

THE**MOVEMENT**Published by
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of California

NATCHEZ BOYCOTT SUCCESS BUSINESS CUT 25-50%

NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI --

One of the most successful commercial boycotts ever conducted by the civil rights movement (according to the Wall Street Journal) has just ended. A series of demands were won, but the long-range effects of the boycott, both good and bad, are still to be seen.

Retaliation

The business leaders and the Chamber of Commerce of Natchez met early last month to plan a counter-offensive against the tightly organized boycott that Natchez Negroes were waging against them. The boycott at that time had cut business from 25% to 50% in a three week period.

The owner of a women's clothing store heavily patronized by Negroes, was quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying, "Most of us can hold out for a few months because Christmas is coming up. But after that, a lot of stores here are going to go out of business." The owner had cut advertising by 40% and laid off a third of his employees.

Lay-Off Threat

The meeting of business leaders was attended by Balmer Hill, Jr. (Armstrong Tire; a Sears - Roebuck affiliate), B.F. Ritchie (International Paper Company and Mississippi Economic Council), Grady Sargent (Southern Bell Tel & Tel), R.B. Forman (Director of the City Bank & Trust and President of the Natchez School Board), and other business leaders.

Their decision was to threaten the mass firings of Negroes working for Chamber of Commerce members and to encourage white residents to dismiss Negro help. Since International Paper and Armstrong Tire employ 2500 of the 2800 manufacturing employees in Natchez and Adams Counties, this kind of retaliation would leave a large percentage of Negro workers jobless unless they submit to the Chamber's demands that

the boycott be ended and "business return to normal."

Negro Demands

The demands of local Negro leaders were presented to the city in late August, the day after the car of the NAACP President was bombed, and the president seriously injured. Included in the demands were the enactment of an adequate housing code, desegregation of the hospital, public facilities, schools, and more hiring of Negro policemen and clerks. Other demands were police escorts for Negro funerals, and the use of courtesy titles, Mrs., Miss, Mr., by public officials when addressing Negro employees.

The demands were refused and the community began picketing and boycotting the downtown merchants. Over 700 citizens were arrested and imprisoned in Parchman Penitentiary.

Mr. Bill Ware, SNCC worker in Natchez, reported by telephone at press time that SNCC was encouraging people to continue the boycott until demands were met on more than a token basis.

Agreement

After several weeks of picketing and the boycott, city officials agreed to hire four negro policemen, six auxiliary policemen, appoint a Negro to the school board, set up a biracial housing commission, desegregate the hospital and instruct city employees to use the terms Mr. Miss and Mrs.

The boycott, has now stopped. On December 1st, NAACP officials signed an agreement with the Chamber of Commerce. At that time, 23 downtown stores agreed to hire Negroes, public facilities and the hospital were desegregated. Although the boycott is officially off, Natchez sources say that some business may still have slack sales. The desegregation of public schools will probably start by the Fall of 1966.

Delano Workers Ask National Boycott ■ P. 3



MEXICAN AND FILIPINO farm workers on Delano picket line. The historic grape strike is beginning its 4th month.

George Ballis photo

Volunteers Needed By SNCC In Alabama

SNCC is planning a year-long program (January-December 1966) of political organization in the Black Belt counties of Central Alabama.

Concentrating in 16 to 22 counties, SNCC workers will organize people on a county to county basis into an independent political movement. Freedom schools and adult classes will be conducted in political education for Negroes newly registered under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

SNCC is asking for volunteers who: 1) have had some experience or training in practical politics or who are willing to learn, 2) have practical training in running voter registration programs and establishing community support for such programs, 3) can provide for themselves financially at least four months of the year's program.

It is essential that volunteers commit themselves for the entire year's program. There will be a training session in late January or early February in Atlanta, Georgia.

For applications, contact Shirley Wright, SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30313.

THEATRE FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NO THEATER



GIL MOSES

Gilbert Moses and John O'Neal met in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1963. Gil was an editor of the Mississippi Free Press and John was working for SNCC on a literacy project. Gil was also directing a drama project at Tougaloo College. Together they founded the Free Southern Theater.

"Our ideas at that time were basically bourgeois," says Gil. "We thought in terms of 'making it,' of success, not in terms of profit, but in terms of theater-for-theater's sake. We've grown a lot since then."

Gil Moses and Murray Levy, who joined the company in the summer of 1964, after the first FST tour, are travelling the country now. The FST is temporarily at a standstill; they have no money. Until they raise \$45,000 they may not be able to continue.

The FST's home is New Orleans. There they rehearse, there the actors live and sometimes work part-time when there is no money. Most of the performances are given on the road in one-night and two-night stands around the south in com-

munities where SNCC and CORE are active.

The plays they toured were IN WHITE AMERICA, Brecht's THE RIFLES OF SENORA CARRAR, WAITING FOR GODOT by Samuel Beckett, Sean O'Casey's SHADOW OF A GUNMAN, and PURLIE VICTORIOUS by Ossie Davis. WAITING FOR GODOT was the most unusual and controversial.

"Movement people objected at first," says Gil. "I don't mean to criticize them but they thought it would be irrelevant, a risk. They thought people wouldn't be interested. We were afraid of it too."

"Instead, it spoke directly to the people. We discovered meanings that commercial productions in New York and the North obscured. GODOT shows how simple problems can become immensely complex — just the act of staying alive, staying together. What most people picked up on was the relation of slave to master. People saw GODOT as the state they were in before the Movement came to their town. They would say, 'We're not waiting; we're in motion.'

"Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer reacted very

strongly to GODOT. She got up in the intermission and gave a little speech on how important the play was and how the audience should listen seriously to what it was about."

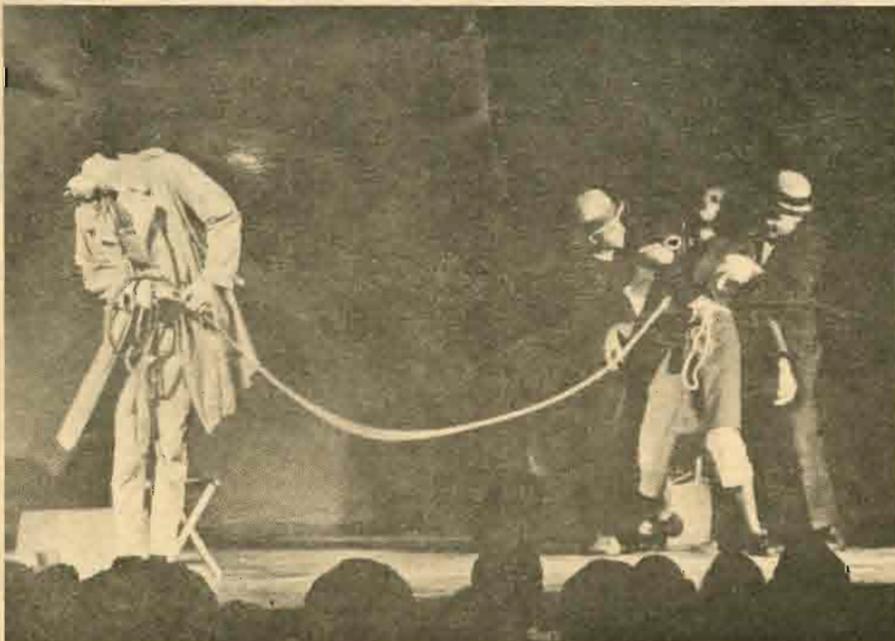
"In fact she just about ruined the play," interrupted Murray. "Everyone was laughing and enjoying the play; after she spoke they stopped and were very seriously listening."

"I don't think she ruined it," said Gil, "but she did show that we're giving life and death meanings to the play that were impossible in a removed, isolated, commercial theater. By the end of the tour it wasn't the same play. It meant something to the audience, so we were forced to play for clarity. Actors in the commercial theater can obscure and slur the meaning in order to get an 'interesting' production. We couldn't."

What is the difference between the FST and the commercial theater? they were asked.

"Our ideology," said Gil, "is that theater is important. There are few theaters doing plays of importance. We want to develop an art that will grow with the audience. We began by rebelling against the level of education in the South. We wanted to open up the possibilities of critical thought, to provide alternatives to the clichés that people, black and white, are fed daily in the South. We want a theater that works by comparison, rather than propaganda, that stretches people's ideas by indirection and reflection. We felt that plays like GODOT

continued on last page



FST PRODUCTION OF "Waiting for Godot"

SPECIAL SNCC REPORT

EAST COAST MIGRANT WORKERS

MARYLAND --

Last summer, Steve Fraser, a full-time volunteer from New York with the Eastern Shore Project in Maryland, and I spent about six weeks in migrant labor camps in Dorchester and Caroline counties.

In retrospect, our activity was more investigative than anything else -- we learned a lot.

We tried to organize a strike for higher wages which, also in retrospect, was futile. But talking about a strike enabled us to have discussions and meetings in 17 camps and to talk at length with about 200 persons, some individually, others in groups. Neither of us feel that we wasted our time or anybody else's.

What we learned, I think, more than anything else, is that the freedom movement is relevant and crucial to a labor movement among rural, southern farm laborers. They are ready to move if they are just shown how.

The farm laborer, as with other poor people, has a sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of his own condition and has many ideas of how to better it. Many of our discussions ended with our conviction that the only thing a farm labor organizer has to do is get people together to talk. Then, together they will act.

