Federal Money for Segregation and Scab Labor

Oakland, California

The Economic Development Administration announced in April 1966 that it would put $23 million into this city to create jobs for "hard-core unemployed" in order to avert possible racial violence. However, the effect of the EDA activities has been to continue the widening gap between the white workers and the black workers.

The firms receiving funds prefer black workers-BLACK WORKERS ARE NOT UNION; THEY CAN BE FIRED AS SOON AS AUTOMATION COMES INTO THE PLANT. Thus the EDA is creating a disposable work force for Oakland's businessmen.

The politicians wanted a fast, visible program in Oakland. They poured in money and made headlines in the local press. But they have learned more than they had bargained for in the process of creating a new work force for this country. It will consist of unskilled workers from racial minorities who are unorganized by union organizations. The only benefit of this liberal reform program is that it will cost too much.

Unemployment in Oakland is about 10% for whites and 20% for blacks. Housing in Oakland is bad and getting worse. There are overcrowded schools and inadequate health services. The city has been notorious for its lack of action on social problems. Here was a perfect situation for the bright young men of the Bay Area unions. Many of the EDA projects involved long-term construction work.

They were already employed minority group workers. Very few employers cared about the race of their prospective employers as long as they were willing to endure long hours and bad working conditions. They had found that Negro workers, because they are non-union and have a harder time finding work than white workers, will accept these conditions.

"They [minority group workers] accept longer hours than most people. Since we have a lot of night work, mostly minority group people apply for the jobs." These instruments which began their loan application under EDA generally had no qualms about hiring Negro and Mexican-American workers. Some businessmen in the process of trying to get a loan "I will have no problem in hiring Negroes since 60% of the people working in the warehouse at the present time are Negro. They work long hours and are good at this job because they really work hard." Or, as another businessman put it, "The lower mentality groups work here now, so it's no problem." SEMI-MANUAL LABOR

The kinds of jobs that will open up for Negro residents of the Bay Area unions are unskilled or semi-skilled work. The jobs are warehouse work where all that is required is, "to be able to lift things up and put them down." One firm which has been funded in a car washing company, "For car cleaners, there is no training involved. A worker could be replaced on one day's notice.

UNION DEALS

Some of the firms will allow their employees to be unionized. One firm however, made an "off-the-record" agreement with the Paper Workers Union, which involved, "not pressuring for unionization" because the prospective workers would be from minority groups.

LILY-WHITE UNIONISM

EDA faced an obstacle in the form of the Bay Area unions. Many of the EDA projects involved long-term construction work. The impact of the EDA money would be much greater if the construction work was parcelled out to some of Oakland's "hard-core unemployed." The Building Trades Unions were responsible for stepping any action on this front. EDA head Eugene Foley attempted to get an agreement with the building trades that would apply to those working on the EDA construction. Foley was not successful in this negotiation with the Building Trades - their policy of exclusive membership and "white and blue" union membership remained unchanged. Foley dropped the project without much of a fight.

The war in Vietnam is the third act of genocide committed by the United States. The first was the enslavement of African people which cost the lives of millions of men, women and children. The second was the wanton destruction of the civilization of the American Indians in New Vietnam, where already we have used more bombs and other weapons that kill African people which cost the lives of millions of men, women and children. And Vietnam is anotheratha California.

NO GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

The United States government, which commits this murder in Vietnam, is not a government of the people. Black people have fought for their freedom for over 400 years. They still cannot vote without having their homes and churches burned, their families, jobs and lives threatened.

In Harlem having the vote means nothing. Congress has decided that the people of that ghetto cannot choose who will represent them.

In Detroit black people are drafted into the U.S. Navy even though they have no representation in Congress.

PROTEST AND REBELLION

Many people have understood what is happening in this country. They have protested the Vietnam war. They have fought for the right to vote. They have protested against police brutality in their communities. They have rallied against murder by the police in Harlem, Chicago, Watts, Atlanta and Hunter's Point. These people are blacks in the North and the South, farm workers, poor whites, factory workers and students. They are the youth of this country. They are the people who are forced to fight the government's wars while others of the rich are given special treatment draft boards.

The Declaration of Independence states, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

We oppose the draft because the draft gives the government the power to kill the people of Vietnam, the poor people in the United States.

WE OPPOSE A NATIONAL SERVICE

We oppose the draft in all forms, including the recently proposed National Service. The National Service idea would have young people register at 18. The government would tell them to find where they were deficient in mental and physical ability. The government would then have young, fresh minds to reeducate and control.

As the liberal Senator Jacob Javits says, it would be just like compulsory education. The question we must ask ourselves is, "is this the purpose of compulsory education?" It was originally to educate the children of slave owners who could not afford private schools. But compulsory education has become the means whereby the government has taught its values into the young people of this country. This is why our children are only taught Negro History, as only taught how the federal government broke hundreds of treaties with the American Indians in order to take over Indian lands. The federal government is racist. The values it educates hatreds are racist. Thus the racial nature of our society continues.

A National Service would give the federal government a great deal of control over the youth of this nation, the people who oppose the government's reeducation. We oppose greater control by this government which would lead to its people.

Continued on page 4

$23,000,000

OAKLAND FRAUD!

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CESAR CHAVEZ INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW

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WHO ALL LIVES TELL SUBMARINE?

THE MOVEMENT went into the Haight-Ashbury District of San Francisco this month to see what has been happening between the hippie and black communities. There has been much written about tension between the two groups in the BERKELEY BARB and other newspapers. We talked with Tom Ramsey, a SNUC worker, who has been working in the area for around three years. Here are some of his comments.

I think that tension between the black community and the white community takes different forms depending on what black people and what white people you're talking about.

There's a real problem with the 6-12 age group in the black community. The hippies are really open minded about leaving hotel places open to people, and those kids who come from poor families go in and stand like crazy. That's caused some problems.

There's harassment by the stronger kids of the hippies on the streets because the hippies violate the lower class 'black kids' concept of what middle class people are supposed to be. A hippie is not the obvious money like the white straight cat with the white shirt and a tie. That's discouraging to people when their enemies cease being obvious enemies.

