make a few political mistakes--but we've withdrawn our names precisely because the Freedom Budget doesn't ask for a revamping of anything, they just ask for more money. Also in order for the Freedom Budget to function, the war in Vietnam must continue. And that it means, again, working within the Democratic Party.

FREE D.C.

MOVEMENT: WOULD YOU TALK THE WASHINGTON D.C. PROJECT?

STOKELY: We're slowly moving to build cadres around the issue of home rule.

MOVEMENT: WHAT ARE THE FORCES YOU HAVE TO MOVE AGAINST?

STOKELY: The Democratic Party. MOVEMENT: HOW DO YOU SEE THE PEOPLE OF WASHINGTON D.C. MOVING AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND COMMITTEE THAT CONTROLS THAT CITY?

STOKELY: They're not moving as yet. I think that one of the problems is that black people are not a politically aware group in this country--I would say that this is true of most Americans. They assume they're political, but they're not. An example of that would be the Kennedy assassination. 99% of the people of America do not in any way conceive of that as being a political assassination, and refuse to accept that it's even possible inside their own borders. They would rather think that some sick person shot Kennedy or some mixed-up person shot him rather than to see the real political implications of such an assassination.

In SNCC all our acts must be geared to heightening the political awareness of black people. Because as you begin to get a politically conscious group, decisions will be made along hard political lines. And as people become more and more aware, they will begin to see and understand political assassinations such as Kennedy's and Malcolm X's. They begin to understand political coups such as Nkrumah in Ghana and Sukarno in Indonesia and they will be able to see who is behind all of them...

DEMO PARTY

MOVEMENT: HOW DOES SNCC INTEND TO FIGHT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY?

STOKELY: You don't get involved in it. When you speak, you speak your point of view. No one can control what anybody in SNCC says. Not even SNCC itself can do that, most times. We were invited to speak at that conference. (Sur-

vival of Black People - January 28-29 in S.F., ed.) we're opposed to the Democratic Party and we made that quite clear. We have to begin to build across-the-country Freedom Organizations independent of both parties. If people agree with you, then you have that many more people around your base to work. To be siphoned off into inside political arguments is to confuse and bewilder people who are beginning to focus attention on you. Those divisive forces are put up to you by white political forces which are trying to keep black people apart. And you cannot afford to fall prey to that.

MOVEMENT: DON'T YOU GET CAUGHT BY ATTACKING BLACK DEMOCRATIC LEADERS?

STOKELY: We never attack those persons, we attack their politics. When we can no longer attack their politics, we must examine them because they may be good.

MOVEMENT: PEOPLE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY SAY THAT THEY ARE GRADUALLY GETTING BLACK PEOPLE INTO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. SO AN ATTACK ON THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BY SNCC MAY BE CONFUSING.

STOKELY: Most black Democrats at this point are on the defensive about even being Demos. That's crystal clear, especially after Powell and Willie Brown here--putting him on a worthless committee and all that nonsense.

ANTI-DRAFT

MOVEMENT: DO YOU THINK IT'S POSSIBLE TO BUILD A BLACK ANTI-DRAFT MOVEMENT?

STOKELY: Yup, oh yeah, oh yeah, I. MOVEMENT: WHAT WOULD BE IT'S STRATEGY?

STOKELY: The strategy is first that you tell black people that they're colonial subjects, and they'll say Hell No period. Black people are the one force in the country, who are susceptible enough to build an anti-draft base, much more than anybody else.

MOVEMENT: WE'VE BEEN TALKING TO CAREER MEN ON THE QUESTION OF VIETNAM, A LOT OF THEM ARE REALLY QUESTIONING FOR THE FIRST TIME BUT THEY HAVE PROBLEMS. IT SEEMS TO US THAT IF YOU START RAISING QUESTIONS FOR BLACK KIDS OF CAREER MEN ABOUT NOT ACCEPTING THE DRAFT OR NOT VOLUNTEERING, SOME OF THEM SAY, "I HAD TO GET OUT OF THE GHETTO AND THAT WAS ONE WAY I COULD GET OUT"--THAT POINT IS RAISED A LOT.

STOKELY: It's clear to me, number one, that there's never been, during a wartime period in the black community, any number of blacks advocating not to go to war, except possibly in the pre-Korean War period. A. Philip Randolph was raising the question; since there were segregated troops, there was no need to fight. Then, of course, Truman signed the executive order that integrated the troops.

Today, a large number of blacks are articulating a position of not going to war--anti-draft position--not anti-service but anti-draft--against compulsory conscription. You also have a number of other people doing it, I mean there's SNCC, there's CORE, and there's a host of community groups inside the North and the South and that can be augmented by a now growing force of white students who finally stopped talking about the peace movement and started talking about anti-draft which is much more important, cause it's a big difference between a peace movement and an anti-draft movement and a liberation movement.

MOVEMENT: BUT IN DOING THAT YOU HAVE TO FIGHT THE SYSTEM WHERE WE'LL HAVE LESS POVERTY PROGRAM AND MORE ARMY, SO YOU'RE CLOSING OFF THE WAYS THAT BLACK CATS CAN GET SKILLS.

STOKELY: Well, you see, you raise the question: if one is to be taught skills, you build schools in peoples' neighborhoods, you don't send them in the army to teach them skills, that's a lot of nonsense.

Yes, you've got to stop them from going into the Army. We say very clearly--we have no alternatives.

There are too many black people who don't know the rules of the game and can't get round the curves and corners of them. So you have to have them all say, "No," and be willing to face the jail sentence. That jail sentence does a lot. There's a lot of black people in jail who need to be organized, first of all, and who need time to read and understand politically what's going on.

We develop that idea--we go to jail and we get large numbers of people, and they won't be able to put everybody in jail and they'll have to drop that. I mean that's the only way to stop compulsory conscription. To fight for anything else will become a lessening of the rules. Maybe they'll draft people at 17, or they won't give student II S, or they'll put it in a lottery or some nonsense. We are opposed to compulsory conscription. Just opposed to it.

Our job is to fight a whole psychological machinery. I mean the whole country is geared towards war. It has to be. The difference between SNCC and the peace movement is that the peace movement talks about peace for Vietnam and we talk about cutting the military budget, cause the country spends 60% of its budget on defense. That means it must be constantly at war. And to be at war is a victory for the country. It can't even afford to win in Vietnam cause if it won in Vietnam it would have to find some other place to continue the armed conflict. So if they were sincere or serious or even political about what they were doing, then they would aim at the military budget. The United States has literally thousands of bases across the world. And that's not defense--that's big business. It's big business and if you're going to cut at that business you've got to cut the forces that allow for those bases, which are the young men that man them. So you got to cut hard at the policy of the country, completely, right at the core of it and that's the anti-draft movement. And you have to pay whatever the prices are to cut at that.

There are no viable alternatives. You just tell people recognize it's jail. It's the same thing that SNCC people did when they went into the South. There are no viable alternatives. If you break a rule you go to jail and you get killed. And one decides if one's principle is strong enough to fight for that.



Carmichael and other SNCC staff in Lowndes County.

MOVEMENT: DO YOU SEE WORKING ON THE DRAFT ISSUE AS MOSTLY AGITATION OR BUILDING OF ORGANIZATIONS?

STOKELY: Organization. You agitate always to continue your organization. I mean, all demonstrations to me have always been political demonstrations. That is, to aid and abet a political program. You just don't have demonstrations in an abstract just to have demonstration.

MOVEMENT: STOKELY, WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THAT SUNDAY RAMPARTS ARTICLE?

STOKELY: I thought that, like most publications, they tried to, in a column and a half, explain a seven day meeting, which was totally impossible, especially since they weren't there.

There were a number votes and re-votes; obviously the question of the role of whites in the movement is a crucial problem. I think that we're the only organization that is seeking realistically to deal with it, rather than sweep it under the rug. There are a lot of different

political ideologies around the question. The question was that, if you're going to have an organization such as SNCC, in the ghetto and in the rural South, one should have a black decision-making organization--on that there was little opposition. That was the major decision around black and white. It was the final decision after a lot of other decisions.

BLACKNESS

MOVEMENT: YOU SAID YESTERDAY (AT THE SURVIVAL OF BLACK PEOPLE CONFERENCE) THAT PEOPLE HAVE TO START TALKING ABOUT MORE THAN BLACKNESS; THAT PEOPLE HAVE TO START ARTICULATING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS ALONG WITH THE BLACKNESS.

STOKELY: Right.

MOVEMENT: I NOTICE ON THE WEST COAST A LOT OF PEOPLE SEEM TO BE JUST THINKING ABOUT THE BLACKNESS. DO YOU THINK THIS A WEST COAST PHENOMENON OR IS IT NATIONWIDE?

STOKELY: Well no, I think that a lot of people think that blackness is sufficient. We say that blackness is necessary; it is not sufficient. There are groups who have what we call the "nouveau blacks," you know, people who just found out they're black, and refuse to analyse any programs. Their only analysis to any program is based on its blackness. There's a lot of them who are infiltrated by the man himself, who just want to stifle programs. Others of them are just not political and they don't understand anything about a movement, 'cause a movement runs on politics, obviously, not on blackness.

