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THE MOVEMENT

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HUNTERS POINT - COPS SHOT INTO COMMUNITY CENTER SHELTERING 200 CHILDREN

SAN FRANCISCO -- On Thursday September 27 about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Matthew Johnson, 16, was shot in the back and killed by a policeman. The officer had stopped the car Johnson and a friend were riding in: he thought they looked suspicious.

The policeman, Alvin Johnson, 51, ordered the two out of the car and told them to raise their hands. Matthew Johnson began to run down a hill with his hands raised. The officer says he fired three warning shots before hitting Johnson. A witness claims that all the shots were aimed at the youth.

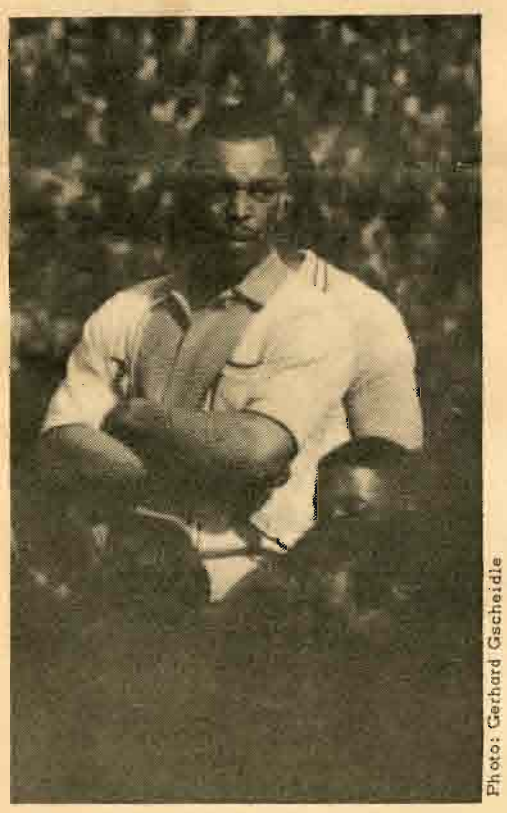


Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle

YOUNG HUNTERS POINT man watches burial of Johnson.

At the time of the shooting the officer did not know that the car was stolen. The owners reported it as stolen several hours later.

Soon after the shooting, the windows of a Rexall Drug Store were broken by an angry group of young Negro men. Further down the street, around the Bayview-Hunters Point Community Center, several young men together with some of the Center's community workers and Youth For Service, began to organize what later was called the Peace Patrol. This was only hours after the initial attack on the drug store. That night the Patrol numbered 50.

Early Wednesday morning several radio broadcasts reported that violence had broken out in the Fillmore District. However, one of THE MOVEMENT staff went down there and reported that only a few windows were broken and that all the streets leading into Fillmore between Geary and Haight Streets were completely cordoned off by the California Highway Patrol. All was quiet. The radio reports during the week were full of hysterical announcements of new "violence" and "riots." Checking them out, THE MOVEMENT found most of them not to exist or to be local fistfights between highschool students.

On Wednesday the 28th, the Peace Patrol demanded a meeting with Mayor Shelley, Governor Brown, Assemblyman Willie Brown, Assemblyman John Burton, and Congressman Phil Burton. The meeting was to be in Hunters Point. Only one of the Burtons showed up.

Downtown, a group of Hunters Point residents did meet with the Mayor that afternoon. Their meeting was interrupted by reports of more violence along Third Street.

The Peace Patrol had asked the police to get out of Third Street and to block off the street so no traffic would pass through. The Patrol had little success in stopping people from throwing rocks and bottles at passing cars, since the police would not block off Third Street and let the Patrol deal with their people.

Then a policeman was hit with a rock as he passed by in a squad car. He cried out, "I'm hit, I'm hit." The driver of the car called into headquarters, "My buddy is hit." He did not clarify what he meant by "hit."

At this time there were over 500 people on Third Street, mostly young people.

The police assumed he was shot and at 5 pm closed off Third Street to all traffic. Then they marched up to the Community Center, firing over the heads of the crowd.

All this time the Peace Patrol was trying to clear the streets. Some used bull horns and all wore black armbands.

COPS FIRE INTO CENTER

When the police reached the Community Center, one officer yelled, "There's a gun in there somewhere; they're firing at us!" On television and in the newspapers people saw the police fire into the building.

More than 200 children were in the Center at that time. This was not reported by any of the news media.

HELP EXPORT THE MOVEMENT

Several revolutionary groups have written to us requesting subscriptions to THE MOVEMENT. We need some help if we are to send them copies. Airmailing one copy of the paper to Cuba costs 39¢, to Tanzania 75¢, to the National Liberation Front 45¢. It's important that they know what is happening inside this country. Can any of our readers send us a contribution toward the postage needed to mail THE MOVEMENT to these groups?

IN THIS ISSUE..

HOW TO RESEARCH A RURAL COMMUNITY
TORTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA
THE "POWER AND POLITICS" MEETING

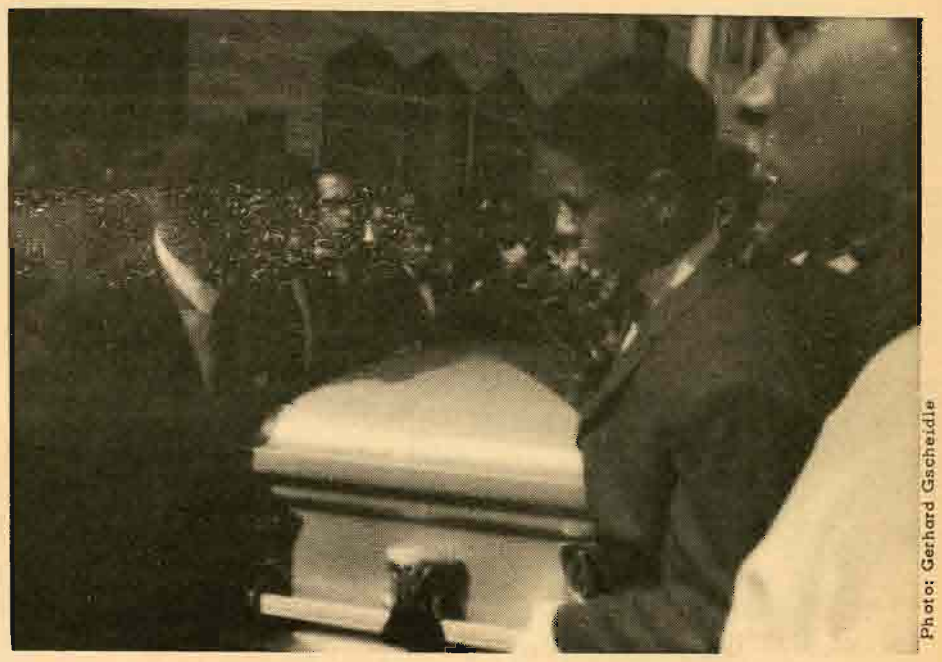


Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle

THE BODY OF MATTHEW JOHNSON, 16, shot to death by a San Francisco policeman, is carried out after funeral services. 1000 attended the Hunters Point funeral.

In a MOVEMENT interview with Harold Brooks, Director of the Center, he pointed out that the shooting lasted 7 or 8 minutes. "Minutes before," Brooks recalled, "the kids were in the windows. The police must have known they were in there."

Only three newspapers have interviewed Brooks or anyone else in the building at that time, THE MOVEMENT, The BERKELEY BARB, and the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. None of the Establishment press mentioned the number of children in the building.

"The children didn't expect the police would fire," Brooks said. "When the firing broke out, bedlam followed, until I got them to lie down. I went out the front door to get them to stop firing and let the kids out."

"After the kids got out, the police came looking for cocktails and guns. They didn't find anything."

Seven people were wounded outside the building at that time. Six were clearly marked Peace Patrol members. One, Adam Rogers, standing a block off Third Street, was telling people to get off the streets with a bull horn at the time he was wounded in the back. He kept screaming, "Why did they shoot me?"

The police later agreed to keep off Third Street entirely on Saturday night. Saturday night the Patrol would keep the peace.

A few minutes later a squad of police closed off the street. They started grabbing people and putting them in a bus. About 70 were picked up. The police only went for hippies with long hair and sandals, students with beards, and Negroes, whether or not they were demonstrating.

One of THE MOVEMENT staff who looks like the all-American boy was pushed out of the way by a cop so he could arrest a hippie. A couple who had been shopping and had grocery bags in their arms were arrested. The charges were violating curfew, being a public nuisance, and inciting to riot.

The police entered some stores and pulled people out to arrest them -- again, only Negroes, students and hippies.

The police claim on their records that all the people were arrested at Haight and Cole. As far as we know, 70 were arrested at Clayton, some at Masonic and none at Cole. Clearly the police were trying to cover up the fact that they made no loudspeaker announcement of the curfew time. The newspapers and television said that the curfew was in the Fillmore and Hunters Point, not in the Haight-Ashbury or the Western Addition. The police have tried to claim that the Haight-Ashbury is part of the "Greater Fillmore," an area unknown to San Franciscans. But then the police have been aching to get their hands on those hippies for a long time.

A map published by the CHRONICLE showed the Western Addition curfew area gerrymandered around all areas with a large Negro population. St. Francis Square, a mostly white middleclass housing project, was excluded even though it lies in the middle of the Fillmore district.

One resident said that it would be impossible to move around the area without a map. Step across the wrong street and you're under arrest.

No daily newspapers were delivered in any of the curfew areas, even during the day, while the curfew lasted.

"Now Matthew Jones won't have to fight in Vietnam," said one of the signs carried by the Haight Street Demonstrators.