HIPPIES NOT MIDDLE CLASS

There's a lot of tension between the black middle class people and the hippies in the Haight-Ashbury, again because the hippies violate their concept of what white middle-class society is all about. If white middle-class culture is where it's at, and you've spotted your whole life trying to become a white middle-class person, and all the sudden white-middle-class kids show up, but they don't look like white middle-class people at all, in fact they say that white living is not where it's at, it's someHippie living - that causes a lot of tension.

There's a real coalition between the white liberals in the Haight-Ashbury and the black people to get rid of the hippies. In the terms of the white liberals, it violates their own concept of themselves. In the terms of the black folks, it violates their concept of where it's at.

COMPRET HOPPIES

I think there's a lot of racism in the way hippies understand black people and continued on page 4

BETSY FLOOD

Dear Friends,

Thanks for printing our letter. Matters have changed for us here since then. Our "Food Village" project which was called "Bernard's Farm" have worked hard for 17 months - so no more. We all just came to the end of our road. We worked in good order with special notices in N.O. PICAYUNE and STATES. Our people will know how to regain their worth when demand it which may not be long, as all the food-shops have health codes to remain.

The IPDI program has repercussions. We reached mayor, council, county courage, and several of our staff reported to Sen. Barry's (D.-bol) good "1967 Disaster Relief Act" (S.249), based on news (just prior to individuals sufferer, retroactive to 1964; cost shared by Fed. and State Government).letter massing send food-contacts up to scratch. If S. 249 passes intact, many besides us will get fast aid.

One other change since writing you is, the great improvement of the new PAT- TERT, just received (you rec'd we compared it to the MOVEMENT). We're happy to say that PATERT has grown, in working-class content and flavor, as well as appearance. We still love the homey, down-to-earth feeling, the hopeful, economic-political explanations, of MOVEMENT. It takes all kinds of us to make a better world.

Frasersdal,

Walter and Elizabeth Rogers New Orleans, Ia.

DIFFICULTY

Dear sir,

Subscription is $2 for subscription to your newspaper. Although I have been a supporter of civil rights causes for at least 15 years, I'm having difficulty understanding the "black Power" concept and think your paper will help.

Young, Pa.

Graze Valley, Ca.

CORRECTION

In the introduction of the article last month on California politics we said that $600,000 million was lost to the state in each year under assessment of vacated land. This was a typographic error. The correct amount is $500 million. To give some idea of what this mean, if the San Francisco County has 23% of its usable land undeveloped; Alas- meda County 62%; Santa Clara County (around San Jose) 86%. In the ten county area Metro- politan Area only 2% of the suitable urban land was actually developed for urban use one year according to the Water Resources Board.

The Governor has called for constructive suggestions on the matter of meeting the budgetary requirements of our institutions of higher learning. I propose that the State enter a revenue-producing venture, namely, the ownership and operation of private utility monopolies in the right of eminent domain and similar statutes the State has full legal authority to bring into effect and engage in the utility business. (No other industrialized nation on earth has found it desirable to entrust these natural monopolies to private own- ership.) Let me know if you agree, and if you don't, let me know.

CULTURAL

There are some reasons why people resent the hippies other than the whole question of challenging a cultural value. I really had one welfare lady tell me about how she used to really have a nice black cat until all these hippies moved in.

HOUSING

The kids up there are cramped in as much as they can be crammed in. They're living 10-15 to an apartment now.

As regards welfare families have to move, because the rent comes due and they don't have the money, the hippies grab it up and their one less house available to lower income black people.

HIPPIE RACISM

I think also there's a lot of racism in the way hippies understand black people.
By Renee Goldsmith

Hunters Point, Calif. It has just been released to the American public that there is a high ratio of Negro GI's serving and dying in Vietnam today. And although the number of Negroes in Vietnam is almost three percent of those who register for the military, it is for Whites. These Pentagon statistics on Negro casualties until now have been kept secret. These statistics have been kept secret because they would reflect upon the performance of the war in Vietnam. Food, clothing and shelter are seen as the physical and mental requirements.

"I'LL GO TO JAIL"

The majority of black youth interviewed, expressed strong feelings against the Vietnam war and further stated that they would not cooperate, the example of Stokely Carmichael is instructive. "Uncle Sam calls me, I go to jail! you ain't got no country I" Wilson Brown, a SNCC worker, pickets at the August '66 anti-draft demonstrations in Atlanta, which resulted in sending Johnny Wilson, another SNCC worker to three years on a chain gang.

The implications of this war are seen taken by black youth, wherever their reason, one of insurance political could sequence. One only has to look at the harsh sentences meted out to seven black SNCC workers indicted by a federal grand jury, February 10th in Atlanta, Georgia on charges of "interfering with the administration of the Universal Military Training Act." If guilty, they could be imprisoned up to five years and fined $10,000 each. If the black youth of this country united together against the draft and the Vietnam war, there is no doubt that it will have a profound effect upon the morale of the American people.

MILITANT ORGANIZERS DIG IN

By Mikel James

Chicago, Ill. One of the jobs of an organizer is to be present, develop ways that slowly break down people's walls, get inside their heads and minds and sway maybe if enough of us came together we could make a difference." In this city there is a new community union, the LATIN AMERICAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION (LADO), that is trying to break people out of their own petty nationalism, and build a movement. LADO is slowly building networks of contacts and relationships in Chicago's largest Spanish ghetto.

PUERTO RICAN REBELLION

LADO works where over half the city's 60,000 Puerto Ricans lived. 88 Division St. and Damen Ave. area is also the home of the Puerto Rican community in Chicago. A large concentration of Negroes live in and around the area. Division and Damen is where last summer the community had its first real Puerto Rican rebellion. It occurred in June, at the end of a car wash initiated by the Mayor and " Respectable" Puerto Rican organization. As might be expected, profits were made by non-Puerto Ricans.

A young Puerto Rican told me about the rebellion. "The riots went on for three days. Nobody knew it would happen, but the teenagers were aware of the breeze; the police car on fire. Things began snowballing: three police cars were burning.