MOVEMENT: BUT WHAT DO YOU DO, IF ONE OF THESE GROUPS COMES INTO WHERE YOU'RE ORGANIZING AND TAKES THE PEOPLE INTO THE STREETS. HAS IVANHOE RUN INTO THAT IN NEW YORK?

STOKELY: Yeah, we run into it. We just deal with it, 'cause I think they're trying to run, again, a movement on a cultural aspect, but you don't fight political organizations on cultural aspects, you must fight them on political aspects. The important thing is to incorporate your cultural aspects so that you maintain your cultural identity, while you fight for your liberation. Now that's important. To maintain your cultural

identity while you fight for your liberation. Not to fight for liberation through your cultural identity. You see, that's the mistake, I think, that many nationalist and nouveau black groups make.

MOVEMENT: THERE SEEMS TO BE BOTH A LACK OF POLITICAL AWARENESS AND CULTURAL AWARENESS AMONG BLACKS, WHICH ONE DO YOU WORK ON FIRST; DO YOU WORK ON THEM SIMULTANEOUSLY...?

STOKELY: I think you work on them simultaneously. I agree with Mr. Nkrumah when he says: "See ye first a political kingdom." But I do think the cultural aspect is vastly important. You keep advocating a political philosophy but always agitating around the cultural identity aspect of it. That is, I don't think you can gain anything if you have your cultural aspect alone. You must use that as a means of getting your group together to move politically. You have to develop a political frame of reference in which to move once you get that cultural identity established. ◆

NEGROES IN EARLY

With the possible exception of a few astute scholars of California history, most of this state's residents are virtually unaware of any "Negro problem" having existed here in the pioneer days—from the gold rush, through the Civil War, to the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Indeed, most Californians do not know that there were more than a handful of Negroes in the state at all.

There were very few Negroes in California before 1841, and those who were here had little influence. In general, Negroes came to California as indentured servants, former slaves, and slaves who accompanied their masters. However, others came as free men seeking adventure, hoping to work in the gold fields and make a new life for themselves.

WEST INDIAN PIONEER

William Alexander Leidesdorff, one of the first Negroes in the San Francisco area, arrived in 1841 by sailing his schooner, the "Julia Ann," into the Bay. He built the City Hotel, San Francisco's first hotel, and a short street on the Embarcadero was named after him.

Leidesdorff was also a politician, and in 1845, he was appointed Vice-Consul to Mexico by Consul Thomas Oliver Larkin. He also served as treasurer of San Francisco's first City Council, and sat on the city's first School Board which supervised the building of the first public schools in San Francisco.

NEGRO EXCLUSION

During the pioneer days, the majority of California's Negroes lived in the city of San Francisco and in the northern part of the state—Sacramento, Marysville, Stockton and Red Bluff.

Negroes in California, like Negroes in nearly all states, were excluded from participating in the main stream of society and consequently developed their own way of life. The society created by colored men had its subtle differences but was patterned after the white society. Negroes were always aware that their one aim as a minority was to justify their inclusion in the general society. So Negroes established and developed their own fraternal clubs, political groups, literary societies, musical organizations, dance troupes, newspapers, and libraries.

White Californians were unwilling to recognize Negroes as slaves but also unwilling to accept them as equals. Of the lower and middle class whites that migrated from the North, many had Abolitionist backgrounds, while those who came from the South were generally "poor Whites" who wanted to get away from the slave system. They wanted to succeed on their own, without slaves but also without having to compete with slave labor. These backgrounds partially explain white Californians' contradictory attitude toward Negroes.

THE SLAVERY ISSUE

Whether California would enter the Union as a "Free" or a "Slave" state caused heated debate among liberals, some middle class and lower class workers, and legislators who wanted to allow "Southern gentlemen" to migrate to California and bring their slaves to help establish them in business or work the gold mines. (After three years of free labor, the slaves could pay their masters \$1,000—earned by "moonlighting" odd jobs—for their freedom.) In 1848, this issue not only divided Californians, but Congress in Washington as well.

The debate in the Constitutional Convention of California, September to October, 1849, was reported by J. Ross Brown:

"Foreigners who are, or may hereafter, become residents of this state, shall enjoy the same rights in respect to the possession and enjoyment of property as native born citizens."

Mr. Shannon moved to insert the following: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crime, shall ever be tolerated in this State."

Mr. Garver moved to amend the amendment by adding: "Nor shall the introduction of Free Negroes under indenture, or otherwise, be allowed."

Mr. Hallack moved that a declaration against the introduction of slavery into California should be inserted in the "Bill

of Rights." The motion was unanimously adopted.

In his amendment, Mr. Garver was protesting the "herds of slaves who are to be set at liberty" in California by slave masters after three years of work and the payment of \$1,000—unsupported slaves who would become a burden on the community.

The pioneer Negroes in the territory at the time of the Constitutional Convention were neither talked about nor consulted by the convention's law-makers.

FREE STATE

The slavery question was so prominent that California never passed through a territorial form of government. The citizens held a convention, formed their Constitution, and elected a legislature without the permission of the Congress of the United States. Their object was admission to the Union as a Free state, before slaveholders could locate and claim any slaves living there.

Most of the white Californians during pioneer days disliked slavery. More than one had proven that dislike by assisting in securing through the courts the emancipation of Negro slaves held in California. Slaves did not, however, always tell when

RIGHT TO TESTIFY

The murder of Gordon Chase, a San Francisco Negro barber, opened the door to the debate on the Negro's right to testify. That entire incident had been witnessed by a Mr. Robert Cowles, but, after being subjected to an examination by a "corps of physicians, who decided that his hair showed he had one-sixteenth part of a drop of Negro blood," Mr. Cowles' testimony against the white murderer was rejected by the court.

This decision resulted in the organization of the Franchise League by several public-spirited Negroes. The League attempted to remove from the statute books the law that denied Negroes the right to testify against whites in California.

In March, 1852, Assemblyman Patrick Cannay of Placer County presented a petition to the Legislature signed by San Francisco Negroes advocating a change in State testimony laws. The legislators, unaccustomed to Negroes exercising the right of petition, unanimously declined to receive "any petition upon such subject from such source." In spite of this, the Assembly was sent several petitions by California's Negroes in 1857, asking for their right of testimony.

Negroes to testify against whites was that, by doing so, more Negroes would be induced to migrate to California. It was felt that the proposed amendment would preclude any such migration and, thus, limit the testimony bill's effect.

Section 394, amendment to the old law against Negroes testifying in court, was passed and approved on March 16, 1863. Ten years later, the right of testimony was made universal:

After the first of January, 1873, under the codes no witness will be excluded in any case on account of nationality or color. With this law, race was never again used in California to deny people the right to testify in its courts.

TO REMAIN FREE

During the 1850's, while California's Negroes were struggling for their right to testimony, most of the colored people lived in constant fear of the Fugitive Slave Law with all the various interpretations that could be and were given to it.

A bill to exclude Negroes from the state was introduced in the Senate at the first session of the California Legislature, but it was indefinitely postponed. That bill was in keeping with the national Fugitive Slave Law which claimed that Negroes brought or coming into the state previous to its admission to the Union were fugitives.

Bills to exclude Negroes were not introduced in either house of the Legislature until 1858. Many legislators may have felt that the Fugitive Slave Law sufficed to intimidate Negroes in the state, as well as to keep others from coming here.



Photo: California Historical Society

William Alexander Leidesdorff.



Negro slaves mining gold at Spanish Flat near Placerville around 1852.

they were thus freed for fear of not being able to prove it with the Freedom Papers which others were given after working for their masters for a given period of time.

A good example of this was Daniel Rogers, who was taken back to Arkansas as a slave after serving for three years in the California gold mines and paying \$1,000. His freedom was lost because Negroes were denied the right to defend themselves or protect their interests through the courts; they were denied the right to testify against whites.

RIGHT GRANTED

On March 9, 1863, when it became apparent that the Negro's right to give testimony against whites would be passed by the Legislature, the anti-Negroes in the Assembly were not yet reconciled to the temperament of their more liberal colleagues. The anti-Negro Assemblymen proposed an amendment to the state's Constitution the express purpose of which was to prevent Negroes and mulattoes from coming to California.

One argument used against allowing

EXCLUDE NEGROES

House Bill No. 395, introduced during the session of 1858 by a Mr. Stakes, Democrat from San Joaquin County, was meant to prevent Negroes from immigrating or residing in California. The wording of the bill was very harsh and frightening to the colored people living throughout the state, and upon the invitation of its Governor, a lot of Negroes went to British Columbia to mine gold. The bill was repealed in 1859.

Often repeated arguments that were

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BY HARDY FRYE

developed and used to justify excluding Negroes from California were: 1) Negroes were of an inferior race; 2) Negroes' labors would degrade legitimate work; 3) Negroes would be exploited by monopolies and social inequities; 4) Negroes would constitute a vicious and disorderly element in the community; and 5) Negroes would increase the tax burden of the majority.

CHANGE IN NEGRO STATUS

But during the early 1860's, in view of the state's stand in a nation divided by war, the California Legislature and aroused white citizens were giving new consideration to the plight of the "nigger" in their midst.

The Civil War vividly illustrated the state's need to be consistent, positive and expedient in its relationships with the United States government. No doubt this spurred the State Legislature to seek a realignment of the Negro and white roles in California. One Negro wrote in the fall of 1862:

"Everything around us indicates a change in...the public sentiment toward us...our relation to the California Government is changing daily."