THE SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE ARRESTED IN HUNTERS POINT AND HAIGHT-ASHBURY DISTRICTS OF SAN FRANCISCO, CANNOT, BEING POOR, AFFORD THE EXPENSES OF THEIR BAIL AND COURT COSTS.

WE ASK OUR READERS TO SEND URGENTLY NEEDED MONEY FOR THEIR DEFENSE TO THE COUNCIL FOR JUSTICE, THE COMMITTEE OF VOLUNTEER LAWYERS HANDLING THEIR DEFENSE. MAKE CHECKS OUT TO CFJ BAIL FUND AND SEND TO 449 14th STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94103.

CURFEW RAID IN HAIGHT-ASHBURY

Meanwhile, on Thursday night in the Haight-Ashbury district, some middleclass students and hippies demonstrated against the 8 p.m. curfew and the presence of the National Guard in the city. They demanded the withdrawal of the police and the Guard from Fillmore and Hunter's Point in solidarity with the Negro people.

At ten minutes to eight, according to Pete Robinson, a community worker at Hamilton Methodist Church, a police officer stepped out of his car and said, in a conversational tone, that there was a curfew and people should go home. He did not use the loudspeaker on the car.

EDITORIAL

"CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY" ARREST

Hot on the heels of the police frame-up of SNCC organizers in Philadelphia and the arrest of Stokley Carmichael for leading a riot in which he did not take part, comes the news that police have arrested a black organizer for the Progressive Labor Party in Los Angeles.

John Harris was arrested for "criminal syndicalism," a charge similar to local ordinances under which racist police officers in the South have been arresting SNCC workers for years. In California this law was last used against the organizers of farm workers in the 1930's.

It is the means by which police harass, intimidate and attempt to interfere with the work of organizers in Negro and lower-class communities in the United States. Harris was not arrested for being a criminal or for being a syndicalist. He was arrested for trying to organize Negroes against police brutality, for opposing the injustice of the Deadwyler killing and "hearing," for speaking out against America's illegal war in Vietnam and for being a black militant. He was also arrested for being a communist, which he openly acknowledges.

We call for the immediate freeing of Harris and for the dropping of all charges against him under this anti-democratic law. We ask our readers to aid John Harris in his battle for freedom.

AN ANGRY LETTER FOR TWO GIRLS IN JUVIE

Let's begin at the beginning: none of this business about jobs, etc. Let's talk about people.

There's this neighbor of mine. She's black, has six kids (mother of seven, one died) and a welfare recipient. I've known her for about two years.

She's as good a mother as possible under the circumstances . . . food, clothes, a roof over their head. The kids come in when it gets dark; when one girl wanted a clarinet there was a clarinet; one girl has been promised a piano and lessons if possible. There's even a cheap encyclopaedia (under the R's for Race you can see the savage black man swinging from trees). She's a good neighbor even though she does play the hi-fi a little loud when her man's in port.

About a week ago she had a squabble with two of her daughters. The oldest is entering puberty and just starting to feel like an adult. So they ran away. It happens to us all. Just like all-American kids. But the American dream doesn't hold for black kids.

The police picked them up. The myth falls apart here. No phone call to the parents, no friendly laugh from the duty officer and a good paddling when they get home. No--the next day they are located, but Visiting Hours are not until Sunday, three days away.

"That white bitch said that I am an unfit mother, unfit she says," my neighbor cries to me. "Those fucking white people can come look at my closets, my kids have clothes. Brooks, I need a friend. I don't want to mess with nobody. Why do they want to mess over me?"

Two girls, 9 and 11, fairly well behaved, from a fairly good home -- oh, you people in Sunset might disagree -- are still being held. Their case won't come up until the 15th and who knows what will happen then? What was their crime? Being black? Having a black mother? "I bore those girls. They're mine. No fucking white man's going to take them away from me. I'll kill myself first."

Why? Why? What have they done to deserve this? What about the first weeks of school they're missing -- if they get out? There's no bail at Juvie -- you have no civil rights at all if you're under age and black. "They don't even take a calf away from a cow while it's still sucking -- but those white bastards have taken my babies away from me."

How many times does this happen? That kid said on TV the other day that he wants nothing to do with the white man's world. I wonder why they haven't burned the world down.

Brooks Penney
San Francisco

SNCC needs a car
a gasoline credit card
and MONEY!
Help support the struggle for freedom.

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THE MOVEMENT needs your support. Your contributions can make it possible for us to expand and improve coverage. Send your contribution to THE MOVEMENT 449 14th Street, San Francisco, 94103.

ANNOUNCING– SEMINARS IN COMMUNITY ISSUES

A series of seminars on current issues, sponsored by the Community Research and Education Foundation (CREF) will begin October 18 at the Immaculate Conception Academy, 3625 24th Street in San Francisco.

The special six week courses will meet every Tuesday night.

The seminars offered are: POLITICAL POWER AND AGRICI-BUSINESS IN CALIFORNIA - discussion leaders Brooks Penney and Terence Cannon; THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND SOCIAL ACTION - John Delury and Rev. David Knotts; THE BACKGROUND OF SAN FRANCISCO'S LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITY - Fr. Gene McAuliffe; URBAN RENEWAL AND THE FUTURE OF SAN FRANCISCO - Harry Brill and Jerry Mandel; MASS ORGANIZATION - Mike Miller.

Many of the discussion leaders are active with SNCC and THE MOVEMENT. Enrollment will be limited to 25 students per seminar. Tuition is $20 a student.

THE MOVEMENT encourages its friends and readers to participate in these seminars. The seminars begin at 7:30 PM and continue until 9. The members of the six classes will then gather for a general forum that will present special guest speakers.

Cooperating organizations in the CREF seminars are American Jewish Congress, Artists Liberation Front, CLR, Presbyterian Department of Urban Work, Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Vietnam Committee, and others.

Any material which appears in The Movement may be reprinted by other publications, groups or individuals. Please give credit to The Movement.

LETTERS

SNCC IS REVOLUTIONARY

(From a letter to Marin Friends of SNCC)
To Whom it May Concern:
1) Here are the blue Chip stamps I promised a week ago.
2) Shame! Shame! The presence of Carmichael in Mississippi is causing Uncle Tom King to say things he would never say otherwise and to lose face.
3) Robert Williams is chuckling like hell in Cuba at King's poor plight.
4) SNCC is making revolutionary proposals even in LA.
5) Well, back to Frantz Fanon (French Negro psychoanalyst) who anticipated Carmichael when he said we must give the world new ways of thoughts, new forms of social leadership.
6) I'm 50, but I never thought I would live to see the things I'm witnessing, and Carmichael is no Black Nationalist; regardless what white liberals and radicals think, I love him.

If possible I'm going to welch on some previously made commitments just to push THE MOVEMENT.

Charles H. Knapper
Oakland, California

FRAMED FOR ARSON

Dear Friends:

Find enclosed check for ten dollars . .

I know all about the courts and the law. I was framed on an Arson charge in 1928 . . . I was third degreed by the Sheriff, the only thing that saved me was a good attorney. P.S. I think this is the only Country in the world where it is a crime to be unemployed. I was run out of many towns. The law said - go to work or get out of town, how the hell you going to work when there are no jobs.

Sincerely,
James O. Geyer
Dos Rios, Calif.



Photo: George Ballis

APPLAUD YOUR WORK

To the members of the SNCC staff:

Having just read the July issue of THE MOVEMENT, and being highly impressed with its content and the concepts of your organization, I am writing this short note to applaud your work . . .

I have been highly impressed by the idealism and realism shown by some of the more prominant members of your staff. I refer specifically to such outstanding individuals as Stokely Carmichael, Julian Bond, and Terence Cannon. I mention these three because of their public exposure through the mass communications media which led me to be inspired by their sincerity and logical presentations.

Regarding the concept of Black Power, which incidentally has been so misrepresented by the news media, and your stand on Viet Nam I wholeheartedly agree. Again let me congratulate you on the fine work you are doing and enclosed find $2 for a subscription to THE MOVEMENT so that I and some of my friends may keep abreast of the activities of your fine organization.

Yours for TRUE equality
L. F. Barghigiani
Whittier, California

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS...

In regard to the continuance of my subscription I think you can skip it. I have been very interested in publications of this kind, but any publication that comes out so violently against all officers of law and order, and law and order itself- well, not for me. I am a member of the Catholic Inter-Racial Council, and there are many fine policeman who are members, one a very active one. I have a few young friends and relatives who have gone into the police force, and are dedicated young men. Of course there are exceptions but your version that all policemen are biased and brutal - I can't go along with that. Of course there is Sheriff Clark, but those are not any more representative of our policemen than the Negro race is represented by the hoodlums who throw bottles and home made bombs. So just forget my $2.00. I am intensely interested in anything that works well for Negroes in their efforts, but not violence for just the sake of being violent. If this sort of effort was put forth to helping small children and primary grade children, there would be some hope for these children when they become young men and women.

Mrs. Joseph Muzio
San Francisco

ONE OF THE FINEST

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a subscription to your newspaper. It is one of the finest newspapers on the left and I feel bad when I miss an issue.

Vickie Cooper
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

advertisement

"Lead Us Not Into Corruption"
ADVERTISING CORRUPTS

Dear Friends:

I hope that there are some among your readers who were disappointed when they saw the space in which you were offering as advertising. It's not because I felt the "Movement" staff was ready to sell out their principles on the numerous problems facing the minority peoples, but that advertising is the real influence upon the news media which make it difficult for the people to receive the news without distortions covering the facts. I would like to buy an ad space and also hope you will print my letter, for I feel there are many among your readers who like what they are reading and consider it principle in itself to avoid the advertising. I would like to recommend that those who agree with me, send some money to "The Movement" to keep the ad space blank.

