

GRASSROOTS

A Berkeley Community Newspaper

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CITY STRIKE LASTS 22 DAYS

August 1

Striking Berkeley employees from four unions ratified a new agreement with the city late this afternoon. The settlement provides for pay increases of 5.5% for all employees with an additional \$22.50 a month for refuse workers. The contract also includes binding arbitration and a limited agency shop clause.

July 27

At Grassroots press time July 27th, negotiations between Mayor Widener and striking union representatives were still continuing. Neither side would comment publicly on how near they were to settling the dispute.

The strike by four unions of employees in several city departments began July 10, ten days after the union's contracts expired. The striking unions are United Public Employees Union Local 390, representing workers in Sanitation, Parks and Recreation, and other departments; Social Services Union Local 535, whose members work in city health agencies; AFSCME Local 2077, representing workers in the Public Library system; and Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1245, smallest of the striking units, representing about a dozen electricians. A total of about 175 city employees are on strike and virtually all services in their departments—most noticeably refuse collection—have shut down tight.

Main demands of the strikers are for binding arbitration of labor-management grievances; the "agency shop," a variation of the union shop that allows unions to collect dues from all employees they represent including non-members of the union; and a pay and fringe benefits increase amounting to 6.2% over the next twelve months.

CITY RESPONSE

City representatives—the Charter delegates bargaining power to the City Manager, and in addition the city has a five-figure contract with professional negotiator R.A. Smardon—initially refused to discuss arbitration and the agency shop, claiming both were illegal under the City Charter and state law. (The City of Hayward recently granted its employees agency shop rights and is joining union members there in defending the contract against court challenges.)

The unions had asked that the aggregate 6.2% increase be distributed in such a way as to benefit lowest paid classifications most. Health Service Workers, for example—mostly minority women—are paid a maximum of \$527 a month, Community Health Workers a top of \$600, and laborers a maximum of \$753, while a few professional employees (Psychiatric Social Workers, Electrician-Linemen) make much more. The city's initial wage offer was a flat sum of \$22 per month to all employees on an eighteen-month contract.

The city underlined its unwillingness to bargain by seeking an injunction—authorized by a majority of the City Council but opposed by Councilmember Loni Hancock and others—against striking union members. After some delay Alameda Superior Court granted the injunction to Acting City Attorney Cherie Gaines.

Secrecy was in force for the first several days of the strike, Negotiator Smardon having convinced Council members that, as one observer phrased it, "negotiations are a poker game and you lose if you show your hand early." Even the vote to seek the injunction was taken in executive session,

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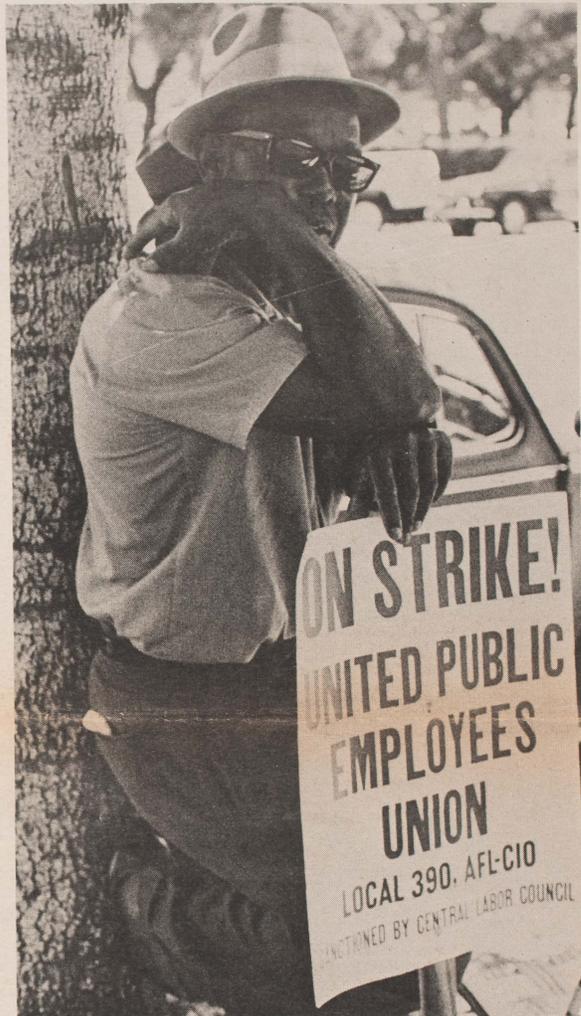


Photo by Louis Benainous

Tensions Ease In People's Park

People's Park was retaken this summer but was it recreated? People's Park was, as one of the original leaflets said, a "calculated political act . . . designed to put the expansionist and repressive university up against the wall." It was not civic betterment done by freaks. Control over the park represented more than just a piece of land. It raised the basic question of "who will control the institutions and property in this country and for what purpose."

The revolutionary character of land seizure is clearer to discern than the revolutionary content of gardening and garbage control. But these are the tasks which the current heirs of People's Park must face.

Today the park is looking pretty good. Corn is growing, the garbage is picked up and the three portable toilets are helping the sanitation. Most important the really heavy tensions between black and white have been considerably eased.

This came about through efforts of a lot of people. Like the anarchist Bakunin prior to the Russian revolution, some people were invaluable the first day of revolutionary action at the park. But

others have come to the fore for the daily revolutionary task of maintaining the park and trying to realize the rhetoric of People's Park. One of these steady workers is Wells Webb who has been at the park daily since it was taken.

Wells Webb is 65, Quaker reared. He retired last December after 37 years of working as a chemical engineer (U.C. class of 36) mostly for large companies. Except for a few years when he was organizing a CIO type union in Emeryville where he worked as a chemist, Wells' politics were hidden. As he says: "I had to submerge my social consciousness. I had a family to support and would have gotten fired if I had tried to do what I believed . . . Now that I'm not obliged to earn a living and don't feel I'm going to lose my job, I can do what I see needs to be done. When the fences came down, I said, here's my work."

One of Webb's first contributions to the park was its flag. He and one of his sons dyed a sheet and from People's Park flew a red banner. People's sanitary needs came next. Webb rented three portable toilets on credit cards. (One of the fruits of 37 years of labor.) He also rented a truck for hauling trash. Telegraph Avenue Merchants and

other people contributed money for tools and supplies.

Webb also worked on maintaining peace. In May and June there were a lot of fights in the park, often between blacks and whites. Some of the men had come from prison, some just touring the scene. Blacks would be at one end of the park, whites at the other. The situation was getting increasingly bad.

Webb and many other people got to working on the problem. They initiated a 'buddy' system. One black person and one white person would work together on tasks. They intervened in fights by having a white approach a white and a black approach a black. This method has thus far been successful. The park is less polarized. People have helped other people get housing and steer them to various survival places in Berkeley.

