

THE MOVEMENT

MARCH 1967

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TAKING POWER IN SUNFLOWER COUNTY

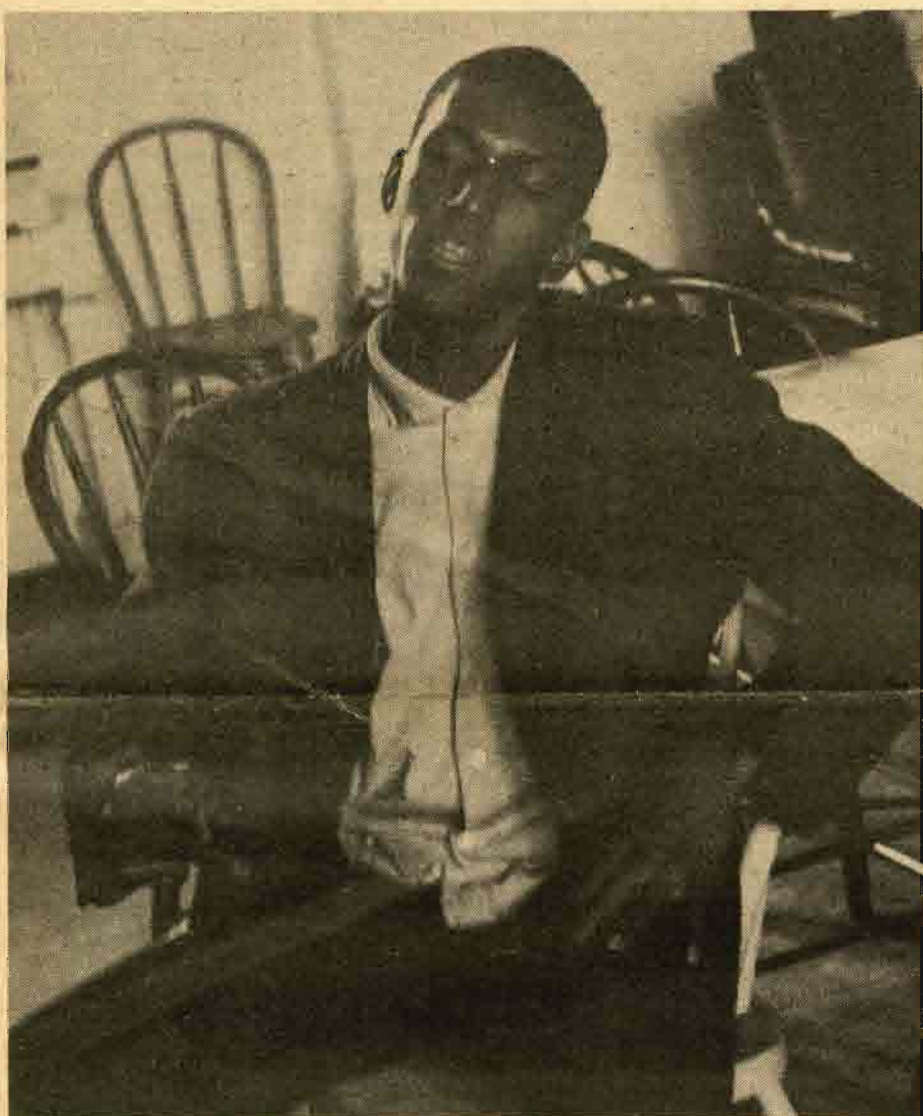


Photo: Bobbi Cietlerka

Otis Brown, Jr. is the dynamic young chairman of the Sunflower County Improvement Association of Sunflower County, Mississippi, homeland of Senator Eastland and Fannie Lou Hamer. Unlike some parts of Mississippi where the movement fell off after the Summer Project of 1964 ended, Sunflower has a strong and active local movement.

The Movement interviewed Brown during his recent fund-raising visit to California. Contributions to the Sunflower County Improvement Association may be sent to the Association at Box 298, Sunflower, Mississippi.

MOVEMENT: Why don't you begin with a history of what has happened since 1964.

BROWN: The summer project in '64 in Sunflower County really didn't have any end, because you had volunteers flashing in and out of here from '64 until July or August of '65. In '64, that's when they really began to work. They first came to Indianola which boosted up the entire county.

A fire was set in the Freedom House in '64. This slowed some things down for awhile.

In '65 there were around eight outside workers in the entire county. There was a strong youth group of those towns that were organized: Moorehead, Sunflower, and Indianola. They would go out and do voter registration; we would also have freedom classes then.

In '65 several others and I called a plan to boycott the schools. The issues were to get better facilities in the schools such as up-to-date books, chemicals, better teachers, and higher teacher salaries.

MOVEMENT: Was the boycott successful?

When the boycott rallies were called, we had different people represent cer-

tain schools. These people would jump up in a school assembly and speak out at a time when they were trying to straighten something out. He would say, "We are calling a boycott for the school on such and such a date and we are asking everyone to cooperate." This worked out pretty well, and the boycott had an effect, because on that day supervisors, the superintendent, the sheriff, the police, and everyone else, were all riding around the Freedom School. We also decided to have classes in the public library in Indianola; therefore, also integrating it.

We boycotted the whole area which was about 1,000 kids. About sixty went over to the library.

Our strategy was like the Indians. Their whole force never do come out; they just send something like a band to test and see what the soldiers' strength is. This is the same kind of strategy we use. My plan was not to use adults, but to use children who have more effect. For example, if you send a line of 65 people out, only eight are 18 and up. Therefore only eight get arrested. The others they will arrest and then have to turn loose be-

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Photo: Lynn Phipps

ELIJAH TURNER RUNS FOR COUNCIL

'BUILD HOUSES NOT MUSEUMS'

By Carolyn Craven

is built on changing those priorities.

"Oakland is in an economic and political crises." It is plagued with discrimination in employment and housing, poor education in ghetto school, rampant unemployment, and disappearing industry." This is the way Elijah Turner sees Oakland today. He has decided to run for the at-large seat of the Oakland City Council in order to do something about the problems which he sees.

Elijah Turner arrived in West Oakland eight years ago from his home in Louisiana. His occupations have ranged from toll collector and insurance salesman to his last job as a community organizer in West Oakland for the Council of Social Planning of the War on Poverty. He has been a leader in Oakland CORE and in the recent fights around BART and the Ad Hoc Committee for Quality Education.

Elijah believes that the political change priorities in Oakland are set by the rich at the expense of the poor. "Oakland has built an airport, a new stadium, and a new art center. Poor people can't afford to use any of those things. Anyway, how can you build a museum for dead animals when living people can't get decent housing?" Elijah's campaign

HOUSING

On housing Elijah says that not only does the city have to build more low cost housing, but that the housing must be scattered throughout the city. "Housing should be built for the poor above MacArthur Boulevard in the established white middle class community rather than putting it all in West and East Oakland. The city of Oakland has violated almost all of the Federal guidelines in its programs of urban renewal, rehabilitation, and relocation. People are being moved out of their neighborhoods and middle income housing is being built there so they could not possibly afford to move back. There has not even been a pretense of community participation in the planning of Demonstration City.

EDUCATION

"The city has got to become involved in the problem of lack of quality education for Negroes and Mexican-Americans. They have got to put pressure on the Board of Education to begin to deal with the particular problems facing each high school. I am not interested in talking about integration of the schools. When

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SNCC WORKER GETS CHAIN GANG

TUITION EQUALS SEGREGATION

800 BLACK STUDENTS SIT-IN

A PRIMER OF CALIFORNIA POLITICS

RACISM IN CONGRESS

The Adam Clayton Powell case reveals again the racism of the United States Congress. But racism is what we should expect from this institution.

It was racism which refused to unseat the illegally elected Mississippi representatives during the Congressional Challenge in 1965. It is racism which preserves the great power and seniority held by the Dixiecrats, all of whom were elected illegally. And we should not overlook the fact that it was Northerners who led the move to oust Powell. Racism is not just a Southern problem.

RACISM NO SURPRISE

We should not be surprised when Powell is removed as Chairman of the Education and Labor Committee while Mendel Rivers from South Carolina continues as Chairman of the Armed Services Committee even though his habitual drunkenness severely hampers the functioning of his Committee.

We should not be surprised that Powell has been denied his seat in the House at the same time Representative Coleman from Mississippi has been appointed Chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee.

The House has assured us that its white members will be investigated too. We can only interpret this as a token gesture and expect nothing to come of it. Powell is not on trial because he misused air travel privileges or hired his wife. We do not condone such actions, but the fact remains that white Representatives have done the same things and worse. Powell is on trial because he is black. The charge is conduct unbecoming to a good Negro.

That charge has nothing to do with misused funds. It has to do with POWER.

CONGRESS WORKS ON POWER

Congress works on power. You don't get bills passed because they are good bills. You get them passed because you wheel and deal. You do favors for people and then they owe favors to you. The more power you have — like a Committee Chairmanship — the more favors you can do and the more people will owe to you.

A lot of people must have been in debt to Powell who didn't want to pay. And because Powell is black, and because black people don't have power in this country, they could dump him. They could even pass a bill — blatantly unconstitutional — which denies the people of Harlem the right to re-elect their chosen Representative.

RIGHT TO VOTE NOT YET WON

Hundreds of black people in this country have fought and died for the right to vote, the right to elect Adam Clayton Powell. It is a right which has been paid for many times over, but black people still don't own it. The deed is still in the hands of The Man. As long as Congress can expell Powell, black people still aren't free.

Congress works on power. Until blacks and other minorities organize together and form power bases of their own, they will never be free. This is the lesson of Adam Clayton Powell.

NAACP TOO SLOW

Mr. Roy Wilkins
NAACP
20 West 40th St.
New York 10018

Dear Sir:

To achieve greater discussion and dialogue of the concepts of the Civil (Human) Rights Movement, I take the liberty of replying by open letter to yours of February 16, 1967.

You state that since 1909, the NAACP was guided by the fundamental principle of the objective of getting for the American Negro the full participation, without discrimination, in every phase of American life.

While no one will deny the achievements of the NAACP in the last 58 years, the RATE of these achievements seems to prove that it will take another 58 years (and maybe yet another) to get to the objective of full and EQUAL participation in all phases of American life.

And in the meantime? How many Negro lives are to go on being corroded by the indecency and indignity of being considered and treated as a second class human???

Living as we do in an age of great speed in everything from getting rid of a headache FAST FAST FAST to getting to the moon in a hurry, how can anyone ask the Negro people, and most especially the YOUNG Negro people, to be satisfied with the snail's pace of your organization?

This, sir, is the real meaning of Black Power. Not as you insist "Going it alone", not as "anti-white" not as "separatism", but a way, a method, to help the American Negro to the full realization of his worth, his ability to be a full and EQUAL participant in the political, economic, educational and every other phase of American life.

As for your fear of violence, of anti-vigilantism -- Did the magnificent non-violence of the sit-ins, the marches, the pray-ins, etc., stop the hideous violence of the marble-hearted, klan-minded barbarians? Need I remind you of all people of Birmingham, Selma, Mississippi, of Medgar Evers? These bigots have a pathological need to feel superior, the better to exploit for profit any one with a different color skin.

Your almost vehement insistence that Black Power has to mean "going it alone", has to mean "anti-white", has to mean "separatism" seems to show that your real fear is of the powerful determination of the Negro people, most especially the YOUNG Negro people, to put an end NOW and for all time to the indignity of second class human status.

Therefore whatever financial support I am able to give will go to those in the Civil Rights Movement who are no longer content with a snail's pace of getting to the goal.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Zena Bruckman
San Francisco, Calif.

HELP THE MOVEMENT

The Movement needs volunteers—writers, reporters, people to distribute the paper, people to help around the office. Our staff is too busy to handle many of the small details we'd like to cover and sometimes we don't even get to important stories because we are so short on time.

If you'd like to help make the Movement a better paper, let us know what your skills are. We need people to cover stories, do interviews, be places where there's action. You don't have to know how to write.

We need reports from parts of the country where we don't have contacts. Write to us if something is happening in your area. Tell us if you can distribute the paper.

We need money too, and a tape recorder for doing interviews, and we sure could use a dependable car.

So let us hear from you, even if you can't contribute; we like to know what people think about the paper.

—The Staff

Subscribe to THE MOVEMENT

FLOOD VICTIMS DEMAND CHANGE

Dear Friends:

This is Hurricane Betsy salvaged paper we are still able to use. The flood which the powers would like us to forget.