SAC FLAKES OUT

The community "leadership" responded to the rebellion by setting up the Spanish Action Committee (SAC). Daniel Maldonado, a Puerto Rican high school student who was initially involved with SAC but now works with LADO, talked about SAC. "I thought this was it. Finally, an organization had arisen that didn't tend toward social functions, or wasn't a show moving some sort of thing like NCO Northwest Community Organization, an Alinsky operation tied to the Catholic Church with a Spanish branch in the neighborhood, but the militant group that was needed - the riots proved this true, but after the march on City Hall with Ted Weiss (from New York's East Berlin Tenant's Council) things changed. We couldn't work out a whole thing. People had gotten together because of the urgency of the situation, but had no long range program, one that would solve the interrelationships between the problems of Puerto Ricans and those faced by Negroes and poor white people. I was not only a one or two day affair; I met Obed and we started talking."

Obed cited the so-called leadership's lack of BEING WITH the people in the community, and their REFUSAL TO MAKE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNITY AND OTHER GROUPS OF POOR PEOPLE in the city as the reason LADO started. "A group of us got a little bit of what J.D. was trying to do, and we were very concerned with black people's struggles. We felt we had to start a group that would be open to the ideas of the Movement and work within the Spanish community, to help make the whole community harmony. We went to picketing a National Foods store on the city's west side, and the only white business being broken during the rebellion. 'They wouldn't give us the figures on unemployment, so we put up a picket sign.'

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10
Franz Fanon died in 1961 at the age of 37. During his life he produced important political writings which grew out of the revolutionary struggles in which he participated.

One side of his experience as a revolutionary is represented by his articles for EL MOUDJAHID, an organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria. The other side of his experience as a revolutionary is represented by Fanon's writing which relate to his work in Algeria. The following excerpt is a free translation of a piece which originally appeared in EL MOUDJAHID No. 10, Sept. 1957.

The reader may notice parallels between the Algerian and Vietnamese situations: Fanon's remarks on the French use of torture in Algeria seem painfully topical today.

—Gregory Davis

DRAFT CON'NT FROM PAGE 1

Vietnam. Only the American people can take the weapons of destruction away from Johnson, MacNamara, Healy, Westmoreland and the rest. The American people provide the power for the war to continue. Without the draft, there could be no war. We urge and advocate that other young people have signed this

STATEMENT

We, the undersigned, aged 18-35, believe that all war is immoral and that the American people are doing to oppose the draft: agitating and organizing a new Nationalobilization Movement (5 Beekman Street, 10 Floor, New York, N. Y.).

NO TO MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

we urge every person in the United States to say "HELL NO TO THE DRAFT!"

Copyright to the paper, they inspected 691 apartments in the Haight Ashbury, 62 of those they cited were hippie apartments. Out of the 39 cited only 6 were hippie apartments.

COMMUNITY POLITICS

But that was just the straight community. I'm sure the people downtown up to The policies hate us are another that I'm sure the straight community is putting people up to. It's hypocritical on the part of the straight community to do that kind of stuff and at the same time run around town telling Town Hall (a white organization) to handle the problem. They don't understand the racism that they carry around with them.

There's another group of hippies that are overtly racist. They come from the South or they come from the South-west. They don't like minority people; they don't push it, because we're supposed to love everybody in the hippie community, quote unquote. At the same time it's there and they don't bother it too much.

MYTHS ABOUT HIPPIES

For some time there has been a lively discussion about the hippies practiced by French and American patriots. Document have been published, as abundant and appalling as they have been precise. Historical parallels have been drawn. Reputable foreign observers as well as Frenchmen have condemned these

TORTURE NECESSARY

Torture in Algeria is not simply an accident, or a regrettable error, or a mistake. Colonialism cannot be understood without the possibility of torture and massacre.

Torture is a modality of relations between colonizer and colonized.

French policemen understand this very well (they have been practicing these methods for a long time). In fact, they have always considered it paradoxical, if not scandalous, that the use of torture has to be justified at all.

as Algerians, torture in Vietnam is a common practice of the Ky Army and the United States Army.
A year ago this month, a band of striking farm workers from Delano, California began a 300-mile Pilgrimage from their home town to the United Farm Workers. Their slogan was "Pilgrimage, Penitence, Revolution."

Then, "Delano!" was a movement, today, it is the center of an AFL-CIO union. THE MOVEMENT staff has tried to set down here, in three interviews and a story, how a series of victories has transformed a movement into a union, how far the "Revolution" has gone in one year, and how far it has yet to go in this country. As farm workers are organized across the country, the union will go through many changes. But its basic direction and character have been set this year.

MOVEMENT: How do the workers at Di Giorgio look at themselves: has that changed since before the union? And how do you work to get them to see themselves as a union? and not Cesar Chavez' union or Marshall Ganz' (UFUOC organizer in Arvin - ed.) union?

LYONS: It has changed since the election. They are being informed, and they want to try to change over twice a week. And Marshall or Richard Marshall or Richard

COMMUNISTS: Right after I started working there, this union started passing out leaflets, trying to get them to sign authorizations and talking to them about unions. And I heard a lot of different stories, you know, about how these were communists, and Di Giorgio was really going to run the union, and the workers were going to fire all the Negroes and Anglos. One time I heard the story that they were going to fire everybody and bring in Negro people from Mississippi and Alabama. I got curious and interested and wanted to know what actually was going on. I decided to find out for myself. One day I saw Marshall. I didn't know who he was at the time. We were going home one afternoon and I asked him who was in charge, who was the head man. I didn't want to talk to no organizer or nothing, I wanted to see what actually was going on. He told me that Mr. Chavez was in charge and he was pretty busy and couldn't come down just to see one person.

AFRAID

So I talked to some of the fellows and we started having these little meetings, 6 or 7 of us. Marshall and Richard and some of the others. We would have meetings at my wife's uncle's house some nights. I knew some guys were scared at signing authorization slips, so every meeting I would sign one, just to show the guys that there was nothing to be afraid of. This worked and pretty soon we had a couple of big meetings out at Lamont. I would pick people up in my car and take them to meetings so they could hear the story from the source.