Meanwhile, Webb feels, the University hovers over the park waiting for an excuse to retake it. The University does little to help but is only too ready to capitalize on negative results of its neglect.

There is a strong suspicion among Park people that the University continues to subtly undermine their work. Police seem

to overlook disruptive gangs and come down on freaks and blacks. The University waits for the park to fall prey to its internal tensions.

Some people's actions have been considered against the park, and they are no longer welcome in the park by other park people. But the problems of developing an internal, self-regulating system to handle conflicts and work projects still exist.

How to deal with violence has been an ongoing controversy among park people. Webb, for example, has been the focus of criticism in regard to his occasional calling of Berkeley police in emergencies. In addition his often amenable attitude to the police is an attitude not often found on the avenue.

Among the yet unresolved issues in the park is the role of women. The park is seemingly male turf with women in carefully structured roles. Women working in the garden, minding children or with a male escort are rarely bothered. However, women alone or involved in activities outside the accepted 'female' role in the park have met verbal harassment and the

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GRASSROOTS

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editorial

With this second issue of Grassroots we hope you will find both the quality and quantity of coverage of city news has improved. Partly this is due to the larger number of people involved in the paper this month. We all learned a lot from the mistakes of the first issue and appreciated the helpful criticism of readers. Please let us have your ideas for style, content, distribution, layout, etc.

Better yet, join with the people now working on the paper. We hope to become a bi-monthly soon, and more people will be needed in every aspect of writing and production of the paper. As organizations or individuals, you can develop ideas for stories, research and write them, design their layout. Or you can do a part of this process and we will help with the rest.

Right now the economic base of the Grassroots is pretty weak. Our budget is set on an issue by issue basis. Gaining some measure of self-sufficiency for the paper means a lot of work to get subscriptions, advertising, and good distribution. Whatever support you or your group can lend in this area would help build a real alternative to the Gazette as a source of city news.

POLITICAL ROOTS OF CITY MANAGER GOVERNMENT

The council-manager form of government, developed in 1910, was brought forth and supported by the middle class: small bankers and manufacturers, real estate interests, store owners, lawyers, university faculty and other "professionals." The movement was a very successful attempt by the middle class to consolidate their interests in cities and municipalities off-setting growing organized workers' strength and the massive influence of monopoly capital—big business. By offering a small amount of much needed social reform and by promoting "professionalism" in city government, the "professional" class was able to institute the council-manager form of government.

ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS

The origins of the council-manager form of government lie in the growth of monopoly capital in the late 1800s. The modern economic structure of the U.S. was formulated by the financial giants of the 1870s-1890s. These men—Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Morgan, Mellon, Carnegie, Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker—gained political power through their economic power. Buying votes for favorable legislation was common. The national and state legislatures came to be more and more dominated by big money interests as the 19th century came to a close. John D. Rockefeller not only owned the Colorado governor and legislature but even kept his own standing army to deal with frequent strikes by mine workers. The laissez-faire system of monopoly capital could not stabilize the economy and would not sponsor much needed social reforms.

The working class in the 1800s was struggling to better its living conditions. Strikes came often and were brutal exhibits of the class struggle. The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 was used principally against workers trying to organize unions. It gave the courts (already in the hands of business, especially big business) the power to grant injunctions against picketing calling it "restraint of trade." This effectively killed many strikes. The police, national guard and the private armies of "deputy sheriffs" aided big business in "enforcing" injunctions. They also helped to break many strikes through attacks on workers and by giving protection to both scabs and business facilities.

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FLY ON THE WALL

Let's watch the Marina loan situation. An historically fertile field for commercial "rip-off" artists, this public property has been turned into a veritable rats-nest of expensive restaurants and other trappings, i.e., an office building. City bureaucrats under previous Councils engineered these give-aways on the basis that commercial development was needed to pay off a loan which financed—the parking lots, the landscaping that hides the parking lots, the roads to the businesses, and the harbor.

A second loan is now being sought to finance construction of more boat berths (about twice as many as now). And, of course, more commercial development will be needed to pay off the new loan. Don't be surprised if most of the available open space is given over to car parks rather than people parks.

Commercialism has already greatly devalued the Marina as a Berkeley recreation area. Observe the latest obscenity overlooking the Golden Gate. The Marriott INN, which visually pollutes the Northeast corner of the harbor, was supposed to fit into the harbor environment. Surprisingly, it looks like the Marriott on the Schuylkill Expressway in Philadelphia.

Grassroots is going to carry more on the Marina. Evie Wozniak will do a major investigative article on this waterfront area next issue.

... let me be more precise, when I say minority, I mean black." Councilor Bailey expressed this sentiment while urging the council not to accept the low bid of an Asian firm for a city gardening contract but to seek out a "minority firm." Bailey's attitude toward other minorities is

reminiscent of his attitude toward women's rights. Coalition politics be damned.

It may be hard to change the nature of shit work, but doing shit work can be made more bearable. Formal half-time jobs (20 hours per week or 6 months per year, or some other modification) can ease the monotony and allow time for other more creative activities. Couple the option of part-time work with a good child-care system and equality of job opportunities for women and racial minorities and we may see the beginnings of a humane employment system.

All these things are included in the affirmative action program proposed by Loni Hancock and endorsed by NOW—but it's a good bet that part-time jobs will have only one vote.

Too utopian? Nonsense! Just look at what is happening all over this country. Working people are fed up with their monotonous 40 hours per week jobs. They are tired of being mined by corporations and public agencies.



COMMUNITY BACKS PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

It's too soon to say how the city employees' strike will be settled. But from the developments so far it's clear the city's original scenario is irreparably damaged. It's hard not to agree that, without the organized community pressure brought to bear on the Council, the position would be the same now as it was two weeks ago—if not worse. The city's strategy—and its hard-line negotiator, whose avowed policy is "let the workers get hungry before you sit down to talk"—have taken some hard knocks in this strike. Also worth noting is the unions' refusal to be intimidated by the injunction and the treat to arrest pickets and union leaders.

Even some veteran labor journalists, after the July 25 rally, were seeing new configurations in the Berkeley strike—and alliance between Left activists, Black community organizations, and organized public employees powerful enough to get the city government moving from its dug-in position.

NEW ALLIANCE

Recent years have seen plenty of discussion of how to form such an alliance. Here, in a city where left political organization has given a new character to city government, that alliance has come as close to realization as anywhere in the last decade. Union members have learned that they can count on strong support from outside their ranks, and that community pressure—typically a weapon against public employees—can be mobilized on their behalf.