Please enter the enclosed subs, beginning with the February issue. (We are following Carmichael's careful studies and activities with admiration and interest and want our people to share the study; we all need it.)

BETSY VICTIMS

We are all victims of the 1965 Betsy Flood here. Poverty funds here were quickly snatched by an Uncle Tom group ("Ninth Ward Civic Improvement") which stages fakeloo "Town hall" meetings where the poor protest to gov't authorities, who soothe them...period. Nothing more happens; this same group has gypped the people for years on behalf of the city administration; the group is mainly creoles (very light complected) but some are real brunettes, but none are really for the people.

After the hurricane we formed our own organization "Betsy Flood Victims", to demand \$10,000 cash per home for drownings, anguish, loss of home, car, tools, work- & school-hours; we ask a Congressional hearing on the flood, with victims testifying. We keep raising these questions as well as we can, learning as we go.

We have written you before how Sen. Long and Rep. Boggs (La-Demogogs) ignored our petition. Many Congressional progressives however have responded with information and copies of bills which "our own" La. clique would not furnish.

FLOOD CONTROLS

We are interested in the multiple-disaster bill introduced by Sen. Bayh of Indiana, passed by the Senate before Betsy but mangled by anti-popular forces there in 1966. Sen. Bayh has now reintroduced it, conserving some of its good features, as S.348. It's a step in the right direction, with Fed-state grants for individual disaster victims, retroactive to 1964, and requires states to bring flood controls up to standard (which Louisiana in spite of heated citizen protests, has not done; it just keeps saying it's going to). We'd appreciate it if you'd get a copy of this S.348 and make some editorial comment.

MOVEMENT is far and away the BEST of its field, way ahead of the PATRIOT's middle-class view (though there's room for both, no doubt). Action news, educational pieces on economics and peoples politics -- all good. Best wishes from here.

Walter and Elizabeth Rogers
(Aides to Betsy Flood Victims)
New Orleans, La.

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WHAT'S NEW ABOUT THE CIA?

One central fact emerges from all the revelations about the CIA's subsidizing the NSA, the AFL-CIO, and other independent liberal institutions: When it comes to Cold War politics, you cannot be both an honest, independent liberal and an anti-communist. That is what all the outcry is really about.

The San Francisco Chronicle complains that the CIA has "corrupted" the "Innocent" and harmed "the best interest of respectable institutions in American life." Liberal Congressmen are "appalled" at the "unconscionable extension of power by an agency of the government over institutions outside its jurisdiction." The CIA has "interfered" in the operations of the AFL-CIO -- to the tune of \$100,000,000, says Drew Pearson.

WE WERE DOING THINGS WE WOULD HAVE DONE ANYWAY

However, the extent to which the CIA has actually forced liberals and liberal organizations into acts against their will or intentions is not very significant. The essence of the affair is that the CIA has, by and large, only been encouraging these "respectable institutions" to continue their self-appointed functions. Its pattern has not been to create front organizations, or to subvert existing organizations, but simply to seek out existing organizations which are doing "good work" and to support that work. As one former NSA official put it, "The real tragedy of the disclosure that NSA took CIA money is that we were doing things we would have done anyway if we had other sources of funds."

The odd thing is that the CIA has not confined itself to overthrowing progressive governments and installing reactionary ones. (As it has done in Iran, Guatemala, and with AFL-CIO help -- British Guiana). It has entered the whole field of international student, labor, and social-economic affairs -- apparently on the side of "liberalism".

Perhaps the saddest revelation has been that an organization headed by the venerable socialist, Norman Thomas, which operates in Latin America to encourage the development of semi-socialist economics and liberal-democratic politics has received \$1,000,000 from the CIA. Other strange CIA activities have included sponsoring, through the NSA, the education and travel of anti-imperialist students from Algeria, and anti-apartheid (to be sure, all-white) students from South Africa. Why?

FOREIGN POLICY NEEDS LIBERAL CONTACTS

Because, if you assume that reactionary governments will be ousted, it is in the best interests of American foreign policy to encourage anti-communist "liberal" elements to take over, elements which will be friendly to American business investment in the future. It is in the best interests of American foreign policy to keep the door open for American influence among some student and labor activists in the "underdeveloped" sections of the world.

Organizations like the NSA and AFL-CIO have always boasted about their commitment to the essential aims of U.S. foreign policy -- that is to say, their commitment to the "fight against international communism". They have never been -- or even pretended to be -- independent from the aims of that government which created the CIA. They have simply used the guise of independence to operate efficiently in a world where the majority of non-communist student and union leaders are profoundly (and rightly) suspicious of the U.S. government.

The only real independence of these organizations has been the independence of their leaders from their members. The international operations of the NSA and AFL-CIO have been carried on largely with the ignorance of the rank and file, and always without any clear mandate from or responsibility to the rank and file.

REAL INDEPENDENCE MEANS OPPOSING FOREIGN POLICY

The "independence" which comes from breaking ties to the CIA is no solution to the problems which these revelations have made evident. What is needed is to revise the structure and purpose of such organizations as the NSA so that they are not simply independent of the federal government but actively opposed to it, so that they are not independent at all, but wholly dependent upon the interest and support of their members, so that they are dedicated to ending of the Cold War, not to the prosecution of that war.

What the students and working people of this nation need is not the end of CIA support for organizations, but the creation of organizations which the CIA dare not support.

SNCC WORKER GETS 3 YEARS ON CHAIN GANG

THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE feels that national attention should be focused on the case of 19 year old SNCC worker Johnny Wilson who has recently been convicted by an all-white jury of four Georgia State charges and sentenced to 3 years on the Georgia chain gang. This case stems from demonstrations held on August 17, 1966, outside of the 12th Army Headquarters and Induction Center in Atlanta, in which 12 SNCC workers were peacefully picketing to protest the induction of black men into the U.S. Armed Forces and their being sent to Vietnam. Following an incident between some of the demonstrators and Atlanta police, Wilson and the other 11 demonstrators were arrested on city charges, convicted of various misdemeanors, and sentenced to terms at the Atlanta City Stockade, ranging from 30 to 120 days.

Judge T.C. Little, who presided over the case, was prejudiced by the fact that he had a son fighting in Vietnam, and charged Johnny Wilson with "insurrection" — a crime which carries the death penalty in Georgia and which subsequently was declared unconstitutional in a case involving three other civil rights workers — this charge was later dropped by the State of Georgia.

During 2 weeks spent in the Fulton County jail before being transferred to serve his sentence at the Atlanta Stockade, Wilson became ill and suffered several blackouts. Prison doctors refused to admit him

to the hospital. At the city stockade, Wilson, along with the other 9 male demonstrators, were segregated from other prisoners for their political beliefs, and sent to the hole (a box 4 x 4 x 7 feet) for talking, or saying "Black Power" to their fellow prisoners. While in the hole, prisoners are given only bread and water, one blanket, and a tin can for waste disposal. Johnny Wilson suffered two blackouts in the hole, and was given aspirin as a remedy.

Excessively high bond totaling 36,000 dollars was set by the judge on the prisoners, and when enough money was finally raised for their release on bond, Judge Little had left town with orders not to free the prisoners. As a result of their treatment and segregated facilities in the city stockade, the twelve prisoners filed suit against the City of Atlanta and prison officials. They were finally freed after serving 60 days in the stockade.

NO BLACKS ON JURY

On Feb. 1st and 2nd, 1967, Wilson stood trial on 2 state charges of assault and battery and two state charges of "opprobrious" language. Out of a panel of 24 jurists, 5 black men were scratched by State Asst. Solicitor General Robert Sparks. Throughout the trial, Solicitor Sparks prejudiced the jury through constant referrals to SNCC and the war in Vietnam, and stated "If Johnny C. Wilson will not fight in Vietnam, why should he be allowed to fight in the streets of Atlanta."

Conflicting testimony for the state was given by the City Police and the U.S. Army. All six witnesses could not identify any of the demonstrators except Wilson, yet they were very "certain" that Wilson was the person who allegedly assaulted two of the police officers (one of them Captain Morris G. Redding). Howard Moore, Attorney for Wilson, overheard one of the army officers say "They all look alike," and the only description that any of the witnesses could give of the demonstrators picketing the induction center on Aug. 17th, was that they "had beards, long hair, and were colored."

Captain Redding stated that the first time he saw Wilson, Wilson was getting ready to throw another officer against the wall, yet he could not identify the officer, and no such officer ever gave any testimony. Redding alleged that Wilson hit him in the face and tried to choke him. On the day of the picketing, Redding was dressed in plain clothes, had no identification that would mark him as a policeman, and was unknown to Wilson. Captain Redding, who has arrested other SNCC workers including SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, further prejudiced the jury by referring to SNCC and using the words "Black Power."

The all-white jury took approximately 2 hours to reach the verdict of guilty on all four counts, and Wilson was subsequently sentenced to 3 years on the Georgia chain gang.

FRAME-UP

We in SNCC feel that this case blatantly exemplifies the fact that the courts and governmental officials across the United States are engaged in a conscious conspiracy to "frame-up" and deny justice to all black men and black organizations who dare to stand up and fight for their human rights, and refuse to fight yellow men abroad while black men here remain an oppressed and despised colony within the United States.



Our People Need YOU!

To Stay At Home And Fight For Your Black Self, Your Family, Your Community And Your Black Nation. Why Must We Go Abroad To Kill Yellow Skined Men For White Skined Men Who Force Us To live In Rat Infested Slums? We Must Demonstrate Each Time A Brother Is SOLD INTO SLAVERY (DRAFTED) And Keep Our Youth At Home To Build Our Power.

This is a leaflet distributed in Atlanta during the anti-draft demonstrations.

RIGHT TO PICKET DENIED

by BILL DURANT

Sacramento, Calif. -- The Sacramento Chapter of Social Workers' Union, local 535, voted to go on strike February 7, 1967, in an attempt to get the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors to the negotiating table. The strike vote was triggered by the refusal of the Board to meet with the Union in its request for collective bargaining. The Board adamantly held the position that "There is no way within the present framework of law and government wherein we can bargain collectively with the Union." This makes little sense when the Union has cited current collective bargaining agreements between unions and public jurisdictions (i.e. Minnesota, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York City, Philadelphia and in California, Anaheim and Pittsburg). The Sacramento Social Workers have specified that salaries are not the issue. "We have asked only that we be heard before our employers. If we cannot be heard in our offices, we must go into the streets."

On February 2, 1967, the Board of Supervisors of Sacramento County, determined to break the strike, issued a temporary restraining order primarily directed at members of the Social Workers' Union, local 535, also extended to "all persons in active concert or participation with them or in any concert among themselves." This order enjoins against all forms of picketing as well as against "participating in or inducing others to participate in any demonstration or demonstrations."

FIRST ARRESTS

The Union membership went on strike on February 7, 1967. Picket lines were formed Tuesday morning at 7 a.m., manned by Social Workers and private citizens who couldn't be intimidated by the city bosses/cops. Two welfare buildings were shut down that morning. By 9 a.m. that same morning the cops had arrested the Union's executive board and before the day was through, 51 strikers were jailed! Despite the intimidations of the courts and the police, the strikers are

solid in their determination, and the arrests have only strengthened their will to bring the County Board to the negotiating table.

On the afternoon of Feb. 7, private citizens in support of the strike picketed the home of County Supervisor Phelan and were forced to leave by the cops after a short time.

On Feb. 9, about 4:30, a group of private citizens picketed the County Administration Building. They were there for approximately 15 minutes when the paddy wagon and 20 cops arrived. They were issued injunctions that they were not allowed to read and were asked to leave or be arrested. One of the pickets refused to leave and was arrested for carrying a sign which read SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS SUPPORT THE SOCIAL WORKERS' STRIKE.

BLANK SIGNS

Feb. 10, a larger group of private citizens picketed the County Administration Building carrying blank sheets of white cardboard. They were all issued injunctions and eight were arrested, including Jack Robinson, Southside Neighborhood Council organizer.

Private citizens organized picket lines around the homes and businesses of the County Board of Supervisors. Participants in these lines included Marion Woods and Tom Moore of the OEO in Sacramento; Welfare Rights organizers, Matilda Tillman and Letha Winter; and Bud Aronsen, President, local 411, State Employees' Union.