ARCHY LEE CASE

It was about this time that the Archy Lee case came to light. Archy Lee's former slave master was attempting to take him out of California, then a Free state, against his will. The colored people living in the state rallied to his defense.

Negroes had an organization known as "The Executive Committee of the Colored Convention." All Negroes throughout the state were members of this organization and contributed funds for the courtcases

in California. They staked everything upon its outcome, and decided that, should they lose, they would not leave without a struggle. California's admittance as a Free state had not given them any more peace of mind than a Free Negro enjoyed in the heart of the Southland. Some \$50,000 was raised, and the Committee did win that difficult court trial. But after the court's final decision to give Archy Lee his liberty, it is said San Francisco was on the verge of a riot, and that one "Mammy Pleasants," a colorful personality of the city's early days, hid Archy in her house until the Executive Committee could secure his passage to Canada.

THE RIGHT TO OWN PROPERTY

The Homestead Act, "a law by Congress donating to each bona fide settler on the public agricultural lands within the State, being a free white person over the age of twenty-one years and a citizen of the United States,...one hundred and sixty acres or more...after five years," was first passed in 1851, and again on February 4, 1860. By the wording of this law, and under the laws of California, colored people were not allowed homestead rights.

This act was discussed by the Negro settlers at the Colored Convention of 1855. If a Negro even tried to establish and improve homestead property, a white man could later claim the land, because Negroes could not testify against whites in court and defend their property in title disputes. After 1863, with the right to testify and a favorable decision by a U.S. Land Commissioner, Negroes began to acquire land.

On the 17th of April, 1863, one Charlotte L. Brown, the daughter of James E. Brown, who was much respected among Negroes in San Francisco, was forcibly removed from a horse-drawn car. The unwritten policy of the Omnibus Railroad Company, owner of the car, was to allow no Negroes accommodation. Miss Brown's father brought suit against the company for \$5,000 in damages as well as for the right of Negroes to ride the street cars.

While the case was still pending, some instances of violent discrimination were reported. For example: "Some colored men attempted to ride in an omnibus last night and were forcibly ejected by the conductor and driver. The car windows were smashed during the melee. The colored men are bringing suit for assault and battery."

James Brown won his judgement, and with the settlement came the passage of a law extending further legal privileges to colored people in Nineteenth Century San Francisco. After the law was passed, there were several more incidents of Negroes being ejected from the city's street cars--that is, until it was done to "Mammy Pleasants." Mrs. Pleasants pressed charges against the Omnibus Railroad Company. It was then that the president of the company agreed to stop discriminating against Negroes and the charges were dropped.

SUFFRAGE

The right to testimony issue preempted that of the right of suffrage because Negroes interpreted the former as an instrument of self-defense and protection--especially for their property. It was not until 1864 that the Colored Convention began to deal with issue of the vote for

are inconcilably opposed to conferring the elective franchise upon Negroes or Chinese...Congress has no Constitutional power to regulate the elective franchise of the State."

The Senator's resolutions, doubtless triggered by legislative debates on the Fifteenth Amendment, were quickly released to the Judiciary Committee, where they died.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

With the passing of the Fifteenth Amendment (which California did not ratify) giving Negroes the right to vote, a reaction was set off in this state. On April 6, 1870:

A meeting of strong-minded women was held in Dashaway Hall in San Francisco. The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, and perhaps, more particularly the celebration of that week by the colored people...acted as an incentive to speak... If former "black slaves" were to have the right to vote, one woman asked, why could not "wives, mothers and daughters of American citizens?" The conclusion reached at the meeting was that a great injustice was being perpetuated, that is white women were being put in "a position inferior to that of the Negro."

Braced by the Governor's objections and the Legislature's refusal to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, other white reactions by the "Day of Celebration" (a nation-wide day of planned demonstrations by Negroes in observance of the Amendment's passage) took the form of not allowing Negroes to register. In Stockton, San Jose, Los Angeles, and Fresno, obstructions to the operation of the Amendment were prevalent.

Other results of gaining suffrage were the impaneling of the first colored jury in Sacramento in May of 1870, and the selection of six Negroes for the United States Circuit Court of San Francisco in February of 1872.

Armed with the right to vote, Negro men in the larger cities began to organize political clubs. These clubs, although never admitting it, invariably supported the Republican party, clothing that support with demands of their own.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

In 1860, Daniel Rogers returned to California from Little Rock, Arkansas, and settled in Watsonville with his wife and ten children. There were only two colored families in town, the Rogers and the Derricks. One of the first actions taken by the families was an application for public school privileges for their offspring, but Negro children were not permitted to enter California's white schools in 1860. However, in recognition of those two families, the Watsonville Board of Education later appointed a Caucasian woman from the east to teach their children. Thus began one of the state's first schools for the education of Negro youth.

The year 1860 saw a Democratically-controlled Legislature make the penalty for racial mixing in California's public schools the loss of state funds. It should be added, however, that the year before, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Andrew J. Moulder, had painted a dim picture for the law-makers. In his annual report, Moulder wrote:

"In several of the counties, attempts have been made to introduce the children of Negroes into our public schools on an equality with white...If this attempt to force Africans, Chinese and Diggers into our white schools is persisted in, it must result in the ruin of our schools. The great mass of our citizens will not associate on terms of equality with these inferior races, nor will they consent that their children should do so...Until our people are prepared for practical amalgamation, they will rather forego the benefits of our schools than permit their daughters--fifteen, sixteen and seventeen years of age--to affiliate with sons of Negroes. It is practically reduced to this then, that our schools must be main-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



Frederick Sparrow, California pioneer and the first Negro to register to vote in Napa County, California.



Mrs. Mary "Mammy" Pleasants. In addition to her role in California history, she also raised money to buy guns and ammunition for John Brown's slaves uprising and traveled about in the South organizing slaves to join Brown.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The first battle to gain equality in public accommodations was fought in San Francisco, where Negroes had been denied the right to ride public street cars. Whether or not Negroes could ride the street cars grew into a controversial subject after the initiation of San Francisco's first horse-drawn "street railroad" in 1862.

Negroes.

In the San Francisco city election of 1867, the Democrats gained the majority of votes on the basis of a handbill stating "No Negro or Chinese Suffrage" in bold red letters.

Another sign of hostility to Negro suffrage was shown in the State Senate in early January, 1868, when Senator A. H. Rose of Amador and Alpine Counties introduced a series of resolutions, one of which caused much attention:

"The people of the State of California

it fought. The committee defended the interests of the race in every part of the state. This was done through a secret grape-vine--by way of the barber chair. Since all barbers in the state at that time were colored, their careful attention to the conversations of their patrons informed Negroes of any move for or against them in the legislative halls or elsewhere.

The Executive Committee decided to make the Archy Lee case a test to determine the right of Negroes to live.

Photo: California Historical Society

Photo: California Historical Society

NEGROES IN CALIFORNIA

Continued from Page 6

tained exclusively for whites, or they will soon become tenanted by blacks alone..."

After the Superintendent had concluded, he disclaimed "any prejudice against a respectable Negro in his place; that that place is not, (however,) an association, on terms of equality, with the white race."

The parents of Negro children appealed to the Oakland Board of Education, asking admittance of their children into those Oakland schools nearest their homes. This is the resolution adopted by the Board of Education of Oakland:

"Whereas, The parents of certain colored children residing in Oakland ask that their children be admitted to the public schools of this city; and, Whereas, There are not within the bounds of the city a sufficient number of colored children to require the establishment of a separate class for colored children as required by the law of this State; and, Whereas, The school laws of this State expressly prohibit the admission of such children into the classes as now organized in the department; Resolved, That the Superintendent be instructed to refuse admis-

sion to the school as now organized in conformity with the law of this State."

Negro leaders finally acted on the education problem by calling a "District Educational Convention" in Stockton on November 20, 1871. Out of that meeting it was:

"Resolved, That an educational executive committee be appointed by the president of the convention; that the executive committee be empowered to bring test cases before the United States Court and to make collections through the State to defray the expense thereof."

Bills were drawn up and introduced in the State Senate and in the Assembly. The bills enabled colored children to enter public schools, and further provided that, where there were less than ten colored children to constitute a separate school, they should be admitted to white schools.

On the evening of the day these bills were introduced, the Oakland Board of Education, acting upon a second request by Negro parents, met and decided to allow colored children to enter their public schools. The Legislature was not

so favorable--both bills were defeated.

OUTRIGHT SEGREGATION

Another Democratically-controlled Legislature was called upon to review the school situation between Negroes and whites in 1870, resulting in the passage of the Education Bill of that year. This bill definitely decreed the out-right segregation of white and colored students in the public schools.

One of California's most famous Supreme Court cases concerning segregated schools began in July of 1872. In that month, Mrs. Harriet A. Ward (evidently by prearrangement) took her daughter, Mary Francis Ward, to the (white) Broadway Grammar School in San Francisco and applied for the child's enrollment because it was, said Mrs. Ward, "the nearest public school to our said residence." The application was denied by the school's principal, Noah F. Flood, because Mary Francis was a colored person, and the Board of Education had established and assigned separate schools for colored children.