Stanley L. Roberts
San Bruno, Calif.

the JOIN Community Union

CHICAGO PROJECT RAIDED

by Mike Sharon

CHICAGO -- Last month THE MOVEMENT reported on the Philadelphia police raid on SNCC. Soon after that raid, on Thursday, September 1, at 8:15 PM, the JOIN Community Union Project of the Students for a Democratic Society and the United People Office of the Presbyterian Church on the Chicago Uptown were raided simultaneously. 20 to 30 police were involved in the raids, several carrying submachine guns.

Two JOIN members, Ritchie Rothstein and Melody James, were arrested along with Reverend Morey of the United People (UP). They were charged with possession of four different varieties of narcotics and paraphanalia. Most people in the neighborhood think it was planted.

"I've talked to people who are paying cops off," said David Puckett, JOIN organizer. "They said, 'See, if you'd just paid them a few dollars.' "

The people in the surrounding neighborhood were not too surprised at the raid. "They expect that sort of thing," Puckett said.

Reverend Morey of UP is well-known in the neighborhood. He has worked closely with young members of the Uptown Goodfellows, a group affiliated with JOIN that is organizing against police brutality and for a civilian review board.

Ron Glick, who is organizing around housing issues, said it will now be difficult to organize people who have just heard of JOIN and are neither for it or against. "Those who have been close to JOIN have moved closer together, seeing the raid as a direct attack on JOIN," says Glick.

One of the people interested in the JOIN tenant action program said, "I don't care what you do - take dope, drink - just as long as you are for the poor people, I'm for you."

JOIN has been running effective rent strike campaigns against slumlords, organizing welfare mothers, and began the Uptown Goodfellows.

It is clear that the police were after specific organizers of JOIN. Mrs. Loretta Riddle, a building steward and the JOIN representative in her building, reported to Mike James, "I talked with a guy who said he was deliberately asked to phone you and make an appointment with you at the office (at the time the raid took place)." An unknown person called Ritchie Rothstein and tried to get him to the office earlier. He came to the office after a JOIN member called and told him what was happening. He was then arrested.

The Chicago SUN-TIMES reported Rothstein as saying, "I was held in the front office and I could hear and see them wrecking the office. I saw them at the walls with a crowbar. I saw legs torn off chairs. They were having a gay time of it. I heard them laughing."

The police called it a reasonable search.

The JOIN raid is one more in a wave of police action against movements across the country - SNCC in Philadelphia and Atlanta, the Watts Community Alert Patrol, the Newark Community Union Project, and the National Farm Workers Association. When people begin to take control away from the cops, landlords and caseworkers, the police have at some point or other tried to discredit and intimidate organizing efforts.

On a march through Uptown a JOIN member was asked what everybody was marching for. He replied, "We're marching for a whole lot of lettin alone."



THE JOIN OFFICE IN CHICAGO after what police described as "a reasonable search." The wood in the middle of the picture used to be a divider wall.

CHICAGO POOR WHITES ORGANIZE

By Mike Sharon

"What we're all about is not an interracial movement of the poor but a parallel movement of the poor; organizationally the movement will be interracial but as a community it will not be interracial. JOIN will have a definite power contribution to make to the Negro Movement around any given issue." --Rennie Davis

* * *

PROBLEMS AREN'T JUST RACIAL

JOIN began as a project of the Economic Research and Education Project (ERAP) of the Students for a Democratic Society.

The founders of ERAP were involved in the civil rights movement through their activities in the Northern Student Movement and Friends of SNCC.

"We felt that once white people began to march on welfare offices and to demonstrate about their poverty," says Ritchie Rothstein, "people could no longer claim that the only reason there was poverty was that Negroes were discriminated against.

"They would then have to face the fact that there was something wrong with the tenant/landlord structure, with the welfare system, and with the whole structure of the economy."

"There should be a permanent organization rooted in the community which can be the base of a political movement that could federate with similar movements for social and economic change."

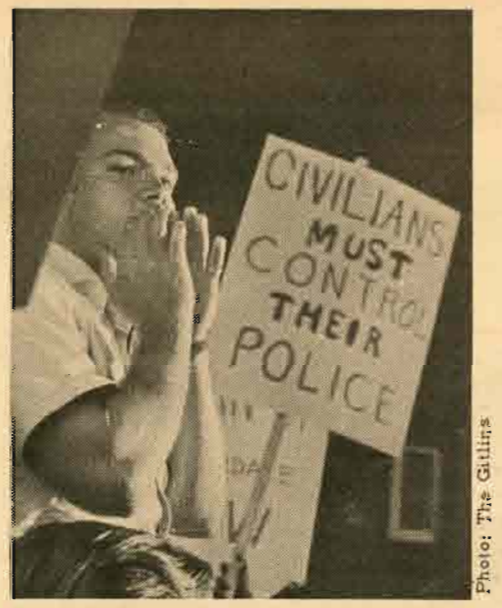


Photo: The Gitlins

JOIN ORGANIZER, Bob Lawson, speaks at Goodfellow's rally at Uptown Police Station in Chicago.

UNEMPLOYMENT

JOIN began as a movement for Jobs or Income Now. They felt that "the problem of unemployment was probably the key economic problem in the city and that unemployment was most severely felt by young men."

They tried to organize men who came to the Unemployment Compensation Office on the Northside of Chicago. They were not successful.

"Unemployment at that office," says Rothstein, "was not the unemployment of young men but rather of old men, who were not particularly interested in organization.

"Secondly, nobody was there long enough to feel the organization had a place there. It is not like a union in a shop where guys are there 8 or 10 hours a day. Or a community where people are there 16 hours a day. The unemployment office was just a place where people went to pick up their check and then spread out over the Northside."

JOIN decided to start organizing where the most yound people they had recruited at the unemployment office lived. That was Uptown.

Uptown is an area of Northside about a mile square. It once was a prosperous middle class community. When the middle class moved to the suburbs, poor whites from Appalachia and the South moved in.

No matter where you are in Uptown - on the main streets or on the side streets - a police car, marked or unmarked, passes every five minutes. All the time I was in Uptown I felt like I was in a police state.

"HIRING HALLS"

In a community there are two kinds of problems you can organize around: Community problems like the need for a day-care center, a civilian review board, or an end to day-labor hiring halls (These hiring halls are privately owned outfits that pay men $1.25 an hour and then subcontract them out to factories at the factory wage rate, the hiring hall keeping the difference. (One place is called Rent-a-Man).

Or you can organize around very local issues - a playground on the block, better

CONTINUED PAGE 5, COLUMN 1

BABY, THIS IS REALLY NEGRO REMOVAL!

"Secretary McNamara's plan to draft and train hundreds of thousands of young men now unqualified for military service was spawned by military necessity, despite all the hoopla about the war on poverty. The plan is primarily designed to maintain an adequate manpower pool—which has been cut nearly in half by a year's beefed up draft for the Vietnam war. The reserve of men available for military duty has shrunk from more than 2,000,000 in midsummer 1965 to just over 1,000,000 as of July 31, 1966. . .*some 30 per cent of the McNamara draftees will be Negroes as against an average Negro draft rate of 10 to 11 per cent.*"

—Washington Sunday Star, September 11.

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SEND ONE TO A FRIEND!

MAIL TO THE MOVEMENT
449 14th STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94103

A POOR WHITE TALKS ABOUT THE POLICE
"PEOPLE ARE GOING TO SHOOT BACK"

My name is Jimmy Curry; I'm from the Northside of Chicago. I have been arrested by the cops quite a few times here, but the only conviction I got is for assault. Lately, though since I got out of jail, the cops around here every time they see me on the street they try to arrest me for this or that. They ain't particular. They think they're God or something, like they rule the world.

HAS THAT GOT ANYTHING TO DO WITH YOUR BELONGING TO THE UPTOWN GOODFELLOWS?

Yes, we try to stop them — to stop police brutality. But so far it ain't doing much good.

HOW LONG HAS THE GOODFELLOWS BEEN GOING?

About 3 months.

WHAT DO YOU SEE THAT COULD STOP POLICE BRUTALITY IN CHICAGO?

We can't stop it. It is going to take a lot of people and pull for that. We're just letting the people know its around though. Most of them know but most of them is scared to get up and do anything about it. They figure, well if I go out and try to do that, try to stop the police, they are going to beat my head in the next time they see me. They gonna to frame you. They frame a lot of people around here for a lot of things. They got me on a bum rap now. I gotta go to court see for strong-armed robbery. There was no robbery nowhere, it was a fight that night. The police tried to make something out of it.

DO A LOT OF GUYS PAY THE POLICE TO KEEP THEM OFF?

Yeah, they can't march or nothing like that because they know the next time the police see them, they'll get them for something.

About 3 days after the march, the last one we had, the police officer that we was protesting, Hamason Moore, he got us up on a corner and tried to arrest us for disorderly conduct. It took me about two hours to talk my way out of that. I told him we won't go on no marches or stuff like that.

WHO IS THE HEAD COP FOR THE UPTOWN AREA?

Sam Joseph.

WHAT DOES HE DO?

He's a detective. He's sort of crazy. He thinks everybody else is wrong and he's right all the time. He's supposed to be the best, the way he says it.

DOES HE USUALLY CRACK DOWN ON SOUTHERN GUYS?

Yeah, all the time. Everytime he arrests somebody he also whups them, and that's a fact. There is nobody that I ever knowed that he arrested and that he didn't hit.