On Feb. 27, three ministers were arrested for refusing to obey the injunction. Hardy Frye asked Mrs. Joy Stanley, President of the Los Angeles County Welfare Rights Organization, who had been on the line, what she thought of the restraining order. Mrs. Stanley replied, "Well, I think it says, just like it always said, that welfare recipients don't have any rights. This is what it's all about."

WELFARE RIGHTS SUPPORT

Mrs. Stanley had come all the way from Los Angeles to join in the picketing. Asked what she thought of the strike, she said, "Well, I participated in the strike in L.A. County, and I was appalled when I found you were denied the right to picket and protest. It should be the right of any citizen of the United States. And anything which has anything to do with the social workers refers

and reflects back to the recipients of welfare in the state of California. Our concern is for a better and more efficient system of welfare than exists today. It's prehistoric in many ways."

The Board of Supervisors has stopped all talks with the Union and has tried to offer solutions that in fact are not solutions at all but only stalls. The Social Workers have been forced -- be-

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Photo: Mike Sharon

Sacramento social worker being arrested for refusal to comply with no-picketing injunction.



Photo: Mike Sharon

9,000 STUDENTS AND FACULTY supported by the UFVA at the anti-tuition demonstration in Sacramento on Feb. 11.

TUITION = SEGREGATION

San Jose, California. "Tuition will force Negro and other poor students into the junior colleges," said Marvin Lee, Professor of Economics at San Jose State College and authority on the economics of education. "The effect of that will be to increase segregation in the junior colleges, because you have to go to the junior college in your district."

"As a matter of fact," Lee continued, "Max Rafferty has done a study of segregation in the junior colleges, but he refuses to release the results." The study was done in October of 1966 and people who have seen the data say that it shows conclusively that segregation exists in the junior college system.

NO RELIEF FOR TAX PAYERS

Lee also pointed out that the increase in enrollments at junior colleges will require more tax money from local property owners who support these institutions.

The move on the part of conservatives to charge tuition is typical of their reaction to a budget problem. First they'll increase taxes and fees for higher education, then they'll limit enrollment, and then they'll make the colleges inaccessible to the poor. "Take Foothill College in San Mateo County," Lee said, "the campus is way up in the hills. There is no way for Negroes from East Palo Alto to get there without a car, and there is no public transportation to the campus."

CANNON FODDER

Look at it this way: many students who are poor are staying in college to avoid the draft, so you force them out of the universities into the junior colleges which they can't get to because they can't afford a car. Now they are very draftable.

"If Reagan is really concerned with tuition as a device to lower the student population at the state run universities by making it equally desirable for wealthy students to go to private university, why

doesn't he just increase the income tax for the rich to meet the needs of the university? Why set up a whole new bureaucracy to administer scholarships to the poor?"

Lee also pointed out that there is actually no crisis in higher education in this state that comes close to what other states are facing today. For example, New York State is attempting to copy California's University System, but it will take until 1975 for New York to reach the level of California for the City of New York alone!

The main concern in California is how to provide for all the new students that will be trying to enter school in the next few years. These students are the results of the post-war baby boom that began in '46.

It is interesting that the President's Commission on the Draft has just recommended that younger people be drafted - from 19 years up rather than from 26 years down. Is this Democrat and Republican answer to the problem of educating the quickly expanding youth population -- regimentation and extermination in their inhuman wars? ◆

HIGHER EDUCATION - NOTHING BUT POLITICS

Governor Reagan is concerned that the University and the State College systems are costing the tax payers too much money — \$38 million to be exact. He wants to charge tuition to change that situation. Here are two examples from the board of Regents which suggest just why the University costs so much.

REGENT CHANDLER

Dorothy Chandler is the Vice-president and Director of the Times Mirror Company which publishes the L.A. Times and a whole bunch of other papers. Now this Times Mirror Company owns a reported 40% of the Tejon Ranch Company. The California tax payer is presently spending \$2.4 billion on the Feather River Project which will benefit some 36,000 acres of this company's land in Kern County. The company will make \$2,600,000 profit when the project is completed. This gift to a few wealthy people including Mrs. Chandler would pay a year's tuition for 54,000 students at \$250 a head.

REGENT MOSHER

An even more interesting example is Samuel Mosher, Chairman of the Signal Oil Company. We quote from the public record of the University: "It is now recommended that an oil and gas lease be executed with Signal Oil Company, providing for a term of five years at \$7.50 per acre per year thereafter, and one-sixth royalty." In other words this lease allows Signal Oil Company to drill for oil and gas on University property and only have to pay to the University \$7.50 per acre per year and only one-sixth of the money they make from that drilling.

Why only one-sixth royalty for the University? When the University of Oklahoma found oil on its land, the money went to the University. Why shouldn't the people of this state be relieved of some tax burden when public land becomes profitable?

WHAT POLITICS IS

To some the two examples above have little to do with "politics." That is because most people associate politics with the two parties: Democrats and Republicans. But politics is more than just parties; it is the gaining and the maintaining of power to get what you want. Big industrialists like Mosher and Pauley and the rest pay large amounts of money into campaign funds to attain positions through which they can enrich themselves and their companies, most often at the expense of the general public.

When other people try to gain power—like the farm workers for instance—the Regents, through their position, can intervene in behalf of growers, some of whom lease land from Regents.

For example, during the present grape strike in Delano, Regent Allan Grant was instrumental in arranging to have the University Extension Service help such struck growers as Zaninovich to produce grapes more profitably. Grant is closely connected to the Extension Service not only as a Regent but also as Chairman of the California Farm Bureau, a grower operation.

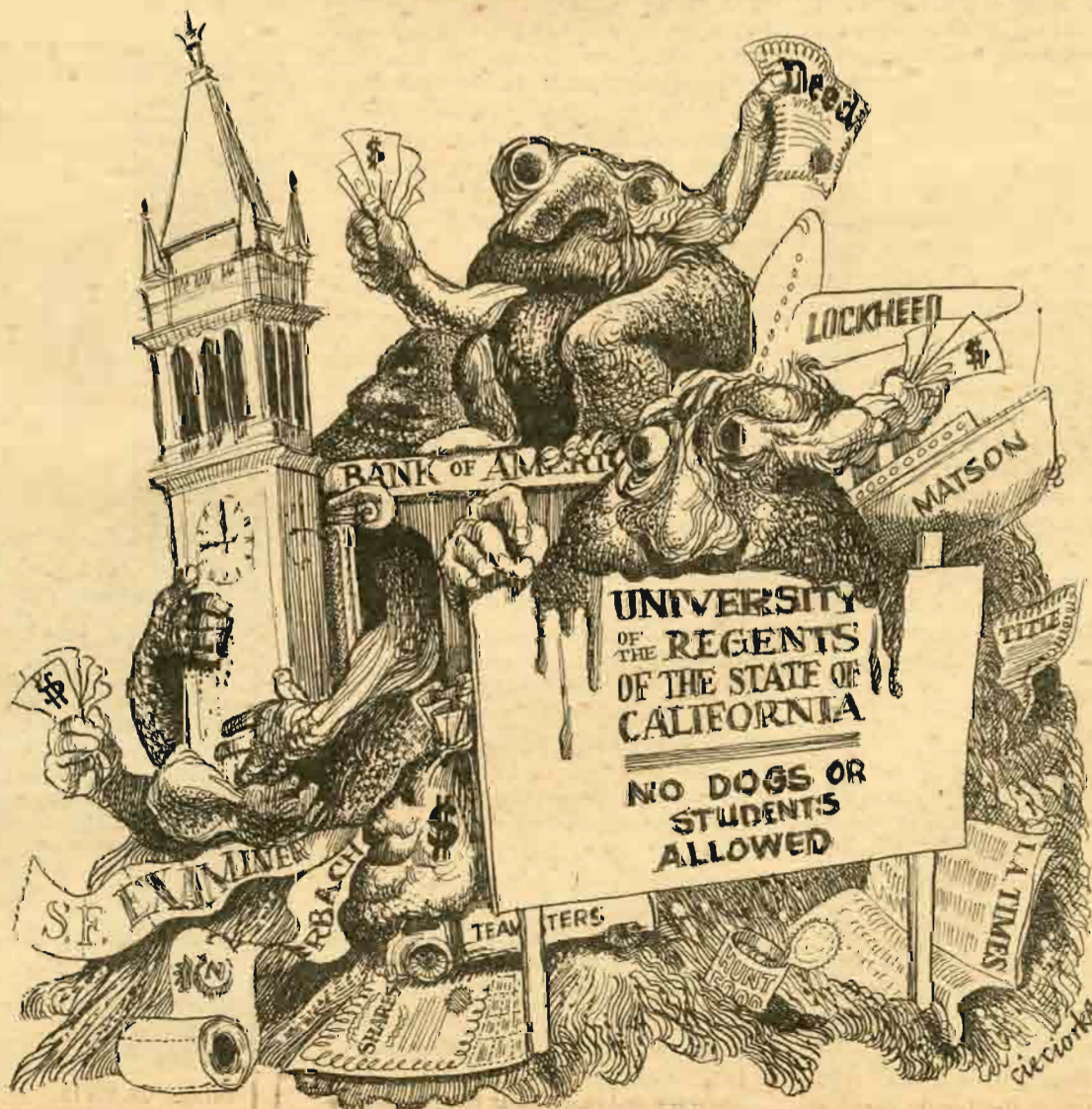
MORE POLITICS NOT LESS

Some students who were protesting Reagan's proposed tuition thought that keeping politics out of higher education would do the trick. They failed to see that the governing body of the University, the Regents, are very political indeed. They are maintaining their power to continue to get what they want — more money and more power to maintain control over those who work in their factories and on their farms to make their profits for them.

People must challenge such control and such power. In the University and State College System students are now looking for ways of making that challenge. Most of them know that they can't do it through the Democratic Party even though the Demos oppose Reagan, because the corporations also support both parties. Students and faculty, like black people, farm workers, people on welfare, and other workers don't have the money to compete with the millions of dollars of the corporations. But they have votes.

Votes in an organized bloc form another kind of power. We propose that students get together and organize a drive to change the State Constitution to read that tuition can never be charged and that the Regents should be made up of students and faculty and other people who now have no power in this state.

These other people, the blacks, the farm workers, the welfare recipients, the workers in factories all want their children to be educated, to be able to go to college so they can live a better life. If there is tuition then the sons and daughters of the poorer people of the state won't have a chance to go to college. Poor people will want to vote on a referendum that will help their children. Together these groups of people can form a powerful new force in California that can challenge the power of the corporations. ◆



STUDENT POWER

A meeting will be held at UCLA on Saturday and Sunday, March 18 and 19, to discuss organizing a California Federation of Students. The Federation would create a student power block to fight against tuition and for student rights. Organization in different areas of California will be coordinated by UCLA, San Francisco State, San Diego State and Santa Barbara. ◆

'VOICEPRINT' YOUTH 1 TO 10 YEARS

LOS ANGELES -- Edward Lee King, The Watts youth tried in December for arson and burglary in a case involving "voiceprint" evidence was sentenced to 1 to 10 years in the state prison. Judge Raymond Roberts passed sentence on King January 17.

Kenneth R. Thomas, King's lawyer, asked for a retrial and was refused. He will appeal the case to a higher court.

"I think our chances of winning the appeal are excellent," Thomas told THE MOVEMENT. He is appealing on the grounds that the "voiceprint evidence" was misleading and that the other evidence was insufficient.

Judge Roberts turned down the appeal for a retrial on the grounds that there

was no error made that was prejudicial to King. When Thomas said that the voiceprint evidence was unconvincing, Roberts replied that there was enough evidence without the voiceprints to convict King. He did not claim that the voiceprints were legitimate evidence.

The jury had made it clear that it rejected the voiceprints when making its judgement. This has been overlooked in every report on the trial. All mass media reporting has claimed that King was convicted on the basis of the "scientific" voiceprint evidence. For a full account of the voiceprint trial, see "VOICEPRINT REJECTED IN WATTS ARSON CASE" in THE MOVEMENT, January 1967. ◆

SNCC WORKER ARRESTED, BEATEN

Orangeburg, S.C. During the sit-in and demonstration at South Carolina State College a SNCC worker was arrested for allegedly trespassing on state property while walking through the campus. He was taken to jail, beaten, and thrown in the hole. He was then released on \$100 bond.