Before the Supreme Court, John Whipple Dwinelle, the lawyer representing the Wards, asked for a Writ of Mandate commanding the defendant, Noah Flood, to entertain and act upon the application of Mary Francis Ward. Dwinelle argued that the Education Bill of 1870 was unconstitutional, relying heavily upon the Thirteenth Amendment, the Civil Rights Bill of 1866, and the Fourteenth Amendment to support his case. He also made it clear that a precedent had already been established by the Supreme Court of Michigan in April, 1868, when it awarded a mandamus compelling the admission of a colored child into a public school for white children, even though separate schools had been established.

SEPARATE BUT EQUAL

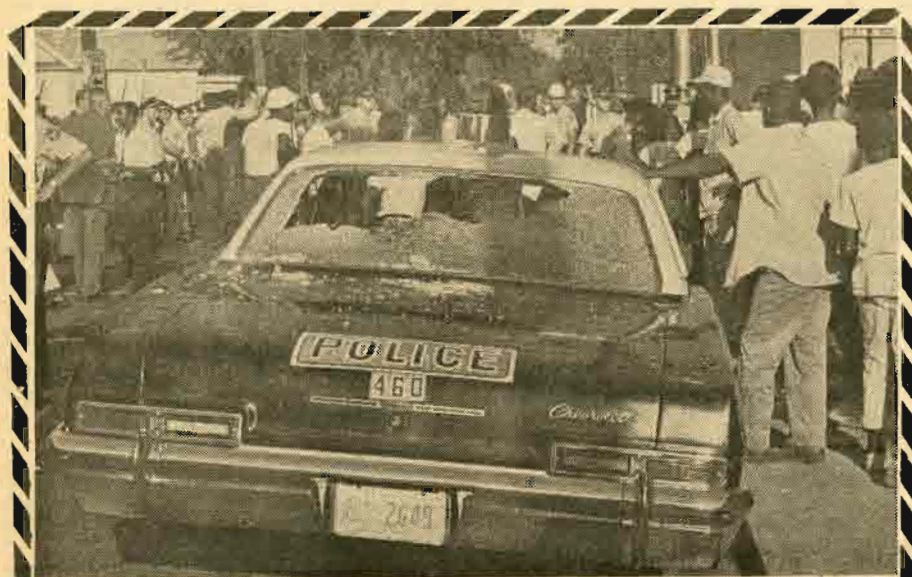
The California State Supreme Court's answer to Dwinelle's brief was a statement akin to the one handed down by the United States Supreme Court on the doctrine of "separate but equal." It said: "The Fourteenth Amendment, while it raises the Negro to the status of citizenship, confers upon the citizen no new privileges or immunities. It forbids any state to abridge by legislation any of those privileges or immunities...The right of admission to our public schools is not one of those privileges and immunities. They were unknown as they now exist, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution; that instrument is silent

upon the subject of education, and our public schools are wholly the creation of our State Constitution and State law... Colored children are not excluded from public schools, for separate schools are provided for them, conducted under the same rules and regulations as those for the white, and in which they enjoy equal, and indeed in some respects superior, educational advantages. No rule of equality is violated, for while they are excluded from the schools for the white, the white are excluded from the schools provided for the Negro...This act (Educational Bill of 1870) of the legislature is Constitutional...It is the expression of the sovereign will and is wise, just and polite... Confining colored children to schools specifically organized for them, does not impair or abridge any right;...it is a simple regulation of rights, with the view to the most convenient and beneficial enjoyment of them by all, and deprives no one of what is justly his own."

The court's decision, however disappointing or shocking it was for Negro Californians, did make one improvement in the overall educational environment. All children, the court stated, had the right to register and be admitted as students to a public school in their district. This was a clear warning to white Californians that, if they did not want Negroes in their schools, they had better provide separate ones, not for just some, but for all colored children. It would seem that the court's decision wiped out local discretion in whether or not the districts maintained schools for their colored children--such schools were now deemed necessary.



19TH CENTURY CARTOON: Negroes heading to California to flee racial persecution, and Chinese fleeing California because of racial persecution.



PERSPECTIVE ON THE ATLANTA REBELLION
A PHOTO ESSAY BY SNCC PHOTO WITH COMMENTARY BY JULIUS LESTER.
AVAILABLE THROUGH THE MOVEMENT PRESS, 449 14th ST.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103, 50¢ EACH.

HOSPITAL WORKERS STRIKE

By Brooks Penney

In the last part of December, the State Attorney General Thomas Lynch's office issued a legal opinion that a state of war involving the United States existed in Viet Nam.

The state constitution forbids raises in the salaries of elected officials during their terms of office--except during a time of war. With the attorney general's ruling conveniently in their hip pockets the Alameda County board of supervisors, after due deliberation, immediately voted themselves a 40% or over \$4000 per year pay raise retroactive to September. The retroactive pay gave the supervisors a neat end of the year bonus check of close to \$5000.

The news of this pay raise was greeted with little enthusiasm by the community at large and least of all by the members of East Bay Municipal Employees local 390. The members of local 390 are also employees of Alameda County and work as non-professional aids in the two county hospitals.

The pay received by these employees of the county is so low that, according to James Lawson, an officer of local 390, "Many, many of our members are eligible for an Aid to Dependent Children grant over and above what they receive after working 40 hours a week for Alameda county. Most of our hospital members are eligible for medical I.D. cards entitling them to free hospital care under the section of the Medicare Act covering aid to the medically indigent."

Local 390 had been negotiating for

months with the county supervisors in an attempt to settle several grievances and to obtain a pay raise. Their pay demands had been refused on the grounds that there were no funds available. When the news of the supervisors pay raise was announced, local 390 voted unanimously to go out on strike on December 31.

This was a rather audacious step because the members, being civil service employees, are forbidden by contract to strike and, like the farm workers, are not covered by the National Labor Relations legislation.

Three hours before the strike vote the county obtained a court injunction forbidding the right to go on strike. (An interesting sidelight to this: After the strike had been going on for several days, Harold Wilson, the President of the union, appeared on a picket line and the authorities were openly taunted by the strikers to arrest him for contempt of court. He was never arrested.) The three hundred workers who walked out were summarily fired from their positions by the board of supervisors.

Picket lines were set up at the hospitals and charges of violence flew back and forth. One picketer was hit by a scab's car. Supervisor Robert E. Hannon issued a four page statement charging the striking workers with harassing and threatening scabs and non-striking workers.

After the letter informing the strikers that they were fired was sent, the Civil Service commission began accepting applications to fill the jobs. One newspaper

reported a worker saying, "Can you believe it, a public agency is recruiting strike breakers."

In the first week of the strike the strikers scaled down their wage increase demands from the original 40% to 5% increase immediately with a 10% increase to be granted this coming July retroactive to this January.

The Board of Supervisors refused to consider the wage demands at first, but finally on January 10, agreed to grant a 2-1/2% to 10% pay increase. They also agreed that all striking workers were to be allowed back to work without prejudice. Also to show their sense of civic duty, the supervisors rejected their new pay raises and returned the checks covering the retroactive pay.

So far, though, even after the strike has been settled for three weeks, there are numerous workers who haven't been allowed back to work. The hospital administration refuses to fire from 60 to 70 scabs that were hired during the strike and they have been very selective about hiring back the union militants. The most active members were hired back but they have been slow about hiring back others who weren't in the forefront of the activity but were, in reality, the backbone of the fight--the ones that were consistently and reliably on the picket lines.

An East Bay labor newspaper commenting on the strike said that local 390, "pulled off the first strike against the County of Alameda, made it a success, forced county officials to act more or less like private employers do in a labor-management situation and forged a solid gain in the long struggle by all public employees for equal rights."

Even before the State Supreme Court's decision had time to congeal, local conflicts over the admission of Negro children to white schools were common. For example, in January, 1874, a Sacramento school principal was suspended for refusing to cease admitting Negro children in his school. The School Superintendent himself had been elected the previous year on an anti-Negro Democratic ticket. However, the city Board of Education supported the principal, asserting that his actions were "in strict harmony with the Constitution and laws of the United States." The principal was finally reinstated.

Two months after the Supreme Court's decision in Ward vs. Flood, the State Legislature passed the essence of that decision into law. Section 26 of the 1874 School Act made it mandatory that local school trustees provide separate schools for Negro and Indian children, and, if separate schools were not provided, the children must be admitted to the schools for white children.

INTEGRATION

Because the new school law guaranteed their children's education, Negro parents in San Francisco were able to take positive action against the city's segregated schools--they simply refused to support their own (San Francisco had two colored schools by 1875), and the Board of Education had no choice but to abolish them.

Apparently other Negroes throughout California began boycotting their segregated schools as well because we find, after 1875, the colored schools in the state were closed, and Negro children were allowed to attend the previously white schools in the districts in which they lived.