The two biggest factors which keep farm laborers from acting on their own are poverty and isolation. Their condition is almost completely similar to the majority of rural Negroes in the deep South. Poverty and isolation foster apathy and fear, which in turn increase their sense of alienation and extend the cycle of poverty.

In the Labor Camps

Here are some of the camps we've been into. We've been to each at least three times, talking with individuals or having a larger meeting, and to many, we've been five or six times.

Tanyard Road, North -- A small camp, one crew. (Most are one crew.) Interesting because the wife of the crew leader is so strong in her defense of farm work, prevailing wages, piece work, the crew system, and really proud of herself for being a farm worker.

"Kennedy freed us all. I'se free to do what I wants."

Part of the reason for her loud defense may be understood by learning that she and her husband are planning to remain on the Eastern Shore, and will continue to work for the same farmer. He is going to let them live in a sizable house, rent free.

"Nobody pays rent in this camp. All they pays for is electricity for their televisions."

A group of shacks clustered in the shadows. The water comes from a pump emptying into a stagnant ditch. The water smells.

We have a difficult time talking with the crew because she keeps interrupting. Finally I get her alone, and Steve talks with the crew. They have plenty of complaints and ideas.

Richardson Road Camp -- If someone asks me about the camps, I'll say they're all bad, but this one's the best.

A fairly new shed with family units and a converted barn and a chicken house for single men. One pump for water, a good one. A new latrine.

Small, hand-lettered sign:
CREW LEADER - CHARLES SHARP
I pay 25¢ for cucumbers and
14¢ for tomatoes

This camp has a lot of single men, including two white men. (Altogether, in 17 camps, we encountered only five white men working in the crews.)

We have three good discussions in Charles Sharp's camp, with a lot of people talking up. The usual questions -- what if they kick us out? How will we get through a strike? What organization is backing you? How long will it last? When will it start?

Shiloh Camp seems to be an old religious camp meeting ground, now filled on harder

times. It has a large shed with a stage where there may have been revivals.

With two crews and at least 150 people, there are only two water taps -- for washing, cooking, and drinking.

McWilliams catches us in there one day and kicks us out. Periodically after that, state and county police cruise through.

Steve and I are each talking with a group of people when he drives in with two other guys in the car. This isn't like Mississippi in some ways, not frightening at all. More of an opportunity than anything else.

Facing the Owner

He gets out of the car and walks over to look at the "One Man, One Vote" poster tacked on a tree. Then he comes at us. People falling out of the houses to listen.

"What are you doing here?"
"We're talking about wages. Want to join us?"

"You're trash, troublemakers. Get out of here before I call the cops."

"We're not causing trouble. The trouble is already here."

"Get out of here before I take my car and push you out."

"If you try to push my car, I will stand in front of the bumper and you will have to break my legs."

Pause.
McWilliams: "Hey Nickerson! Hey Belamy! (Crew leaders) "Get out here. I want to talk to you!"

To Nickerson: "Who are these people? Do you know what they're talking about?"

Nickerson: "No, I Don't."

McWilliams: "Did you ask them in here?"

Nickerson: "No."

McWilliams: "Did you ask them to leave?"

Nickerson: "No."

McWilliams (to us): "I don't know what you're trying to do. If my crops aren't picked, they'll rot."

"I'd rather see crops rotting than people rotting."

"Get out."

"Well, we're waiting for a couple of guys who say they want to come with us to another camp to talk about a strike. We're waiting for them."

"I'm calling the cops."

While he's heading for the phone, we talk with the people, at least 60 by this time.

"You know and we know that the reason he's kicking us out of this camp is because he doesn't want to pay you higher wages. We're going now because we can't get arrested, we have too much work to do. But we'll be back."

All the camps are pretty much the same. Hot, dusty. Trash everywhere. Garbage overflowing. Friday nights, people waiting to get paid off. Upended baskets for sitting; groups of people talking. People dancing. Young guys playing catcher shooting baskets or heading for town. Kids dragging tin cans on wire. Voices rising and falling. Laughter. Shouts. Trucks in from the fields with people climbing down slowly. Old people. Men and women.

Preston, Friendship, Glime Brother's, Spencer Jones', Buck Andrews', East New Market, John Hurst's We go into seventeen camps in all.

People who can't buy in a store what they pick in a field.

Camp near Hurlock where people live in rotting chicken houses. Farmer must have built a new place for his chickens. Lot of money in raising chickens.

Since leaving Maryland, I've spent about ten days travelling around the State of Florida, looking things over. Conditions in Florida are responsible for conditions all up and down the East Coast. Florida is the place where we must begin organizing.

Poverty in the midst of plenty.

"Affluent" SNCC Worker

How much longer will this problem confront and confound us? Even on SNCC wages, I am continually and painfully conscious of my own affluence. In addition to my background, education, and environment, much of my affluence is based on a simple fact -- my "subsistence" income

is still higher than the majority of poor people in this country.

My "subsistence" income allows me to buy the food I need for myself and my wife. It allows me to live in a decent place with heat and hot water and a gas stove and an icebox, with regular garbage collection. My child will be born in a hospital and delivered by a doctor. If he/she (?) needs medicine, he/she will get medicine. We have a telephone. We have a car which we can afford to run when we need to. I write letters to relatives and friends because I know where they are living. I have been asked to do jury duty in Maryland where I am a registered voter. I can talk with my Congressman. I have a Congressman. I do not have to steal. I do not have to rob. I do not have to beg. I am not stricken with poverty.

Approximately 250,000 people who work as migrant and seasonal farm workers on America's East Coast, from Florida to Maine, have a yearly income of \$500-800.

Afro-Americans, Spanish speaking Puerto Ricans and Cubans, and Anglo-Saxons make up the East Coast migrant stream, and live and work in the "Blue Sky Sweatshop."

Trade unions have consistently shied away from any attempts to organize farm labor. There have been few regular union organizers in America's fields and orchards.

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shantytowns and labor camps. Unions cite many reasons for their reluctance, but I think unions, for the most part, are like the rest of America. They just don't care.

But a strike by agricultural workers in Kern County, Calif., is giving hope to those who are more than just "concerned" with poverty stricken farm laborers, those who are willing to work to begin to change things as they are.

I believe the grape pickers are going to win their strike.

But how will a farm worker in Belle Glade, Florida hear about the grape-pickers' victory in California? Will he read about it in the Belle Glade Herald? Will Glade's growers put out a leaflet explaining the strike and how the strike will benefit him?

I doubt it.

A farm worker's organization will begin to combat the corporate power structure known as Agribusiness from the place where it counts, from the bottom up. Assisted by civil rights organizers and by militant and independent trade unions, the farm worker and his organization will be instrumental in not only changing the conditions under which he lives and works, but in any community in which he is present.

Like the Teamsters, for instance, and the MFDP, farm labor union will have a strength and an influence all out of proportion to its actual size.

There are thousands and thousands of people who are not considered farm workers, but who are part of the farm labor force. These people are located up and down the East Coast, mostly in slums and ghettos of cities and large towns.

During the harvesting season, they work in the fields; not because they want to but because they have to, in order to live.

There are thousands and thousands of people who work steadily for 80 cents or a dollar or a dollar twenty-five an hour. They want and need more money. But the rural, agricultural interests also control local and state politicians and keep wages low and unions cut.

Unorganized labor is sixty percent of the American working people.

There is a lot of work to be done.

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TWO-WAY RADIO SYSTEM SAVES LIVES IN SOUTH

SNCC Radios Go To CORE, Delano Strike

It has often been said that if James Chavez, Michael Schwerner and Andy Goodman had been driving a car with a two-way radio, they would not have been murdered.

Shortly after their deaths, the Federal Communications Commission granted citizens band licenses to SNCC. During that summer a crew installed two-way radios in the SNCC Freedom Houses and SNCC cars throughout the South. Over half of Mississippi was covered by this system, so a civil rights field worker could stay in radio contact with one or more freedom houses anywhere in this area.

Many lives were saved:

* Jesse Harrison, doing voter registration in Leflore County, Mississippi, was chased by three unmarked cars. He was alone and no one knew where he was. Pulling into an abandoned house, he was able to raise the car antenna and call for help. (His pursuers had blocked the road in both directions). He managed to contact the Greenwood Freedom House and was rescued by State Troopers.

* Cliff Vaughn, through a mistake in timing, arrived at the Sumner, Mississippi courthouse four hours before a group of voter registration workers. The sheriff and a deputy came out with drawn revolvers. He radioed for help, and a nearby civil rights base told him that relief was on the way. Hearing this, the law officers put their weapons away.

* In many areas the KKK also has citizen band radios. This serves both sides. In one case two SNCC field workers were driving toward Jackson, Mississippi and listening to

the KKK radio messages. They heard their car being described and plans for an ambush, quickly turned around and went back to the Freedom House.

To meet the problems of deterioration (the high humidity in the South damages radio crystals and microphones) and jamming by police and KKK, the SNCC radio committee decided this year to shift over to a FM Business Band.

This would provide full radio coverage for the entire South. A civil rights worker would be able to drive from Arkansas to the Atlantic Ocean and be in contact with a friendly base at all times. CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have agreed to cooperate in this.

SNCC RADIOS TO CORE . . .