EVER SINCE then people kind of depend on me for information. They know that I go to all the meetings and I try to be as good as I can about everything that happens in the union. One day some of Di Giorgio's representatives from San Francisco came down and they called me up out of the field at about 11 o'clock. And they made a little speech about how the companies had good relations with the workers, and they don't want the workers to have a union, but if that was what the workers wanted they were willing to let them have a union and let 'em vote. They said that the NFWA was a weak union. Seemed like me that was this union that they didn't want. To me this meant that it was the best union for us. They made this big front that they didn't mind us having a union, but it was a very different way around.

TEAMSTERS

A couple of months after that the Teamsters came down. They started trying to organize these guys would come down in their big cars, their '66 Mercurys or whatever, wearing nice suits and white shirts. And the workers felt that these guys were too far up for them to talk to, they didn't have a good enough understanding to talk to farmworkers, but the National Farm Worker organizers they seemed more like farm workers themselves. They would come out to the ranch wearing blue jeans - they looked like farmworkers, they didn't have pads and papers and leaflets you couldn't tell them from anybody else. This was the best way to organize because the people feel more free to talk to you. People knew the company wanted the Teamsters, but they didn't want the way the company acted. The company wouldn't let the Farm Workers organizers come on the ranch, but they would let the Teamsters organizers come on the ranch. They could go anywhere they wanted to, but they barred the Farm Workers organizers. The way the people looked at the Teamsters, they were the company's union. If that's what the company wants, then that's what you want.

MOVEMENT: One of the unusual things about the union in Arvin is that you have whites, Negroes and Mexicans in the same union together. How have you handled the problem of racism and the language barrier?

LYONS: We haven't had any problems so far as race is concerned. The biggest problem we have down here is people not knowing what is best for them, not being interested, not understanding. And the language problem, some people not being able to speak Spanish, and others not being able to speak English. These are the biggest problems, we don't have any problems involving race.

I'm from Texas, you know, and I didn't have any problems like this down in Texas. The only thing I know about the racial problem is in the South where I read in the newspaper and what I hear. I just think about them as people: I never think, this is a Mexican or this is an Anglo. The only time
The point is that they were saying "we don't know it's or "it is the worker's choice." But we very seldom that all of these forces -- I'm talking about the students would say, "we don't think it is going to be that way," things that they're afraid of eventually will come, but that anyway what we were getting before. Even our correspondence with our contacts in these groups is in almost all.

And the agitation doesn't seem to be there, because it doesn't make a big spillover like it did before. Yet, we've got the biggest and the best organized boycott we ever had going on right now. It's this type of boycott that you can see the progress in day by day. That's all we have. We don't have the large numbers of people boycotting or picketing with us.

MOVEMENT: Generally speaking, would you say that, in your assessment, what is the major strategy for winning the strike?

CHAVEZ: Well, it appears to be that way, but it isn't really. The strike out in the field is the first type of pressure, because if we went on the boycott and we forgot fellows that helped us in the beginning had a very strange pressure, because if we went on the boycott and we forgot fellows that helped us in the beginning had a very strange pressure, because movement and to us have moved on. The movement doesn't stay still. It's like a cyclone: it swoops, you know? This is what we are faced with.

AfL-Cio

MOVEMENT: One of the reasons people--students especially--as an argument for not working with the strike anymore is the merger of the union with the AFL-Cio. People felt that the union would go bureaucratic and control would slip from Delano into the hands of George Meany. Would you speak to this issue?

CHAVEZ: We were at much pains as they were. We were pared for different reasons. We were pared that all of these forces ---I'm talking about the students, and others who felt this way --- and many little faith in people.

So every time they would bring up the merger, we would say, "we don't think it is going to be that way," or "it is the worker's choice," but we very seldom told them what we felt. I personally felt pains to see how little trust they had in people. It's a real case of forgiving people. They think they know what's going to happen, and maybe it is going to happen, maybe these things that they're afraid of eventually will come, but the point is that they were saying "we don't know it's going to happen, but we think it is." Therefore, anybody.

MOVEMENT: But there are other people who say "what about the way the AFL-Cio treats movements in South America with CIA help..."

CHAVEZ: I don't know anything about how the AFL-Cio treats the movements in South America and I support every very few people do.

You know, one of the things that is distressing is that the same people that say the AFL-Cio does this and say that God is dead in the church --- these same people see ability of smashing the poor. This is not right because it is not the truth. I remember some of the fellows that helped us to the beginning had a very strange picture of poor people, in this case the farm workers. Like farm workers are all saints, you know.

MOVEMENT: What effects does that have?

CHAVEZ: It has a very bad effect on people. You can't help if people feel sorry for them. You have to be practical. This type of feeling doesn't carry you for more than what it carried those people whenever helping us. After a little while it becomes unhelpful, and there is no real help for doing things that you're doing. There's got to be more than that.

But I think that what has really happened is that these forces that have been so helpful to the civil rights movement and to us have moved on. The movement doesn't stay still. It's like a cyclone it swoops, you know? This is what we are faced with.

But if we hadn't had that help we would have never been able to get our start.

Political Power

MOVEMENT: People compare things the civil rights movement is doing and things that Delano is doing. They say that SNCC and CORE and other black movements are working for economic power. A year ago you said "we want to get involved in politics". How do you see that economic bloc moving into politics?

CHAVEZ: I've always contended that if you have some economic power you would have the easiest road to political power. You would have money and the union people that are about together which makes it easy for political power. But I don't understand why labor unions don't have any power in America.

MOVEMENT: They can't pass a simple thing like repeal of 14-b.

CHAVEZ: I've been concerned with this for many years. You see, labor is effective in many other areas like social legislation, housing and social security --- it's labor that brought that about. And the end of the branch office is, of the unions. The unions have the biggest labor gain benefits that people inside the union. This is not understood, because labor doesn't know how to let people know what it is able to do.

MOVEMENT: Do you think that it is just a public relations problem?