SIT-IN AGAINST NAPALM

Los Angeles, California—On Feb. 27, 15 students sat-in at a student placement office on the UCLA campus protesting the presence of a DOW Chemical recruiting officer. DOW is a major producer of napalm used against the Vietnamese people by the United States Armed Forces.

The students met with two representatives of the UCLA administration who tried to talk them out of a demonstration. The next day 60 students picketed the center and a referendum is being prepared by the students which would ban DOW Chemical from the campus. ◆

RECIPIENTS MOVE FOR POWER

by JIM BUCKLEY

Columbus, Ohio -- A new Welfare Rights Organization (WRO) has developed in Columbus, Ohio, growing out of a Walk for Decent Welfare from Cleveland to Columbus last June. It was evident from the more than 2,000 people who showed up to support the rally at the end of the Walk that welfare was an issue around which people would readily organize.

Created and controlled by welfare recipients, WRO has the following objectives: to secure basic rights for recipients under the present system of welfare, to raise welfare payments up to at least the minimum standards for health and decency set by the state, and to make basic changes in the structure of the welfare system so that welfare recipients participate to a greater extent in the decision-making process.

Welfare in Ohio is a disgrace. The most slanderous and derogatory myths about welfare are circulated freely in the local press, and the state legislators either believe these myths or use them as an excuse to cut the budget at the expense of the 37,000 families on public assistance in Ohio.

Although Ohio ranks as one of the nation's wealthiest states according to the Cleveland Council of Churches (5th in personal income, 4th wealthiest in assessed value of property and 3rd in manufacturing) it is 46th in state tax collections per capita and 30th in payments to needy families with children.

Contrary to myth, a Cuyahoga County Welfare Department study shows that about 60% of the people on welfare in Ohio are children, another 25% are elderly, 9% are disabled and 14% are single parents who must care for children. This leaves about 3% who are employable men with low skills and education.

3/4 EXISTENCE

Families living on ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) receive only 73 cents a day per person, excluding shelter. A mother with three children can receive a maximum of only 76% of what the state considers to be a minimum amount for health and decency, according to the Ohio Steering Committee for Adequate Welfare. Children often don't go to school because they are sick or the other kids make fun of their clothes, families don't have enough to eat or adequate medical attention, and to top it off, if anyone in the family earns any

money, such as by delivering papers or taking in laundry, it is deducted from the welfare check. One thing is for sure--poverty breeds poverty, and here in Columbus there is an especially fertile climate.

INTIMIDATION FAILS

Last October before the elections WRO organized a vigil for adequate welfare at the State House much to the consternation of certain powerful interests in Columbus. They said the "timing was wrong" and a threat was made to some of the WRO organizers that if they went ahead with the vigil they would be smeared so badly in the Dispatch that "they would never recover." Evidently it was a bluff because the vigil was not called off and there was no smear, but the incident indicates the atmosphere of intimidation which exists in Columbus as an obstacle to democracy.

WRO, which is affiliated with the Ohio Steering Committee for Adequate Welfare, also participated in a state-wide rally and visit to the state legislature here last January. The rally attracted about 550 recipients from all over the state, and received nation-wide TV coverage on the Huntley-Brinkley news program.

SOME SUCCESS

WRO is still a young organization. It is probably the strongest grass-roots organization in the city, and it appears to have great potential, both in its own right and because it is encouraging other organizations to spring up around other issues. It has already had some success in straightening out individual grievances, raising the annual clothing allowance by \$5 per child, and by just plain organization and publicity.

Nevertheless, serious problems confront WRO. Many of the people who attend WRO meetings have never assumed leadership roles before or have even been asked what they think about certain issues which affect them. Furthermore, many of these people have been approached time and time again by surveyors, case workers, settlements and the various agencies of the War on Poverty, all making promises but no changes.

It will take time for the idea to get across that WRO is an organization of people like themselves who have found that by banding together democratically, they are able to make changes where all the authoritarian and paternalistic agencies and individuals have failed. ◆

800 BLACK STUDENTS SIT-IN

Orangeburg, S. C. On Feb. 23 the Student Action Committee (SAC) of South Carolina State College called a demonstration protesting the administration's failure to rehire two white professors and demanding certain changes in the college rules.

State College is a Negro school, and in this case the two white professors in question were more liberal than their black counterparts. In the South this means that the whites will invite students over to their houses, will support civil rights activity, and will allow students to use their cars for such activity.

TROOPS SENT

On the 24th, three student leaders were arrested for participating in the demonstration of 500 students on President B. J. Turner's lawn. White city policemen, state troopers, and special units of the governor's FLED troop were called in to disperse the crowd.

Students boycotted classes on the 24th also, and continued to demonstrate. The three arrested students, Ben Bryant, Joe Hammond, and James Stroman, were called before the disciplinary committee Friday morning while 800 students protested outside the meeting. There are 1300 students enrolled at the college. The three demanded to be allowed to cross-examine their accusers. They were finally dismissed and rejoined the demonstrators who began to picket the campus at large.

SUSPENSION NOTICES

That afternoon the three students received suspension notices which ordered them leave the campus by midnight and barred them from the campus until 1970. They were informed that they would be arrested if they returned to the campus before that time. Between 800 and 1000 students sat-in at the Student Union that night.

STUDENT DEMANDS

These are the student's demands:

First, that the administration present valid reasons for not renewing the contracts of the two professors.

Second, that the administration take steps to hire competent faculty.

Three, that all rules involving student/faculty relations be abolished, such as "a student whose progress, conduct, or attitude is out of harmony with the institution or whose influence is found to be detrimental to its welfare may be dropped at any time without any obligation on the part of the officers of the college to state specific reasons for requesting withdrawal."

Four, that compulsory attendance for freshman and sophomores at assemblies, vespers, and lecture series be abolished.

Five, that dress rules for Sunday dinner be abolished and that smoking be allowed in the dining hall.

Six, that all rules denying students free speech, religion, assembly, and press be abolished.

THROWN OUT OF CHURCH

On Sunday SAC called a meeting sponsored by the NAACP at a church across the street from the school. Meanwhile, the University secretly negotiated a peace with the Student Government in which it was agreed that students wouldn't boycott as planned. When presented with the pact, SAC refused to call off the boycott planned for Monday and Tuesday. The NAACP then kicked SAC out of the church, because of their attitude toward the administration.

The students, 800 strong, moved across to the campus and were confronted with college and state police and said if any one of their number were arrested they would all be arrested. They moved onto the campus and again took over the student union.

ATTEMPTED ARRESTS

Police attempted to arrest Bryant, Hammond, and Stroman, but students locked arms in a circle around them and prevented the police from getting to them. Rebuffed, the cops split.

The boycott continued Monday and Tuesday with over 900 of the 1300 students participating. The Dean called a College Meeting for 9 am on Monday to undercut a SAC rally called for 10 am. The plan worked but the boycott continued through Tuesday when SAC called it off after the president agreed to meet with the cited students on Thursday, March 2nd.

TELEGRAMS

SAC has requested that telegrams in support of their demands be sent to President B. J. Turner, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C. The three cited students have agreed to refuse any reinstatement unless the President agrees to SAC's demands. SAC also requests that duplicates of telegrams be sent to them c/o James Huggins, Rt. 5, Box 539, Orangeburg, S. C.

So far Western Union has not delivered the duplicates to SAC. However, College officials have been seen carrying large piles of telegrams from the Western Union office, and it is reported that 500 telegrams have been thus far received. ◆



The Teatro Campesino of Delano has bought this bus so that it can go on tour, carrying the message of the Huelga, without having to worry about mid-journey breakdowns. Contributions are needed to help keep up payments on the bus and also to continue and enlarge the cultural program which the Teatro has set up for UFWOC members. This program includes classes in English, music classes, films and children's art classes. Any donation you can make, either of money or art materials, will be a great help to this very important part of the strike.

Teatro Campesino
Box 130
Delano, Ca. 93215

CORPORATIONS ON THE DOLE

A PRIMER OF CALIFORNIA POLITICS

A recent editorial in the San Francisco Chronicle "discussing" Reagan's tuition proposal is typical of the thinking that is going around California these days concerning the budget problems of the state. The Chronicle argued that since the "incidental fees" at the University have been raised many times and no one has raised a fuss, the obvious solution is to label the increased costs "incidental fees" instead of "tuition." Thereby solving the state's financial problems. If the Chronicle is to be taken seriously, the whole answer apparently lies in semantics, and perhaps Dr. Hayakawa should be appointed State Financial Director.

The new governor of California claims that the state is currently spending \$1 million a day more than it is taking in and "that by the beginning of the next fiscal year (July 1, 1967) we will have depleted our treasury by \$365,293,000." Indeed Reagan has gone so far as to claim that under the Brown administration the state has been "looted and drained of its financial resources in a manner unique in our history." Perhaps the problem is a little more serious than the Chronicle realizes.

The problem seems to be that the Brown administration attempted to be all things to all men. While protecting and catering to the interests of the rich, Brown tossed increasingly large crumbs to the poor in order to maintain his popularity. Thus, while the state population increased by only about 3% per year, and the cost of living by 2%, Brown increased the expenditures of general funds—for health, education and welfare—by about 15%.

But the brunt of the financing of the state has been born by the poor and middle-income residents through payment of sales and property taxes while the wealthy have gotten almost a free ride: personal income tax stops graduating at \$15,000 (that is, if you make \$15,000 a year or \$100,000 a year, the tax is still the same), the state loses about \$800,000 million per year because of underassessment of highly speculative holdings such as slums and vacant lots, (mostly owned by rich people), and corporate income tax has remained at 5½% while corporate profits have gone up 23% since 1960.

PROPERTY TAXES

Over 50% of all income for the state comes from property taxes. Over 40% of this amount comes from owners of one family homes. Property taxes are county taxes, but any loss of money due to assessing some property lower than other property -- legally or illegally -- affects all the people of the state.

The state constitution says that all property is supposed to be assessed at 100% of its fair market value (what you could sell it for). The state legislature in 1964 set the assessment rate at 25% of market value. There has been much argument over the legality of the legislature's decision, but the important thing is not at what per cent of market value you apply the tax but that everyone should be assessed at the same per cent of market value whether 100% or 25%.

TAX ASSESSOR SCANDALS

An example of certain people getting assessed at a different percentage of market value is the recent assessor scandal. It is estimated by the new assessor of San Francisco that this city has lost over \$50 million because businessmen, corporations, were assessed at 12 1/2% or less of market value if they

paid off the Tax Assessor.

Actually the city didn't lose the money. Funds to run the city had to come from somewhere, so they came out of the pockets of the small home owner.

Here is how large corporations and big businessmen get on the tax dole.

TAX DOLE FOR RICH

The county budget depends on property taxes and some state and federal aid to provide services to its residents. Each year the State Legislature decides how much money it is going to give each county. The county, after figuring in federal aid, decides how much it must raise that year from property taxes.

The sum the county then needs is divided by the total assessed value of the county's taxable property. So if some big corporations and businessmen are assessed less than 25% of the market value for their property, then small home owners and middle income businessmen have to pay more taxes.

For example, the county sets a tax rate or ratio for every \$100 your property is worth after assessment. In San Francisco the rate is \$10.61 per \$100 while in Los Angeles County it is \$8.54.

Now, suppose you own a home you could sell for \$10,000. The assessor takes 25% of \$10,000 or \$2500 and places a tax on that amount. In L.A. County it would be \$213.50.

If you were a big corporation that had property worth \$10,000 and went to the assessor and paid him off, then you would be assessed at only 12 1/2% of \$10,000 or \$1250. In L.A. County the tax on that amount would be \$106.75 or half of what the small home owner paid.

The small home owner has not only paid more taxes than the big corporation for property of the same value, he has also paid a higher rate per \$100 of assessed value. Because when the county figures out what the rate per \$100 is to be, it adds up the assessed value for all property in the county. The sum of assessed value goes down every time a corporation or big business goes on the tax dole; therefore, the tax rate per \$100 goes up for everybody else in the county.

LAND SPECULATION

It has been estimated that the state loses \$800 million per year due to under-assessment of highly speculative lands such as slums, vacant lots, and desert lands. Speculative lands are those properties which will gain great value -- not because they themselves are improved with remodeled housing, new housing, or irrigation water -- but because the land surrounding these properties is improved by redevelopment or by the state's building a waterway or freeway near by.