FARM WORKERS STRIKE

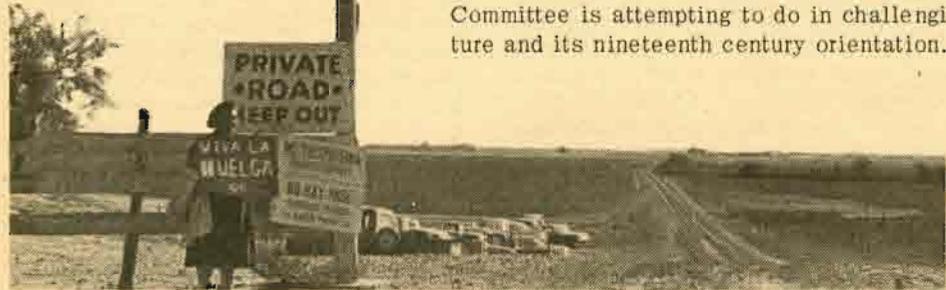
BY SAM KUSHNER

LA CASITA FARMS I

Down here on the U.S.-Mexican border a lot of people say that no county in the country deserves a strike more than Starr County, Texas.

And there is a simultaneous recognition that this is also one of the toughest places—literally—to wage a strike, let alone win it.

Yet that is precisely what the AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is attempting to do in challenging the all-powerful local power structure and its nineteenth century orientation.



RIO GRANDE CITY, TEXAS

Largely patterned after the National Farm Workers Association strike which began in Delano, California, in September 1965 and is still in progress there against 33 local ranchers, the strike here is a rank and file effort, sparked by organizers sent here from California and drawing sustenance from local supporting groups which are not as numerous, or powerful, as those the union was able to rally in its earlier struggle in California.

But the lines have been drawn, and it appears that there is no retreat for either side; certainly not at this time.

Local residents say that the law of the gun prevails in Starr County even more than it does in other parts of Texas. The fight for mere existence is a tough one. For the local ranchers and politicians their way of life—a highly profitable one ruled politically by a virtually autocratic machine—is facing its biggest challenge.

Wages were as low as forty cents an hour when the union struck the melon fields last June. Since then they have been raised somewhat, under pressure of the union organizing, but not enough to raise living standards much above the subsistence level—and in most instances, union officials say, not even that.

One might get an idea of the situation here by comparing it to the rest of this state. Every fourth family in President Johnson's home state—remember the "war on poverty?"—is below the poverty level set by federal government standards. But the rest of Texas where one fourth of the families earn less than \$3,000 a year looks like a sea of prosperity compared to Starr County where the median family income is reportedly between \$1,100 and \$1,200 family.

HARDIN FARMS INVOLVED

Lest one blame the economic situation solely on the rapacious Texans, it should be kept in mind that out of state firms,

such as Hardin Brothers of Stockton, California, which owns the large La Casita Farms here, are also very much involved in the situation. The search for profits knows no state boundaries, or even international lines.

The 40 cents an hour paid here looks good, understandably so, to the even more poverty-stricken Mexican nationals who cross the international boundary at 4 a.m. every morning to work the fields here. The low wages paid in Starr County represent "prosperity" to the Mexican workers who are able to earn as much in one day here as they do in Mexico in a whole week.

The economic pressure from South of the Border, with its plentiful supply of cheap labor, has helped to make Starr County, the poorest in all Texas for the overwhelming majority of the local population.

TEXAS JUSTICE

The arrest record here is almost unbelievable to anyone who expects to find the same kind of "justice" in Texas one finds in the rest of the nation.

In one of the first confrontations, in what the union here calls "a virtual war against the poverty stricken and downtrodden to crush their aspirations for a decent life" eleven strikers were arrested last Nov. 8 and 9 on a charge of "secondary picketing."

That, like everything else down here, needs some explaining.

This "law" was passed by the Texas legislature in 1947 and was declared unconstitutional by the Texas Supreme Court two years later. Since then there has been no record of this "law" being used anywhere in the state.

But this didn't stop the local authorities from dusting off the unconstitutional measure and putting it into effect in an obvious attempt to harass and intimidate the strikers. The punitive nature of the arrests was underscored by the bail set

by the local court; it was \$1,000 for each of the strikers, twice the amount of the fine if they were found guilty.

On an early October morning the strikers went to the international bridge at Roma, 13 miles to the east, in an effort to dissuade the "green carders" from crossing the border and scabbing in the struck fields. Before the morning was over 13 were arrested for "obstructing traffic," a charge which union leader Tony Orendain says was not justified by the facts. But that didn't stop the local authorities.

It seems nothing does.

While most of the local political positions are held by Mexican-Americans in this predominantly Spanish-speaking community, the top political boss is an "Anglo" and a company man. He is Randall Nye, county attorney and also the attorney for the largest struck company, La Casita. He apparently does not find the two positions incompatible.

In Starr County they are not.

POLITICIANS FEAR CHANGE

The only politics in these parts are grower politics and that is precisely why local politics fear, with some justice, that union organization will also bring about political mobilization and a change in the situation for the better. It hardly seems that it can get worse.

Just a few of the many arrested have been brought to trial. Thousands of dollars have been tied up in bail with the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, coming to the aid of the strikers on several occasions. At one stage the entire union treasury was emptied in order to bail out arrested strikers.

There is no shortage of stories about "justice" here.

Franklin Garcia, an organizer for the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen's Union and a staunch supporter of the striking farm laborers, tells this one about an experience with the Texas Rangers:

"They got hold of me once, and there's a law that says they can't hold you without charges more than 24 hours. So they rode me around in a car for 23 hours, let me out on a country road, and then picked me up again before I could walk to a town. This went on for four days."

The Texas Rangers swagger in town like they own it. They don't, the growers do. But the Rangers, their guns hanging low on their hips, are easily recognizable. Sometimes they wear badges and other times they don't. It all depends on the amount of time they have spent in the local bars. But one does not recognize them by their badges—it's their guns which count. They are the real badge of authority—an unmistakable one.

All this is but one side of the strike—the more miserable one. There are other sides, many of them more positive.

STRIKE HAD TO HAPPEN

Like Delano, it was a strike that had to happen. There are those who say it happened too soon, that the union had not yet consolidated its base in California and therefore did not have sufficient resources to support two widely separated and bitter struggles—in Delano and here.

Yet the depths of poverty here, the bitter frustration of the workers in the field who are probably the most oppressed of all Chicanos in the nation, made this a natural place for the union's second front.

Contrary to some opinion about labor struggles, especially in newly organized fields, often they are not carefully planned.

Spontaneity plays a big part. So it was last May in Starr County when Eugene Nelson, author of "Huelga" and organizer for the Delano strikers, came here after the Schenley boycott ended—when for the time being his assignment had also ended. On June 1, 700 workers went out on strike from the melon fields.

It was not the most favorable moment. The season was almost at an end. But the inspiration of Delano, the physical presence of a union organizer and the decades of unsettled grievances all combined to produce the strike which is still in progress.

THE MAN IN THE BLACK HAT

Leading the strike is Tony Orendain, national secretary treasurer of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee who was sent here from Delano to take charge. Tony, one of the founders of the National Farm Workers Association, met with Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Gilbert Padilla and others in 1962 to found the farm labor organization which has now blossomed into the most dynamic farm labor union in the nation's history. He was little known to reporters, and others, when he was in Delano.

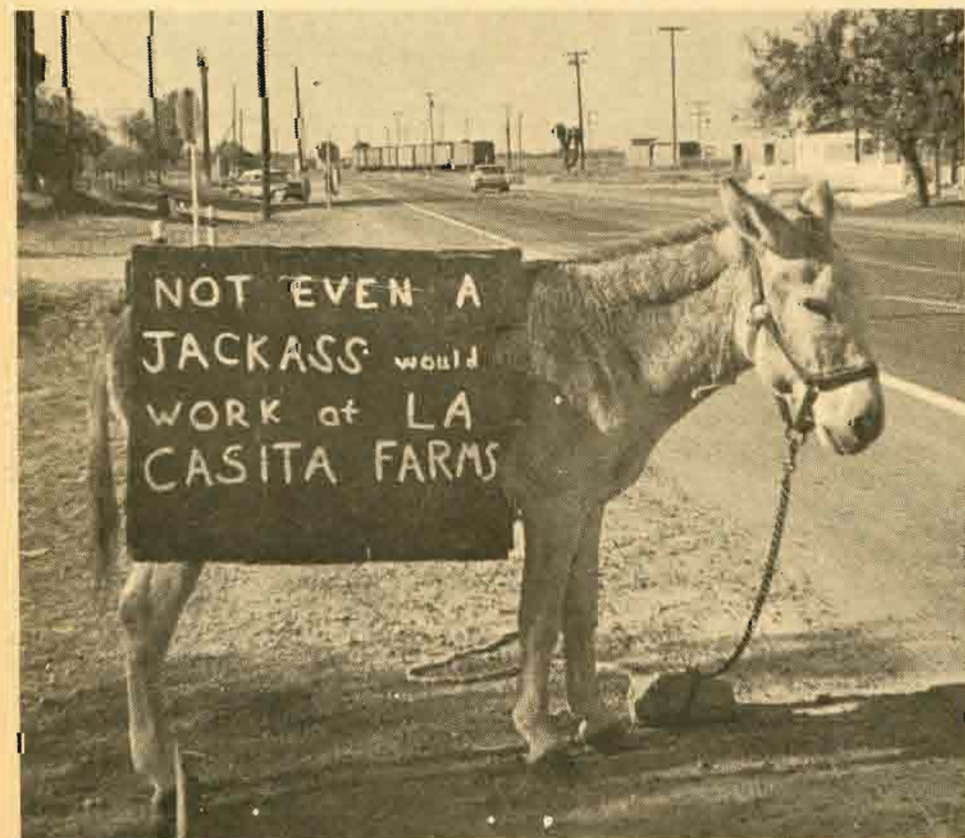


Tony Orendain, the Man in the Black Hat.