This July CORE asked SNCC for technical assistance in providing radio communication for CORE workers in Louisiana. After arranging for the purchase, Morty Schiff, director of the SNCC radio project went to New Orleans to set up the network.

The entire system was purchased, installed and tuned within ten days. It covers CORE projects in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Jonesboro, Monroe and Clinton.

. . . AND DELANO

The current strike in Delano, covering grape fields over a 1000 square mile area, made radio communications necessary for the striking Farm Workers Association. The Americans For Democratic Action in Los Angeles enlisted the aid of several congressmen (Edwards, George Brown, and Hawkins) in getting a radio license.

As soon as the license was obtained, the SNCC Radio Committee shipped out several two-way radios from Mississippi and Georgia. SNCC could ill afford to part with them, but the situation in Delano is so much like the Mississippi delta that a short term loan of the sets was made.

The National Farm Workers' Association Asks You, Please

Don't Buy

SCHENLEY / DELANO LIQUORS / GRAPES

Over 4,500 farm workers in Delano, California have been on strike against Delano grape growers since September 8, 1965.

These California farm workers are seeking the rights you take for granted: UNION RECOGNITION and COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. Delano grape growers refuse to recognize and respect these rights.

It is vital to us — consumers and workers — that this strike be settled soon and settled fairly.

Delano grape growers can keep on avoiding their economic and moral responsibilities only because it is profitable for them to do so.

YOU CAN MAKE THIS INJUSTICE UNPROFITABLE — YOU CAN SPEAK FOR JUSTICE!

Support the unity of Mexican-American and Filipino farm workers in the longest strike in California labor history.

AMONG THE BAY AREA SPONSORS ARE:

HENRY ANDERSON, Citizens for Farm Labor
DR. THOMAS N. BURBRIDGE, U.C. Medical Center
MARY COLWELL, Catholic Interracial Council
TERENCE CANNON, Editor, The Movement
REV. THOMAS DIETRICH, Howard Presbyterian Church
PETER FRANCK
REV. DONALD GANOUNG, Vicar, Episcopal Church in the Mission District
REV. FRANCIS GEDDES, Minister, United Church of Christ
ABEL GONZALES, President, Centro Social Obrero
ROBERT E. GONZALES, Mexican-American Political Association
REV. WAYNE C. HARTMIRE, California Migrant Ministry
FANCHON LEWIS, Temp. Chairman, Bay Area Aid for Bogalusa
EDWARD KEATING, Publisher, Ramparts
KEN MC ELDOWNEY, Regional staff, Students for a Democratic Society
MIKE MILLER, Field Secretary, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
IGNACIO T. RODRIGUEZ, Recording Sec'y, Centro Social Obrero
MARY E. SALAZAR, Glide Foundation

BLAIR STAPP, Artists Alliance for Human Rights
NANCY SWADESH
WILFRED USSERY, National 1st Vice President, CORE
ED DUTTON, Director, California Center for Community Development
REV. ROBERT OLMSTEAD, Shattuck Ave., Methodist Church
BAY AREA FRIENDS OF SNCC
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY
LAWRENCE GUYOT, Chairman
REV. HERMAN FARLOW, Faith Presbyterian Church
REV. LES LARSON, West Oakland Parish
PROF. FRED STRIPP, U.C.
PROF. JOHN LEGGETT, U.C.

An ad-hoc committee of AFL-CIO, ILWU and Teamster leaders is being formed.

CALL BY FARM WORKERS FOR NATIONAL BOYCOTT

Since September 8, 1965, two farm worker unions, the independent National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO (AWOC), have been striking the rich and powerful Delano, California grape growers. The workers are striking to gain a just portion of the huge wealth they create. Now that the harvest season is over, the workers need nation-wide support to impress the growers with the justice and urgency of their cause.

The strikers are asking for a nationwide consumer boycott against Schenley products and Delano fresh grapes. Inside this MOVEMENT BOYCOTT SUPPLEMENT you will find sample instructions which can be used by persons interested in constructive action.

The principal boycott is aimed at Schenley. This huge corporation farms approximately 4,500 acres of land around Delano. Schenley is the largest producer of wine and other alcoholic products under strike.

When informing your community or organization about the boycott, there is a useful fact to remember: The Delano growers are being aided in business by immense subsidies, many of which are received illegally. Almost the entire water supply for Delano grapes comes from the federally - constructed Friant-Kern Canal. According to federal officials, the total cost to bring this water to the land is \$700 an acre. The farms repay \$123 per acre. The rest - \$577 - is pure profit.

In numerous cases -- notably Schenley's -- the subsidized water is received in violation of federal regulations.

**Send Your Support To
The Families Of Strikers**

FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND

BOX 894

DELANO, CALIFORNIA



THE GRAPE SOCIETY

THE MOVEMENT BOYCOTT SUPPLEMENT

Boycott Instructions

TO ALL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED WITH THE GRAPE STRIKE IN DELANO, CALIFORNIA .
SUGGESTIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR A CONSUMER INFORMATION BOYCOTT.

1. Call an emergency meeting of your group to form an ad hoc committee to aid the farm workers' strike. Delegates from potentially interested and sympathetic groups: civil rights, church, union . . . should also be invited.

2. Send a delegation to the Retail Clerks Union, inform them of the boycott, and ask their cooperation. They might (unofficially) advise a large chain-store not to buy Delano or Schenley products. This union could also collect all canned foods returned by the chains and send them to the NFWA office in Delano for families of strikers.

3. Send a delegation to the management of selected chains and ask them officially not to buy Delano grapes or Schenley products. You may tell the management that you intend to use a consumer informational boycott; but you're forbidden by law to use threats of coercion or a general boycott of the store.

4. Set up (after steps 2 & 3) -- AS SOON AS POSSIBLE -- AT LEAST ONE WEEK BEFORE CHRISTMAS -- an informational consumer picket in front of selected chains.

This kind of informational picket means you hand out leaflets to all customers entering the store and ask them to respect the boycott. (The upper half of THE MOVEMENT SUPPLEMENT first page contains the wording we ask you to use.)

IN ADDITION to this kind of picket line we would also like to see some lines with signs and placards urging customers not to buy these products. We leave this kind of picket line for you to decide where and when and what kind because you know how you can be most effective in your area.

6. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT -- in order to create the kind of persuasive tension that is needed in Delano -- to make every effort to publicize this boycott through the newspapers, radio and TV in your area.

7. This intensive and short-term effort to inform the consumer-public can be the best way to build future support for California farm workers who are fighting for their right of collective bargaining, IT IS UP TO YOU.

8. We are forbidden by law to boycott stores merely because they handle Schenley products. Picket lines cannot encourage general boycotts by consumers of a store or by employees of stores carrying Schenley products.

Viva la causa!

National Farm Workers Association, Delano

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in California

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: BOYCOTT COMMITTEE, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California.

Secret GROWER

REPORT ON SCABS

SAN FRANCISCO -- The Council of California Growers, in a secret "Newsletter" dated October 25, confessed to problems growers are having in getting scabs to work for low wages. El Malcriado prints directly from this "For Members Only" report:

"Growers went to great extremes to find workers . . . they spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on recruiting programs throughout the Western half of the United States . . . programs with results that varied from complete failure to minimum success."

El Malcriado says: Save your hundreds of thousands. Pay local workers \$1.40.

THE MOVEMENT

is published monthly by the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of California.

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\$1 per year, individual copies
\$9 per hundred per month,
bulk subscriptions.

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THE MOVEMENT, published monthly by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California 94117. \$1 per year.

VALLEY LABOR CITIZEN, organized labor paper of the Central San Joaquin Valley, 479 North Fresno Street, Fresno, California. Published weekly, \$4 per year.

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STRIKING FARM WORKERS STOP GRAPE SHIPMENTS AT DOCKS



SAN FRANCISCO --

Four pickets representing the striking workers in Delano stopped the shipment of 1250 boxes of grapes from Pier 50C last month. Standing in a heavy downpour were Serge Tumbago, a member of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO), Mr. and Mrs. Tony Mendez of the Farm Workers Association and Jim Bramell, a former Teamster and farm worker.

The grapes, picked by scab labor in Delano, were to have been loaded on the cargo-passenger liner President Wilson. But when the longshoremen, teamsters and ship clerks saw the pickets, they refused to handle the boxes. Longshoremen and clerks stopped all work, and Teamster truck drivers refused to work their trucks, which lined up hundreds of feet outside the pier.

"The cooperation by the unions was fantastic," says Bramell, one of the organizers of the picket action. "The Teamsters brought us rain slickers. The ILWU and Teamster members bought people dinner. Guys would pull up in their trucks and say, 'I hope you win your beef.'"

The American President Lines tried to get the picket line declared illegal; the ship was scheduled to leave for the Far East the next day, with 400 passengers. They did not wait, however, for the ar-

bitrator's decision; they discharged the grapes and put them back into cold storage.

"The growers came and got the grapes and took them back to Delano," reported Bramell.

The next day, 50 cases of Delano grapes were found at Pier 28. When the pickets appeared, the boxes were pulled off the docks.

The picket action on the docks is continuing. On November 28, another shipment was stopped at the Howard Terminal in Oakland. Longshoremen again respected the picket line and 2500 cases of grapes were removed from the terminal.

The grape shipment was from the Di-Giorgio farms, scheduled for loading aboard the freighter Burrard.