He does more than the rest of them, but the other cops are the same way. They figure, "We got the badge, we got the guns, we got the backing, we can do what we want to. We don't got to obey the laws, other people got to. That's for them not us," that's the way they think.

HOW DO YOU SEE PEOPLE TAKING CONTROL OF THE POLICE?

The majority of the people — if they see police officers not doing their job, that they are breaking the law more than the people, then they got to get the police officers off the force. We want a committee. Every time a police officer breaks the law, the committee will try him. They should have a committee in every district of people from that district.

It would try the police officer, just like they do to us. I figure if they break the law they should go to court too. They are no better than anybody else.

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE RECENT RAID ON JOIN?

I am in JOIN and I don't take no pills or no shots. Nothing like that. I get drunk, but a lot of people do that.

Everybody around here knows that was false. In other words it was planted there before they had it done. That's my opinion of it. That's the opinion of a lot of people around here too.

I'll tell you about the first time I was arrested. I walked into a restaurant. All the young kids hung out there. I walked in there one morning, got off from work, and there's Sam. Sam's smackin' around all them kids, young girls 13, 14 years old, young guys. He's smackin' the girls too. He's tryin' to play God like he thinks he is. He tells 'em they're all punks, and he calls 'em no good whores and bitches and prostitutes. And they ain't even got out of their mama's cradle yet.

I go in there and get pretty mad. So I figure they gonna get me next anyway, so I picked up a bottle and try to bust his head. But I missed him. I didn't hit him. They whup me for three days. Broke nose, fractured jaw, three cracked ribs. My face was swollen up so much, it looked like it got ridden over by a freight train.

That's one example. Now a buddy of mine got arrested with me last time. Sam knocked two of his teeth out. He was 17. The police whupped Roger, another buddy of mine. Busted his nose and his mouth. Sam he always tells everybody he arrested, young guys, "Catch you around JOIN or the Uptown Goodfellows," he says, "Next time I catch you, I'm gonna blow your brains out."

So I mean it happens every day. It's not just Southern people, it's anybody they can pick up. You go up in front of Judge Epton: you got four or five witnesses that say this police officer abused you, that say you did not try to resist arrest or anything. And he'll look down and say, "A police officer do not lie."

You know it's not all the police force, it goes on a lot up stairs. It does. It goes further upstairs. The police couldn't do that if the other people upstairs didn't know it.

WHAT DID THE PEOPLE IN UPTOWN THINK OF THE RIOTS ON SOUTHSIDE?

People up here didn't think too much about it. Some go on marches. Most of 'em are too scared to ever do that.

People up here would like to start a riot. I know some of 'em, about a hundred who would like to. They'd like to go out and beat a few cops up.

There's two groups of people. Those who think the police will leave you alone if you leave them alone. And those who know the police ain't gonna let nobody alone. If these two groups ever get together, they'll probably have a good one.

YOU HAD A MARCH ON THE POLICE STATION HERE. WHAT WAS THAT ABOUT?

That was about the police, about Sam Joseph and a lot of other policemen, about pickin' people up and whupin' 'em, beatin' 'em up, arrestin' for nothin'. Trying to frame 'em.

Like here's an example for ya. You walkin' down an alley or somethin. The police will pull over the car to stop you. They pick up a brick and throw it through a window. You're under arrest for burglary. Now this happened to my brother twice. I know it for a fact.

WHAT DO YOU THINK WILL FINALLY DO THE TRICK AGAINST THE COPS?

I figure in four more years these people are going to be doin the police like the police been doin to them. They'll be shootin them as they go by. That's my opinion. The police, they can't do anything about it. They get worse every year.

I been here eleven years. When I first came out here the police would stop you and say, "OK, kids, get off the street." They was always nice about it. And every year it was a little bit worse. First they started pickin you up for nothing. Then they started to whuppin you. Now they framing you. Like I said it's getting worse. Now they kill you if they get a chance, and ain't gonna say nothin about it.

I tell you people are gonna get fed up with it. And they'll start pickin em off one by one. That's my opinion.

DOES ANYBODY REMEMBER WHO WE'RE FIGHTING FOR IN VIETNAM?

"The program of U.S.–subsidized imports into South Viet Nam has been aimed at sopping up the excess purchasing power in the country's booming wartime economy, thus reducing the upward pressure on prices.

"Critics had attacked the program from several angles. Some had charged corruption and favoritism in granting import certificates. Others had questioned the wisdom of stimulating the importation of automobiles, transistor radios, watches and other luxury goods in wartime.

"Some U.S. government economists, moreover, had questioned whether the massive subsidation of imports could do much to stem the steep inflation that has *increased the cost of living for a working class family in Saigon 70% in the last 12 months.*"

–from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, September 15, 1966

"THEY TOOK MY SON AWAY"

INTERVIEW WITH MARY HOCHENBERRY, WELFARE MOTHER AND ORGANIZER ON THE JOIN WELFARE COMMITTEE



Photo: Mike Sharon

CHICAGO -- I see a tremendous gain for the first time in our activity against the welfare department. They are really scared of us. They are now afraid to pull the dirty deals they have pulled in the past. This shows the machine is breaking. So far we have not lost one grievance in our combined efforts with the West Side Organization and KOCO (Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization.) This is very unusual for over a thousand times.

I was once told by supervisor that "we can do anything we want and there is nothing you can do about it." That was three years ago. Now we have the Chicago Welfare Department in a position of being public servants of recipients.

In the past Chicago has been one of the cruelest welfare departments in the country. If welfare recipients didn't do what their case worker wanted, they would take their children away under false pretenses.

My own son had a breakdown. He was in High School. They took him away from me. They put him in the Audy Home which is just like a prison. The guards beat him so bad that he was placed in the isolation wards for two weeks.

When he came home, he didn't talk. He had ear trouble and needed medicine, but they didn't give it to him. After I received custody of him, I learned from the school that he dropped down to a five point level from a ten point level. This was after a previous school board test said he qualified as a college student. When he came back to school he dropped out and the school told me that there was no need for him to go to school.

This goes to prove what a merciless fight we have had to wage against the Welfare Department.

I find that my own case is not an isolated case. This makes me a strong organizer, because I know how rotten and cruel the Welfare Department has been. I certainly feel qualified to help people demand justice.

We want to take power over the Welfare Department. We're not strong enough now, but we plan to put an organization of welfare people together and decide what we want from the welfare Department. Then one of us will call them up and will tell them what we want, instead of them telling us what we get.

Subscribe to THE MOVEMENT

CLR CONFERENCE - Continued from Page 7

half of the money raised, to organize the poor. If they say no, we'll tell them the poor won't support them."

"I don't know if they really wanted us here as an integral part," said Willie Thompson, Chairman of the Federation of the Poor," or just so they could say we were here."

The Left tried to unify at the Conference and it failed. It wanted to build a power bloc involving radicals and the poor, and it failed. The Conference quickly passed all the resolutions asked for by the poor, including the request for money, but did nothing to implement them.

THE MOVEMENT feels there are some real conclusions to be drawn from the conference. Middleclass liberals and radicals are not prepared to deal with the poor on the terms of the poor. They are not willing to seriously organize people into power groups. They want to run candidates - peace candidates who talk community organizing - their candidates. They see power in terms of votes, not the ability to force change.

"Nobody wanted to do anything," said Katherine Himes on Sunday. "They don't want to go to jail for the poor. But the poor are so desperate they got phony ideas about this conference. They expected too much. We were screwed by the CDC in convention after convention, but we always come back with hope."

To a thousand radicals gathered in East Los Angeles it seemed to make a difference how they opposed Brown. To the poor and to THE MOVEMENT, by the time they had wrangled and talked to death a possibly useful gathering, the vote on Saturday night really didn't matter. It was irrelevant. If a change will come in the political system of California, as it must, it will come by organizing the poor people of California, first and last.

Dave Williams said in one of the workships, "The poor are the balance of power. It's time the middle class liberals stopped telling us what we need. We're going to tell them what it takes to get our votes."

CHICAGO POOR WHITES
Continued from Page 3

street lighting, or towing away abandoned cars.

JOIN first took on two community-wide problems: day-labor hiring halls and day care centers. The timing was wrong. JOIN picketed a War on Poverty agency before the people in the community knew what the War was about. The issues did not catch fire in the area.

Then JOIN tried very local issues. They held an election on one block asking if people wanted a playground. "Of course," Rothstein recalls, "the playground won by something like 250 to 4 of all those who voted. But having taken that vote, we didn't have any idea how to get a playground.

"We took the ballots to the alderman and we took them to the city hall, but we didn't get a playground. We learned not to stick our necks out around issues we had no chance of winning."

WELFARE

In June, 1965 JOIN began organizing around welfare grievances. "JOIN has been willing to do very unpolitical service operations as a means of involving people in getting checks released, getting someone's furniture, moving people and things of that sort." Welfare mothers became accustomed to calling the welfare department and solving their own and others' problems. A welfare committee was formed; its members are now calling for recipient control of the welfare department.



Photo: The Gitlins

After raid on JOIN office, JOIN members march on Mayor Daly's office to protest police brutality, housing conditions.

Mike James reports that when the Independent Union of public Aid Employees went out on strike for thirteen days, claiming among other things that case workers understood the problems of welfare better than administrators and therefore should have a say in policy making matters, the JOIN welfare union said, "We support the IUPAE because they want to help make a humane welfare system. We also feel that we as recipients understand the problems of welfare better than either the administrators or case workers, and we should have the right to organize and have a say in how the welfare system is being run."