Here he is a man of stature, feared by the growers and local political structure as "the man in the black hat" who has come here to help change things. And he is as one with the local farm workers. He has been one of them all his life.

Born in Mexico 36 years ago Tony has been a farm worker since he was 16. Like many other Mexican workers he tried to cross the U.S. border to get work and better pay. He finally made it as an "illegal" and then later as a "green

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



Friend aids farm workers in picketing.



Photo: Norm Schindler

UCLA students gathering for a rally to protest Reagan's proposed tuition raise. UCLA, not noted for political activists, is typical of the growing sense of outrage which has resulted in demonstrations and other protest actions on many of California's State College and University campuses.

TEXAS STRIKE

Continued from Page 9

carder," one who is allowed to work in the U.S. as a U.S. resident. Now he is a citizen.

NEW LEADERS EMERGE

Tony, Bill Chandler and his Mexican-American wife, Irene, and Eugene Nelson are among those who have come here to give leadership. But there are many local people who are assuming their place in the new union.

One of them is Pedro Rios, a 70 cents an hour tractor driver at Trophy Farms when the strike started.

There are many others who in the course of the strike are learning of a whole new world and as a result are fighting to bring it to Starr County. These people, like the participants in so many other history making events, are not about to go back to the "old days."

As important as the strike has been for the leaders and rank and filers it seems that the change it has helped bring to the Texas labor movement, and others in this state, is even more noticeable.

THE MARCH TO THE CAPITAL

No one interested in progress will ever forget the march which began here last July 4 when a small band of strikers and strike supporters started the long march from here to the state capital, Austin, where 25,000 assembled on the capital steps in a demand for a state minimum wage law.

It was different from the Delano to Sacramento march last Easter. The leadership was not as united, the tactics were not as clear nor was the organization as well developed as in California. Yet it was a success. It focused the attention of the entire state on the struggle. It rallied the labor movement, the students, the church organizations and a large part of the Mexican-American community.

During the march, and to a degree since, there were many debates about the tactics. Strike leaders urged that support of the "Huelga" be the number one issue while many of the strike supporters pressed for the \$1.25 state minimum wage law as the central point. They argued that this would bring more people into action than just support of the strike.

However, unlike California, the Texas politicians, cynical as many of them are, had to respond to the pressure. Congressman Henry Gonzalez and Senator Yarborough were among those who greeted the marchers on the capital steps. But Gov. Connally, as Gov. Brown in California, was not there.

Gov. John Connally, head of the dominant political machine in the state of which Starr County is one of the strong bases, did come down the road a ways and talked to marchers. His attempt to dissuade them from continuing to the capital was unsuccessful.

AFL-CIO IN TEXAS

The Texas AFL-CIO headed by Henry Brown played a major part in the Labor Day rally and in all supporting actions since then. The AFL-CIO here, and Brown,

represent the kind of organization and people one hopes to meet but rarely does. This militant organization and its outspoken leader have been staunch supporters of the strike of the farm workers.

Thanksgiving Day and the Christmas holidays were a bit brighter for the strikers because of the efforts of the AFL-CIO and others. Food caravans from Austin to Rio Grande City on both occasions got widespread support from all of groups who have rallied to La Causa.

The Students for a Democratic Society on the Texas University campus were red baited by County Attorney Randall Nye on one occasion, but the strikers shrugged it off with the disdain it deserved. Meanwhile in Corpus Christi and other cities the struggles of the Chicanos and other strike supporters have been assuming a double character. Seeking to get the local governments to go on record for city and state minimum wage laws and mobilization of strike support have become a way of life in Texas just as La Huelga has for so many in California.

Despite their relatively meager resources--and affiliation with the AFL-CIO has done little to change that--the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has taken some steps to strengthen its front here.

MOBILIZING SUPPORT

Rev. James Drake of the Migrant Ministry has been here and is seeking to mobilize additional strike support among the church groups. It is reported from Delano that while the strikers here are urged to "Stand on your own," Delano is trying to find ways and means to help out.

Meanwhile at the headquarters on N. Forest St., the huge black thunderbird, the union's symbol, is proudly painted on both sides of the door. They have a permanence that indicates they will not be removed--or overcome.

And to all strike supporters the appeal has gone out to help the embattled Texas Huelgistas. No group was ever more deserving. And those who desire to give a hand, financial or otherwise, are urged to write to P.O. Box 54 in Rio Grande City. ◆

RIO GRANDE CITY, TEXAS-- The Rev. Jim Drake of the Migrant Ministry and Gilbert Padilla, Vice-President of the NFWA, were arrested at 11 p.m. on January 27, in front of the Court House here while praying for the release of two strikers and two strike supporters who were arrested that morning for shouting "Huelga." The four were released on \$200 bail each and Drake and Padilla have been released on their own recognizance.

BLACK CONFERENCE

By SYRTILLER KABAT

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA-- Black people moved together during a three day Conference "67" Survival of Black People held in San Francisco on January 27, 28, 29. They listened as black politicians set a political convention atmosphere with their speeches. Their rhetoric was much the same as before -- unite within the Democratic Party, play the game by THEIR rules, rules which black people had no part in making. The questions from the audience indicated a disenchantment with the Democratic Party. They questioned the recent stripping of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's power, the escalation of the Vietnam War, the drafting of their black sons who are put on the front lines in that war, etc. The politicians' answers were evasive and wordy.

The movement of the conference caught up with the people on Sunday with the appearance of Lincoln Lynch-Assistant Director of CORE, Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of SNCC, Ron Karenga, US, Don Bradley - Afro-American Institute, and Barbara Arthur Art, Conceptualized Minority History Teacher. After it was agreed with the planning committee to waive the \$5.00 conference fee, poor people and students swelled the auditorium. They listened, they cheered, they stood, they clapped as the grass roots leaders "told it like it was."

Lynch of CORE spoke to the economic and political life of Black America. He paralleled Nazi Germany with white America and warned black Americans of the danger in erroneously considering themselves Americans first and black second. The Jewish people paid the price for this mistake in Germany. He contended that the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, Title II, enables the U.S. Government to set up a system of concentration camps - "euphemistically called detention camps" - able to hold 25,000 people. Although these camps are presently being used to hold federal prisoners, they could be used to imprison black Americans wholesale. Blacks must see themselves as blacks first and move to unite more at the grass roots and with international political

forces. They must move against labor unions which exclude blacks, and organize economically to keep their money in their area. Black men must fight to the finish in this revolution. They must move together and enter the mainstream of the world on equal terms or be exterminated.

COALITIONS

Carmichael spoke to coalitions. He stressed the importance of blacks supporting movements other than religious ones. He stated that they must coalesce with independent movements for "Black Power and Human Rights" both within the U.S. and on the international level. They must support joint action for better housing and living conditions; they must jointly fight the draft and police brutality, etc. Uniting within the Democratic Party cannot benefit black people because whites make the rules, and blacks cannot win the game.

In the past coalitions have been based on mythical concepts. First, what is good for Americans is good for blacks. Slavery was good for Americans, but it most definitely wasn't good for black people. Secondly, the economically secure can coalesce with the economically insecure. It's impossible for plantation owners to coalesce with their tenants for their betterment. Altruistic coalitions are hypocritical and unworkable; and sub-group coalitions--like unite blacks within the Democratic Party--is farcical. This sub-group is within the larger group and therefore in no position to push for human rights.

Workable coalitions are formed between independent powerful parties around specific self-interest goals. The parties must be able to sanction one another. Black people must unite and move into the power area economically and politically.

Karenga and Bradley stressed unity, independence, self-determination, self-respect and self-defense. Mrs. Art challenged mothers and wives to keep their sons and husbands at home to protest the draft.

Blacks left the conference ready to move toward more organizing on the grass roots level; toward coalescing with independent political forces outside of the Democratic Party and outside the U.S., and toward a stronger draft protest.

PUERTO RICO STATEMENT

JOINT STATEMENT OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND THE MOVEMENT FOR PUERTO RICO INDEPENDENCE (MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA. M.P.I.) New York Branch

January 26, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, a joint statement was signed by representatives of SNCC, MPI and Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI). In this statement, the three organizations affirmed the need for a joint struggle against the political, economic, social and cultural oppression inflicted upon the Afro-American and Puerto Rican peoples by the United States. Just as black power signifies the struggle for liberation and the control of Afro-American communities by black people, the independence struggle in Puerto Rico aims for control by Puerto Ricans of their country. Black people constitute a colony within the United States; Puerto Rico is a colony outside the United States.