Left activists, on their part, have begun to sketch the outlines of a personnel policy for Berkeley that would include affirmative action, child care for city employees, job restructuring, and residency requirements for new hires; such a policy is seen as the best guarantee against potential disunity between citizens and workers over wage and benefit pressure on the budget. (Ad Hoc Committee literature, besides putting strike issues in the context of personnel policy goals, pointed to the city's lopsided tax structure as a major source of budget pressure, blaming the University—with its free ride on services and its vast non-taxable property rolls—for the tax inequities in Berkeley.)

For the future, some Ad Hoc members are beginning to plan discussion—including union representatives—to work out the details of the comprehensive personnel policy so far only vaguely outlined. And future political considerations will have to include the newly formed ties between city workers and at least a large slice of the Berkeley Left.

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NAME

STREET

CITY

PHONE

ZIP

Berkeley Postal Service Cutback

Services at the Berkeley Post Office are being cut again. And it's no small thing. About three weeks ago all Berkeley postal employees with less than six months seniority were laid-off with only one day's notice. Since then, the Vietnam vets have been given back their jobs. But this is no counter trend. It is a prelude to further cut-backs.

Removal of Mail Boxes

The big mail drop boxes, many redesigned with National Liberation Front flags, are being removed from many places in the flatlands of Berkeley. The removal of these boxes is done slowly so as not to draw too much attention. First, the schedules on the boxes are reduced and then, poof!, just like magic they're gone. In the past week, the areas along Telegraph and Shattuck avenues have been particularly hard hit. The boxes in front of the UC dorms have also disappeared. This cut-back in services means only one thing: more postal employees will be put out of work.

Berkeley Alliance Fights Back

The Berkeley Alliance, an affiliate of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, has been putting a lot of

pressure on the postal administration to stop cut-backs in services and lay-offs. These were the basic issues in the wildcat Postal strikes led by the National Alliance two years ago. The Alliance represents mainly clerks at the Berkeley post office and is predominantly Black. Because of its militant opposition to government reduction of Postal services and lay-offs, the Alliance is threatened with being eliminated as a national union for postal employees.

I.T.&T. May Get Post Office

George Banks, president of the Berkeley Alliance, sees many foreboding signs for the future. The key to the future is the planned reorganization of the Post Office. The federal government is now holding Congressional Subcommittee hearings on the U.S. Postal Service. They are talking about the possibility of turning the Post Office into a private corporation, like the public utilities companies in this country. Mr. Banks feels there is a good chance that the Post Office may be turned over to I.T. and T. (International Telephone and Telegraph) which already owns a controlling interest in most of the country's communications industry.

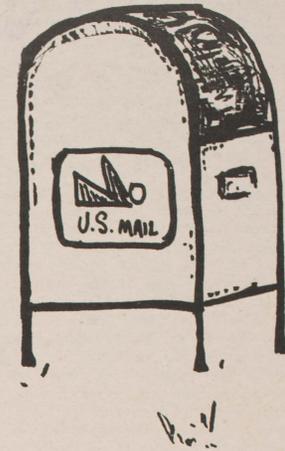
100,000 Jobs To Be Eliminated

The new reorganization plan also calls for the elimination of approximately 25% of Postal employees or better than 100,000 people, says Mr. Banks. This evidently excludes Postmaster General Klassen's level because he is still hiring Assistant Postmaster Generals at \$42,000 a throw.

Racism Is A Key Issue

Underlying the new reorganization plan, according to George Banks, is the pattern of racism. He says: "It should be obvious that a reduction in force effects more people in the urban cities where you larger Postal facilities are, than in your suburban cities. It should also be obvious that 99% of the Black Postal employees live in the urban areas: Washington D.C., Chicago, Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, etc. So even though we comprise less than 20% of the National Postal compliment, about 90% of the people laid-off, fired, suspended, harassed and forced to retire will be Black."

George Banks and other members of the Berkeley Alliance are supporting the city employee strike. The time may come in the not too distant future when the postal



workers will have to hit the bricks again to protect their jobs.

Council Passes Affirmative Action

The Berkeley City Council this week adopted the long awaited affirmative action program for women and minorities. Pressured by community groups and an eleven month hiring freeze, a majority of the Council voted for a draft proposed by Personnel Director Larry Williams.

"The program is good," states Loni Hancock. "It is far more rigorous than what generally passes for affirmative action. And it is an excellent beginning. I now expect to see women and minorities hired in all jobs formerly closed to them—from department head to fire fighter."

One of the unique features of the Berkeley affirmative action program is that it calls for citizen input and participation. An affirmative action subcommittee consisting of at least two minorities and two women will survey the ongoing implementation. "I hope we continue to see the same enthusiastic support by community groups that we have seen thus far," Hancock said of the subcommittee.

She said further that she hoped the Council would soon agree to the job restructuring section she had attempted to add (part-time jobs, parental leave, special training and employee childcare). "Women—and all those interested in alternative forms of work—still have a long way to go."

"I especially want to thank the many groups and individuals who have worked on this, the women and men who came to meeting after meeting—often when affirmative action was supposed to be discussed but wasn't—and kept on coming back."

The Council's vote Thursday concluded many months of intensive effort on the part of community groups. Some fifty people testified at a public hearing on May 2nd. They represented such groups as National Organization for Women, Women for Affirmative Action, the Black Caucus and Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality. And many were just individuals who were interested in changing the city's

hiring patterns.

91% of the administrative staff is male, according to the latest Personnel Department report; 94% of the law enforcement staff and 100% of the fire, maintenance and custodial staff. The fire department of 187 employees had only 11 Blacks and 2 Spanish; the police department of 251 had only 16 Blacks, 7 Oriental and 3 Spanish.

Affirmative action is a systematic employment program designed to correct the effects of past discrimination. It is now mandated for federal contractors in the recent guidelines of the Department of Labor Office of Federal Contract Compliance "Revised Order No. 4." Such a plan includes specific goals and timetables and covers areas such as recruitment, promotion, job classification and other employment practices.

A special report on the ins and outs of the year long campaign will appear in next month's *Grassroots*.



Photo by Louis Benainous

Wells Webb

People's Park

From page 1...

usual bullshit come-ons.

Webb says that if a woman is obviously being bothered someone will come to her aid. Of course, by the time that this occurs most women get the picture. Male turf—male rules. Webb admits that the lack of the political presence of women is critical and a presence is necessary if People's Park is to be a true political forum and cultural exchange area, as was originally envisaged.

Help!

People's Park Maintenance Committee needs funds to help maintain the Park.