CHAVEZ: It's more than that. Luckily, I've been able to understand the huge expenditures that the AFL-CIO puts on legislation and on all its other programs. They get this legislation put in most cases it benefits non-union members. Now, if I were to do something like that, I'd take every ounce of good will out of it. I'd use that good will in my movement. Civil Rights would do it; I'm sure any movement would do it but labor is somehow not able to do that. They can't realize that that's what is going to save us.

MOVEMENT: What groups do you think of when you think of things that the building of newspapers should precede the building of a political party?

CHAVEZ: I don't know the problems, but I think this is what I would be interested. Well there would have to be some coalition, because you can't do yourself. You're not that big a group. Labor is the biggest organized group in the country compared to religion but still...

A Political Force

MOVEMENT: What groups do you think of when you think of coalitions for farm workers to get political power?

CHAVEZ: I think of labor, the church. I think of the civil rights movement. I think of the evidence --- all the various movements with all of its various groupings. Anyone and everyone who is really concerned about the like of the thing.

MOVEMENT: Do you think that a movement like that, which would help the farm workers, would be independent of the Democratic Party? Do you see it as trying to make itself independent?

CHAVEZ: Oh, that's sounding different. I mean a coalition that would make itself felt in legislative matters like public protests to elected representatives.

So, one of the biggest problems is that there is too much complaining on the part of the good guys and not enough work. They complain that agriculture does not exist. Now a good many of the good guys are content with making the change ---- but you know that's never going to make it. I contend that almost every legislator in this country can be gotten to move if the right kind of work is done.

So to form a political party, well, we're not equipped. I think that labor is the only group that could build a party, but a coalition like this for a political party...

MOVEMENT: How do you understand the students and all the more liberal groups would come into the picture with preconceived notions about labor, and labor would go in with preconceived notions about students. To build a party, well, these things don't mix.

MOVEMENT: So you're talking about something that would be a political force, not a political party?
MALCOLM X
See, I think groups that deal in power become impatient with groups who are strangers to power. I think when they touch individuals you can see that. A good example is Malcolm X. I'm reading his autobiography right now.

When he talks about Uncle Tuma, he's got a very clear head. He's saying, you know, well, they will go to work for the white man. Really he is saying a lot more (he doesn't make it quite clear, of course, in his thinking) that the Negro thinks that if he gets ahead he's going to be getting his people ahead. Malcolm really knew about power although he didn't put it in those words, he knew that you can't do that that way.

MOVEMENT: Because individual solutions to the problems haven't worked.

CHAVEZ: That's right. I think the biggest power in America besides the church among Negroes — well, this is a racist thing — is the Muslims. There is discipline, there is money and there is zeal. They have had a few setbacks, otherwise they'd be rolling right along.

MOVEMENT: Has that had a tremendous effect on black organizers?

CHAVEZ: He knew what he was doing. He understood him, and they didn't understand the others. But he had a very good hates he came right from the gutter so he wasn't compromised. The guys who don't come from the gutters, you know, they're coming in like a white man, they're getting a job, they're working for the government. All these little compromisers want, with the time you get to be leaders, have got your hands tied.

ORGANIZING BLACKS AND FARM WORKERS

MOVEMENT: What is your thinking on the kind of organizer you need, people from the country and the kind that is going on among Mexican-American farm workers?

STUDENTS AND OUTSIDERS

CHAVEZ: You organize for power so that you can get something. You organize so that you can build power to do something with, it and the way you look back, you've got to face the same thing there, doesn't it mean that you're trying to say in you can't organize by just speaking. The civil rights movement's biggest problem is that they come here as servants. They come here with their only objective to help farm workers have a union. They're not involved in any of the politics. Because if they were going to be involved in the politics, sooner or later it would not be possible to strike. In the way it is going to work. We know from past experience that leadership of the union. That leadership spot has to open. If you make throughout the country, they're there to stop you.

MOVEMENT: Have you explained that the Teamsters were afraid for their packing sheds, because the person who organizes the field workers is going to end up attacking those sheds. But do the Teamsters have enough sheds or canneries organized to make it worth their while to try and bust up your efforts?

CHAVEZ: I said that this is what they had told us, but we don't know only. And then when you have to second guest them. They do have a lot of canneries workers. But then you don't have too much of anything. All of these things are carried off by big service and the guy that has the canny enterprise is not this you know. Because, if he feels it directly assault on our part, he can talk his brothers outside the canneries. I can see a 5-year strike in Delano, But if we can solve the Tecumseh problem it will be less.

STUDENTS AND OUTSIDERS

MOVEMENT: What could students and outsiders do now? Many people have been hung up on the relationship of volunteers to the union.

CHAVEZ: I don't agree it's that clear when they came because we were busy, some understood and some didn't. My idea was that they were coming here as servants. They were coming here with their only objective to help farm workers have a union. They're not involved in any of the politics. Because if they were going to be involved in the politics, sooner or later it would not be possible to strike. We know from past experience that leadership of the union. That leadership spot has to open. If you make throughout the country, they're there to stop you.

MOVEMENT: Do the Teamsters have more union workers?

CHAVEZ: No. Perelli-Minietti is the 'longest. Of course, his idea was that they were coming here as servants. They understood them, you know. It can carry itself.

VIETNAM

MOVEMENT: How would you describe the effect the war in Vietnam has on farm workers and Mexican-Americans? Is there a reaction you could de-

CHAVEZ: You see on a group like this a great pride in being very loyal and very brave. You can't be brave and loyal unless there is a war. There is a lot of fear and a lot of misunderstanding. If someone objects to being killed in Vietnam, then someone raises the question, 'Isn't that un-American?' We are in the same place that everyone was in the First World War. Where is that, in the Second. I don't know what they're doing, it won't be political. We don't have as yet many well trained people for some of the work. We will have to train them.

STUDENTS AND OUTSIDERS

MOVEMENT: What do you need outsiders to do?

CHAVEZ: We still have many going. The biggest help they can give us in the boycott. We will send to San Francisco and we have little help, we've sent successful, more than ever before, but imagine what we would have had if we had more help.
Delano's #2 Institution: FARM WORKER SERVICE CENTER

DELANO, CALIF.