People can afford to not improve speculative lands because the taxes on them are much lower than for other kinds of property such as homes or farms. Dr. Irene Hickman, county assessor of Sacramento County, says that when she took office she found vacant lots that had been assessed at rates sometimes as low as one percent of their actual value. This means that these lots in the middle of the city were assessed at \$20 and \$30 per acre while the county government was paying \$100 per acre for land at the bottom of the Sacramento River.

The whole point is that speculators make a lot of money every time somebody else makes improvements on his property or the state builds freeways or waterways. They do nothing for their great profit and in effect are charging the taxpayers of the state for the privilege of allowing them to make that profit. Here is an example of how speculation works:

STANDARD OIL-GIANT SPECULATOR

According to an official statement by Standard Oil of California, the company expects 62,000 acres of land in the southern part of the Central Valley which it owns to benefit directly from the state water plan when it is completed.

Land value in this area is approximately \$100 per acre if the land is unimproved, \$300 per acre if improved with water from wells, and \$900 per acre if improved with water from sources such as federal and state reclamation projects.

Using the company's figures, the value of its property will increase from \$10,700,000 to \$44,500,000. Standard Oil will have contributed nothing to this 400% increase in the value of its land. Nor will it have contributed anything to the

additional value which will be added when the proposed freeway through this area--built with state and federal taxpayer's money--is completed. Nor to the value which future urbanization, following the freeway, will add.

This is pure speculative profit for Standard Oil. It is like taking taxpayer's money and giving it to Standard Oil for no reason. If this same amount of money were used to pay tuition for students at the rate of \$250 each, it would pay for 135,200 students, or over half again as many students as are enrolled at the University of California on all its campuses.

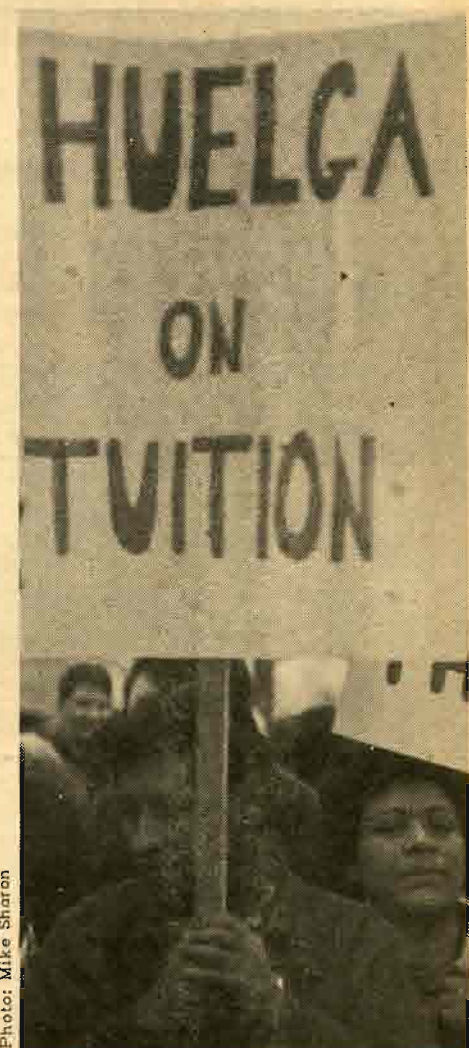


Photo: Mike Sharon
CESAR CHAVEZ at anti-tuition demonstration





Linocut by Emmy Lou Packard

WAR PROFITEER

WHO BUYS BONDS

The state sells bonds to finance freeways and irrigation projects such as the \$2.4 billion Feather River Water Project. These bonds are usually bought by large corporations such as Standard Oil. Interest on such long term bonds adds up to more than the amount of the original bond and this interest is tax-free. Thus large corporations not only make fantastic speculative profits from the value added to the lands they own, they also make fantastic profits from financing the freeways and water projects which cause their lands to increase in value. All this at the expense of taxpayers.

LAWS NOT ENFORCED

Supposedly speculation is illegal when it comes to federal reclamation projects. Though there have been various attempts to enforce the anti-speculation clause of the 1902 Federal Reclamation Act, these have all failed.

The State Constitution also has a pro-

vision that says, "The holding of large tracts of land, uncultivated and unimproved, by individuals or corporations, is against the public interest." However, the Legislature has never seen fit to make laws that would carry out the provisions of this section (passed in 1879) of the Constitution.

IT'S NOT MAGIC

In order for corporations like Standard Oil, the Tejon Ranch Company, and others to speculate, their buyers must have inside information about where the state will put a new freeway or waterway, or where a city will have a redevelopment project. They must have this information not a month or a year before the plan goes into effect, but five or ten years before. The corporations, in fact, decidedly influence these decisions through their lobbyists and their members on boards such as the State Highway Commission, the Redevelopment Agency, and the University Regents.

SALES, CIGARETTE AND LIQUOR TAXES

Both the Republicans and the Democrats always come up with a proposal to increase sales, cigarette and liquor taxes when more State income is needed. They argue that these are taxes which everybody pays and that therefore everyone will be paying "his fair share" of increased taxes.

These taxes are, however, the most unfair that can be put on people. Economists call these taxes "regressive" because the heaviest burden falls on the poorest people. Unlike income taxes which in California are "graduated" so that, in theory, a rich man pays a larger part of his income in taxes than a poor man does, sales, cigarette and liquor taxes are the same for everybody. This means that a family which makes only \$60 a week has to pay a much bigger part of its income for these taxes than does a family which makes \$600 a week.

FOOD TAX

Now Reagan proposes to expand the sales tax to food. (Food is not now taxed in California.) This tax would be particularly hard on poor people. For example, if there were a 4% sales tax on food and if the family which makes \$60 a week planned a spaghetti dinner, the food might cost \$2 plus 4% tax or \$2.08. The family that makes \$600 a week would pay the same tax for the same food even though it makes ten times more money.

DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS: NO DIFFERENCE TO THE PEOPLE

Both the Democrats and the Republicans in California and in the nation stand between the people and the corporations (whose board chairmen, presidents, and vice-presidents all make large campaign contributions -- often to both parties.)

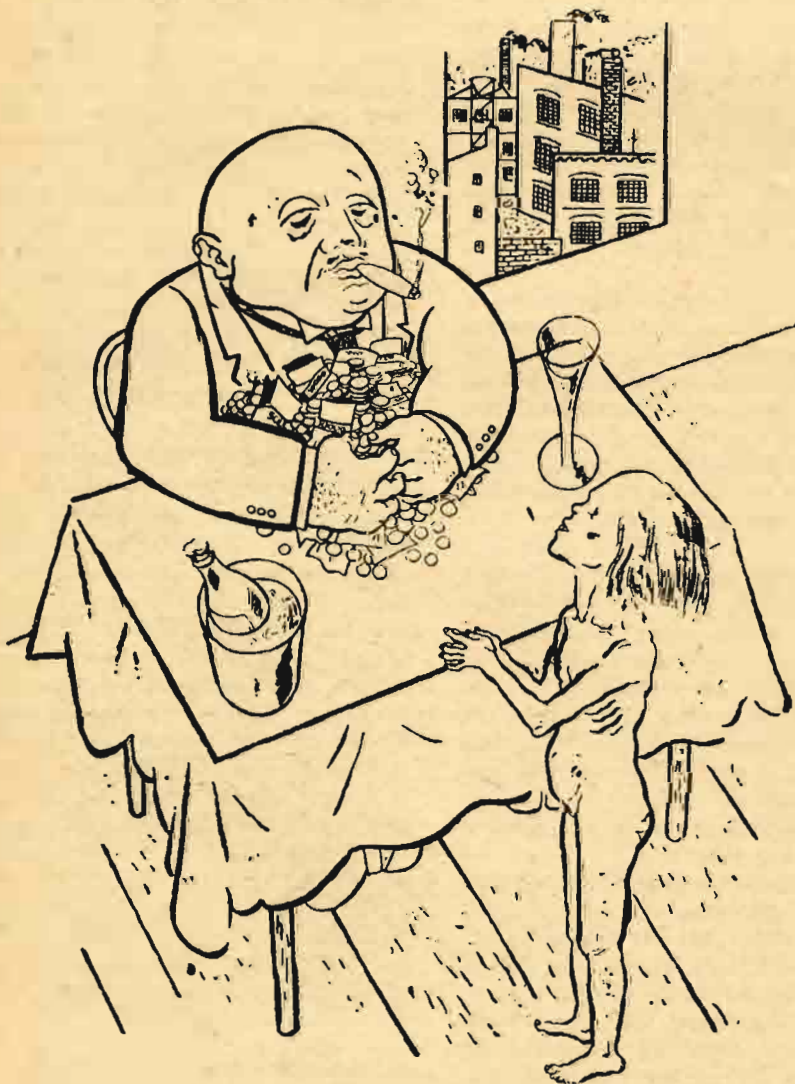
The Republicans like to speak to the interest of the small homeowner and the middle income tax payer. But while they make scapegoats of the poor, the students, the farm workers and the blacks, they allow the corporations to make huge profits at the expense of these very same homeowners and middle income tax payers.

The Democrats like to speak to the interests of the small homeowner and middle income tax payer too. At the same time they try, in their liberal fashion, to gain the favor and the votes of the poor, the students, the farm workers and the blacks. But it is also their liberal fashion to fire Wedemeyer from the State Welfare Department when he began to give aid to welfare rights groups, to call in the Highway Patrol and the Sheriff's Department when students in Berkeley sat in for Free Speech, to appoint Einar Mohn of the Teamsters to the University Regents when the Teamsters are trying to break the Delano strike, and to white-wash the Los Angeles Police Department after the Watts Rebellion.

REAGAN-SAME OLD THING

Reagan will ask state employees to work on a holiday to help off-set a financial crisis. But has Reagan suggested that PG&E donate to the University one day's worth of the profits it makes from selling electricity to the University? Or has he donated one day of the governor's salary to his cause?

Most of the facts and examples in this article are the result of eight years of a Democratic administration, though previous administrations are also responsible. Reagan has offered no alternatives that will alter these facts, and there is no reason to suppose that he will.



Drawing by George Grosz



SUNFLOWER COUNTY CON'T FROM PG. 1

cause they are under age. They can join the picket line again with eight other adults and you can still build your force. This continued for about three days.

MOVEMENT: Why did you leave Indianola?

Later on that year I decided to go to Albuquerque, New Mexico, for fund raising. Back in Sunflower, the people got careless and went out one night to a party, and about two o'clock in the morning the Man set fire to a store, two homes that were strong in the movement, and the Freedom House.

At the time that these houses burned, they issued a warrant for me, saying that I was the cause. Of course, I was in Albuquerque at the time. So the warrant they issued for me really didn't have no effect. They were sorta shocked, you know.

This was one of the reasons why I left Indianola in the late part of '65, because the first riot that would occur, they would blame on me. I decided that it would be best for me to pull out of Indianola. Let the people in the crowd do something on their own.

Another reason I moved to Sunflower from Indianola was that I figured we could never build a community center there. We had tried to build a center in '65, but we had to spend \$6200 trying to rebuild the Baptist Association which was burned down. Then we bought some land and tried to get a permit to build: permit on top of permit. But the city say "If you change a little corner right here, we will give you a permit." When we did the city said, "I'm sorry, there's another space I want you to change also." Finally the project collapsed.

MOVEMENT: How is the Improvement Association organized in Sunflower?

In Sunflower, I followed a plan of building a community center as a house. This house, which we have today, is a community center. They know it now. The auditorium, which seats 200 people, is known as my den. They would say "we don't like the disturbance" and I would say, "This is my private house and I do what I feel free of charge." So far they haven't made court charge.

We have a day care center there, but we haven't received any funds in Sunflower County yet. There is a group that had funds known as Community Action For Progress or CAP. They have the funds and we have the children.

These people who have the money right now are the same people who stood in the way of people going into restaurants, are the same people who did police brutality, and are some of the same

people who say "we're not for integration", and yet you see they took and jumped for the poverty money. They just got concerned about the benefit of Negro children, when the federal government brought the issue of money up.

I'm sure they know there are a few like me that's going to take advantage of the program: meaning, if we have that money it means some more people aren't rich, rather it means some more unity among the Negro race in the South-- among the poor. So up to date at our centers in the county, we have five maybe six hundred children that we feed and teach.

MOVEMENT: How do you get the money to keep these programs going?