Send donations to:
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REPORT: STUDENT REPRESSION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

SAIGON

Recently in Saigon, a group of South Vietnamese student leaders told foreign journalists that the Thieu government is taking advantage of the present military situation, while people are nervous and their attention is focused on the battlefield, to suppress and arrest dissident elements in the cities. The students gave the names of nine student leaders who have been arrested in the last two weeks. The students provided only the names of those holding elective offices, and said that in addition to these, four other students were arrested in Hue and 150 people, both students and non-students, were recently arrested in Dalat. Other forms of repression have been harassment of students' families, disruption of student body functions, police surveillance, and continued rumors of torture of people already arrested.

HUE

A representative from the Hue student union told the reporters that student leaders had been arrested in Hue after receiving a letter of commendation from the Minister of Education for their work in aiding refugees from Quang Tri. According to his report, when the refugees started pouring into Hue, the government was not prepared to handle

them all, so university students helped set up and operate five centers at public schools which eventually held a total of 15,000 people. Later, however, the government demanded that all refugees be moved into government camps so that they could be organized according to their home villages and more easily controlled for security reasons. The people living in the student centers decided they didn't want to be moved again and the student leaders stood by them. Then, on April 15, the government began forcibly moving people out of the student centers and arrested the ten student leaders.

The students feel there are two main reasons for the arrests:

1. The students supported the refugees in their resistance to moving into government camps.
2. The students were openly opposing the ARVN/US bombing of populated areas in Quang Tri province.

NGUYEN TANG HUYNH: VIETNAMESE STUDENT AT BERKELEY

Nguyen Tang Huynh, a 23 year old honor student at University of California, is facing deportation to Saigon.

Huynh, who is Vietnamese, has been involved in various anti-war activities around the bay area, speaking out against U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia and the Thieu regime, has had his scholarship with the State Department's Agency for International Development prematurely terminated at the request of the Saigon government. There are many who believe, with justification, that Huynh, if forced to return to South Vietnam, will be imprisoned and probably tortured or killed.

Nguyen Huynh has been advocating the support of the PRG 7 point peace proposal as the most workable solution to the war. The Thieu government has made support for the 7 point settlement a criminal offense. Recently on a visit to the Saigon Consulate, he was informed that when he returns, the police there will "take off" (coiffer) him. Two weeks ago, his scholarship was revoked and he was informed that a one-way international ticket for his return transportation to Vietnam has been readied for him.

Huynh has asked for temporary

The government position was that through opposing the bombing, the students were giving aid to the enemy and espousing the enemy line. Meanwhile, the students estimated that while 70,000 refugees have fled to Hue, there are still 200,000 civilians living north of Hue (mostly in Quang Tri province) and that many of them are bound to be in areas that are being bombed by South Vietnamese and American military.

HUYNH TAN MAM

A 17-year-old high school student, Anh Minh, told the reporters that he had met Saigon Student Union chairman Huynh tan Mam recently at the National Police Headquarters. According to an eyewitness report which was circulated outside of Vietnam at the time, Mam was arrested for the third time on January 5, 1972, several days after publishing a statement against U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. Up until two weeks ago, however, the South Vietnamese government (as well as the U.S. embassy) denied that Mam was under arrest and claimed that he had escaped to the jungle to join the Vietcong.

Minh, who was arrested and held at the National Police Headquarters for a week in early April, said that he met Mam at mealtimes on several days. Minh reported that when he saw Mam, his face was so swollen and peeling that had Mam not called him over, he would not have recognized him. Mam told him that his condition resulted from being subjected to the glare of 200 watt light bulbs placed directly in front of his eyes. The lights were left on for about two hours at a time, or until his skin started to burn and blister. The lights would then be turned off for about twenty minutes and then turned on again. He said this happened several times a day for a period of 20 days. Minh also reported that Mam had been badly beaten on his legs and knees and that he was unable to walk. He said that Mam has also been tortured with electric shocks to his fingers and ear lobes and by having his fingers tied together, a ruled placed in between them and twisted.

The reporters were shown a note from Mam, written on the back of a cigarette

package, which Minh smuggled out of the police station when he was released about a week ago. In the note, dated April 18, Mam gives news of some of the other arrested students and urges his friends on the outside to try and avoid being arrested. He reports that he has been secretly sentenced by "Thieu's Security Council" to 2 years in a government detention camp. (This would normally mean Con Son prison island.) Mam also writes that he has been injected with "sleeping medicine" (possibly sodium pentathol) and beaten on the head and body in addition to having the lights shone in his eyes. He ends the note by telling his friends not to be sad or worry and to have faith in the future.

Huynh tan Mam's mother, 65-year-old Huynh thi Thom, was also present at the news conference. Her grey head was shaven, as is the Buddhist custom for one who is praying for the welfare of a close relative. She told the reporters how time and again after her son's arrest she went to police headquarters to try and find him, but the police always told her he was not there. Three weeks after his arrest, the police came to her house with a warrant for his arrest, which she showed the reporters. It was dated December 31, 1971 - that is, a week before his actual arrest - and charged him with "organizing an illegal meeting."

On March 14, Mam's mother and a student friend made another trip to the Police Headquarters to ask if he was there. The officer they met denied that he was, but the student observed Mam's name on a list on the office wall of prisoners recently transferred back from the Joint U.S.-Vietnamese Intelligence Center on the other side of Saigon. It was known earlier that Mam was being held at that center, reportedly moved there in critical condition following much beating by the police.

Finally, and without any apparent explanation, when Mam's mother approached the Central Police Headquarters again on April 4, they admitted that he was being held there, and they agreed to let her send some food to him. She has still not been allowed to visit her son, but 3 days per week she goes to the police station with provisions

for him, for which in return she receives a receipt with what appears to be his signature on it.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

A representative of the High School Student Union reported the death on March 22, 1972 of former student Nguyen van Man in Con Son Prison. The students, who say they received information from released prisoners and letters that are sent out one way or another, say that Man was arrested in 1968 and sentenced to 2 years on Con Son. Still in prison last March, he died from torture and maltreatment.

At present high school as well as university students are targets for police harassment and arrest. Of the 51 students listed as having been arrested since last fall, 20 of them are high school students. Their representative told the reporters that on the night of April 11 police entered the homes of 5 Saigon high school students - none of whom were home at the time - and threatened their families, took pictures, and confiscated personal belongings. Also the parents of these and other high school and university students have received letters from the police, "inviting" them to the Special Branch of the police station to discuss the activities of their children.

The high school union representative mentioned in particular the case of 18-year-old Le van Nuoai, Chairman of the Saigon High School Student Association, who was arrested last September. He said that Nuoai has been subjected to various forms of torture twice, each time for a period of 14 days. Police specialists have also been examining scabs and sores on Nuoai's body for traces of defoliants, which, if found, they maintain, would prove that he has been collaborating with the communists in the (apparently defoliated) jungle.