Leroy Chatfield, head of the Farm Worker Service Center in Delano, is usually the first person that people call when they think of the farm workers. He left the religious order to join the farm worker movement, spent a year raising money for the Farm Worker Co-op housed the Los Angeles NFWA office, and is now directing the "social service wing" of the union.

MOVEMENT: We're trying to change the unions so that they have gone through in the past 20 years. We're trying to move towards "real collectivity". One of the things that has not been here a year ago and is very much here now is the Service Center. What is the Service Center and what does it do?

CHATFIELD: That is a Service Center in a certain way that has always been in existence. Especially in the early days of the union when Cesar, Gil (Padilla) Dolores (Huerta) and Julio (Hernandez) were the Service Center. Any problem a member has had with income tax problems, or any services that they needed, then they came to the union. And the union at that time, as I said, was Cesar, Dolores and Gil.

That is the basic thing, and the union officers decided to form a parallel structure to the union. One of the things which prompted this was our affiliation with the AFL-CIO, which was that the union was to have a level of service more along traditional union lines. Probably this is more desirable from the labor union point of view, more easy for them to understand what is going on, and for them to deal with us too. This parallel structure took the service part of the program out of the NFWA-AVC.

Chatfield: This parallel structure, which we call the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc., is the Health Clinic, the Credit Union, the Consumer Co-op, the social services that I just mentioned briefly, and probably a tenacious relationship with the farm workers (Teatro Campesino) and the Farm Workers Press (publisher of El Muchacho).

What I mean by a tenacious relationship is that Cesar thinks it is desirable to have an umbrella body that will advocate, clarify, serve to develop all of these things that I've mentioned. We don't go in to the Health Clinic, to the Co-op, to run their Health Center; they are separate entities, but there is a parallel structure that has to be able to interpret. We don't want the Health Clinic or the Credit Union or the Social Service to go out on their own and not be subordinate to the purposes of the union.

And what tells Cesar for ten minutes can tell that he will sacrifice everything the union has done in the past 20 years if we build a union that's strong and does the job, we can have the most beautiful Health Clinic in the world, but it's not going to be financed by OEO or someone like that.

MOVEMENT: Does the Service Center help the organizing? Why isn't it just a do-gooder kind of thing?

CHATFIELD: If someone comes in with a problem, what do we do first? Ask, "Are you a union member?" If they say "yes," then ask to see their blue card. And not only don't they need some welfare or income tax problems, they have to be a paid-up union member. And then the tenacious reason for that is, it isn't charity program. We've described it as the social service does not have a social service to the union membership, for a plan of action.

MOVEMENT: You started our discussion by saying that one of the reasons you set up this parallel structure was that you could incorporate the social services into the union, it would not be the "union union" way of doing things. I wish you'd break that down.

CHATFIELD: Well, I guess I give you that as a reason because that was one of the reasons given to me.

What's going to happen to the union is, that little by little we're going to develop locals. The AFL-CIO Constitution has certain by-laws and rules and regulations that govern the development of locals. So I think it behooves us on our side to create those structures from the ground up, and I really mean that. This means nothing wrong with those structures. But the movement in Delano, as you well aware of, has made tremendous changes in the traditional labor union development. About all that has happened is a lot of consultation and discussion has been involved. Some groups cannot, won't, and therefore the other labor union development.

So the parallel structure of the Social Service Center has been involved. Some groups cannot, won't, and therefore the other labor service the Social Service Center.

CHATFIELD: Our by-laws don't call for welfare. Our by-laws don't call for a plan of action. We're going to devise our own principles that is an open membership, and it will be self-helping to sell the growers.

CHATFIELD: Well, I suppose we're going to sell to the growers, but the point is, you have to have a membership card in the Co-op to be able to use the Co-op. In fact, that's very different from the way the Co-op is run.

CHATFIELD: Once again we're adapting the principle that Cesar so strongly believes in, that all your own own nothing. Let me take the garage as a model. Who will be that administered by?

CHATFIELD: That will be administered by the Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc., which is a corporation formed under the cooperative laws and the corporation laws of California. It has its own board of directors, Cesar is the president of the Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc., after we issue shares, at our first general meeting we will have a class of officers elected, just like every other corporation.

MOVEMENT: Who gets the profits?

CHATFIELD: The profits will go to the Co-op.

MOVEMENT: Not to the union?

CHATFIELD: No. Many of these things are separate corporate entities, because that is the way the Federal Reserve System is a State Credit Union; it has its own corporate structure and is governed by the laws of the State of California. The same way with the Health Clinic, Credit Union, Social Service.

Those of you who work in the office, we keep these things straight; most of the time the membership doesn't. Doesn't in all these things mean one thing — the way it's set up.

MOVEMENT: But you still have to be a separate Co-op member to shop at the Co-op. Does your union membership挂钩?

CHATFIELD: Just because you pay your dues doesn't mean we don't charge you 2.50 for your income tax. The Co-op is only paid once for a life time.

You buy 2 tires at the Co-op and you'll get your $10 back. I see a problem arising. Maybe a by-law change will be necessary. If we have a separate Co-op membership, we have to have separate Co-op members, that could be sticky. But we are just beginning to get a lot of people talking about selling the shares. Our thrust should be 90% toward farm workers in selling shares in order to keep us from having a special union membership for Co-op.

MOVEMENT: The garage is the first project of the Co-op?

CHATFIELD: Yes. The service station, garage, with a co-op sign, that's the plan. Everything will be cooperative.

MOVEMENT: Cooperative means that, when we receive approval from the State Commissioners, the Co-op will raise 2000 shares of stock, to be sold at $10 each. This stock will be made available to Union members.

CHATFIELD: If you're not a Union member, you can't buy stock. If you're a member, you can buy stock at a special price for Union members.

CHATFIELD: Our by-laws don't call for welfare, but the purpose of the Co-op is to have a plan of action and to build a union that's strong and does the job, and if it can't, the whole thing will be re-examined. Or maybe we're not ready for a Co-op.

MOVEMENT: Where does the Service Cooperative come in?