The ILWU newspaper THE DISPATCHER reported one longshoreman as saying, "This is a reminder of the old days when unions always supported each other in a beef. That's something lots of us have forgotten. Now maybe those growers in Delano will get the message."

How do the pickets know where the grapes are going to be? That's a top secret. Needless to say, it's similar to the "spy system" described by Wendy Goepel in the last issue of THE MOVEMENT. And it's highly accurate.

FARM WORKER POVERTY GRANT THREATENED BY GROWERS, POLITICIANS

From a letter by Cesar Chavez
DELANO, CALIFORNIA --

In February of 1965, the NFWA (National Farm Workers Association) applied for a grant under the "War on Poverty" legislation. The application received prompt attention and, after several revisions, was approved. Approval came a few days prior to the grape strike being called. Sensing that it would be impossible to administer both the strike and the \$268,000 grant, we of the NFWA requested that the money be held up until after the strike. This met with the approval of Sergeant Shriver.

Shortly after the grant was made public, the strike began. Growers from the Delano area, as a means of harassing the NFWA, pushed through the Delano City Council a resolution asking for the suspension of the grant.

The resolution read, in part: "Cesar Chavez is well known in this city, having spend various periods of his life in this community, including attendance at public schools, and it is the opinion of this council that he does not merit the trust of the Council with regard to the administration of the grant." This is smear number one.

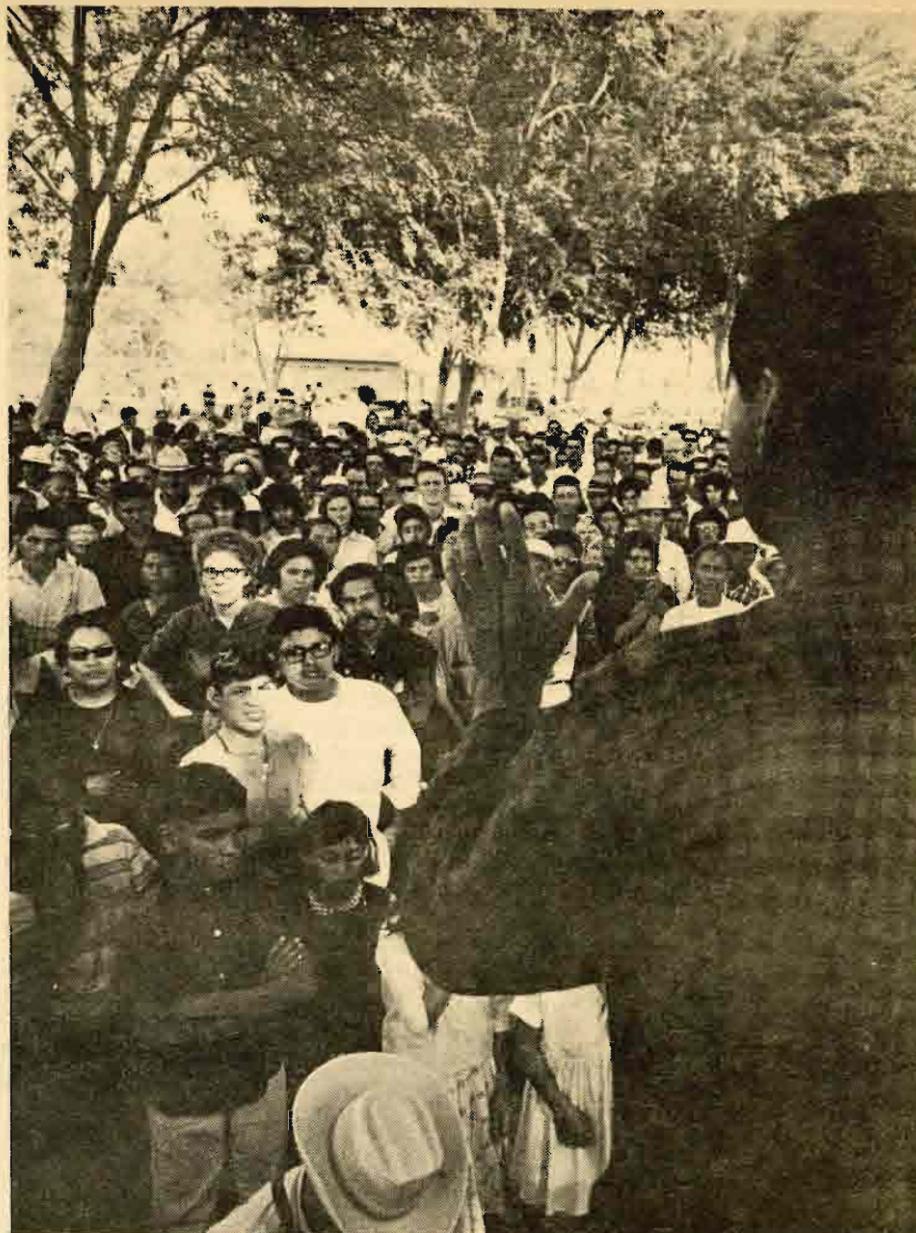
Representative Harlan Hagen, a humble servant of Tulare and Kern County growers, took up the cause. Mr. Hagen, who had earlier endorsed wholeheartedly the NFWA application, now became the Delano City

Council's and grape growers' agent. He questioned whether the Association "could objectively administer a federally - sponsored education program." Smear number two.

Now recently, Senator Kuchel also has asked for an investigation of the grant. He, too, has questioned "the experience and competence of the sponsors." Mr. Kuchel of all people, should comprehend the damage done by uneducated smear tactics. He has been victimized by such cruelty.

The fact is, Senator Kuchel never talked to the sponsors regarding the program. The fact is, Mr. Kuchel, who prides himself on careful fact gathering, and who abhors smear tactics, has smeared the National Farm Workers Association without making the least effort to learn first hand about the grant.

The powerful growers of Kern and Tulare Counties, with their political allies, have thrown up tremendous barriers to halt the strike. They have forced the Sheriff's office to arrest us for talking out loud. So, the issue is this; this grant was the first made in California to a grassroots, poverty level, organization. Economic opportunity legislation guarantees maximum involvement of the poor. The story from Washington today is that our grant may soon be cancelled. . . and it will be unless we fight for our rights, now.



CESAR CHAVEZ, Director of NFWA, addresses a rally of striking farmworkers after a march through Delano.

What is the Farm Workers' Poverty Program?

The controversial "War on Poverty" grant to the striking National Farm Workers Association, which has been funded and may now be taken away, is a three point program. Its aim is "the education of predominantly Spanish-speaking seasonal and migratory farm workers in California's Southern San Joaquin Valley."

It will employ thirty eight farm workers and aid 10,000 farm workers directly, according to the NFWA. The three points of the program are:

SELF-HELP CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Eighteen farm workers will be employed as community workers. They will organize home study groups and conduct house meeting sessions. The aim will be to assist farm workers in such areas as obtaining water and sewage systems, learning their rights from health and welfare agencies, filing claims for wages and benefits.

CONSUMER EDUCATION

Two farm workers will be trained in this field and will work in low-income communities. They will instruct workers in the use of credit and credit unions, family budgeting, time-plan payments, mortgages, insurance. They will help workers to avoid the loan sharks and dishonest salesmen who frequent low-income neighborhoods.

RESEARCH AND ADMINISTRATION

Insurance companies do not cover farm workers with group auto and health insurance programs. Research will be carried out to get the necessary actuarial data.

Administrative costs include salaries for the Director, legal services and secretarial help. The total grant is for \$267,000.

The NFWA, in a public statement, commented, "The program was submitted for funding under Section III-b, Migrant Programs, of the OEO, which section is directed by Mr. Tom Karter. He is strongly supporting the funded program, but he and his boss Shriver, are receiving pressure from legislators and right-wing groups. It is important to know that Sargeant Shriver offered Mr. Chavez a \$21,000 job with the Peace Corps when it was beginning; this is evidence of Shriver's faith in Chavez' ability. The state office of economic opportunity has strongly supported the NFWA application. But only pressure from friends of farm workers may be able to preserve this grant."



SYMPATHY MARCH IN DELANO of farmworkers and friends. Almost 1000 took part on the Sunday, Sept. 26 march through the residential section.

PROFILE OF A CALIFORNIA CONGRESSMAN

SPECIAL TO THE MOVEMENT

Harlan Hagen

No one should have been surprised when Democratic Congressman Harlan Hagen from Delano blustered against a war on poverty grant to the Farm Workers Association last month. Especially since the FWA is one of two unions challenging the monolithic power of the farm interests in the San Joaquin Valley. He has repeatedly gone to heel for the growers when the chips were down.

Or when he voted against the challenge to the seating of the five illegally-elected Mississippi congressmen.

Split Political Personality

Hagen won his seat 15 years ago when he defeated a right-winger, over whom he was a definite improvement. On almost all votes in the House he can be counted with the Democratic consensus on such things as social security, urban affairs, and the minimum wage.

However -- on two key issues of economic and political power in the Valley: farm labor and water development, and on civil liberties -- Hagen is consistently illiberal.

This split personality enables him to get heavy campaign contributions from both organized labor and the growers, according to the California Secretary of State's office.

A Very Frank Man

Hagen has one definite admirable quality: frankness. When he sponsors water legislation favoring the large landowners, he says right out that the big boys want it. Another liberal Democrat, Bernie Sisk from the adjoining San Joaquin Valley district, supports the same legislation, but screens his actions with arguments about states' rights and constitutionality.