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ILONA HANCOCK SUPPORTS SAILORS

"What do you think your action has accomplished?"

"Well, at least I'm not killing anybody now."

This was the answer of one young sailor to newsmen just before he and nine other men turned themselves over to Naval authorities at Alameda Naval Air Station on July 14. The ten sailors had left the attack aircraft carrier, the USS Oriskany, before it sailed for Vietnam on June 5.

The joint statement of the group said they refused "to continue to serve in this madness of sophisticated extermination of a country's people and their culture."

Berkeley Councilor Ilona Hancock, on hand as the sailors turned themselves in, voiced her support for them, demanded that they be honorably discharged, that they receive fair treatment, that they not be returned to the ship pending final disposition of charges against them, and that the men be allowed to communicate with members of the Berkeley City Council.

The men have been charged with Unauthorized Absence, the Navy equivalent of AWOL, and "missing ship's

movement." One of the men has since been hospitalized for an unrelated illness. Six of them have already faced Captain's Mast—a form of non-judicial punishment. There is no trial, merely an appearance before the Captain of the ship. They were reduced in pay rate one step and fined half their base pay for two months. The remaining three men are awaiting the arrival of their files for the disposition of their cases. According to the attorney for the men, Diane Middleton, the choice of whether to hold a Captain's Mast or Court Marshall depends on the offense committed and the previous record of each individual man.

All the men have applied for discharges as conscientious objectors. However, Middleton said the bureaucratic process of this kind of discharge takes so long that it is quite likely that 7 of the 9 men would be normally discharged before the dispensation of their C.O. appeal is known. Therefore, the men are asking for an "administrative discharge." This is an honorable discharge "for convenience of the government" which Middleton claims has been granted in some similar cases.



Nguyen Tang Huynh, Vietnamese student at Berkeley, who is facing deportation to Saigon on July 8.

photo: Hwang

political asylum in the U.S. A National Committee to Defend the Rights of South Vietnamese Students has been formed by Representative Ronald Dellums, Jane Fonda, Anthony Russo, Noam Chomsky, and Jon Voight, among others, in support of his request for asylum. —Constance Kon-nin Hwang

Racism in the Berkeley Police

by Paul Foreman

The police are the most obvious symbol of the political control of Berkeley by elitist wealthy business interests in the city and the state. By and large, these bosses of industry and politics are white, from Anglo-Saxon, Irish, German, or Italian descent. The make-up of both the police and fire departments, in Berkeley and other California cities, is almost as lily-white as these upper echelons of the business community. The reason? Because the fire and police are the obvious first line of defense for these same interests, the banks and realtors with their mortgage-death-on-the-installment-plan financial centers.

With over 200 sworn officers and an actual overall work force of 279, the Berkeley police department has at a recent count only 7 black police officers and even fewer Chicano or Asian-American workers. The discrepancy between the general make-up of the city and the men and women who police it, becomes apparent when one considers that 25 to 30% of Berkeley's population is black, and a sizable number are of Asian or Latin American descent.

OUT-OF-TOWN COPS

Couple this with the fact that 85% of Berkeley's policemen live outside the city limits in such places as Orinda, Walnut Creek or Pleasanton. Chief of Police Bruce Baker has stated on several occasions that if he had to recruit police only from within the city of Berkeley, he could never find enough people to fill the jobs. Obviously not, since the work of the police in Berkeley has increasingly become one of *political control*. The protest against the Vietnam War and the crass, commercial values that perpetuate the war has been intense among the youth, of all backgrounds, in Berkeley. To counter the strength of the anti-war protest in Berkeley, the police developed some of the most inhuman technology such as pepper-fogging automobiles, gassing from helicopters, and the 'stun-gun' firing plastic or wooden pellets which can maim or cripple.

The same racism which causes Nixon to order saturation bombing of all of Indochina while he is mouthing 'peace' on the idiot-box is the same kind of racism which has led to the Berkeley police department's brutal use of clubs and gas in the Third-World strike and the two pitched battles for People's Park. To too many of Berkeley's policemen, the

blacks, the longhairs on the street, and the radical youth from "that little red schoolhouse on the hill" (quoting a policeman) are all "niggers & freaks," fit for nothing but a head smashing, or a leaded glove in the kidneys. Or, in the case of James Rector, Alan Blanchard, and many others, a shotgun blast in the face.

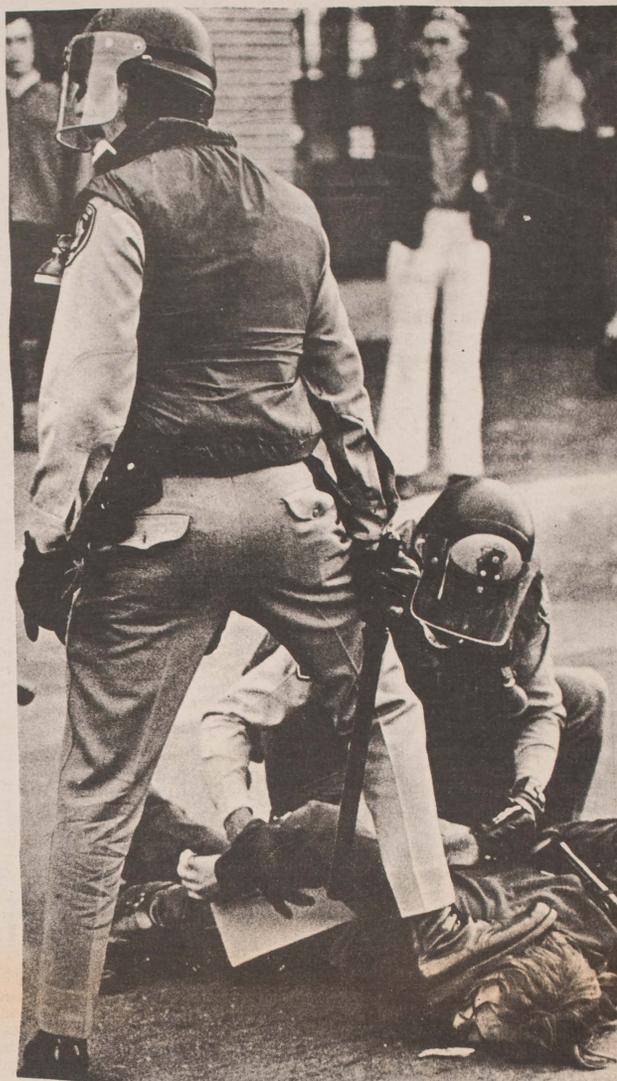
FEW BLACK COPS

Even when black men who live in Berkeley get a job on the police department, the racism of the oldtimers and their political suspicions work to drive them off the force. Last year in the heated controversy over the Community Control of Police amendment, ex-mayor Wallace Johnson boasted that Berkeley couldn't keep its black officers because they always went on to finer things, and he always referred to the one black Berkeley policeman who became a T.W.A. airlines pilot; that same man actually left the department because his girlfriend was caucasian and he could no longer tolerate the racist slurs from other Berkeley cops.