One of the welfare mothers, Mrs. Richardson, who has six children, ran down the problem of welfare to me:

"I didn't pay my rent last week, because I had to buy five pair of shoes and school supplies. The welfare doesn't give you enough. And the problem with the case worker is that they never had a problem. They learn from a book. They'll tell you how to live on it. But they wouldn't live on it. They couldn't.

"My case worker said, "I didn't have anything to do with you having all those children. You'll just have to manage.'

"I told her I managed by not paying my rent. They say the difference between the poor and the rich is that the poor don't know to manage. But we don't have any money to manage. People just give up. Then they can't manage anything at all.

"When I got a job for $71.07 a week, my case worker wanted me to work overtime to make more money. If I work overtime, whose going to feed the kids and clean the house?"

HOUSING

In the Spring of 1966 JOIN began to organize rent strikes and initiated collective bargaining agreements between tenants and landlords.

"The tactic we planned," Rennie Davis said, "was that, if the landlord refused to sign a contract with the tenants, specifying what needed to be done in the building, tenants would deliver rent money to the mayor. The theory was that, if the landlord couldn't or wouldn't maintain his property, it was the mayor's responsibility. The effect of announcing our intentions was to have the building crawling with city inspectors.

"A picket was set up in front of one building, and it was made clear to the landlord that, if he tried to enter the building, he risked personal harm. It was also made clear to the manager of the building that he risked certain danger to himself and his family, if he attempted to collect rents and do anything other than his janitorial duties.

"The landlord was given five days to sign before we would go to the mayor. On the fourth day tenants went to the landlords neighborhood and posted placards announcing that the guy at such and such an address was a slumlord. The placards also announced a rally to be held in his neighborhood on the fifth day.

"On the fifth day at six a.m. the landlord called a JOIN organizer, after seeing the placards all around his community and agreed to sign a contract.

"The contract was for one year and spelled out a time schedule for making different improvements. A union grievance committee was formed headed by a steward, who was elected by the tenants.

"Once a month the arbitration committee would meet composed of the landlord, a tenant, and one person agreeable to both. It would handle problems that occurred during the month; its decisions were binding."

JOIN won a court injunction against one landlord who refused to abide by the contract he had signed. An arbitration committee met and voted 2 to 1 to have the tenants take control of the building and to use rent money to hire people in the building to make the necessary repairs. The committee also appointed its own manager for the building.

The tactic of signing a contract with a landlord has been a partial failure. Tenants are still poor and still intimidated by the landlords. The arbitration committee may not be able to collect all the rent from tenants because the rents are still high. Even if they could collect most or all of the rent, the kind of repairs needed are out of reach.

A few strong organizers have come out of these tenant actions. They have experience in dealing with landlords and can organize other tenants in the neighborhood.

Success comes as much from the development of new organizers as it does with achieving immediate demands.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS

The first problem JOIN had run up against was young men who hung around the corner before the office was opened and who were encouraged to hang around there because JOIN organizers had some sort of idea that they might be part of a base for the organization they wanted to build.

JOIN staff were being constantly beaten up by those young men, the female staff was often molested, the office was set on fire a few times, and the guys would get in knife fights with other community people who came into the office. People JOIN was trying to reach in the community were scared away.

"I think their conception of JOIN was a kind of social club, particularly during the first summer we opened the office. There were 15 or 16 young college women that were very attractive to them. The girls would try to get the guys involved with JOIN, but because the girls wouldn't make it with them, real conflicts developed.

"Furthermore, the male organizers were not able to deal with toughness. We would back down because we could not handle ourselves in street fights. Thus we had no ability to command a sense of order in the office.

These were problems of class. Middle-class chicks didn't want to make it with poor white guys; middle-class guys couldn't deal with the violence in a poor community.

JOIN organizers were also reluctant to make demands on anyone from the community - like leave the office when you're drunk, so that welfare mothers can have a meeting.

GOODFELLOWS BREAK AWAY

The Uptown Goodfellows, a group of young men working against police brutality and for a civilian review board, grew out of a conflict between the students and the community.

"During a housing meeting," says Mike James, "the students were arguing against taking action in a particular building. The community people wanted to go ahead. The committee voted by one vote to go ahead. Two of us continued to argue, and somehow our views prevailed.

"That started it. The students were attacked for dominating JOIN, and a group of the young guys formed their own group, the Uptown Goodfellows. They said that students could serve as advisors when asked."

The Goodfellows' "Stop Cops" program is three months old. Their first action was a march of 200 people on the local police station.

JOIN recently got some monty to hire community people as full-time organizers. This will aid the transition from a student-run to a community-run organization.

POOR WHITES AND NEGROES

"When we first came into the community," says Rennie Davis, "we felt that organizing poor whites around economic issues could get them to see common problems with poor blacks and then overcome their racism.

"That conception wasn't naive at all. There are very few explicit racists in JOIN. And those that come into the organization with pretty strong racist ideas begin to work those out on a personal basis due to conversations, discussions meetings and contact through the organization.

"Young guys meet with Negro gang guys from the West and South sides. They are impressed by how tough the guys talk; they're both after the same man, fundamentally.

"What we can do on the race issue is build the organization until it becomes such a power in the neighborhood that it becomes clear that the community should in fact mobilize around an issue that Negroes and non-Negroes can move around - like urban renewal."

Ritchie Rothstein commented on the growing nationalism in the civil rights movement: "JOIN sees itself as part of the civil rights movement and is probably the only poor white organization that does see that. The neighborhood sees JOIN as part of the civil rights movement.

"The problem is that, while this is going on, JOIN's relationship to the civil rights movement has become difficult because of the increasing nationalism within it.

"These are difficult to reconcile in JOIN, which is built on the assumption that a poor white organization acting on the same issues as ghetto organizations can make a power contribution to the movement. This could be nullified if this aid were refused by the movement in the city which would refuse it at this point."

ORGANIZING PEOPLE

Comments by Rennie Davis: "There have been incredible advances. This community has come to accept the idea of a community organization based on different precepts than those agencies in this neighborhood. There are several thousand people who have been involved in some real way and who in some way consider themselves members of JOIN. They payoff for the organizer comes 4 to 6 months after his initial contact. I don't think a community organization can expect to get serious results, especially in a traditionally unorganized area, in a period shorter than two to five years.

"The frustration of the organizer is being continually told that the baby is sick, the rent must be paid, or that somebody has got to go to work, and therefore the meeting can't be attended.

"Organizing is the act of constantly going back. It's the process of hundreds of people learning why, trying to teach themselves what it means to build an organization based on people's strengths, and becoming very frustrated by that, and leaving the organization for a long period of time and then coming back.

"It's the process of community people accepting the students' ideology, which is that community people should run their organization, and having a blow-up session where all the students are dumped on as the community people let their anger go for three or four hours.

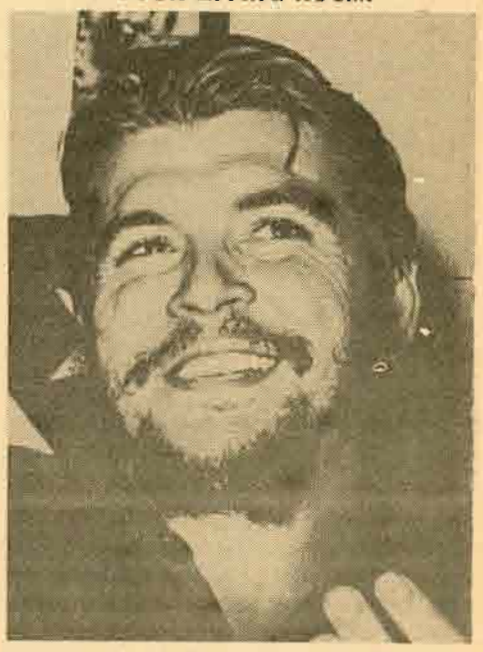
"The next day nothing has changed. The same patterns exist. The same people continue to dominate. Nobody has really restructured the organization. But that process happening over and over again, gradually begins to make a real difference in the organization."

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How To Research a Rural Community

by Ken Blum

This is a list of things to read:

1. FORTUNE'S 1963-4 (AND LATER EDITIONS). Plant and Product Directory of the 1000 largest U.S. Industrial Corporations. -- First use the geographical index for the county you are in. It will list all industrial plants and the approximate number of employees in each. Then use the company listing to find the other plants of the corporation. Refer if necessary to Moody's Industrials for more information on its capitalization, sales, profits, subsidiaries, etc. Both of these reference works are available in most good city libraries and in most stock broker offices.
2. CITY DIRECTORIES: Use the local city directory to find where everyone lives by streets. If you purchase a city map from the county road department, for example, it is very easy to put everyone's name onto the map. When you find the name of a city councilman, look it up to see his occupation. It usually lists the exact employer. Using information from the chamber of commerce if he is a laborer at a local industry, you can get his approximate income.
3. STANDARD INDUSTRIAL SURVEY SUMMARY REPORT, available at most local chamber of commerces. Tells the names of local industries and the approximate wage scale. It also tells the extent of unionization. There is very little unionization in California's rural town. Most unionists are in the building trades, like carpenters, and often work on public works projects.
4. COUNTY ASSESSORS OFFICE: Check the land ownership and assessed valuation of anyone in the county. These records are open to anyone. Have someone in the office show you how to use the records. You can draw maps of local ranchers fields, for example. The usual percentage of evaluation is about 22%, hence to find the appraised valuation, multiply by 4-1/2. Look up property of local city councilmen for example. It comes in handy as propaganda. Also use to check ownership of labor camps, apartments and rural slums.
5. CENSUS: Use the California book, under economic and social conditions. It is divided according to the population of the city. Also use the housing census. We in the Student Committee on Agricultural Labor printed forms with all the census information on it and then typed in the figures for all the towns in Tulare County. There is some good information here, like distribution of income, rents paid, age of houses, toilets inside the house or outside, etc.