A few years back Hagen was equally honest about the House Un-American Activities Committee. Hagen told a meeting of Democratic Clubs in Bakersfield that he thought the purpose of HUAC was to harass people, and as far as he was concerned they were doing very well.

Against FWA Poverty Program

Running true to form, Hagen announced in October that the \$267,000 poverty grant to the Farm Workers Association was "obviously defective". He conferred with local officials and growers, and urged them to ignore the unions, organize the workers on their own and determine wages and working conditions unilaterally.

He worried that the FWA might use the poverty funds as a tool against the growers. He called for investigations. He personally, according to reliable reports, is badgering the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

Hagen's worries do not seem to extend to worrying whether the growers will use their huge federal subsidies as a tool against the unions.

While grapes are not price-supported, growers in the Delano area receive almost their total water supply from the federally constructed Friant-Kern canal. This subsidy amounts to roughly \$600 an acre. There are 37,500 acres of grapes in the Delano area. The total makes the FWA grant look like cigarette money.

Hagen's attacks on the FWA grant are hypocritical and indefensible. So are his repeated -- even if frank -- attacks on water development, farm labor, civil liberties and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Not Much Chance of Change

The movement, however, is in a weak position to unseat Hagen when he is compared to his right-wing predecessor Werdel, or his unannounced-as-yet Republican opponent for next year, Olympic star Bob Mathis. Mathis is an Eisenhower type who just moved back into the district from Los Angeles and whose main platform at the moment seems to revolve around his claim that he can beat middle-aged Hagen in a foot race.

And nothing seems to hurt Hagen too much; not even when he was rolled in a Washington DC alley after picking up a play-for-pay girl.

Cesar Chavez Talks About Organizing And The History of The NFWA

Cesar Chavez, Director of the National Farm Worker's Association (NFWA), spoke at a session of the California SNCC state-wide meeting in Fresno last month. Here are some excerpts from the tape made of his talk and his answers to questions.

I have been asked to discuss some of my thoughts on community organizing. Labor organizing, as I know it, has a lot of community organizing in it. When you read of labor organizing in this country you can say there is a point where labor "is organized." But in community organizing there never is a point where you can say "it is organized."

In community organizing you need a continuous program that meets the needs of the people in the organization. I have seen many groups attempt community organization and many have failed. The biggest reason for this is that there is a big emphasis on meetings and discussion and writing up programs and not on working with the people. Many organizers get lost in the shuffle of going to meetings, and somehow those who are being organized are lost. Too often we see as a remedy to this, people suggesting that you should have a survey or a study made.

Any one who has done any community organizing would agree with me that you can't have a program until you have the people organized. I don't mean you have to wait until you're fully organized, but how can you write a program without the participation of those you are trying to organize?

Community organization is very difficult. You can't put it in the freezer for a couple of years and then thaw it out and you're in business again. Or even a month, Community organization can disintegrate right from under you. This is why we see so many other kinds of groups — church and labor — and so few community organizations formed.

There are a lot of different ideas of what community organization is. When I think of a community, I think not of Fresno, but of Negroes or Mexican-Americans, or poor workers.

Building Power

Anyone who thinks they can organize a community and then join with the power structure is in for an awful surprise. And a disappointment because things don't happen that way. When you speak of community organization you are also speaking, really, of power. If you haven't the power to do things you're not going to do anything. Some organizers I know say, "All I need is a good public relations man." This is a lot of nonsense. The only PR the opposition knows is power, and having the power to strike him where it hurts him, political and economic. You're building power based not on the prestige of your group, but on how many actual bodies you have with you and how many bodies can be united and directed.

In many cases community organizers have been started just because there was money available to have them started. This is another real problem in getting something permanent.

Money

I was in CSO (Community Services Organization) for many years. In some ways we were successful, but in one of the most important aspects we were a complete failure, and this was in getting the group to generate its own finances so it becomes permanent. I remember many times stopping organizing, so we could go organize another part of the community to raise money. In most cases when you get money, though this varies in degree, you have some strings attached. We got a lot of money for CSO and we made very clear to the donors that there could be no strings attached.

But there's always one string attached — that is when people give money, they expect miracles. Then your staff or Executive Board starts compromising between a well-thought out long-range program and something that will show immediate progress.

What is an Organizer?

Then there's another problem. People say, "I'm just an organizer." An organizer is an outsider in many cases — there's nothing wrong in that. But then he assumes a sort of special position in that program. First thing he says is "I'm not going to be

an officer; it's a people's program." What he's saying is he's something special, not an integral part of that group. I think that's a mistake. If you organize a good group, pretty soon you find yourself hoping, "I wish I had a vote in this outfit."

If you're going to do community organizing, you'll find out in the course of doing your job, some of the good people and some of the bad people invariably get hurt.

Another problem is respectability. If a minority group does "nice" things, like taking a petition to the Mayor, or having tea parties with the PTA, it's going to become respectable. And once you become a respectable group, you're not going to fight anymore. I've had a lot of experience in that. So if your group is going to City Hall or the Police Department and fight with the Police Chief, and someone on your Executive Board is friends with him, you're going to think twice before attacking him.

If an organizer comes looking for appreciation he might as well stay home. He's not going to get any, especially out of a group that's never been organized or had any power before.

In the Association, to get 100 members, we had a heck of a time. When we were over that, some joined on the strength of the others who joined. It wasn't because an organizer or an officer told him to join, but because another worker was right beside him in the fields telling him about it. So if you get a small group, they become the organizers. The only way I know is to spend an awful lot of time with each individual — hours and hours — until he understands and you've got him going.

How NFWA Began

It was a major decision for me to leave Los Angeles and CSO. CSO was the only organization I had ever known; it was my whole world. So it was difficult to quit and go out on my own. To go a little further back:

I was working in the fields when CSO came to San Jose. I was in the orchards, apricots and peaches. I talked to their organizer, Fred Ross, and the first thing I asked him was "How is CSO going to help the farmworker?" And he told me — "If we get strong enough, we're going to build a union. And I said, "That's for me." And of course I had a lot of hatred for the cops and that was one of the main issues of CSO in LA.

So it was just perfect for me; I was learning a lot of things. But after a while, it was growing too fast, and it was making a name for itself, and it was attracting a lot of people who were not farm workers, but who were semi-professional and professional Mexican-Americans. It developed a verbal commitment to farm workers, but no action, just legislation.

Best Motel In Town

There were other problems. It was unheard of that CSO would meet in a room like this (a meeting room in a low-rent housing project). It had to meet in the best motel in town, very expensive, and it cut off all the farm workers who couldn't afford to be there. The reason given was — we have to build prestige. The politicians have to know who we are; we can't take them to a dump. We have to take them to the best place in town and then we can relate to them about farm workers. I was naive about farm workers. I was naive enough in the beginning to buy that.

So we ended up just with farmworkers who had gone to school or who weren't farm workers anymore. They thought that going to school gave them the right to be leaders — which incidentally isn't the case; I'll debate that with anyone.

Out Of Touch

Pretty soon we developed conflict between the people with problems in the cities, whether to help them or the farm workers. Then somehow we got messed up with programs that meant little or nothing to the worker. For example — legislation. Too remote. The farm worker isn't trained to understand the processes of government, so having a big fight for unemployment insurance or a minimum wage law — they didn't understand it — they

had no idea how laws are made.

We'd constantly get situations where we'd explain about legislation and a guy would get up in the back and say, "I've been a farm worker all my life. This is a lot of nonsense. Let's go directly to the President." Or — "The Governor should issue a statement saying we should get paid more." And we'd have to explain that the Governor couldn't do that; and we lost him.

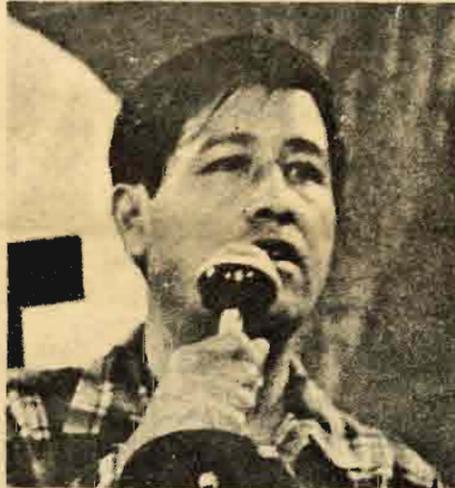
Or, when the officers of CSO were semi-professional or professional, it became a problem of communicating with the workers. In most cases the leadership had more to lose than the workers; they'd say, "We should fight, but we should be moderate."

Split

We couldn't get them to organize a union — they felt that farm workers were outside the jurisdiction of CSO — it was a "labor" problem. Some of us in the movement felt the only way to get it was to force the issue and if we lost move out and create a group that would serve only farm workers. We felt if we had nothing but farm workers in their own group a lot of ills we had known in CSO would not be present.

So in April, 1962 I moved out of LA and came down to Delano. A lot of people have asked me — why Delano, and the answer is simple. I had no money. My wife's family lived there, and I have a brother. And I thought if things go very bad we can always go and have a meal there. Any place in the Valley would have made no difference.