Wilmont Sweeney in his debate with Ron Dellums that same spring committed the faux pas of telling how one black Berkeley cop went on to the 'finer' life of being a Secret Service agent. When Wilmont went on to say that the two-years of college requirement was no handicap to black applicants since anybody could pick up two years of college nowadays, Ron ripped into him, saying, "Bill, WHERE have you been?!" The two-year college requirement, the police-picked psychiatrist, and the culturally biased "I.Q." test all work against black applicants for the job.

FORCED TO RESIGN

Two of the more recent cases of right-on black Berkeley policemen being forced to resign their jobs due to the racism and right-wing politics of the Department are Ron Charles and Johnnie Porter. Report has it that the Berkeley police forced Ron to resign because they suspected him of tipping the Black Panther Party of the impending raid on their headquarters, then in Berkeley. Of course the department never had a scrap of proof that Ron had done this, but he was the logical suspect; he was black. What happened to prevent a tragedy in Berkeley equal to the one in Chicago in which Fred Hampton was murdered, was that the Panthers descended on City Hall with the N.A.A.C.P. legal aid and most of the black ministers in tow and squeezed an agreement out of Wally Johnson that the raid would never take place, and it didn't. Ron faced continual harassment from the police even after he left the force.



"What we've got here is a failure to communicate." COOL HAND LUKE

Johnnie Porter would never have gotten on the police department if he did not have the quiet courage and determination (the ability to stick to a case) that makes a good policeman, one who serves the people rather than controls them. The police psychiatrist recommended that Johnnie not be hired because he was too "nice" and "passive." Johnnie, in his characteristic "passive" way, organized a large segment of the black community behind him and the department reluctantly hired him. Although he wrote good reports, the sergeants kicked back nearly every one of his reports for rewriting. After seven weeks on the job, Johnnie was called in and told to resign because other officers didn't want to work with him, and because a sergeant in a "raid" on Johnny's apartment at 5 a.m. (Johnnie was off-duty sick, and the sergeant came by to see if he really was sick) discovered a FREE ANGELA poster.

Under duress Johnnie did sign a resignation slip, but now wants his job back, has complaints filed with state and federal employment commissions and has by himself organized widespread support in the community to get rehired. When one black leader in the community went to see Chief Baker about Johnnie's case, Baker is reported to have said, "Johnnie Porter has something wrong in the head." Is this not racism? Of course, Chief Baker, you could never understand what's in Johnnie Porter's head because he wants to be a black policeman who serves his community, and he has a far better grasp

of the concept of community than you will ever have. Especially if you do not believe you can hire adequate people from within the city limits of Berkeley, a city of 120,000.

So long as well-qualified black policemen like Ron Charles and Johnnie Porter are driven from the police ranks, Berkeley will never have a department that serves the city. Do you wonder why nothing is done about the flow of heroin in the city streets? Because they do not have the trust of the people. If they did, the whole community could unite to drive the merchants of junk-death [and all its attendant crimes: a junkie using a quarter ounce a day of heroin (\$75.00 a quarter oz. bag) must steal/burglarize 300 to 400 dollars worth of stereos, t.v.s, etc. a day] out of our city.

TWO APPROACHES

Two approaches are called for in combating the problem of racism on the police department. One: we will never control our police until we have effective community control of the City government and can make it serve the people. The economic tailism exhibited by the City Council in the current strike shows this basic power problem until the whole community can work together. This means that Councilmen Bailey and Simons, who have expressed a profound desire to end the racism in the police, will have to come down off their high chairs, stop playing kingmakers, and work with the people, all the people, which certainly includes the Coalition, Ilona Hancock,

Continues on page 7



photos by Freedom News

Johnnie Porter

ELECTION ANALYSIS: Flatlands Pass Rent Control

by David Mundstock

Although Loni Hancock was the only member of the Berkeley City Council to support Rent Control, the majority of Berkeley voters showed that they agreed with her position by passing Proposition i on June 6th. The final totals for Rent Control, Proposition i were Yes - 27,915, No - 25,301.

The map indicates which precincts had a majority in favor of rent control and which had a majority opposed. Rent control won in those precincts which are shaded. What the map cannot show is the huge variations between precincts, a range that went from a low of 15% for Rent Control in one precinct to a high of 88% in another.

Rent Control won in a total of 115 precincts while it lost in 68. However, in the conservative, anti-rent control precincts there was a higher turnout than the pro-rent control precincts.

Rent Control did best in the campus area and worst in the Berkeley hills, Thousand Oaks, and Claremont. No surprise. In West and Southwest Berkeley, where rent control carried over half the precincts, the margins of both victory and defeat were smaller than in other parts of the city with neither side winning by decisive margins.

CAMPUS

As the map shows, Rent Control carried every precinct in the immediate area North, South, East and West of the

University of California campus. The highest vote in favor of rent control was 88%, a margin of 7 to 1 recorded in a south campus precinct. In 20 campus area precincts Rent Control received over 75% of the vote, winning by a margin of better than 3 to 1. All of these precincts have a very high student population. Most of the remaining 30 campus area precincts supported rent control by a margin of between 2 to 1 and 3 to 1.

Hills, Claremont, Thousand Oaks

Rent Control lost every precinct in the Berkeley Hills, Thousand Oaks and Claremont. The lowest vote for Rent Control, 15%, was recorded in a pair of precincts—one on the Contra Costa line at the tip of the hills in Northeast Berkeley and the other the Claremont precinct at the extreme Southeast tip of Berkeley. In the 26 precincts north of Sonoma Avenue and Eunice Street, an area that incorporates most of the hills and all of Thousand Oaks, only one precinct showed Rent Control getting more than a third of the vote. In the majority of these 26 conservative precincts, rent control lost by more than 4 to 1. In the four Claremont precincts east of Claremont Avenue, the wealthiest part of the city, rent control also lost by at least 4 to 1.

WEST AND SOUTHWEST BERKELEY

In West and Southwest Berkeley the results were mixed. The margins of both victory and defeat were narrow. Only in a single Southwest Berkeley precinct did

rent control lose by a margin of 2 to 1. Only in a pair of West Berkeley precincts along University Avenue between Sacramento and San Pablo did rent control win by a margin of 2 to 1.