CHATFIELD: The Service Center money comes from a joint grant that was provided by the Farm Worker Service Center, Inc., and the L.U.D. This grant for fourteen months, beginning last November. The way I look at it is, by next year we have something going, paying for it. Gotta do something for yourself first, and then you can do something for others. I can't figure it out now, but I believe the Service Social Service Center of the Union will start charging for the services, except for the income Tax returns. Either we start charging fees, or it is suggested, and approved by the membership that a certain small fraction of the dues goes toward that, that I don't know, I'm at a complete loss right now.

CHATFIELD: Just because you pay your dues doesn't mean we don't charge you 2.50 for your income tax. The Co-op is only paid once for a life time.

I do see a problem arising. Maybe a by-law change will be necessary. If we have a separate Co-op membership, we have to have separate Co-op members, that could be sticky. But we are just beginning to get a lot of people talking about selling the shares. Our thrust should be 90% toward farm workers in selling shares in order to keep us from having a special union membership for Co-op.

CHATFIELD: I find it hard to believe that we'll be in the point where we are. That we actually have a Service Center, I'm amazed that such things can happen at the same time as much tremendous pressure; the strike, the Parodi Minetti thing, organization... only that all things develop. A lot has happened in a short time.

My reaction to the bureaucratic idea — of course structures have developed and departments have developed and people have been put in charge of departments, and they are held responsible and they also have been given authority. You have to take the position that you don't believe in organization, you don't believe in hierarchy, you don't believe in bureaucracy, when you start minimizing and dismantling those things.

Also, it's a little strange to me — but how can you talk about organizing people and at the same time not submit to the discipline of organization? I don't think you can do that, and I think anyone who thinks that Cesar doesn't believe in organization misreads what really is going on here in Delano. As to the charge you hear, "what about 10, 15, 20 years from now?" you're going to be just as middle-class, conformist or not. But at this point the farm workers don't have the choice. And I don't think you can choose for others, or make those choices for them.

CHATFIELD: If you're a member of the union, growing, developing and getting stronger. And if the answer is "yes" then you have to accept it, it seems to me, the bureaucracy that goes along with that.

But another way to keep the union honest and realistic is control. It is to build things like the Service Program, Health Clinic and Consumer Co-op, I'd be hard pressed to find any other way. I think there are other ways, but they do have a play to play in the overall organization that tends to balance, because health needs are different than economic needs, which the union addresses itself primarily to...
FARMWORKERS OPEN SECOND FRONT

By Terry Cannon

Rio Grande City, Texas

For the farm worker movement, Texas is the new frontier, the second front in the battle with America's growers and plantation owners. This is not accidental. It is an area of great potential, both for economic development and for political exploitation. The median income for a Spanish-speaking male worker in the valley is $2,579 a year.

In the eastern part of the county do you begin to see vegetable crops and irrigation. Residents of the Valley are of Mexican descent. The Delano growers are the experts in the threat of unionization. (Presumably 1967 April 1967)

BOYCOPT

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FEDERAL DOLE TO WORLD AIRWAYS

One of the firms which was awarded approval from the Empolyment Development Agency was World Airways. They will be leasing an airplane hangar, financed by grants and loans from EDA for the Port of Oakland. They claimed they will create 1,116 new jobs, World Airways is in line to receive $10 million in federal funds.

World Airways was not content with getting this federal financing. They were part of a program of creating a FEDERALLY FINANCED job training project for airplane maintenance mechanics. At a Mayflower Development and Training Act Advisory Committee meeting at the end of November, a program for training 510 people over a two-year period was proposed. The qualifications for the applicants would be (1) residence in Oakland for six months or more, and (2) a 10th grade level education, especially in mathematics. It was estimated that $1.5 million would be needed for this program. A representative of World Airways indicated that they "would probably be one of the major employers" who hired men out of the program.

A joint from the San Francisco Department of Education and a liberal arts and business class representatives present at the meeting. He said, "How can you say that these 510 men will be trained who really are unemployed, if they need a 10th grade education?" The EDA REPRESENTATIVE FOR THIS PROGRAM SAID IT WAS TO TRAIN LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED: "I fear the worst if it isn't necessary" - "If we don't absorb these people now, in five years they will become hard-cored unemployed." The program was approved and the meeting adjourned.

Con't from page 1

in a sense that people aren't afraid to ask for something. They more or less wait for the opportunity to come to them. If they see a leaflet - "get here for the morning shift so that I can get together." It's guys like him, the supervisors, they don't want that. .. They have to be kind of satisfied with what they get. They have to be kind of satisfied with what they get.

LYONS: Actually the job doesn't pay that much more than any other job. Enough to make ends meet, that's all. Maybe there is a little bit different. A guy was telling me that he had lost his job and Negroes that he put in the program for them. He wasn't interested in that. He thought it was just too hard, or it was too dusty.

MOVEMENT: That sounds like "Negros and Anglos can't cut asparagus." ... "People can gobble up asparagus."

LYONS: The supervisors, they're the ones that separate the race. Like they have Mexican and Puerto Rican workers just doing the same thing, they just won't prune trees, they don't want to prune trees. They don't know how to prune trees. I haven't been there in a long time. I see the Mexicans and the Puerto Rican are the first ones that started on trees, so they just stick to that way.

MOVEMENT: You really don't think there's any dissatisfaction with that?

LYONS: They won't say it, but I am of the opinion that they haven't, but I really haven't heard anybody complaining about it. "I haven't got that job because I'm a Mexican or I'm a Negro." Maybe it's because Negroes never had opportunities for these jobs, so they don't aquick about it.

You know these are farm workers and these are the people that are getting the job. They have to be kind of satisfied with what they get.

MOVEMENT: But the whole thing is that they aren't satisfied with what they get.

LYONS: Now that the union is here, I think they'll feel like they have more rights and have more voice and more opportunity to get these things. Before the union they were just afraid to speak up, or afraid to speak up and get fired. Or they had less IAD to be satisfied with what they got. Or they probably would be looking for another job more often because they are not quite as satisfied.

MOVEMENT: People saw farmwork as being the end of the road.