Photo: Ernest Lowe

6. PRECINCT LISTS: Get them for each precinct from the local county clerk for about 5¢ each.
7. CITY ORDINANCES; FINE SCHEDULE, COURT DOCKET, CITY COUNCIL MINUTES: Check city council men for last ten years, read in the minutes who comes to city council meetings, who takes part in decision making. Read the city budget, where does the money come from, whom is it spent on, what social cleavages are there in the town.
8. READ THROUGH BACK ISSUES OF THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER, check election returns by precincts on various social issues, like Proposition 14. Note turn out in primaries, general elections, crossing of party lines, etc.
9. INDEX OF LICENSED CONTRACTORS, State Department of Employment: Look up the local labor contractors and licensed camp operators. Later ask the farm workers how much each pays, how they cheat the workers and which ranchers they work for.
10. LIST OF PACKINGHOUSES AND COLD STORAGES: Tulare County's Chamber of Commerce, for example, put out a book of all cold storages and the approximate car loads produced at each. Use also "Directory of deciduous fruit and grape grower-shippers in major California producing districts, 1958 season" of the Federal-State Market News Service, Fresno Office, the Packers Red Book, or the Blue Book. (The last two cost $150. apiece, and are only available in places like the Giannini library of Berkeley, banks, and Federal-State Market News Service Offices. It has credit ratings, speed of payments, approximate dollar value of sales and car and truck lots. These are two most valuable reference works.)
11. AGRICULTURAL CENSUS, U.S. GOVERNMENT, for the county you are in. Tells the number of ranchers in your county, value of products grown, etc. It does not come out in the same years as the regular census. Good statistical material.
12. TO FIND OUT ABOUT LOCAL LAWYERS, USE MARTINDALE AND HUBBELL'S DIRECTORY which can be found at most city libraries. Use the yellow pages of the phone book for lawyers' names. Use Martindale and Hubbell's; you can find their important clients and whom they might be speaking or acting for in a given situation.
13. WEEKLY WAGE REPORTS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT will help you keep up with crop movements and wages, and will help you understand better the migration of the local farm workers.
14. FEDERAL-STATE MARKET NEWS SERVICE REPORTS -- available in almost any major city, in State Agricultural building, includes prices for products, movements by truck, train, ship, arrivals in produce markets in 42 cities across the country. auction prices, amounts in cold storage: available for individual crops daily. Useful for understanding what the rancher is doing the harvest. You must keep your eyes open for other reports; for example, the California Canned Peach Association report tells the weekly problems around 50 (an estimate) substantial middle class ranchers face with the California Packing Corporation and its control of the peach market.
15. THE CALIFORNIA FARMER: is essential reading on agriculture and labor. There are three editions: Southern, Central, and Northern.
16. CHECK THE LOCAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEMBERSHIP or at least the officers. Look them up in the city directory. See if any are on the boards of a local bank.
17. CHECK THE OFFICERS OF THE LOCAL FARM BUREAU. You might check if they own a packing house, how much land they own, what crops they are in and how much labor they employ.
18. IN THE LOCAL COUNTY SEAT YOU CAN FIND COURT RECORDS, mortgage records, records of the purchase of property, crop mortgages and the like. Learn how to use the indices and check on some of the local large ranchers and such companies as DiGiorgio, Clayton, Anderson and Co., Cal Pack and the like to see such things as an eminent domain fight that might have revealed the value of their land.
19. Subscribe to the TOWN NEWSPAPER and the nearest daily of an agricultural center. For the San Joaquin Valley, the Fresno Bee is the voice of agriculture. Other papers to read are the Bakersfield Californian, the San Francisco Chronicle, and the L.A. Times. A good researcher probably reads the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal daily.

Suggested Readings:

20. Jack Minnis, CARE AND FEEDING OF POWER STRUCTURES; The LAFOLLETTE REPORTS: U.S. Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, 76th Congress, "Violations of Free Speech and the Rights of Labor."
Carey McWilliams, FACTORIES IN THE FIELDS, THE MOVEMENT, EL MALCRIADO, FARM LABOR.

BEFORE AND AFTER THE SCHENLEY CONTRACT

DELANO: THE MOVEMENT interviewed Daniel Sanchez, a farmworker for the Schenley Corporation. Here are the questions we asked and his answers, assisted by his wife Gloria, a Di Giorgio worker who voted for the NFWA in the August 30 election.

Q: How many years have you worked at Schenley?

A: Seven years.

Q. What were some of the problems at Schenley before the strike?

A: Men worked 15-16 hours a day and we were fired if we didn't. The boss sometimes called us to come out to work at 12 midnight for a few hours and then I came home and would get up to go to work at 6 a.m. again.

Q: What were working, conditions like before the strike?

A: In the pruning, one had to do two rows a day. If you couldn't then you were fired. It was very hard to do. Not very many people could do it. I was a crew pusher at this time and the bosses could make me tell the men they were fired.

Q: Didn't this put you in bad with the men?

A: Well, no because I would explain to them that the bosses made me do this and they would say, o.k. Danny, we understand.

Q: Before the strike were men laid off in the slow season?

A: There were only six that didn't get laid off. I worked the whole year round. In the winter I worked 8 hr. days, five days a week, cleaning up the camps and hauling garbage. In the summer we worked 16 hr. days, and 6 day weeks.

Q: When the strike first started, what did the workers think?

A: I talked to many and they asked me, what do you think about the strike Danny? I told them I thought the strike was a pretty good thing, that it was for the poor workers. That is was to help the workers. There was a strike before this in 1952. After the strike they cut the work back to two hours a day and five day week and they fired all the people that were active in the strike.

Q: Did the NFWA ever ask you to stop working during the strike?

A: Yes. But I told them that I had so many bills to pay that I couldn't do it. I told them to give me three months to pay my bills and before then the contract was signed.

Q: What did you think of the strike?

A: Well, they fight for the poor man. For the human dignity. During the strike when I was a crew pusher the bosses told me to take my crew to the middle of the field so that the pickets couldn't talk to them. But I took them right to the edge of the road. All but 6 men of my 30 man crew walked off. The boss was so mad he told me he would fire me next time if I did it again.

Q: How long have you been a member of NFWA?

A: Since just before Schenley signed the contract, but I have been with them from the first. I was scared during the winter months to join because of my payments.

This is an interesting story: my brother-in-law was spraying sulphur before the contract was signed. He was driving his Jeep back with sulphur all over the windshield and got in a wreck. So Schenley fired him. Many people wrecked jeeps because they couldn't see through the sulphur on the windows and they were fired too. After the contract my brother-in-law went to Cesar Chavez and the Union forced Schenley to rehire him.

Q: Now that there is a union do bosses treat you different?

A: Oh, yes, better. Now this ranch has only one foreman. He only comes one time a day, when you sign your time cards. Before, they had six foremen. In the winter, there were only 6 men so there was one foreman for every man. They sat in their pickups and drank coffee and they would take naps or listen to the radio and make sure that you were working. Before the contract Schenley didn't treat the Mexican workers good. They gave them the worst jobs and put the whites on the easiest jobs. Now almost all the workers are Mexicans. They even have some of the good jobs.

One man I know who has worked for Schenley longer than any other, 12 years, was always given the hardest jobs and he was a good worker. He had had a vacation. Now he is working as a crew pusher and has just had his first paid vacation under the new contract.

Q: Have the camps changed at all since the contract?

A: Camps have the same rent ($11 a month), but before the strike it took two weeks to get something fixed. Now they come the next day.

Q: What was the walk-out about last week?

A: They said that there would have to be five workers instead of four workers for every crew to pick grapes and put them in gondolas. They pay by the gondola so it means less money because five men can't do it much faster than four.

Tuesday morning the workers came out in four men crews and the boss told them to get five men or they couldn't work. So they all walked off the job. (The men are back working now because Schenley has agreed to allow them to work that way).

Q: Are the men happy about the union?

A: Only men who don't want union are big-shots: The foremen who get their own pick-up, have easy jobs and good pay. Everybody else is glad. Last year this man was at pruning, a very dangerous job. He cut his thumb off and the company didn't pay for his medical expense. He had many bills to pay. He went back to Texas and came back here after the contract. He went to the union and now the company has to pay something like $2000 - $3000. Last year one day it was 117 hot. They put me to work in the sun cutting Johnson grass. The next day when I didn't show up my friend told the boss I was sick because of the heat. He said it was not hot, and my friend said that's right, it's not hot in your office.