Rent control received from 50% to 66% of the vote in over half of West and Southwest Berkeley precincts. A comparison of the rent control results with the election returns of the April 1971 Council race reveals for instance that:

Seven out of eight precincts between San Pablo and the Bay were carried by Wilmont Sweeney in his race against Warren

Widener for mayor. In all eight precincts, however, rent control won. In predominantly Black Southwest Berkeley, Sweeney carried eleven out of twelve precincts south of Dwight Way. This area, however, gave nine precincts to rent control.

The location of the precincts in which Proposition i won may point to a new political alignment in Berkeley. At least on the question of the housing crisis, the flatlands and campus are united against the Hills-Claremont interests.

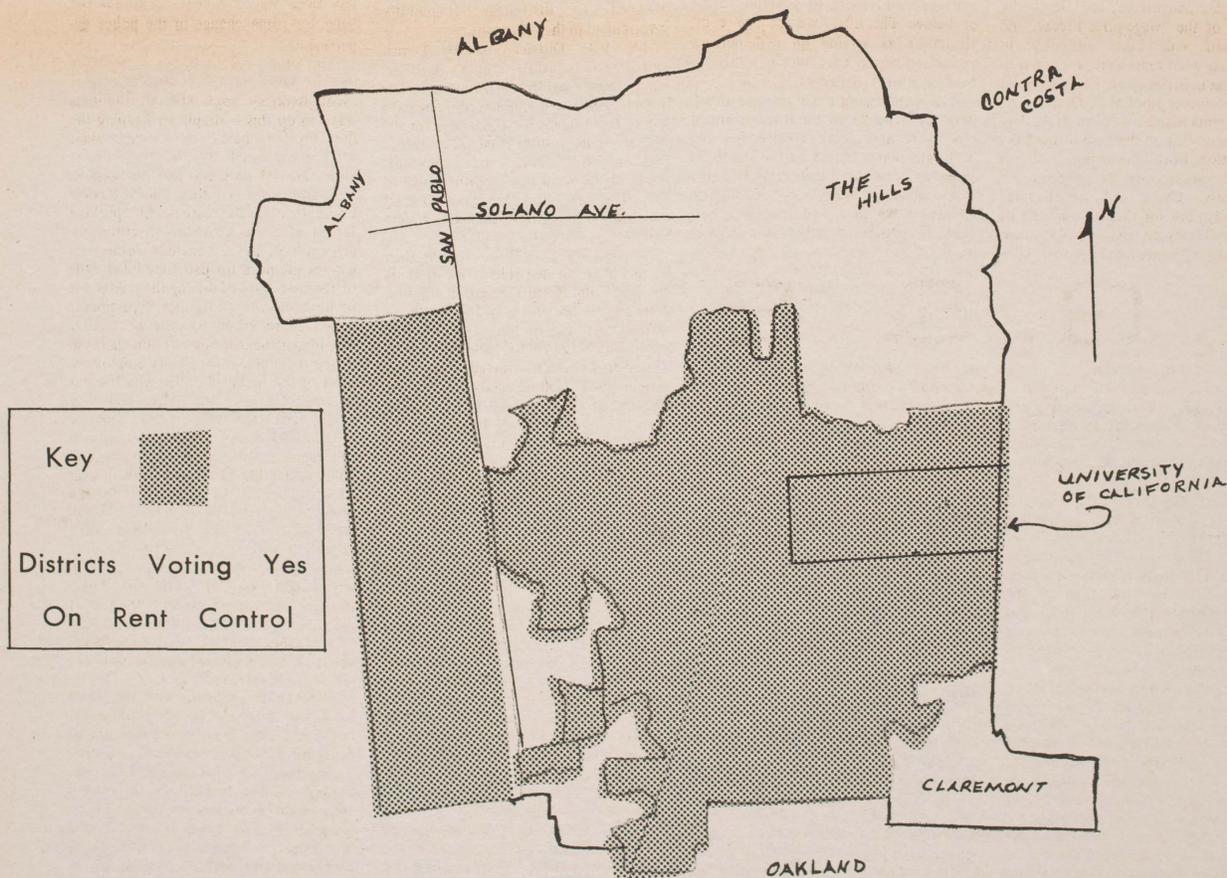
... And Beyond ...

When rent control is finally instituted obvious benefits will immediately be available to tenants. Yet the long range effect of rent control in Berkeley will need to be considered in planning the future of the city. Several positive long term effects which deter speculation and the accompanying physical deterioration and social disruption are:

1) With rents regulated, the development of a comprehensive city rezoning plan (restricting apartment house construction) will not allow landlords to take advantage of a more restricted market by raising rents. Down-zoning and tougher zoning laws will benefit ALL of Berkeley rather than just the middle-class white areas, making the flatlands a more attractive residential area.

2) A municipal income tax can be developed for Berkeley without subjecting tenants to a financial double jeopardy. A rent control board can see that property tax relief is passed on to tenants.

BERKELEY



MAKING RENT CONTROL WORK!

by Rich Illgen
Fair Rent Committee

With the passage of the Rent Control Charter Amendment on June 6th—finally by a total of more than 2,600 votes, or 5%—the people began the steps to develop fair rents in this City. However, there is still much to be done to insure that the rent control mechanism will operate to the benefit of tenants.

Because the rent control is set up in the form of an Amendment to the City Charter, it must be approved by a resolution of both houses of the California State Legislature. This approval was granted in Late July. The resolution requires a simple majority in each house and does not have a gubernatorial veto.

California real estate interests attempted a telegram and letter-writing campaign (and probably other lobbying efforts) to defeat this resolution. However, approval of Charter Amendments by the Legislature is merely a formality; over 99% have received rubber stamp approval.

Following action by the Legislature, the City Council must schedule an election for the five Rent Control Commissioners. This election could occur at either the November General Election or in April at the regular Municipal election. The Commissioners are elected at-large in the same manner as the City Council and School Board. It is imperative that tenants be organized to insure that favorable Commissioners are elected. The money and power of the real estate interests should never be underestimated—as demonstrated by their outspending us 30 or 40 to one in the rent control campaign.

Ninety days after the election of the Board, all rents in the City will be rolled back to their August 15, 1971 level—the first day of the “Wage-price Freeze.” As the Board will have difficulty in determining what rents were, anyone who was renting in Berkeley on this date should save all receipts as proof of rent levels.

After rents have been rolled back, they will be controlled on the basis of the costs of operation. Both tenants and landlords have the opportunity to request rent adjustments. Cases can be handled individually; but for the vast majority of cases, the Board can pass rent adjustment guidelines. These guidelines would allow

across-the-board increases or decreases within the guidelines, if the other side does not challenge the adjustment.

The Board will also be overlooking evictions. A certificate of eviction must be issued by the Board before an eviction will be allowed. No certificate will be issued if the eviction is arbitrary or retaliatory.