In that statement and during subsequent meetings in New York, the three organizations have agreed to work together on the domestic and international levels in the following ways: 1) Joint action against the draft in particular and the American war in Vietnam in general, to be carried out by Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans in the urban ghettos of this country; 2) Joint action for better hous-

ing, education and living conditions generally, as well as against police brutality, in the urban ghettos;

3) Joint action to bring international focus to the problems of Afro-Americans and to the Puerto Rican struggle for independence. SNCC has agreed to offer its assistance in MPI's efforts to raise the colonial case of Puerto Rico at the United Nations during its current session. MPI and FUPI will offer their assistance in bringing international attention to the case of Afro-Americans, particularly in the United Nations. The question will be raised there not as a domestic issue but a matter of concern to all humanity, i.e., not as a civil rights but human rights.

In the immediate future, the organizations hope to conduct joint demonstrations during the visit to New York of Brazilian President-elect Arturo Costa De Silva. De Silva, who is scheduled to take power on March 15, represents the forces of military dictatorship, supported by the United States; continuation of Brazil's economic policy which has maintained the poverty of millions and support for Portuguese colonial domination in Africa. De Silva has, in a series of statements, indicated that he will seek American military support to suppress so-called "external subversion" in Brazil--in effect, movements for basic changes to benefit the impoverished of Brazil. ◆

Organizer's Notebook..... Part 1

HOW TO ORGANIZE A COMMUNITY ALERT PATROL

FET

Bob Lawson's letter (The Movement, Dec. 1966) prompts my apologies for the delay in preparation of the National Alert Patrol Manual. I will attempt to summarize the elements of the patrol, and to put the tactic into some kind of national perspective.

The original Community Alert Patrol, formed on June 10, 1966, was a tactical move by the newly organized Temporary Alliance of Local Organizers (TALO) a group of black leaders from all over the Los Angeles Area. These leaders were drawn together in an atmosphere of panic and paranoia, in which rumors of riot were plentiful on both sides of the ghetto wall. The headlines daily carried scare-size notices that the killing of Leonard "Deadwyler" by policeman Bova was, in fact, a "justifiable homicide." The question in the minds of black people in Los Angeles was — justifiable to whom?

On June 10, the Police Commission, in response to a request of TALO for a negotiating session, convened a meeting of "community leaders" of their own choosing. TALO, in turn, called for, and got a boycott of the meeting. It seemed that the commission had not remembered to invite the chairman of TALO Robert Brock. While TALO members were at the door of the commission urging people to boycott, five or six CAP cars, circled the building. The cars had been equipped with SNCC radios, white handkerchiefs on the antenna, large signs bearing the motto "to protect and observe." The motto parodies the official motto of the Los Angeles Police Department — "to protect and to serve." The handkerchief symbolizes the emergency signal (white cloth) which was tied to the Deadwyler car at the time of his death.

The Patrol remained on the streets of Los Angeles throughout the summer of 1966. It gained respect of the black community immediately, of the white radicals soon, and of the white community later, grudgingly, only after the Watts Summer Festival. During that Festival, security, ushering, and much of the traffic control was performed by CAP, with the able and necessary assistance of the Sons of Watts (then the Parking Lot Boys). There were more people visiting Watts at that time than perhaps had ever been there before, and there were no serious incidents. The patrol was suspended for a time after the Festival with the expectation of meaningful meetings with the police commission, but when these were not forthcoming, the patrol was reorganized as an autonomous group.

GUIDELINES FOR ACTION

COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT

Although the state of police community relations in each community may differ substantially, the overall atmosphere in this country is paranoia and white guilt. If police attitudes are reflected in the statement of the Atlanta Police Chief, at the recent meeting of International Association of Chiefs of Police, "Talk softly, walk slowly and carry a sawed off shotgun," then, brothers, we are in deep trouble. At the same meeting, a vast array of riot control paraphernalia was on display. Riots are now probably the most popular and secure stepping stone for aspiring young political conservatives, who have developed the view-and-point syndrome into a science, view the riots with alarm, point with pride to themselves and their .38 caliber solutions, then win the election.

Your community may feel secure about its police community relations. You may have had "all - community meetings," "ironed out all of the problems," gotten three or even four new black policemen on the force. This is good. Now ask: What is my community's relationship with the Ku Klux Klan? In California, Klan head William V. Fowler told a state appointed fact-

finding committee that there would be violence "that would make the Watts revolt look like a bonfire" if the "Whiteman's rights" are disregarded. He was discussing the Rumford Fair Housing Law. As further: How are black folks getting along with the Minute Men these days? (keeping in mind the fact that there were several "law enforcement officers" caught in the most recent raid on that organization).

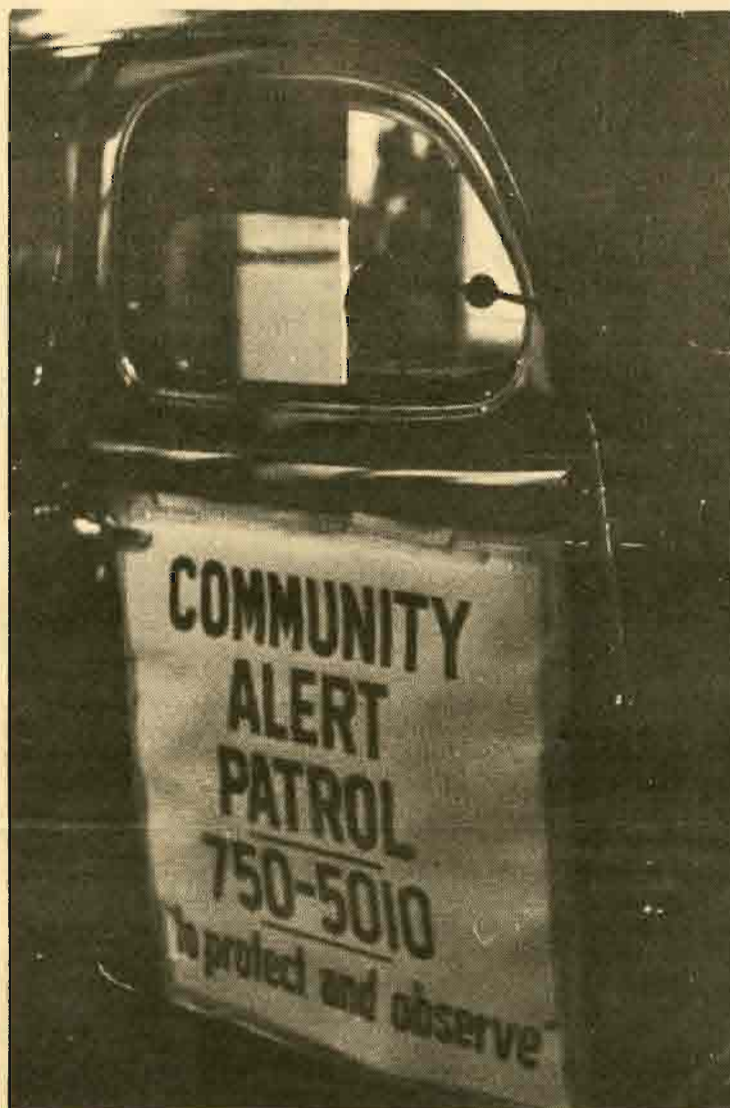


Photo: Gerhard Gscheide

SPONSORSHIP

The sponsorship of a Patrol should come from the broadest range of opinion and feeling within the black community. These organizations should make an early commitment to provide a monthly amount for expenses, no matter how small. Ministers and nationalists, shopkeepers and shoplifters, rioters and NAACP members, are indeed strange bedfellows, but there is one commonality which should transcend philosophical differences — black folks are last hired and first fired AT in a riot situation. Mr. Carmichael is right in saying we are not Jews — but consider who is more visible.

SELECTION

All CAP members are volunteer. They may come from any segment of the black community. Prior arrest record should not be a consideration, nor should high school graduation. Any black man who has a valid drivers license, no outstanding traffic warrants, and a first hand knowledge of police problems could become a member of the patrol. All members should be required to sign a pledge which states, essentially:

1. I will protect the life and property of my community.
2. I will observe police practices in my community and make full reports of any police misconduct, to the CAP headquarters.
3. I will photograph or tape record such instances when possible and necessary.
4. I will not, under any circumstances, interfere with an officer in the performance of his duty, and will leave 10 feet between us at all times.
5. I will notify the base by telephone or radio of any potential danger of disturbance.

6. I have not used any intoxicating liquor or drug within the past 12 hours.
7. I will carry no such drug or liquor nor any concealed weapon on my person or in my vehicle while on patrol duty.
8. I have in my possession a valid drivers license and my vehicle meets the specifications of the Vehicle Code.

9. There are no warrants for my arrest outstanding.

MECHANICS

It is important that the volunteer read the pledge or have it read to him. Items 4, 6, 7, and 8 are of crucial importance in preventing the unnecessary arrests of participants. Police are inclined to feel, for some reason, that they are not only on trial, but have been adjudged guilty in these encounters, and are prone to arrest the observer on any pretext. Most areas have laws relating to "interfering with an officer" which should be read carefully and legal advice procured.

FIELD TACTICS

Ideally, from 2 to 10 two-man radio cars should cruise the black community nightly. One man should be at the base (office) at all times that the vehicles are out. Fewer than two cars should NOT be used at any time, as single cars are much more vulnerable to unjust police action. If radios are available, the cars may cruise within range of one another. If there are no radios, cars should travel in pairs. High risk nights are Friday and Saturday, or when provocations have raised the tension level of the community. The nights that you will be able to work depend on your budget and the availability of volunteers.