A MOVEMENT ANALYSIS:

The "Power and Politics" Conference

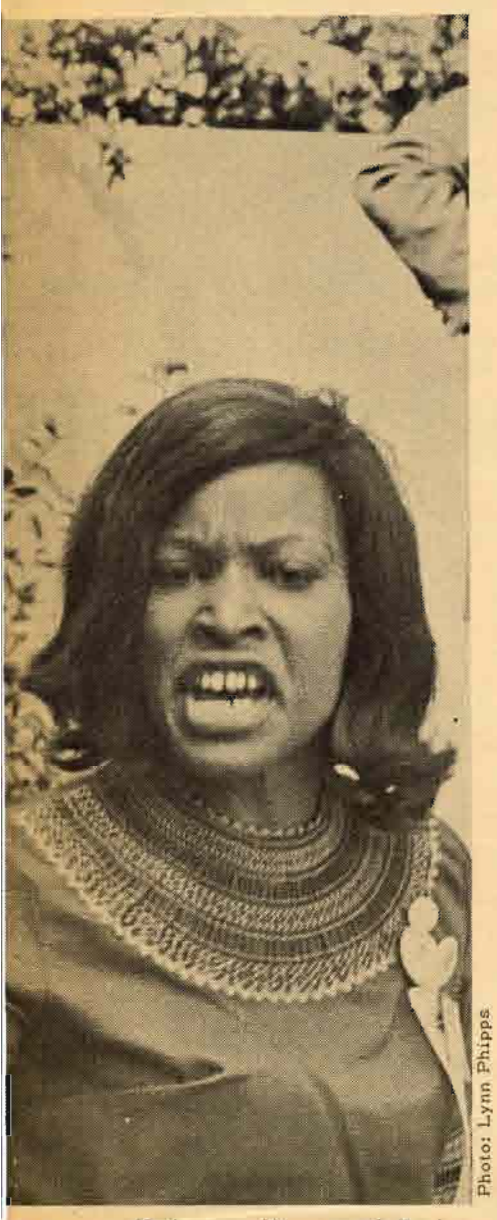


Photo: Lynn Phipps

An angry Katherine Himes, of Richmond Welfare Rights, speaking at a caucus of the poor at the CLR conference in West LA.

LOS ANGELES: There was a lot of politics and no power at the conference called by the Californians for Liberal Representation on the weekend of October 1 at East Los Angeles City College.

The 2500 people who came fell into several groups: the CLR-California Democratic Council people who were mad at Governor Brown for busting up the CDC; the organizations on the left (Communist Party, Progressive Labor, etc.); the Robert Scheer following - and the poor.

There weren't too many poor there. The Conference did not put itself out to make sure that they were represented: few expenses were paid (at the end of the conference, Katherine Himes of the Richmond Welfare Rights Organization was trying to find someone to give her $11 to get home). Babysitting money, travel expenses and food were needed: it was the end of the month, the tightest time for those on welfare. Several hundred managed to attend at least the first two days. Due to the uprising, no one from Hunters Point was there, and very few came from Los Angeles. Most of the poor were members of the Federation of the Poor from Richmond, Oakland and Monterey.

By Saturday afternoon it was clear that the conference was not going to concern itself with the problems of California's poor. The majority of the conferees were there for a political bloodletting: they were going to get Brown if that was all they did. And that was all they did.

Most of the morning discussion groups went round the mullberry bush: do we support Brown? boycott him? take a hands-off position? actively oppose him? Building an organization was not discussed, strategy was not mentioned, fund-raising was avoided. They talked about Fascism a lot, and Germany in 1933, and the Sproul Hall steps. Now and then someone would mention "the masses," but no one talked with the "masses" who were there.

At 5 Saturday afternoon, the poor were ready to forget the whole thing. They caucused in the patio outside. They were angry and talked disgustedly. "If this is politics," one said, "I don't want nothing to do with it."

"The only way to get jobs is to burn the city down," said another, realistically.

They elected Mark Comfort of Oakland the Caucus Chairman and all went inside to put their demands directly before the steering committee. "If we don't get what we want," one person said, "we're going to stop this whole conference."

Then an interesting change happened. As soon as they faced Don Rothenberg of CLR and the steering committee, the tone of militance died. Even Mark Comfort lost his angry tone of 30 minutes before. The poor had a chance to shake the conference, to end the furious bickering about Brown and Reagan and Reagan and Brown. But they settled for 15 minutes of time that evening to make a "presentation," and a list of demands. They were given 7 seats on the steering committee, which had no meaning since the committee was to run the conference and the conference was over half through.

They made their presentation, were applauded (most loudly when they came out opposing the war in Vietnam). With that interruption aside, the convention burst into a yelling chaos of debate on the governor's race.

During the evening the Brown people walked out in protest and the CLR people walked out in protest. No one noticed that an hour before, the poor had gone away. They were hungry and tired and they went home. As wave after wave of boos, cheers and applause swept over the auditorium,



Governor PAT BROWN: no one at the convention wanted to support him, but they couldn't agree how *not* to support him.

the poor got rides and went home.

THE MOVEMENT asked Dave Williams, an organizer for the Richmond WRO, why he came. "I came for money to pay poor people to organize the poor," he said. What did you get from the conference? we asked. "Nothing," he said. "In fact, I lost some money."

"They weren't interested in us on our terms," he continued. "The poor didn't come here to learn how to organize. We came down here all friends, and now we've been split up by the conference. Some of us think that being on the Continuations Committee means something, so they're fighting among themselves for those seats."

Katherine Himes said, "We'll go to the first few meetings of the Continuations Committee. We'll tell them we want

CONTINUED PAGE 4, COLUMN 1

KENTUCKIANS FIGHT STRIP MINES

FIRE ON BULLDOZERS

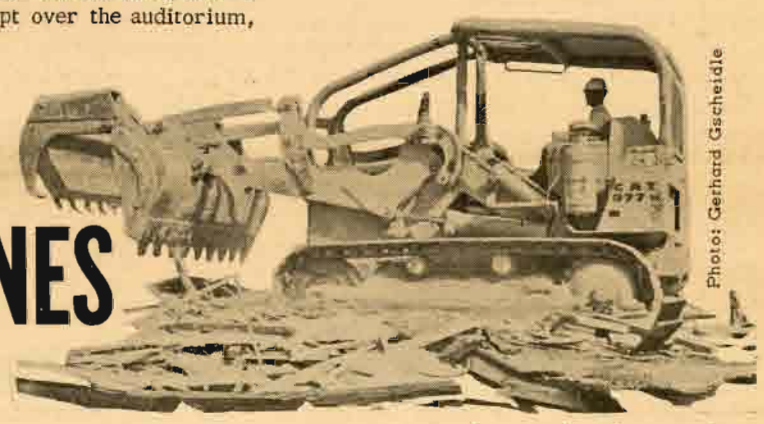


Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle

HEMP HILL, KENTUCKY--Strip mining is about to destroy the water supply of this East Kentucky community and displace the 86 families who live here.

And lawyers say there is no legislation which can stop the mining before the damage is done.

Residents have petitioned the Kentucky Department of Natural Resources to exempt their area from a permit issued to the Virginia-based Greer-Ellison Mining Company, on the grounds that strip mining on the hills behind the town will destroy their only source of water.

The water comes from an abandoned mine which has been dammed up to form a reservoir. It will be destroyed when the miners cut through a small outcrop of coal on the edge of the old mine.

But the strip mining permit has already been issued. And amended strip mining regulations passed last year by Kentucky legislature contain no provisions to deal with this kind of emergency.

Legal methods which the people could use to stop the miners are either too expensive or too time-consuming; they say that by the time a suit can be filed and an injunction obtained, the damage would probably be done.

In the three weeks since the company entered the area, bulldozers have destroyed a slope where the people grew vegetables and raised a few chickens and hogs. The area has been transformed into a muddy crater.

The people of Hemp Hill are determined to resist the destruction of their community. For most of them, their three- and four-room houses represent their only savings. They purchased the houses from the Elkhorn Mining Company during the 50's, after the mine closed down.

All but one of the families signed the petition, but few really expect it to succeed.

ARMED RESISTANCE

Because of the financial and legal difficulties of fighting the companies, most mountain communities have offered little resistance when the strip miners moved in. But occasionally the people decide to fight, and sometimes they win.

In nearby Knott County last year, local people resisted the strip miners. Women sat in front of the bulldozers and were dragged away to jail. Snipers fired at the machinery from the hillsides. The company armored its bulldozers and tried to carry on. But eventually aroused public opinion forced them to agree not to begin strip mining in any new areas in the county.

"We ought to just do like those old women did over yonder in Knott County," said one Hemp Hill woman. "We ought to get our guns and go over there and tell 'em to git. I can shoot a .38. We'll go up and they'll come off in a hurry."

Many people agree. Others would prefer to wait and see the effect of their petition before taking more direct action.

"Whatever we decide to do probably won't do much good unless people outside the county start trying to influence the government," one man said. "We don't have much influence alone."

Local leaders said that one way to help is to write a protest to Gov. Edward Breathitt, Frankfort, Ky.

TEAMSTERS BRING IN SCABS, SIGN CONTRACT

DELANO — The recently formed United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC, AFL-CIO) is again in conflict with the Teamsters Union over the organizing of farm workers. Teamsters, working hand in hand with the Perelli-Minetti and Sons Corporation, have imported strike breakers onto the Company's 1500 acre Earlimart ranch and have announced the signing of a contract with Perelli-Minetti.

Cesar Chavez, Director of UFWOC, which represents the striking workers at Perelli-Minetti has called for a national boycott of Company products until the Company will negotiate. This boycott has been endorsed by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

The Perelli-Minetti ranch is one of the few in the Delano area which was not hit when the Delano grape strike began last September, but almost all the workers on the ranch are NFWA (now UFWOC) members. That a legitimate strike exists and that UFWOC is the union which legitimately represents the strikers is amply documented in the State Dept. of Employment Certification of Trade Dispute, #66-6940A. The Certification states that:

"As of 9-8-66, approximately 48 workers were engaged in picking grapes on the Earlimart property. The workers were receiving $6 per ton. They complained to their foreman of poor picking conditions and later asked one of the owners for a raise in pay.

"The growers agreed to discuss the increase in pay with his brother and meet with the workers and report the decision at 6:30 a.m. on 9-9-66. Agreement was not reached during this meeting and the workers walked out of te vineyard and refused to work until their demands had been met.