I had some ideas on what should be done. No great plans; just that it would take an awful lot of work and also that it was a gamble. If I can't organize them to a point where they can carry on their



own group then I'm finished, I can't do it, I'd move on and do something else.

I went around for about 11 months, and I went to about 87 communities and labor Camps and in each place I'd find a few people who were committed to doing something; something had happened in their lives and they were ready for it. So we went around to the towns, played the percentages, and came off with a group.

First Meeting

We had a convention here in Fresno, the first membership meeting, to set up a union — about 230 people from as many as 65 places. We knew the hardest thing would be to put across a program that would make them want to pay the \$3.50 (monthly dues), because we were dependent on that. I felt that organizing couldn't be done on outside money.

We had signed up about 1100 people. The first month 211 paid. At the end of three months we had 10 people paying. Talk about being scared! But we went back and kept at it. By this time Dolores (Huerta) was helping me up in the Northern part of the Valley, and I was getting help from Gilbert Pedilla, both of whom are Vice Presidents now. Gradually the membership was increasing.

At the end of six months we were up to about 200 members. Instead of going all over the Valley as I did at first, I started staying in one place long enough for them to get in touch with me if they wanted to. We put a lot of emphasis on the people getting members.

House Meetings

We had hundreds of house meetings. Sometimes 2 or 3 would come, sometimes none. Sometimes even the family that called the house meeting would not be there.

I wasn't trying to prove anything to anyone who had given money. If I'd been

under a board or a grant I don't think it would have worked. In the first place, I had to get the dues in order to eat. I suspect some of the members were paying dues because they felt sorry for me.

A guy who's paid dues for a year or three years has a stake in the Association. In CSO if I was making a report, and there were five people in the room and I mentioned four of them, the fifth would take off; very sensitive. We never got any arguments, any debate in CSO. Here there's a lot of questions about how the money is spent. It should be this way. (la)

At the beginning of the strike we had \$85 in the treasury. We had the problem of people going out on strike and having no way to support them. So we had a big drive to get workers to go outside the area to work so they wouldn't be strike-breakers.

Role Of Organizer

The organizer has to work more than anyone else in that group. Almost no one in a group is totally committed. And in the initial part of the movement there's the fear that when the organizer leaves, the movement will collapse. So you have to be able to say, I'm not going to be here a year, or 6 months, but an awful long time — until when they get rid of me they'll have leaders to do it themselves.

Question: Are you dealing with the problem of leadership by becoming the leadership — does that inhibit the development of leadership in NFWA?

We're young, and we'd say no, but we're not kidding ourselves. The best we can do is build barriers to guard against that. But we can't say to — say one of our Vice Presidents — "You've performed a function; you've developed as a leader — now we have to get rid of you because we've got to develop somebody else."

When you're doing nothing but organizing you can move the group and you can do an awful lot of things. If you don't have a paid staff, and that staff isn't in any one place long enough to make the thing strong, you're not going to get anywhere.

(The strike) is not a normal function of the Association. We need some time to do community organizing. We will have to go back into the community and do a lot of work we should have done before the strike. We'll take the time before the pruning season to do some organizing and strengthen the organization.

In order to develop leadership from the group, you've got to have something going. My experience may be different from SNCC, but from all I've seen, whenever an organizer leaves, that's pretty much the end of that group. So what do you have? You leave because you don't want to hold back the leadership developing — but how do you get the leadership without anything going? On that I've given an awful lot of thought.

AWOC

When we get to the point where we're negotiating, my hopes are to have a joint board where both groups would equally be represented and would be in a position to negotiate with the growers. The best thing for the growers would be to organize themselves and bargain with us collectively. But if they want to bargain individually, we'll do that too. I'd rather lose the strike than bargain with the growers separately from AWOC. In fact, I won't even talk to them unless someone from AWOC is present.

Since AWOC is affiliated with the AFL-CIO we don't go directly to them for support. We depend on the clergy, the students and civic groups. We have an informal agreement that they'll stick to labor donations and we'll go to the groups I mentioned.

We go beyond what we see as the limitations of a labor union and try to get benefits for our members before a contract. We have a combination between a labor union and a community service group. So we help the members with their individual problems and we have the Credit Union and the newspaper (El Malcriado) and a cooperative store we were starting before the strike came. And we have a small burial insurance program for them.

Hopefully we'll be able to strengthen the cooperative program — go further and have a garage cooperative. We want to organize a mutual insurance set up that will handle a health program for the workers.

Minimum Wage

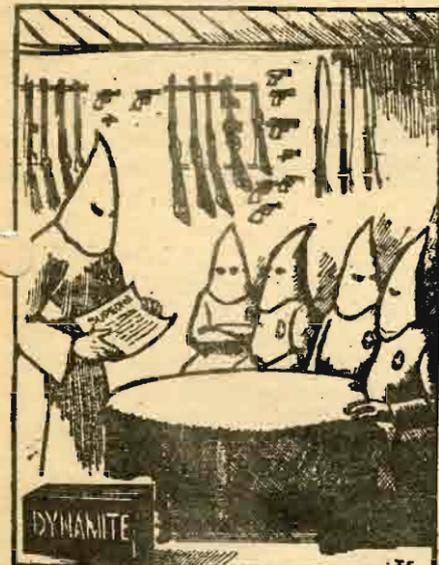
A minimum wage? Of course that would be good. But even with a minimum wage, we'll still have to strike to get a just wage.

HUAC Strategy KKK Hearings Pave Way for Rights Investigation

SPECIAL TO THE MOVEMENT

On November 13, *The Southern Courier* reported HUAC member Charles L. Weltner (D-Ga) as saying "There are no plans of anyone on the Committee to try and investigate civil rights groups."

The next day, the *Birmingham News* Washington Correspondent interviewed HUAC-member John Buchanan (R-Ala). The news reported "he predicted that when HUAC gets through with its probe of the Ku Klux Klan it will investigate other groups that stir racial prejudice and create situations that result in violence. These groups were described as "Dr. Martin Luther King's SCLC, James Farmer's CORE, and James Forman's SNCC." "I believe that a majority of the Committee will favor this course," stated Buchanan.



Stockett in the Afro-American, Baltimore
"As long as we have to be investigated I'm awful glad it's the House Un-American Activities Committee that's doing the investigating."

Buchanan developed in the interview the "respectable segregationists" balancing theory: "In Buchanan's view, both sides are equally to blame. The Klan would not get anywhere with its 'hate rallies' according to the Congressman if many localities were not disturbed by the civil rights agitators." Respectable segregationists like the HUAC members are of course "moderates" between these extremist Klansmen and extremist civil rights people!

Buchanan's posture is consistent with the line the HUAC hearings on the KKK have been taking. HUAC is not whitewashing the KKK *per se*. Its attacks will undoubtedly sow dissension within the organizations over financial irregularities by the leaders, it will probably have successful contempt of Congress cases against some KKK leaders, and it may get some of the timid to withdraw from the KKK (gains from publicity should offset those defections).

Racism Avoided

HUAC is whitewashing the South. It has focused on the KKK leaders' petty larceny, personal aggrandizement, and evasion of military service; it has only secondarily dealt with KKK violence, and has scrupulously avoided its racism. It is not dealing with the broader problems of violence, the failure of the police to enforce the law when violence is used against civil rights workers and Negroes, violence by the police,

the use of economic sanctions to destroy constitutional rights, etc.

HUAC could not deal with such serious problems of the South without investigating itself -- for HUAC "investigators" like Edwin Willis (Louisiana), Joe Pool (East Texas), and John Buchanan (Alabama) represent the Citizens - Council - respectable - type segregationists who control most of the political - economic - social life of the South, who use economic sanctions against Negroes and civil rights workers, and whose police allow and use violence. By making the KKK the scapegoat for all Southern violence, the "respectable segregationists" get themselves off the hook.

KKK a Threat

The white Southern power-structure is disavowing (but not fully challenging) the terrorist - segregationists because they represent a threat to their control. The violence brings national attention, Northerner "invasions," and national disrepute. The KKK, representing primarily poor and working - class whites, is a potential threat from the right for the middle and upper class "respectable segregationists." The power structure needs the threat of violence to keep Negroes terrorized -- but is facing the dilemma of a growing and independent Klan movement and a growing and independent Negro movement. Both threaten the control of the few who run the South now.

Congressman Buchanan expressed this condemnation of the "unsophisticated segregationists" in his interview: "Then on the other hand we get the small minority of local whites who play into the hands of the civil rights agitators. They respond with violence to what they regard as provocation. They are too angry or too stupid to realize how much they are helping their enemies and hurting their own people." Violence will surely go on, but the Buchanans will disclaim responsibility for it.

HUAC Opens Tax Files

The administration neatly got some domestic strife off its back during the early stages of the escalation of the Vietnam war. Instead of a serious investigation or Justice Department action to deal with Southern violence (which might have alienated some of the Southern legislators), the Southern-dominated HUAC got the hearing.

A principled group of 37 liberal Congressmen in the House fought the HUAC investigation and urged legislative hearings by the Judiciary Committee; the administration lobbied against them and they were handily defeated. (HUAC has boasted continually of the cooperation of the executive branch in this hearing; the cooperation includes an executive order (#11217, April 24) that gives HUAC full access to the records of the Internal Revenue Service. Neither Eisenhower nor Kennedy would open up income tax returns to HUAC; the Committee staff has surely been busy scanning more than the records of the Klansmen.)