That's one reason I'm out here in San Francisco. I'm trying to raise funds for the center to involve more children in this program. We received some sort of grant from some University in New York. They give us \$3,400 a month. It is used like this: there are maybe 13 bus drivers and they get say \$30 a month, there is \$40 each month for gas, and we help boost the volunteers along giving them \$15, maybe \$30 a month. This money doesn't go too far, because you have to buy the children milk which is the most expensive thing on the list.

So I'm out here to raise \$55,000. To a lot of people that might be a shock; to me that is just a little money. In a way it's not too much, where one man is worth \$365,000 in Vietnam, you know.

MOVEMENT: How will the funds you raise be spent?

This \$55,000 is to be used like this: \$10,000 for political education and voter registration. First, this money will employ 24 people for the first 3 months and 24 people for the next 3 months. There'd be 48 people right there. That's strength too; that means some more votes; that means you get a man's whole house to vote.

Second, we would like to have \$10,000 to teach people who are registered now and to try and register two more thousand. The reason I say two more thousand is that there are eight more thousand to be registered in the county. But with two more thousand, we will have the majority.

Where there are only eight thousand whites in the community, there are eight thousand registered. But you got to look at it like this: the Republican Party has got some life in it now; the general election give them some hope, so the white folks got a two way vote.

Now we can come in with an independent thing, where, if there are four thousand Negroes registered now and we register two more thousand or say 2500, we have 6500 more Negroes who come in.



SNCC PHOTO

FANNY LOU HAMMER of Sunflower County during the MFDP Challenge in '64.

But we also figure we are going to loose one thousand votes, so we come out with around 5500 votes, so we still have a clear majority.

This will be a threat to the white community, even if we lack 10 or 15 votes. This will organize and build the community. The problem is also to encourage those who haven't registered, to show them where our power is really at, and to show them that we got just as much power as the white man, if we unite ourselves. We have to also show the poor white that the white man has been using him and that they should unite with the poor Negroes.

MOVEMENT: And the rest of the money?

Another \$10,000 would be used for a day care center to spread the program we have now to other children, so they can be prepared to go to the white school so they will be able to distinguish between letters and words, to know their own names, to go there alive and not dead, you know; so they go there with something.

\$27,00 will be used for a supermarket. Now this may be something strange to a lot of people, something you need economically; but you have to work on all these things at the same time.

Economically, this is one of the most important things we need in the South. For example, you call a boycott, whose stores are you going to support? You got to support the white man, or you got to support that man who out guesses you, or you got to support some bourgeoisie Negro, who feels that since he had his, he don't consider himself in the Negro race.

Now the store works something like this. Where you pay a person \$70 a week, you divide that \$70 into \$35; give \$35 for three days to one man and let somebody else work three days. That means more spirit right there. You have given jobs. That's tightening of the movement. Where you employ five people with \$70 a week, you employ ten people at \$35.

The other profit that would be paid out of the store would be used to keep things up, to pay the volunteers. In other words we would be a self-supporting outfit. The profit is like when you got a co-op, you got to share it. At the end of the year, according to how much you bought, you get a percentage back. This profit at the end of the year would be used to pay the workers off, to keep voter registration up, to get political education, and other things.

Five thousand dollars will be used for a car, some insurance on the car and on some buildings and other things. Another three thousand dollars will be used to improve the community center that we have. It's in condition, but it needs paint. It needs more insulation because it's in the South; so we need \$300 for that. Also the drainage is not too good in Sunflower, so the land got to be built up to keep the building from sinking.

So the \$55,000 will put us in a position to be self-supporting and also to build our mobility around the vicinity and to help lay a pattern for someone else.

That is one thing that hasn't been in the movement; nobody laid a pattern. Now I'm running for Mayor of Sunflower town this year, whenever it comes off.

MOVEMENT: When do you suppose that will be?

KIBBEE: The last municipal elections that were held in the spring of '65 were voided by the fifth circuit court of appeals because Negroes were deprived of the right to vote. The city appealed to the Supreme Court and held it up for a long time and then refused to review it. So the decision of the fifth circuit court sticks. So Judge Clayton of a lower federal court has to set the date and the conditions under which the elections will be held. There were hearings on it, but the date had still not been set. They've been putting it off as long as possible. They were supposed to be set sometime in January.

MOVEMENT: Are there any other counties that that has happened in?

KIBBEE: No other counties. There is a chance of one other town in Sunflower County getting the benefit of this decision. The other towns all tried but the appeals have been held up because all the people who complained had not been registered voters at the time their elections were held. The other town is Morehead, Miss. BROWN: This hasn't happened since 1876 I believe. So peoples in New York like the Puerto Ricans and the elderly are watching things like this, because most likely they'll try to get stuff like this throwed out again. We are going to see how this works out-- this is just a pattern.

MOVEMENT: What about support from the white community?

Anyway in Sunflower, there's maybe 240 Negroes registered and maybe 160 white, but of these 160 white there are maybe a third dead, two-fifths out of the state or something. In other words they are really not there, so we got a majority.

Still we're seeking some of their vote, because I feel that running for office, I'd not only be representing the Negro but the white as well. Of course, I'd be a mayor elected by blacks, but that still don't mean that I have a lot of power. I may have some power inside that jurisdiction, but that's a small spot. What about outside that jurisdiction; what about your senator and all that stuff? I'm saying we got to build ourselves. We need the white man; we need one another-- that's a way of expressing something-- we need one another.

Also where I be running there'll be other Negroes running. There are five

CON'T ON PAGE 10



SNCC PHOTO

THE SNCC FREEDOM SCHOOL IN INDIANOLA, MISS. stands smoldering after it was fire bombed. Fire bombs similar to the one that completely destroyed the school also hit four homes here.

(The following article is based on an interview with the National President of the Christian Peasant Union (UCC) Hector Alarcon taken in the Summer of 1966 by Jim Petras)

The Christian Peasant Union (UCC) recently negotiated a collective contract covering workers on 45 large farms in central Chile. Such a high degree of coordination is unusual in Chile, where even long established industrial unions are fragmented and where negotiations usually involve industrial farms or factories.

Until now, collective contracts have been unheard of in rural Chile. Peasant unions have been weak, fragmented, temporary, and all but non-existent.

ORGANIZING PEASANTS IN CHILE

CENTERS OF STRENGTH

The UCC is strongest in the central provinces of Talca, Valparaiso, Linares, Curico and Aconcagua. On a smaller scale, UCC is organizing farms in Colchagua and Santiago.

UCC organizers have followed criteria in selecting areas and groups with which to work: (1) areas with relatively dense rural populations, (2) farm workers dependent on wages for most of their income. Small farmers and workers, who receive much of their pay as bonuses, especially land, are thought by UCC to be harder to organize.

So far the regional contract approach has had good results for the UCC. The mere threat of a Communa-wide or county-wide strike has often been enough to bring employers to the bargaining table. In Colchagua where resistance has been especially strong, 25 farms went out on strike together. The workers eventually won most of their demands.

ORGANIZATION AND CONDITIONS UNDER CHRISTIAN DEMO GOV'T

The experiences of the UCC and of rural unionization under the present Christian

is a drop from 95% non compliance six years ago.

HOUSING NOT CHANGED

UCC says 80% of the workers' houses do not meet legal minimum standards, and the situation may be getting worse as owners stop making repairs in anticipation of agrarian reform. According to the UCC housing is a critical problem facing the campesino and better housing has become a chief demand of the union.

The UCC's proposed solution is for the government to expropriate plots on existing fundos and then to build houses and sell them to campesinos. The plan calls for a cooperative arrangement in which members can contribute their own labor. The main weakness is that, even if the house belonged to the campesino, he would have no guarantee that his job would continue on that particular fundo, therefore, without all-out expropriation, which would make this housing proposal obsolete, the fundo would resemble a company town.

JOB SECURITY

There is no legal protection against arbitrary firings, including dismissal for union activity. The job protection law of the Christian Democrats does not prevent firings; it only requires that the owner pay an indemnification of one month's salary for each year worked, providing the fired worker can prove the arbitrariness of the owners' action. As most campesino union leaders are young, the costs would not be prohibitive even if the owner should have to pay. And the cost would be worth while to him if the rest of the campesinos could be intimidated. More importantly the sole power of decision in these matters is in the hands of a local judge.

POWER OF THE STRIKE

The only real job protection existing in the country-side is union strength. At the end of April and at the beginning of May, 1966, there were massive firings. More than 8000 campesinos were fired according to a UCC survey. Of these approximately 4000 belonged to unions, mostly to the UCC. Of the 4000 fired for "union activities," Alarcon, President of UCC, estimates that more than 80% were reinstated as a direct result of a threat of a general strike and indirectly through government intervention to avoid a general strike. Local strike action was taken in a number of cases, usually with positive results.

The overall effect of the firings was to reinforce the militancy of the campesinos; especially after they succeeded in reinstating most of their compañeros, they gained confidence in their ability to wield power effectively. The owners' action consolidated and strengthened the union organization. Reinstatement of the fired workers was a new development in the Chilean countryside; in years past, firings for purposes of intimidation had been common and final. Previously repression had the desired effect, from the owners' point of view; it broke the union.

PROGRAM AND ATTITUDE ON GOVERNMENT

The UCC stresses the independent role of unions as a means of defending the immediate economic interests of its members. While giving political and electoral support to the government they do not give unconditional support. The UCC supports those initiatives of the government favorable to their constituents but rejects government dictation of the terms of labor

CON'T ON PAGE 10



The UCC concentrates more on spreading its influence out from its centers of strength than it does on entering entirely one territory where rival organizations may be stronger.

The UCC has no strength in the Northern transversal valleys, where the socialist-communist unions are strongest, nor in the South of Chile where workers are fewer and less accessible.

Some 30,000 peasants are currently covered by UCC contracts. Apart from these fully organized workers, another 15,000 are strongly influenced by UCC. The union claims that its efforts have produced a "community effect" causing wages to go up on many non-union farms in areas where unions are prevalent.

REGIONAL CONTRACTS

A few years ago the UCC focused on individual farms as the major organizing unit. The emphasis is not on regional organizing unit.

UCC leaders have developed interesting arguments to "sell" their regional contract idea to the various groups involved: (1) to the government labor inspectors they stress the administrative efficiency of covering several farms with the same contract, saving paper work and time dealing with isolated conflicts, (2) to owners they argue that equalizing conditions over a large region will lessen conflicts in the long run and will not give advantages to stubborn employers over their more cooperative neighbors, and (3) to the workers they point out the advantages of solidarity and strength.

Democratic Government can be looked at from several angles: (1) the degree to which government machinery facilitates union organization, (2) enforcement of social legislation in the countryside, and (3) relationship of the program of government rural agencies to the needs and program of peasant unionism.

LABOR INSPECTORS

To legitimize a labor dispute the union must submit its contract demands to the local labor inspector. At the beginning of the present upsurge in unionization, labor inspectors were "non-cooperative," frequently ruling that unions were illegal or dismissing demands on technical grounds. This tended to discredit the government, alienate militant peasants and put a damper on the growth and effectiveness of unions. After meetings with labor leaders the Minister of Labor sent a memo to his inspectors telling them to set aside existing restrictive regulations. Nevertheless, UCC still complains of considerable resistance from local officials many of whom reportedly have ties with local landowning interests.

ENFORCEMENT

The enforcement of social legislation is another problem. Landowners are not public officials subject directly to administrative disciplinary powers. Approximately 40% of the owners do not comply with the National minimum wage law though there is a considerable difference between unionized and non-unionized fundos (large farms). UCC estimates that this



Drawing by Diego Rivera

LAND AND LIBERTY

SUNFLOWER COUNTY CON'T FROM PG. 8

board members. Margaret's a volunteer; she's been here about two years in May, will run for county clerk. On the requirements it stated that you have to be able to read and write and you know she can read.

In case she fails in that she will run for Board of Supervisors. Also we will run in just two beats (Ed.: wards) Beat 2 and Beat 4. Beat 2 has something like three Negro for every one white; and this man who is running is known among the white and the Negro; and he lives on a plantation. When one man got arrested for hauling too many children to the day care center, he paid the fine for them, I think he'll take up a lot of white votes; also I believe he'll take a clear majority of the Negro vote. I'm sure he will win that beat.

MOVEMENT: Why did you decide to run for mayor?