LYONS: That's the way farm work is looked at, it's the end of the road. People feel as important as a mechanic or a construction worker, or an electrician. Farm work is not a good job any more. The only place they can go is up.
Theatre That Does Something

COMMON PROBLEMS
Several weeks ago we were asked to do some skits for East Garfield Park Union to aid Gladus, another community union in the city composed mainly of black people. We did a series of three skits, one for each of the main topics JOIN is organizing around welfare problems, housing, and police brutality. We were received enthusiastically, and without any speeches a very warm understanding of similar emotions and the need to fight them together had united the room of strange people. We also found this true with the cops in Uptown.

The skit is a series of humorous scenes which UNION (JOIN) members are going to a young, called June Bug. A cop breaks up the skit being read on the street corner and he is taken to court. He can't understand the judge, the little hillbilly by taking a picture of the beating, getting arrested and his description, "fat, stupid, baby." When the cop manages to recover from his shock he stutters, "Hey you can't do this to me! I'm a cop, what's going on?" The judge "JOIN-born," newly and in complete command of the situation, the cop as a quintet of untamed men. He answers stupidly, "Questions!"

The just scene is a line of organized guys on the same street corner. The cop wasbruited by a drunk and he, slowly and stumbly, he says, "Good day," and was the street corner. The cop refers to him no longer as "Harry Heart," but as "Harry Boykin." He is truly a civil servant. And all go off to "Dancing in the Streets."

QUESTIONS
But the problem posed by the skit was the poverty problem of the wealth of arts, and we know a lot of changing must take place, but how do we find those in between scenes, what strategies are most effective, how do we encourage people to stand together, and how will the empty really find you? And as we keep working to clarify and strengthen the skit, organize, and get the answers for the success of JOIN and the Movement.

As we gradually build up a strong group of skits, our most recent plan for the theater is to hold a festival of short plays by college SDS chapters. Hopefully these will serve as a needed fund-raiser for our skits and also help to organize and have our Ursus artifices, to be used on the upcoming forums.

STREET CORNER SKIRTS
Our expedition this summer toward the spring and summer plans for street corner and park performances. They'll be helpful in giving people what they want the welfare, housing, police brutality, and human rights struggle.

The proposed expansion of the theatre is still one of fun and excitement. We have not really returned to the hard work of art yet, but perhaps the hope for our survival and success lies in the fact that we have chosen to use the most co-operative area of art, the theatrical experience. For it relies on the unity of its participants.

It would seem that "serious playing" in a social context, starting, can only serve to re-enforce the "serious struggle" in Chicago and throughout the nation today and the Movement must supply a growing current that our society and system have failed to provide, and answer to.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article on the JOIN theatre project was chosen from a series of articles on one-of-a-kind theatre across the theatre. The next article will be about the Teatro Comunitario by Luis Valdez.

Subscribe to THE MOVEMENT
NOTES FROM CHICAGO... MICHAEL JAMES  

LESSONS OF ELECTORAL POLITICS

Chicago has one of the oldest, most powerful and influential political machines in the country. Sitting at the top of this complicated structure is Mayor Daley, an expert at revamping the face of the machine when its working parts become visible and bring about some public concern. Although faces may change, the machine’s economic and political grip on people’s lives remains tight. A component of the machine is the city council, composed of fifty aldermen. Aldermanic elections were held last month, and there was a bid by anti-machine independents in twelve wards to capture seats on the city council.

Most of the independents were black, running in middle class Negro and transitional (black to black) wards. While the candidates weren’t radical, and the overall independent effort unsuccessful, the independents, whether they be potential friends or enemies of the movement, something the machine, always present in the community at elections, unseated one of the “silent six” Negro machine alderman. He did not talk about issues in his campaign, but is relatively good when asked. An affiliate of Congressman Dawson’s southside stronghold because he did not have sufficient anti-Daley muckraker on the council. Rayner will be as good as the people he is associated with. The hopeful thing about Jackson is that he is open to working with and helping to build strong organizations of the poor. Those people most active in his campaign were a handful of gang members who worked closely with a staff member of the new School of Community Organization.

ONLY VICTORY

Sammy Rayner, the only Independent victory, unseated one of the “silent six” Negro machine alderman. While he didn’t talk about issues in his campaign, but is relatively good when asked. Unfortunately the organizations of people to do that have yet to be built.

PRECINCT ORGANIZATION

Rayner won his campaign after 4-1/2 years of work in traditional political fashion. After losing in 1964, he was always present in the community attending funerals (he’s an undertaker), block club meetings and social functions. He received the support of Veteran’s for Peace, of which he is chairman. Important to note about his campaign is that he had poll watchers who guarded his precincts, as in those relatively unoucheh, Kissinger received 5% as opposed to 15-20% of the vote in the intensive precincts.

NEED FOR POLL WATCHERS

In contrast to Rayner, Fred Hubbard, former YMCA street worker, seems to have lost his campaign in the 22nd ward of Congressmen Dawson’s southside stronghold because he did not have sufficient poll watchers. Observer folklore maintains that he won, but was robbed. The matter is in the office of the police department that includes affidavits from people in one precinct who said they voted but were not shown a keep short list on the young records. Hubbard’s campaign was not issue oriented, but instead on the need of “independent black representation.” He is not a political, he knows about community organization and employing some of it in his campaign. Important among the Hubbard campaign is that he was not by the machine, his presence in the community, and organization. Hubbard’s organization contracts with the right winged by Gus Savage who lost in the 22nd ward. Savage was in several radical black candidates, popular, but had poor organization.

NOT RESPONSIBLE TO POOR

While most of the independent black campaigns were run in middle class Negro wards by middle class Negro machine independents, there were two independent black wards. In the 26th ward, Foster, a middle class candidate, received 30% of the vote in his bid against the Italian incumbent portrayed by the machine. Foster had some precinct work, but clearly not enough in that he should have done better running against a white opponent. Foster did not come out of it, nor was he responsible to a constituency of poor people. The building of that constituency has yet to be done, and Foster’s campaign was not run for that purpose.

SEND ONE TO A FRIEND!