HUAC's hearings create the illusion that action is being taken when it isn't, and the national outrage at the Alabama slayings has thus been stilled considerably; perhaps Mrs. Liuzzo, Jimmy Lee Jackson, and Rev. Reeb died in vain.

The HUAC hearings have suffered setbacks now that the show is on the road. After the first week, the reporters began complaining about the dullness and HUAC-KKK slipped off page one into the back sections. Even Scripps - Howard staff writer Jack Steele complained about "the deferential courtesy with which it has been treating Shelton and other Klan officials." The press came for blood and found a family reunion -- family tensions, yes; fratricide, no.

In the midst of the hearings, a split within HUAC opened up. HUAC-member Weltner put into the Congressional Record (Oct. 27) his analysis of the KKK in Bogalusa. The statement included "naming the names" of 174 KKK members. Weltner apparently wanted to do with the KKK in Bogalusa what HUAC has done with the left -- name every name possible, trace all the patterns of association, etc. That he had to put it in the Congressional Record suggests that the full Committee thwarted his desire to have a witchhunt on the right comparable to the witchhunts on the left.

Then, on November 9, a HUAC blunder came to light. The hearings were suddenly postponed (at least until January, perhaps for good) on orders of Attorney-General Katzenbach. The Committee has planned to call Klansmen involved in the slaying of Lt. Col. Penn; the inquiry had to be called off because it was a classic case of a legislative trial threatening to interfere with a judicial trial. HUAC's fundamental fault was exposed: when it investigates where laws are violated, it invades the jurisdiction of the Justice Department and other agencies; when it investigates where no law is violated, it invades the First Amendment.

HUAC Strategy

HUAC has had problems. But it hasn't yet met disaster in refurbishing its image, opening the door to investigation of the civil rights movement, and disassociating the power structure of the South from the roughnecks through the KKK hearing. HUAC has laid a careful basis for contempt of Congress convictions against many KKK leaders. They were given *duces tecum* subpoenas. Such subpoenas require the production of the records of the organization;

the Courts have held that the Fifth Amendment protections are not applicable for such subpoenas. When HUAC is seeking its appropriation in February or March, the House will have just approved contempt citations for the KKK leaders. When the big abolition push comes at the opening of Congress in 1967, the Klansmen will probably have been convicted in lower court and HUAC will be proudly proclaiming that "we got the Klansmen when no one else could."

When civil rights people are called to be investigated, HUAC will claim they've seriously attacked the KKK and are now investigating the KKK counterparts. A few KKK lambs will have been thrown to the wolves; the deeper problems will not have been touched by the investigation. The strategy is still shrewd and dangerous despite the HUAC blunders.

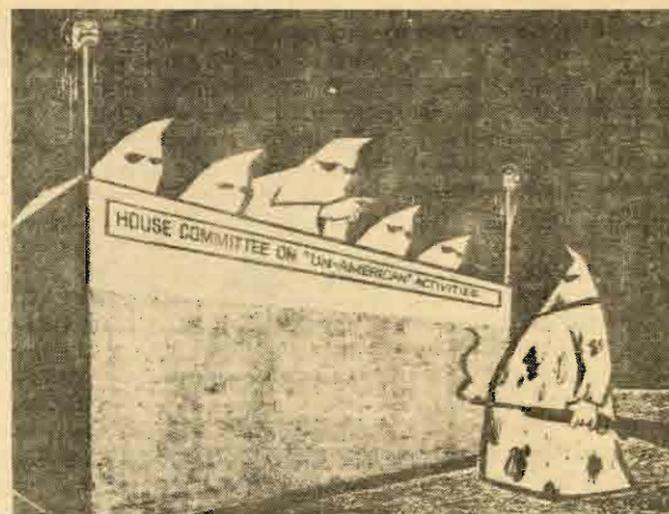
Movement Opposed

The civil rights movement has been principled and consistent in its opposition to the KKK hearings. Yet this opposition is not generally known. One example: The evening before the start of the investigation, ABC had a short analysis of the coming hearing on its 10:00 TV news. At the end of the story, the commentator stated "And of course, Martin Luther King is supporting the HUAC investigation." The opposite is true; SCLC has opposed the investigation from the outset.

I don't think the commentator was being malicious; it just never entered his mind, as it hasn't most Americans, that King or the civil rights movement would oppose such an investigation. The failure to express its opposition more widely will be a serious handicap to the civil rights movement when HUAC turns to them.

The hearings have provided an object-lesson in the validity of a consistent First Amendment objection to HUAC. An investigation by a Committee empowered to investigate solely "un-American and subversive propaganda and propaganda activities" is, in principle, a violation of the rights of free speech and free political activity. In practice, the investigation is dishonest and dangerous -- regardless of whose ox is getting gored.

Dale Gronemeier, Regional Director, Nat'l Committee to Abolish HUAC.



"Tell us about your organization."

SNCC RADIOS

Louisiana CORE also loaned several of their powerful FM radios. The SNCC radios have now been sent back, and the strikers are trying to raise money to replace the CORE units which must also be returned.

The radios have been indispensable (for a graphic description of the need for radios see the October issue of THE MOVEMENT "How a Rural Strike is Fought"). They have been used to summon help when cars were overturned and

continued from page 2

tires slashed. They were also used to call police when growers and their men menaced picket lines.

If you can help, with money or experience, write to RADIOS FOR FREEDOM, P.O. Box 2212, Culver City, California 90232. Checks for the Delano radio system may be sent to FWA RADIO FUND, Box 894, Delano, California 93215.

LETTERS TO SNCC

The following letter was written by a San Rafael, California woman. The brochure referred to was the Marin County Friends of SNCC Newsletter, which contained an appeal for food for the striking grapeworkers in Delano. We think it is a classic of its kind and reflects the feelings of many people -- that injustice in America is limited to the area south of the Mason-Dixon line.

"I must say, I resent this particular brochure. I support SNCC in the South but, when it comes to asking me to support lazy, shiftless people who refuse to work on jobs which are available, for a just wage, then you raise my ire! All these people need do is go to work and they will have food -- their demands are ridiculous and I'm sure some totally irresponsible person is responsible for this feeling for the "poor farm strikers". Just how gullible do you think the American public is?"

To support the negro in the South is a worthwhile project -- to support striking farm workers a ridiculous, irresponsible waste of time, energy & money. If they are hungry, let them go to work!

Under these circumstances, you have lost my support, and the support of my family and many of my friends. I must ask you to take me off your mailing list and don't send us any more literature."

Please Send Me The Next 12 Issues of The Movement Enclosed is \$1.00

Name.. _____ (mail to 1316 Masonic Ave. San Francisco)

Address.. _____ City.. _____ State _____

American People's Movements: THE SOUTHERN TENANT FARMER'S UNION

EDITED FROM TAPE RECORDINGS MADE BY
H.L. MITCHELL, CO FOUNDER OF THE STFU

I started to work on a farm at the age of 8 working in cottonfields, chopping and picking mainly. We also produced some strawberries and tomatoes. There was a lot of work involved in all. I have worked for as little as 50¢ a day for ten hours' work. . . That sort of experience was pretty typical. . . During the fall months I picked cotton. I always stayed out of school until the cotton picking season was over. . . after Christmas.

We lived in Ruleville, Mississippi, in the Delta country, for a time and I got my first experience there in making a sharecrop of my own. I was about fifteen years old and there was some land around the house. I arranged to make a sharecrop with (the landlord). . . I made a crop on these several acres of land, raised some cotton. That was in 1920. I recall I wasn't too successful. We had expected a good price. . . but it went down so low that we got less than ten cents a pound. All I got out of my year's work was a suit of clothes, and I didn't have anything else to go with it after I paid what I owed.

I got married. . . in 1926. My wife and I made a sharecrop. We worked all year and made \$385 for all that year's work. . . Then we moved to Arkansas in 1927, to the town of Tyronza. . . It is thirty-five miles west of Memphis. . . The land was much richer over there, but when I got there I didn't like the conditions. . . People lived and worked on very large plantations, and the conditions were much different from what they were in Tennessee on smaller farms. I decided not to make a sharecrop on an Arkansas plantation. . . so I went into the cleaning business. . . Most of my customers were people who lived on nearby plantations. I travelled around through the plantation country, getting business. . .

1000 Members in Tyronza, Arkansas

. . . In 1932, during the political campaign, we heard Norman Thomas. . . It was the first time we'd ever really heard anybody speak on Socialism. . . We decided that if we were going to do anything, we should organize. . . We probably had as many members in our Tyronza local as the entire Socialist Party has in the whole country now. The vast majority were sharecroppers. We must have had a thousand members down in that area of Arkansas alone. . .

Thomas said that he would raise some money to make a survey of conditions among sharecroppers in Arkansas and nearby states. A college professor at the medical college of the University of Tennessee in Memphis was selected to direct this survey. . . We found that the average family income was less than \$250 a year. . . This gave us a basis for organization of the union. We had facts about the conditions of the people, and we could talk with knowledge about what we were trying to do.