"Later in the morning on 9-9-66, the workers contacted UFWOC and asked that the Union represent the workers in negotiations with the growers. The Union has furnished a list of 35 workers who signed an authorization request. Affidavits are on file from ten of these workers stating that they left their jobs because of this dispute. "According to the statements of the Union and the workers, 2 Union representatives and 2 of the workers met with three of the owners at 10 p.m. on 9-10-66. Verbal demands were made for union recognition and increase (in pay) to $9 per ton. The growers stated that demands would be discussed with the growers' attorneys on 9-13-66 after which the Union would be notified."

TEAMSTER SCABS

The Company fields were empty on Monday and a picket line of about 150 people formed on that day and again on Tuesday. On Tuesday, scabs appeared, brought to the fields in Teamster buses and accompanied by armed Teamster guards. Teamsters created a disturbance at the picket line which increased when some workers refused to cross the line and Teamsters tried to force them into the fields. The police arrested 3 picketers.

At this point William Grami, Director of the Teamster's Farm Workers Union, announced that his Union had signed a contract with Perelli-Minetti. According to the San Francisco Chronicle, the actual signing took place on Sunday, the 9th while the Company was still supposed to be discussing UFWOC's demands. No workers were consulted about the Teamsters contract but Grami stated that that was not necessary because most of the workers were already Teamster members. The Teamster-imported scabs were indeed Teamster members, but the strikers themselves are not, nor are they in any way included in the contract though many of them are long-time workers for Perelli-Minetti.

PEOPLE AND POWER ..... JACK MINNIS

WHO GETS THE MONEY FOR THE NAPALM?

The movement in Redwood City, California to stop the installation of a napalm plant has identified the United Aircraft Corporation as the parent of the napalm maker. A corporation is an abstract thing, a legal fiction. Corporations are inert. The men who run the corporations are the ones who do things; it is playing right into their hands to accept as a reality the corporate fiction with which they cloak their murderous pursuits. If you go behind the corporate facade - United Aircraft Corp.- you find living, breathing men who run its affairs and who know perfectly well what they are doing. The board of directors of United Aircraft interlocks with two of the best-known insurance firms in the world--Aetna and Travelers.

The Chairman of Travelers is George Champion, also chairman of the Rockefellers bank, Chase Manhattan. Aetna is controlled by a lesser known but very important insurance company, Connecticut General, which, in turn, is controlled by the Morgan partners. The nature of the relationship between these insur- and United Aircraft, indicates that actual policy control of United resides in the directors of the two insurance companies. Their control, in turn, appears to come from the partners room at Morgan Stanley & Co. and from the board room of Chase Manhattan Bank.

What the whole thing boils down to is that these most prestigious and powerful families (Morgan and Rockefeller) persist in the business of making, for a profit, the napalm which their armies use to incinerate the people of Vietnam. The dividends paid them by United Aircraft are at least partially paid into their tax-exempt foundations, from where, again, they find their way into the pockets of the college professors and administrators who have charge of educating your children.

Thus it is easy enough to identify the arch-criminals of the world, and to trace the mechanisms by which they keep their hold on the minds and emotions of their subjects. And when the identification is complete, what do we find? We find that the men who insist upon incinerating babies in Vietnam are not war-crazed military men, or fiends of any other description. They are men just like you and me who have wives and children and families whom they love and respect. They are men who contribute to the most respectable charities and in every way comport themselves as models of civic rectitude. In the course of pursuing the logic and objectives of the economic institutions they control they also become wanton and brutal killers. So long as such economic institutions continue to exist, men will run them, and all the horror and destruction which their objectives require will continue to be perpetrated on the people of the world.



Photo: Frank Cieciorka

In 1938 David Loth published a book called Public Plunder. It is an historical survey of the men and institutions that have plundered the wealth, first of the United States, and then of the world. He ended it with these words:

" . . . the alertness or indifference of the bulk of the population will decide whether the graft we tolerate leads in the direction of greater private concentration of industrial wealth or preserves some slight economic independence for the average citizen. At the end of the first road lies Fascist regimentation in the interest of big business, which will then have acquired the complete domination of government that is the aim of all important graft. The second road has no end; it is the treadmill by which we maintain the status quo in graft as in industrial organization until the evils of the system force us to detour into a third road--Revolution."



Photo: Gerhard Gscheidle

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee asks that consumers boycott the products distributed by the California Wine Association (see article on page 7).

Please do not buy, sell or handle the following brands:

WINES:
Ambassador
Eleven Cellars
Red Rooster
Greystone
Guasti
Calwa
F. I.

BRANDIES:
Aristocrat
A. R. Morrow
Tribuno
Victor Hugo

SOUTH AFRICA– THE NEXT VIETNAM?

"The next stage in the general struggle to liberate Southern Africa may bring about blatant Western imperialist military intervention not unlike that which Africa has already witnessed in Gabon, and in the rape of Stanleyville. The imperialist powers have a gigantic stake here and on the pretext of saving the High Commission Territories from South African domination, or having a presence in South West Africa, or finding an accommodation for Mozambique, Angola and Rhodesia, or ending the bloodbath in South Africa, they may enter the conflict."

–from "Spotlight on South Africa", published by the African National Congress of South Africa, Sept. 16, 1966.

TORTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Jeremy Westall

Recently Lord Caradon, Britain's representative at the United Nations, opposed an oil blockade of South Africa because it would not be in Britain's interests to do so. This has been known to those who have investigated the nature of South Africa for some time, indeed South Africa herself has spent a fair amount of money reminding the British people of their involvement in South African prosperity.

An advertisement that appeared in the Daily Telegraph on March 18th, 1963, and paid for by the South African Embassy in London stated that: "Direct British investment is 1,000,000,000 pounds. The total foreign investment is 1,500,000,000". The advertisement did not say that in the year ending June 30th, 1963, 17,394 people were given 83,206 lashes in South Africa under an Act making whipping compulsory for certain offences. (South African Star 27.2.65.)

The advertisement did however relate that in 1961 "Britain derived a profit of 24,000,000 from direct investment as well as a profit of 18,900,000 from portfolio investment in South Africa."

"Last year Britain exported 148,000,000 pounds worth of goods to South Africa and had a total favourable balance of trade of 33,000,000. This made South Africa her second best trading partner." Also the South African Embassy reminded us that South Africa accounted for two-thirds of the "free world's" gold production. "As usual, most of this was sent to London for sale."

To put the issue bluntly, we could say that "Western capitalist interests are involved in Southern Africa up to their necks" or that "British money, and British politicians, are building and defending apartheid". But they also defend and collaborate with the means to preserve apartheid--they are accessories to torture, murder and misery beyond all words.

Rumours of things done to political prisoners in South Africa began to become public in 1964. Ten political prisoners alleged that South African security police were assaulting, maltreating, and otherwise using third-degree methods on prisoners to obtain information. One of the prisoners, a 90-day detainee, Mrs. Mary Moodley, said in her affidavit that she was forced to stand for 13 hours and told by the police that they did not care if they made her mad, but they would make her talk.

WHO SAID THIS?

Asked what political program he stood for, this person replied, "You can call it the anti-democratic system of dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism and in South Africa Christian Socialism."

ANSWER: Balthazar Johannes Vorster, new prime minister of South Africa. The statement, reported by the New York Times News Service, was made during World War II.

This last point seemed well underlined when a 90-day detainee, Suliman Saloojee, jumped from a seventh-floor window in security police headquarters while being questioned.

The real impact of the torture revelations in prisons in South Africa was left to the Rand Daily Mail which printed a series of articles on the question. Harold Strachan, a former political prisoner, described his experiences in various prisons in which he had been held. A graduate art lecturer at two universities who had been a pilot in the South African Air Force held the ear of many a person who would have dismissed any African as a liar. Appalling sanitary conditions, degrading treatment, frequent brutal assaults on African prisoners and the devastating effect of prolonged solitary confinement on mental capacity were defined.

Then the Head Warder at Cinderella Prison made a sworn statement to the South African Sunday Times (25.7.65): "I have seen electric-shock treatment being given to prisoners--as a punishment and in order to make them talk. Once a prisoner has had the treatment he is prepared to sign anything."

Another warder, Gysbert van Schalkwyk gave information to the Rand Daily Mail about electric shock treatment of prisoners. It wasn't long before he was in prison as an inmate for three years. An ex-convict, Isaac Setshedi, published an account of prison experiences in the Rand Daily Mail which included allegations that prisoners were burned and given electric shocks by warders at Cinderella goal. He received a six month sentence.

Two African prisoners who had laid charges of assault against a group of African prisoners at Baviaanspoort prison were subsequently kicked and beaten, their heads were smashed against the floor and their bodies mutilated by three other prisoners. The guards outside heard nothing because the windows were closed.

Amnesty International, in a report on conditions for political prisoners in South Africa over the last five years, suggests that they were singled out for the worst treatment. Cells were often insanitary and overcrowded; food for Africans was often inadequate; searching was done in public; prisoners who reported sick did not always see a qualified doctor; exercise was often denied and even Bibles were sometimes withheld. Punishments had been imposed without proper investigation; letters had been delayed or lost. The report states that electric shock treatment as well as other forms of torture are used in interrogation extensively.

But to return to that most valuable advertisement from the South African Embassy. "South Africa ensures considerable employment in key industries in Britain. Last year she bought 30,000 British motor vehicles." Also since 1960 South Africa has charged 7,659 political persons and 9,352 have been detained.

If it is true that Britain's prosperity is dependent on South Africa, and that the capitalist countries need South Africa's gold for their stability, then one might fairly say that we live in our prosperity only because our South African neighbours are prepared to sink to the depths (and beyond) of human depravity to maintain their foul, despicable and evil system of government.

–reprinted from the British publication *Anarchy*.