Now this \$55,000 will also help boost this up, because they will say we have tried and we have done this and that. Another reason that I want to run for mayor is to show people that you have to concentrate in a small area in order to change the outside world and I will offer the people jobs and try for some factory, and try to get a doctor and declare the town in an emergency state and try to get 87% federal funds. In other words, the federal gov't pave the streets for the people that don't want to do it out of their own pocket. A paved street only mean taking bread out of your mouth, not putting nothing in. So I figure that the only two things that people want, but I'm going further--all they want is a job--making a decent salary and a paved street and you got them satisfied. So these are one of the two key things I am going after, but I'm going further because this helps benefit and to prove what we can do if given the opportunity.

MOVEMENT: What's been happening around the state with the MFDP? There was a big move to take over the State Democratic party; what's happened with that?

BROWN: Well, it's still alive, because they live in the court now; we are the Freedom Democratic Party. But if we were to get out and raise funds under the Freedom Demo. Party we would get very little funds because there are some of them that have to give to tax exempt groups and they can't give to the Free. Demo. Party. Though we changed our name to the Sunflower County Improvement Association we are still a branch of the FDP. It's just a sneaky way of doing things. In other words, if I am seated FDP will have a candidate, FDP will be a party.

FDP you know is lacking of funds and everything because they were always trying to cover a big area with what little money they had; they have just enough money to run two offices and the money to maintain one car. So FDP is still mostly built mostly upon the people, and it is I believe one of the freest organizations in the country, you don't have no strings attached to you, you just get out and do what you want to do. I like the party the way it is.

MOVEMENT: How do you feel about the Lowndes County Freedom Organization?

BROWN: Well, I see that they are a branch of the FDP; they are doing the same thing we doing.

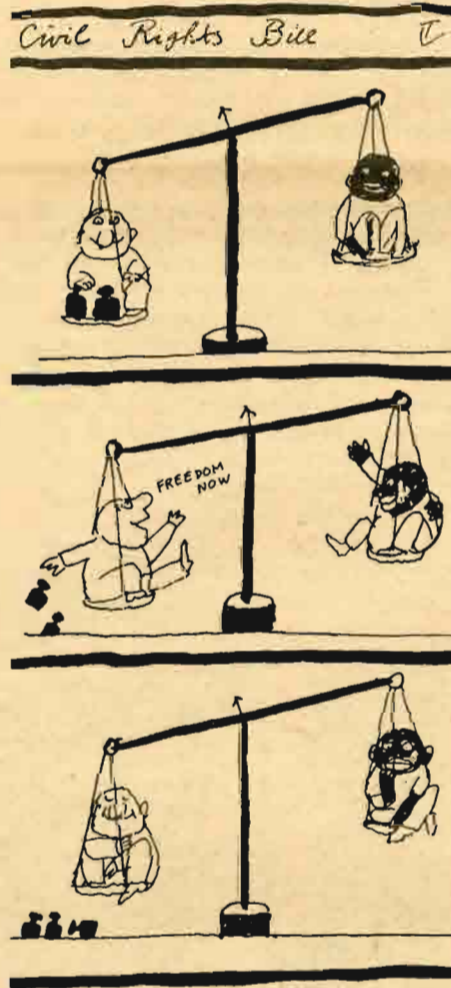
MOVEMENT: Is the FDP still trying to get into the Democratic Party or is it going to be independent?

BROWN: I feel yes, because if I be an independent, then later on I will be with the Mississippi Free. Dem. Party. I will put my name as MFDP. Still a lot of things have got to be solved. I can be used as a pattern to help get a charter, if I don't somebody else will. It's the only way to get a charter. I'm not going to be a Republican, I'm not going to be a demo. Because neither one has done anything for the poor people the whole time it's been organized, it is just a front. --Abraham Lincoln and all that stuff, people believe in that, I don't see nothing that he did. He did the stuff he did because he made the decision to let the

country survive or collapse. That's the stage they were at, you know. I don't see nothing none of them did. I'm not patting none of them on the back. What have been done we did it ourselves. For example, the Civil Rights Bill; that bill ain't no good. What good is a bill that be tested but not enforced. These bills been tested but they are not enforced. I been in jail eleven times on the Civil Rights Bill and the case is still pending. That's just a whole lot of stuff they throw around to try to keep these foreign nations quiet. In other words, we go over to Africa, and say "I come to help you clean your country up" and they hear about our house over here is dirty, that America is dirty. So what we do? We pass a law that says what we do to satisfy them, but the people over there ain't ignorant to the fact, you know. This is just a gimmick to ease the people in the foreign countries, to cool them down, to try get them to see things their way. But it's not going to work.

MOVEMENT: You don't see the FDP that you're working with ever tying up with the national Democratic Party?

BROWN: No. If FDP can set a pattern that other people can see and be known as a party, it's going to spread across the country. I'm not worried about it. They have reserve funds. They received 8 million dollars in all. What got them their funds were Adam Clayton Powell and Sunflower County for example. One of the main weaknesses has been when one Negro try to make it up another Negro try to pull him down. We in Sunflower County feel that because CDGM had not included us in the plan or we couldn't be included in the plan, well yet and still the program is involving a few Negro people. We feel we will help that, so let'em get it. So we support them. ♦



TURNER CON'T FROM PG. 1

the ghetto schools are equal in quality with Skyline High School, then we can talk about cultural exchange."

UNEMPLOYMENT

"No one is dealing with the problem of unemployment. When the hospital workers went on strike for higher wages, the city council should have intervened in their behalf. The city is going to have to begin providing jobs for people and when they can't do that provide a minimum income so that people can live. Also when people are working, but getting below subsistence level for their families, then they should be eligible for welfare to help them."

POLICE

The police are still a major problem confronting the ghetto. "Not only should

MISSISSIPPI

BY AIME CESAIRE —translated by Gregson Davis

Men who fail to see (better move on over)
that my eyes do not forget
the cattle-prods and the black flags
that murder with every bat of my eyelash...
Men who fail to see (better move on over)
who see nothing
not even the exquisite train signals
flashed beneath my eyelids by the red and black
discs of coiled coral that I give out
with my rich tears...
Men who fail to see (better move on over)
that at the bottom of the dragnet
where fate has placed our eyes
there lurks a water buffalo
submerged up to the eyes...
Men who fail to see (better move on over)
that you do not have the power
to prevent me from building at my will
oval islands burning sky
under the submerged ferocity of
our enormous red sun.

Aime Césaire is a poet and dramatist from the island of Martinique in the French Caribbean. Although not as well known in the U.S. as his fellow countryman Franz Fanon, Césaire, like Fanon, is an extremely articulate spokesman and theoretician of the anti-colonialist movement, especially in Africa and the West Indies. One volume of his poems has been illustrated by Picasso. The poem is a free translation of Césaire's *Mississippi* which appeared in a collection titled *Cadastre*.

Gregson Davis is a graduate student in Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, and a native of the West Indian island of Antigua. Next month *The Movement* will print translations of Fanon by Davis which have not previously appeared in English.

CHILE CON'T FROM PG. 9

contracts. The major problem appears to be the question of the direction of influence: the UCC does not want to be an object of government sponsored programs drawn up by technicians but wants to be consulted on plans regarding the agrarian reform.

Up to now the campesino has lacked direct representation in the government. Peasant leaders generally reject the idea of the trade unionists becoming legislators, but they appear to favor candidates who would somehow be under the control of the trade unions and spokesmen for the campesinos.

The major criticism is that the government has not planned and clearly defined where it will expropriate and where it will not. Alarcon warns of the long-term dangers of raising expectations: that all campesinos will get land. Up to now expropriation has been a function of local conflicts without relating it to a larger plan. Alarcon fears that failure to order the process of social change could lead to frustration and a boomerang effect.

The second criticism is of the professionals and technicians in the government who draw up plans and make decisions about agrarian reform without consulting organizations in the field.

The UCC is oriented toward: 1) ex-

panding and strengthening the peasant unions both as a pressure group and as means of educating the campesino; 2) organizing the small farmers into co-operatives; 3) participating in the land reform colony, gradually transforming the trade union into a cooperative as the campesinos obtain title to the land; 4) share-cropping or profit-sharing between unions and owners of farms that will not be expropriated.

Profit sharing was first tried in the fundo El Higueral in Aconcagua. After the owner refused to pay a daily wage of four Escudos because he claimed he couldn't afford it, an agreement was made whereby the union would run the fundo and split the earnings with the owner. There was a 40% increase in production and the peasants received 13.5 Escudos daily.

UCC proposals are "reformist" in regard to the present government; organizational changes and political clarifications are certainly compatible with the Christian Democratic framework. At the same time one can foresee conflicts in specific areas especially in regard to the questions of who has jurisdiction in the organization of the campesino. The degree to which these conflicts narrow or widen depends on whether the government deepens its commitment to shifting the basis of power in the countryside--from the landowners to the campesinos. ♦

we have a police review board, but even before we have one the police are going to have to change their policies now. It should be very clear the amount of force that they can use to apprehend the cat who stole a car. When a cop shoots and kills someone, he has become judge and jury. Which is easier to replace, a car or a guy's life."

"Right now, there is complete unanimity on the Oakland city council. I am running to win, not just as a protest candidate. When I am on the city council, I will be there to raise the questions that no one else will raise. Even if I am not a majority, if the people can find out what their City Council is really up to, they will throw the rest of them off."

Elijah Turner is primarily interested in the problems which face Negroes in Oakland. He is interested not only in

winning, but in establishing an independent political organization of black people who can begin to deal with the problems which they face. He also knows that he is going to have to have the support of whites in order to win. But as he says, "I am running on issues that are good for all of the people of Oakland." ♦

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SNCC Press Release KODAK OUT OF FOCUS

We in SNCC fully support the black organization F.I.G.H.T. in its struggle to make Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, New York honor an agreement they signed in December to hire and train 600 hard-core unemployed black workers.

The racist attitude of Kodak is blatantly exemplified by the following statements made by Kodak President Eilers when asked to comment on how many black people were employed at Kodak:

"I don't want to give that figure at the moment. It's upsetting sometimes to the other race." (New York Times, December 24, 1966)

In reference to Kodak's special training program, which benefits less than 20 black persons a year, Eiler said:

"...These special programs should be the white hope for the poor of Rochester." (New Republic, January 21, 1967)

KODAK REPRESENTS INSTITUTIONAL RACISM!

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KODAK RUNS THE TOWN OF ROCHESTER LIKE A SOUTHERN PLANTATION!

KODAK PROVIDES 61,000 JOBS FOR WHITES, NO LABOR UNION, AND ONLY TOKENISM FOR BLACK PEOPLE!

KODAK IS OUT OF FOCUS!

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee calls on the officials of Eastman Kodak to honor the agreement they signed with F.I.G.H.T. immediately, or face the possibility of a nation-wide boycott of all Kodak products! ◆

"We have the right to fight for our liberation by any means necessary."

LONG BEACH WELFARE FLOOD

By Lou Gothard

Los Angeles

With the closing of the State Service Centers throughout the state of California, the generally punitive attitude on the part of the Reagan Administration towards poor people (adding Fraud investigators, etc.), the issue of welfare rights looms larger than ever.

Faced with the loss of the Long Beach Service Center, the community of Long Beach looked around for some methods of salvaging the program.

Pressure had been brought in traditional ways by groups in Venice and Fresno to keep their centers open. Pickets were out in force in both places; and in Venice, the action had brought about a re-evaluation by the administration of the potential for keeping the center open. There was no great concession, but the new State Social Welfare chief met with local government officials to arrange for some local services to be provided to replace the State services which were withdrawn.

RECRUIT FOR WELFARE

The Long Beach area residents, although perhaps slower to respond, were more thorough. In a series of meetings, a strategy was evolved to bring direct economic pressure to bear on the local and county governmental agency most concerned, the Welfare Department. A group was organized, Citizens for Creative Welfare, to attempt to deal with Reagan's "Creative Society." Comprised of welfare recipients, clients of the Service Center, and other interested persons, a drive was started to recruit per-

sons to apply for welfare. If already receiving welfare, clients were helped to increase their benefits so as to receive the maximum allowable under the existing welfare laws. On the initial drive, 100 persons who previously thought themselves ineligible for aid had signed up for welfare programs. This number was recruited over a period of three or four weeks. The numerous applications came as a result of intensive door knocking, and a series of house-meetings with the full cooperation of the local Welfare Rights Organization groups. At a total cost of approximately \$5,000 per new applicant per year, the establishment now pays about a half million dollars more in welfare costs than it did prior to the organization of CCW. The increase has not gone unnoticed by the Reagan administration.