There may be streets, sections or establishments in the community which have a lions share of harassment from police. You may want to stake out these areas for several nights, using all or most of your units at that location. Keep in mind that it is less costly to remain stationary than it is to cruise.

Police have many ways of harassing patrol members. Perhaps the most flag-

rant is by giving traffic tickets at every opportunity. Each such incident should be recorded and reported, including the badge numbers of the zealous policeman. This information may be helpful in pinpointing "problem" officers. Tickets are given for moving, parking, and code violations (equipment), hence extra precautions must be taken to insure that lights, brakes, etc., are in good working condition, and that extraordinary care be taken to obey all traffic laws. As these same kinds of harassments are practiced against poor people generally, the patrol might wish to issue "warnings" to other motorists on equipment violations that are observed by the patrol members.

The Los Angeles CAP has also been approached from time to time with requests for assistance at demonstrations and rallies, and even ran a short line bus service during the Watts Summer Festival.

FINANCES

There is no formula applicable in funding for such a project. Funds should be sought from every possible resource, and controlled tightly by a finance committee of the sponsoring organization. The patrol commander should be bonded if possible. Churches, civic groups, civil rights groups and others should be asked to help. Accurate and complete books should be kept and viewed by an accountant regularly. Some expenses to be anticipated, unless supplied in kind, are: gas, oil and repairs, radios and maintenance, telephone and office space, bail and attorney fees.

OUTLOOK AND PERSPECTIVE

The Community Alert Patrol has functioned much like a U.N. Observer Corps — a token force which can, by its presence, prevent aggression on either side from occurring. It is not unlike Ghandi's SHANTI DAL concept, in which people wearing distinctive uniforms would work on their regular jobs until a time of crisis, when they would appear for duty as a non-violent third force in the conflict. Such a patrol does not substitute in any way for healthy community organization. It does not in itself bring about the changes in this society which we know must take place. But it does permit us to keep a closer eye on the Man while we get ourselves together to learn how to use black power. A word of caution. The one certain way of losing any effectiveness in such a patrol is to allow it to become identified with the police department.

Questions, comments or progress reports can be sent to National Alert Patrol, 5139 Westhaven, Los Angeles, California.

Louis J. Gothard
Community Alert Patrol

TRADING STAMPS FOR FREEDOM

SNCC needs your trading stamps (yes, trading stamps). In the past two years, SNCC has redeemed over \$15,000.00 in trading stamps to purchase vehicles, tires, and garage equipment, and the need for these items continues and grows. Reliable, well-maintained transportation is essential to the movement. You can support SNCC by sending your trading stamps (any kind, any amount) to:

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MOVIE REVIEW SONS AND DAUGHTERS



A FILM AGAINST THE WAR

BY ELLEN ESTRIN

SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Produced by American Documentary Films
Written and Directed: Jerry Stoll
Photography: Stephen Lighthill
Associate Editor: Sally Pugh

American Documentary Films was founded for three reasons: to distribute the film **SONS AND DAUGHTERS**, a full length documentary about the war in Vietnam, militarism in this country and the youthful peace movement; to produce and distribute other films of a socially important nature; and to "promote, foster and cultivate the understanding of motion picture films as an art form and documentation in contemporary society."

THE DIRECTOR SPEAKS

As Jerry Stoll has stated in a report to the Board of Directors of American Documentary Films, "Certain things seem very basic:

1. During a period of 40 years giant private corporations have transformed the film medium...from a mass peoples art of understanding one another, into a manipulated mass narcotic for private gain.
2. As film became big business the corporation replaced the small film-maker; the star system replaced the actor; the writer replaced the director; the producer became an instrument of the front office; insipid middle class values replaced both art and understanding; sex and the grotesque became commodities; the film craftsman became com-

partmentalized to help the unions fight the banks who owned the whole shebang.

"Except for a brief period during the Roosevelt administration, documentary films were completely eclipsed. Film art was transformed into one of the largest business combines the world has ever seen. Anyone with less millions than Howard Hughes no longer even thought of making films.

"But it was not even that huge amounts of capital were needed to produce films which prevented independent films from being made. The studio corporations controlled the theaters through 'block booking' and monopolized the entire distribution apparatus. They controlled the patents on the methods and equipment; they wrote the state and federal laws needed to protect their interests; and they owned the lives and the talent of the actors, artists and technicians by long term contracts."

"...The movement for social change needs the film. And it is only film which communicate the social change... inter-group and inter-movement."

THE POWER OF FILM

The first film produced by American Documentary Films is **SONS AND DAUGHTERS**. The philosophy of the group can be seen in this initial movie. **SONS AND DAUGHTERS** illustrates the power with which a film can relate a social and political message. The film does "communicate the social change" of the

peace movement; it explains it to non-movement people and brings the audience into sympathy with movement goals.

The heroes of the film are the Bay area activists who took part in the Days of Protest demonstrations in the fall of 1965. Yet the film does not simply tell a story of the protests. There is footage from Vietnam, from the San Francisco ghetto, from Fort Ord (an army training camp in California), from the financial district of San Francisco.

Events from all these places are interwoven; seemingly distant occurrences are edited together in a way which points out their inter-connection. We see shots of soldiers learning how to kill, we see state militiamen nervously point and shoot guns at "rioting" Negroes in Hunter's Point, we see human flesh burnt and shredded by American napalm, and we see the blank faces of thousands of Americans walking to work, too preoccupied with their daily lives to protest the horror the nation has indulged in.

PROTESTORS AND SOLDIERS

The main comparison in the film, the two groups most pointedly contrasted, are the young men and women who choose to fight the policy of war in Vietnam, and the young men who are drafted to kill in Vietnam. The protesters are seen in exuberant preparations for the Days of Protest march, in argument, discussion, work. The young army recruits are seen regimented and bullied, orders

shouted at them, their hair being shorn, their individuality being stripped from them in the process of their "training".

A large sign proclaims "make love war" in the midst of the intermingling demonstrators; at Fort Ord an equally large sign declares "the spirit of the bayonet is to kill".

These sequences are not manufactured for the sake of the film. This is documentation, not a filmic fiction.

The philosophy of American Documentary Films is that art can teach. And more specifically, it is the function of film to be a means of social communication.

ART AS RADICAL COMMUNICATION

SONS AND DAUGHTERS is an important, radical film; it teaches, communicates and involves us. The pictures and words of the film move in a sequence which creates connections in the audiences mind, connections which did not exist there before. It is this which makes the film so important.

This technique of film communication is a form which is not a "mass narcotic" but a peoples art, an art which creates new understanding of reality.

As Jerry Stoll states, "The novel is an art form created during the Industrial Revolution to help men and women understand their relation to property and to discover their individuality. The film is an art form created in the 20th. century to help man understand his relation to his fellow man and society.

"We take note of the strange fact that art, which is considered so impractical, always plays **THE LEADING** role in social change and revolution. All the other cultural pursuits such as science, sociology, economics and jurisprudence tag along...and after their long silence say, 'Oh yes! Oh yes!' This is why American Documentary Films respects the lawyer and the accountant, but loves its fellow artists, the song writer, the folk rock group, the novelist, the painter, the writer, and the jazz musician, and perhaps most, the revolutionary who works with the people."

Prints of **SONS AND DAUGHTERS** are available for rental. Inquiries should be addressed to:

American Documentary Films
379 Bay St.
San Francisco

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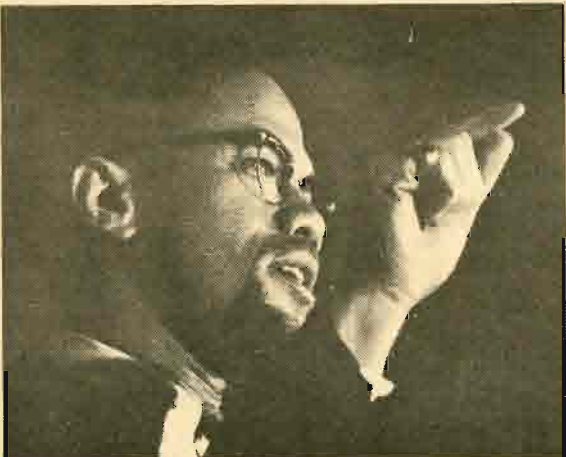
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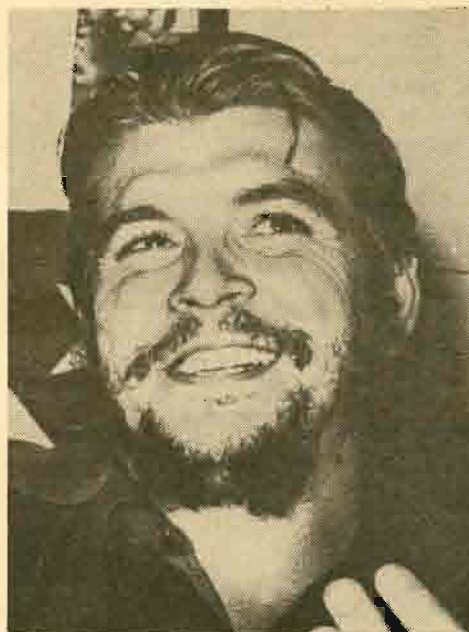
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