Blacks and Whites

The first (Union) meeting. . . was held on. . . the Fairview plantation some two or three miles south of Tyronza. . . That was the place where the seven Negroes and eleven whites met to form the organization. We didn't know what to call it at this time. We just called it "the union." . . Probably because of some of the educational work the Socialists did preliminary to forming a union, the sharecroppers were willing to forget their race prejudices or set them aside, and to unite and form one union. There was discussion as to whether there should be a union for Negroes and a union for whites. I remember one old white man who got up and said that he'd once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. . . but that everybody was in the same boat in this fight here, Negroes were on the plantations and John lived next door to him, and the union should include both white and colored and fight for the rights of everyone.

Just Wanted Federal Benefits

. . . On July 13, 1934, the name Southern Tenant Farmers Union was selected. . . There was no intention at this time of. . . spreading the union any further than just Arkansas. We thought in terms of eastern Arkansas, where the large plantations existed, and that we'd help these fellows get their share of the government benefits. That was just about the extent of our thinking. . . There were social economic and race problems that needed solution, but none of us were capable of thinking them through at that time. . .

We realized that one of our chief problems in organizing was that most of the people didn't know how to read or write. . . (We) set up education classes in connection with the union and taught members of the union to read and write and also to "figure", as they called arithmetic. We were all doing the organizing work. . . We'd send word out that we were going to be there at a certain time and the sharecroppers would gather at the nearest church or school, or whatever might be convenient. They came voluntarily. Nobody even had to persuade them. You'd just announce that there was going to be a meeting there, and they'd all be there. We'd have meetings with five hundred or a thousand in attendance. Practically all of them would join the union. Our membership dues were a dollar a year, and if they had the money, they were asked to pay, but if they didn't, they'd just promise to pay and they would still be counted as members.

KKK Attacks

(In 1935) we had the first really violent outbreak against the union, its members and leaders, by organized groups of night riders. A newspaper reporter asked a plantation owner if this violence against the union was not a revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the planter said no, the Ku Klux Klan had a bad reputation, so they just called it the Night-riders. The home of E.B. McKinney was shot into late one night. Two of his boys were in the house at the time. . . A similar attack occurred when a group of the Nightriders appeared at the home of A.B. Brookins and his daughter was struck by a bullet. Brookins . . . was a cotton patch preacher who had the ability to get people to sing, and they would sing songs like. . . "We Shall Not Be Moved." The union members sang that song particularly in connection with the eviction notices. At some places we had eviction demonstrations. When the officers moved people's possessions out from the house, we put them back in after the officers had left. There were a lot of other union songs that were developed during the first 3 or 4 years.

For the first two years of the union's existence, I did not get any pay, other than the expenses I got for my gas and oil. Now and then someone would send \$5 or \$10 and say, "This is for your own use." . . It wasn't until 1937 that the union convention passed a resolution that I should be paid a salary of \$25 a week. Most of the time, though, we didn't have that so I wasn't paid.

First Picket in Washington

(In 1935) we made up a delegation to go to Washington. . . There were 9 men. We went to Washington, had some signs printed and we picketed the Secretary of Agriculture's office, Mr. Henry Wallace's office. This was the first time such a thing had happened in Washington.

Then, in the fall of 1935, we decided something must be done about the wages of cotton pickers. We called a meeting before the cotton picking season started and each union local sent a delegate to the meeting. . . We decided that the union would raise a demand for \$1 per 100 pounds. . . At that time cotton had just begun to open and wages were 40 and 50¢ per 100 pounds. . . The average picker would pick about 150 pounds in day's time. . . It was my idea that. . . nobody would go to work after the meeting. The committee decided differently and they represented all of our locals -- we must have had 25 or 30. They decided that the thing to do was for everybody to go to the fields and pick cotton

for the first two or three weeks and save money until they had enough to buy groceries, and then call the strike. That plan prevailed. . .

Strike Successful - But No Negotiations

Our system, used for the first time, was to have handbills printed and the delegates would take back several hundred copies of this handbill and then on a specified night, these handbills were distributed all over the plantations at the same time. The handbills were put on fence posts and telephone poles, barn doors, everywhere -- saying that the strike was on and to stay out of the fields. It was the most effective demonstration that could be imagined. In three counties where we had just a few members, practically all work stopped. . . The results of the strike was that the planters raised wages to 75¢ per 100 pounds, and in some places to \$1. There weren't any negotiations. There never have been.

Our membership leaped skyward. . . I think our 1935 report showed that we had 30,000 members enrolled. We held what we called a wage conference early in the spring of 1936 and decided that we would set wages for the planting and cultivating of cotton. We. . . decided that unless by May 18th the wages were raised, we would strike again. No one offered to pay the wage and we again called a strike. All sorts of things began happening. . . The plantation owners had by that time formed informal organizations in each area to fight the union. The local law enforcement officers were alerted and were prepared to arrest union members. Near the town of Earle, Arkansas, a group of workers started what was equivalent to a picket line and this picketing was forcibly broken up by a deputy sheriff named Paul Peacher. The men picketing were arrested, most of them were Negroes, and were sentenced to work on a privately owned plantation owned by Paul Peacher. . .

Nonviolent Marches

. . . A group of people who lived on the edge of the delta plantation area. . . took the lead in the strike. They organized a demonstration which they called the "Marches." They lined people up, with each man about 6 or 8 feet apart, forming a long thin picket line and they marched down the roads from one plantation to the other. . . This sharecropper kind of picketing was very effective. Our members told about how they began with possibly a hundred men, to start the day's march of 25 or 30 miles through the plantations. And when they came to a plantation where people were out in the cotton fields, the marchers would call out to the people at work, saying, "Come and join us." . . The marches were quite effective. There was no violence -- just people lined up, walking down the roads singing and calling on others to join them.

In the beginning, we never received any actual support from organized labor. . . The local labor people, for instance in Memphis, said the union could only lead to uprisings among the Negroes and that no one could organize a union of people as poor as the sharecroppers. . . It depends upon what one's own approach to the labor movement is. If labor is just a business operation, then the attitude of the trade union leaders toward sharecroppers and agricultural workers is correct because it will take a lot of money to organize and establish a strong union, and returns on the investment made will be slow in coming. I know that agricultural workers can be organized but actually it has never been tried in the U.S.A. Even today the attitude of the typical labor leader is that these people are too low on the economic scale to be organized. They can't be counted on to pay dues. . . immediately, so why should the labor movement invest its money. . .

The Disinherited

If the leadership really wanted to organize the unorganized. . . it could be done. It would also help if we managed to bring agricultural workers within the scope of the N.L.R.B.* However, I don't expect that will be done, nor will there be a minimum wage in agriculture, until there is an effective organization of workers. That has been the history of most of our social legislation. Until there is organization of the workers on the farms, we cannot affect the processes of government to any great extent.

One of the old Southern Tenant Farmers Union slogans we used 25 years ago was, "To the disinherited belongs the future." Perhaps it does. The past years have been rewarding. While I might do many things differently if they were to be done again, I would not trade my experiences for all the millions in the treasuries of all the big unions in America.

* National Labor Relations Board: 30 years later this has still not been done (E.D.)

FREE SOUTHERN THEATER

and SENORA CARRAR are actually topical."

"We do more than just put on performances," said Murray. "After every performance we have a discussion of the play. This makes the concepts of the play malleable, useable. It breaks down the mystique about actors and theater. We come out, shake hands. People in the audience want to know if we want something to eat, a place to stay. They want to thank us. We're human beings to them. We're on their side.

"We're moving toward more improvisational and original material now. We had been planning to do improvised shows for a while. Then one night in Jonesboro, three of the cast were arrested, threatened, and later chased through a field at night. We were shaken up; we wanted to use the material, somehow, to relate to people what had happened to us.

"So the next night we asked the audience to tell us about their town -- who were the oppressors, who were the movement people, what had happened there. Gil took the highlights, strung the situations together, and we turned it into a performance. Local people played themselves; the whites in the cast played the members of the white power structure.

"When we went to Bogalusa, we did the same thing. In Bogalusa, the town officials are also officials in the Crown Zellerbach Company and the KKK. We made up paper-bags for masks, with three faces in them for each actor. Then when he changed from being a KKK thug to Crown Zellerbach employee, he just turned the bag around.

"Local people had most of the parts in this production. We staged marches and rallies. There was one scene in which

continued from front page

people showed how they worked in the Crown Zellerbach plant -- in pantomime. And they acted out the way the foreman treated the white and Negro employees differently."

For the next season there are a number of plays under consideration, as well as original and improvised drama: BLOOD KNOT, THE DUTCHMAN, BLUES FOR MR. CHARLIE, ANTIGONE, WAITING FOR GODOT.

"We want to spend more time in a single community, next year," said Gil. "Not just a single day or two. We want to influence the nature of life in a region, to move people to liberate their laughter and emotion. The Free Southern Theater can't hide itself in 2000 years of theater tradition. We must face the fact that this country is intellectually sick. We are trying to make the audience think.

"We lay it out in the open: Nothing is unthinkable. And we only ask of people -- don't wipe us out for thinking what we're thinking. The audience must make its own conclusions -- that's the political process, after all, isn't it? That's democracy. We want a theater that is the opposite of Broadway. Broadway tries to cut across all class lines, by offending no one. It accomplishes this by having no content.

"We're going to stay there, live there, in the South. We've come a long way. If we ever thought in terms of 'doing something for the poor Negro', that's gone."

The FREE SOUTHERN THEATER needs \$45,000. We urge our friends to contribute. All contributions are tax deductible and should be sent to FST, Box 2374, New Orleans, Louisiana.