Although the closing of eight of the thirteen multi-service centers was a foregone conclusion after Gov. Reagan's announcement late in January, H.C. (Chad) McClellan is now promising that "where needed," service centers will remain open. McClellan claims to have placed some eighteen thousand curfew area persons in jobs since the inception of his Management Council, matching-jobs-to-people approach. This claim is made in the face of figures which indicate that the number of welfare cases in the curfew area (a precise index) has risen by 19%.

Whether or not the 5-week campaign of CCW to reopen the State Service Center is successful, the growth of interest in welfare rights, eligibility criteria and humanization of the welfare system make this a worthwhile organizing effort. The overall strategy may push toward the guaranteed annual income, or may retain its emphasis on the provision of rehabilitative services, but it cannot be denied that Gov. Reagan by his oppressive "economy" measures has brought the black people of Long Beach together on a sound basis.

STOKELY VISITS

Addressing a rally in Long Beach on Feb. 17, 1967, Stokely Carmichael told an audience of some 700 people that "we are a community of black people from New York City to Los Angeles." He was relating to the feeling of powerlessness in Long Beach where blacks make up only 4.9% of the population. "We have the same oppressor," he said, "and we have the

right to fight for our liberation by any means necessary."

Earlier in the evening, Carmichael held a workshop on techniques of community organization for young community leaders. He discussed several problems of importance:

BLACK LEADERSHIP

"A black leader is a man who is bounded by the people — but they draw the bounds — he must be able to speak in the tone of the people that he represents. To do anything less is to falter."

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

"In a revolution you can't have a dictatorial leader. There must be responsibility — I'm chairman of SNCC. I am responsible to SNCC. As of now I am not representing the people but SNCC. Our policy is to provide the means to mobilize people. This I must do. The people don't elect me, they may support me or not. But if you don't pay the piper you can't call the tune."

WATTS

"People didn't pick up on the impetus of Watts to organize — but became brokers instead — 'If you don't give us enough money this will happen again.'"

The workshop was an attempt at rallying the poverty population of Long Beach — numbering approximately one hundred and seventy thousand persons in and around the Long Beach area — and fusing them into a force for social change.

Long Beach blacks comprise 40% of the cities poor, making it feasible for them to make their small numbers felt at the welfare office.

BANKRUPTCY MOVEMENT

A CCW group now forming in the Avalon area of Los Angeles shares this "flood the rolls" focus, and is adding the impetus of "flooding the lawyers' offices" to declare bankruptcy and escape the dunning of punitive and corrupt white creditors.

The group now publishes the POOR MAN'S BIBLE, a welfare rights handbook, and can be contacted through Ernest C. Precely, Chairman, 1955 Orange Avenue, Long Beach, Calif. Telephone 591-5333. ◆

THEATER REVIEW

BURN, BABY, BURN!

WHERE IT'S AT IN WATTS

By SUE ELLEN JACK

Los Angeles

Frank Greenwood's "Burn, Baby, Burn!" currently being staged a la "Our Town" and Bertold Brecht every Friday at the Masonic Temple in Watts is a happening — a piece of social theater that echoes artistically the emphatic "no" of August, 1965. It shouts out "no" to the white middle class, to commercial exploiters of black ghettos, and to naive, hypocritical liberals in words and suggestions not unlike those found in the speeches of Stokely Carmichael. It says "yes, baby, yes" to Afro-Americans.

And they respond with vocal and soul affirmation. Or at least they did the Friday evening I was there. Plagued by inadequate facilities and a shortage of manpower, (one whole scene had to be cut due to the "incarceration," of a key actor), the show has been running for some weeks and we're told that the standards of production have steadily improved, as has the box office.

From a strictly academic standpoint, the play, consisting of a prologue, an epilogue and eight loosely connected scenes, ("stories of the people of Watts") leaves something to be desired. Although the playwright and cast generally manage an effective, natural use of vernacular, there is a striking inconsistency in the pace, acting standard, and literary quality of the script

from vignette to vignette. If the highs are delightful, the lows are too low. In fact, the entire second half falls off, but this can be partly attributed to a more serious, sometimes heavy tone.

The outstanding performance in the largely inexperienced, unpaid, but enthusiastic cast was that of Bob Franklin whose irony and apparently natural sense of "where it's at" drew sympathetic cheers throughout. The dramatic highpoint in an evening where humor decidedly came across best, was the confrontation with the "Man" featuring Freeman King. I believed it.

So, someone is telling "Black Power" anew. "Burn, Baby, Burn!" is pretty successful "agit-prop" theater, wherein subtlety of characterization and plot are upstaged by a pervasive idea. Any criticism leveled at the play based on the premise that it is nationalist, black supremacist etc. would seem to stem from the same misguided psychology that has caused many whites, "liberal" and otherwise, to recoil in fear from new trends in the movement. This reviewer commends Frank Greenwood and the Touring Artist's Group on their effort to communicate vital and important concepts through art. And I encourage radicals everywhere to support them — with money and time when possible, or with invitations to appear in other areas if possible. ◆



A scene from LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL, one of the acts in BURN, BABY, BURN! Uriah Hughes, left, plays school principal, Susan Chester, the teacher. Bob Franklin, center, is narrated, cornered student.

NOTES FROM CHICAGOMICHAEL JAMES

ORGANIZERS START SCHOOL

Organizers in Chicago, whether they be former students or people from poor communities, have learned several things. We know that many of our actions are determined not by us, but by church, labor and national civil rights people. We know that not enough of us have time to develop more effective tactics and long range strategies of effective resistance with at least an operating goal of taking power. We know that the number of real organizers and real organizations of the poor in the city (and the country) is small in relation to our task, and that good work will mean little in the long run unless we, and the organizations we work with, are recreated over and over and over.

The frustrating experience of the summer's "freedom rallies", open occupancy marches, and the likely decision of Walter Reuther and the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty (with Ford Foundation funds) to locate a training operation on the Westside have made us acutely aware of how program and direction gets imposed upon most of us from the top.

UNION OF ORGANIZERS

Our situation has moved us to make a major decision on our own, to organize the organizers. We have formed a Union of Organizers. The Union has made an important decision, staking out Chicago as "our territory," and founding a real Movement training school, the School of Community Organization. The School comes at a time when radicals around the country are seriously thinking about, and taking the first steps toward building, educational programs that will train people intensively in the art of organizing in poor communities.

The School of Community Organization will begin formally on July first. Its plan, very simply, is to train and place twenty to thirty new and skilled organizers every three months in a new neighborhood now relatively untouched by the Movement. The School's operating strategy is to build new organizations of the poor that can work to control, shape and change their own communities, and make a serious bid for political power (e.g., aldermanic elections) in fifteen to twenty poor wards by 1971.

RIGHT TO PICKET CON'T FROM PG. 3

cause of lack of bail money -- to use other tactics besides picketing such as constitutional walks where they carry no signs but walk silently in single file from the union hall to the County Welfare Building.

The Social Workers and their supporters have asked for a boycott of Sacramento County as a convention center. They have picket lines around all the big hotels in Sacramento County. So far two organizations have cancelled their conventions.

Every day more workers are coming out. The County has tried to hire scabs by lowering all the job qualifications. This has proved unsuccessful.

UNION STAND

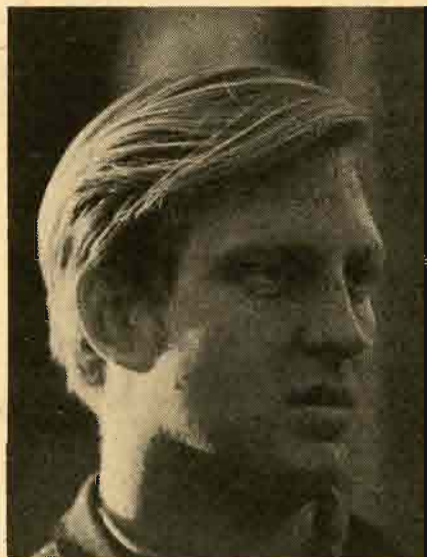
Bob Anderson, Field Representative of the Union, talked about the Union's position: "It's impossible to negotiate with the Board of Supervisors. They don't believe it's necessary to sit down and discuss any matters of employment with their employees. We need to discuss not only wages, but we need to discuss some of the programs. There are a number of very poor programs, for example, the General Assistance program controlled entirely by the County."

We're getting a lot of support from welfare rights organizations."

The abridgment of the rights of any group jeopardizes the rights of all. The Board of Supervisors of Sacramento could withdraw the restraining order at any time but instead has chosen its steadfast denial of human rights. The Social Workers Union is determined to survive these police state tactics and win their strike.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

Students will include members of existing ghetto organizations; residents of the communities selected for organization by the Union of Organizers; and college students, church and union people who show a willingness and capacity to organize. The network of friendships and personal



contacts among Movement activists around the country has already started to draw potentially new, as well as former, organizers who want to come to Chicago, learn how to organize and dig-in for the struggle.

Teachers will include organizers from the city with considerable experience. They will be participants in the learning process along with the students; the school assumes that there is no single teacher of community organizing, but that scattered pieces of knowledge and experience can be brought together through a curriculum into something approaching a body of knowledge on organizing.

CURRICULUM AND RESEARCH

Curriculum for the school is already being developed. A six-week session has begun at the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO), a group growing out of the city's Puerto Rican rebellion this summer. Topics for the training sessions at LADO include: urban renewal,

the community union model, tenant and welfare unions, fund raising, communications, taxes, political machines, youth organizing, the structure of community power, and history of the Movement in the city and the country. A session is also underway with several black groups, one being the Westside's Future Leaders of America, whose "training" is running an aldermanic campaign they expect to lose.

These "dry runs" will supplement the internal education materials already developed by existing groups. For example, JOIN Community Union has been running an all-day-Friday program for two months, involving fifteen community people. The JOIN curriculum includes new written materials, films, etc., covering topics like urban renewal, the city machine, the school system, taxes and the press.

Part of the School's purpose will be to continually create new materials that can be used in organizer training. If a group wants to know about a specific issue, there will be written materials, tapes of past sessions, filmstrips and films. These materials will be a part of the School's library.

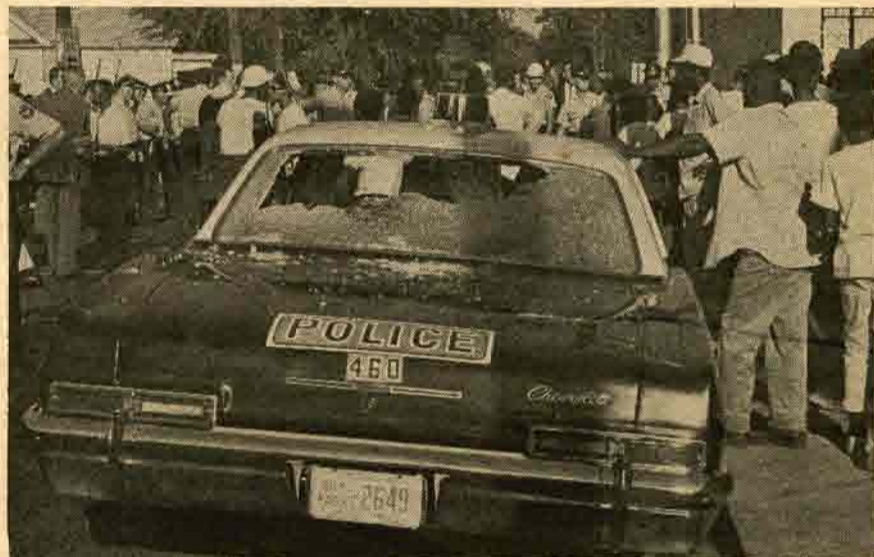
The School will provide a regular in-

formation service to community groups, drawing upon its own resources and those of students and social scientists in the Chicago area. Mainly because of our information needs, but also to involve and reinvolve people now located in the Universities, the School has developed a research arm. During spring vacation in March there will be two ten-day sessions involving two-hundred university students from the Chicago area. During the summer there will be a longer and more intensive research program.

ALLIES NEEDED

People working for change at a local level need allies. We know that JOIN, LADO, and other Chicago groups, the MFDP, Delano or Lowndes County Freedom Organization will mean nothing in our struggle for democratic and revolutionary ideals if they remain isolated and stand alone. Organizers and organizations of the poor must multiply; they must be recreated again and again.

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