Rentor's Challenge

Real estate interests will not sit idly by while rent controls go into operation. They announced during the campaign that they would take them to court on a number of grounds, including:

1. federal rent control regulations prohibit the enactment of any other rent controls;
2. rent controls are not within the jurisdiction of Berkeley;
3. the State has pre-empted the area of rent controls; and
4. no emergency exists in Berkeley rental housing.

None of these court challenges are valid however:

1. Lynn, Massachusetts passed rent controls two months ago and they were held to be valid by the federal Rent Board, as long as increases were within federal guidelines, and IRS has said they see no conflict with Berkeley's controls;
2. and 3. an opinion has been issued by the Legislative Council of California stating that rent controls by a municipality are legal; and

4. can anyone doubt that there is a housing emergency in Berkeley? Without even considering the tremendous rent increases, Berkeley's vacancy rate has consistently been around 2% or less, well below HUD guidelines of 3% for an emergency or New Jersey guidelines of 5% or below. Therefore, we see any court challenges as serving no real purpose except to waste City money with the expense of such challenges.

The proper operation of rent controls in Berkeley depends on the involvement of tenants. Tenants must be involved not only in the election of the Board, but also in the many processes of the controls to insure that their interests are protected. Otherwise we may find that even rent controls become another tool of the landlords.

P. G. & E.

by J.B. Neilands

The proposal to take over the electric system of PG&E in Berkeley is facing yet another crisis. The council has until August 22 to decide if the PG&E sponsored referendum will be on the November ballot; otherwise the vote must occur in the municipal elections next Spring. If the council opts for November, the people will be in the *impossible* position of voting on the matter before the feasibility study is completed. This study is now in progress and is due around the time of the November election. It is absurd to have an election on this issue just before a technical report is due or at least before it can be adequately digested.

In the spring of 1971, Refusers of Illegal and Oppressive Taxes (RIOT) asked the Council for a feasibility study. Before the end of the year RIOT learned (*via* Council votes) that only Hancock, Bailey, and Simmons were really interested in the municipalization of PG&E. Hancock urged RIOT to pursue its plan to circulate a petition which would require either adoption of an ordinance directing the acquisition or submission of the question to the voters. By this February RIOT had 12,000 signatures and the Council, after

some delay, adopted the ordinance and let a feasibility study contract to the engineering firm, Cornell, Howell, Hayes, and Merryfield.

Then came a well-financed, PG&E backed, “Citizens’ Referendum Committee” with a petition drive to reverse the ordinance. The “Citizens,” using hired petition carriers, gathered the required number of signatures and immediately asked the Council to rescind the ordinance. However, the law specifies that a counter-petition be put directly to the voters as a referendum.

Naturally RIOT would prefer that the referendum be put to the voters in the municipal elections. Not only will the feasibility study, hopefully positive, be in hand by that time but there will have been plenty of time for community discussion. Local issues get more attention in the municipal election—this is clearly where it belongs.

But these plans could go awry if the Council jumps the gun on the feasibility study and rushes the measure to the voters in November. The PG&E profit, estimated at \$4 million annually in Berkeley, is riding on this decision and the company has been a notorious “heavy” around City Hall.

ecologistics

Selina Bendix

Another company has gotten into the Pest Strip act: the Shell No-Pest Strips (see the last issue of Grassroots for more info) have been joined by Vaponette Insect Strips, now featured at U-Save on Grove and University. The Vaponette Insect Strip contains 18.6% by weight of DDVP plus 1.4% related compounds, which are presumably equally, if not more, undesirable. The package contains the most inconspicuous warnings about not using the strips in kitchens, or the rooms of infants or ill people, of any brand. It recommends using the strips in trailers, campers, and outhouses.

Since they are legally required to say that it is unsafe to use the strips in areas where food is prepared, how can they recommend use in campers and trailers?

Curiously enough, these strips are made by Vaporette Chemical Corporation of Texas, a subsidiary of Zococon-Thuron Company, 1975 California Avenue, Palo Alto 94304. This outfit tries to give the impression that they are in business to do things the ecologically safe way . . .

Maybe they should receive a few letters?!

* * *

Did you know that Tilden Park, AC buses, and your water bill are all controlled by publicly elected Boards of Directors? The East Bay Regional Park District, AC Transit District, and EBMUD elections have traditionally been ignored by most voters. How much has this complacency cost us in money and service?

These districts are surrounded by curious elections practices seemingly designed to discourage community involvement in their elections.

The Park District and AC Transit redistrict to equalize population in the voting wards before each election. The boundary lines are announced a few days before filing opens for candidates for the Boards. This insures that no advance planning can be done, as candidates must reside in the Ward in which they plan to run. The last time the Park District redistricted, in 1970, whole cities were moved from one district to another.

EBMUD directors must live in their wards but are elected at large. EBMUD has not had a contested election in the four years since a law was passed that calls for candidates to pay for having qualification statements in the voters' handbook, so the incumbents haven't bothered to put their statements in. If someone should decide to run against an incumbent this time, that person will be faced with the fact that the candidates who put their statements in the book will have to divvy a bill of about \$2700! What a nice way of insuring that only well-heeled candidates run. A similar procedure applies to the other two districts.

* * *

The International Union of Pharmacologists is meeting in San Francisco the week that I'm writing this article. Dr. Friedman, from the Washington office of the Food and Drug Administration, expressed some opinions that were hardly reassuring in his talk on July 25. He believes that there is a safe dose for every toxic substance; that is, that there is a threshold for bad effects. This is similar to the argument of the AEC that a little bit of radiation won't hurt you; it certainly hasn't been proven that there is a threshold for all toxic agents.

Friedman also believes that if only one molecule of a chemical is present per cell, there cannot possibly be any resulting bad effects. Some chemicals exert their effect by reacting with the genetic material of a

cell, one molecule of such a substance can cause a mutation if the cell has no means of repairing the damage. One mutation may kill an organism . . . Why is Friedman so sure that one molecule in a cell can't do any damage?

A doctor in the audience spoke about a number of his patients who have “Chinese Restaurant Syndrome”—they get sick from food with a lot of monosodium glutamate in it. He has found that many prepackaged “convenience” foods have enough MSG to make these people ill. He asked Friedman what the FDA planned to do about MSG?

The response? Friedman said that the FDA asked the National Academy of Sciences for a report on MSG. The report concluded that MSG was not responsible for any permanent damage, so FDA will take no action. Who cares if some people get sick from too much MSG, it's not permanent . . .

Isn't it comforting to know that the Friedmans in the FDA are looking after us?



POLICE

From page 5 . . .

the Black Caucus, the Black Panther Party, the Berkeley labor unions (including local 390), and all others who seek to build participatory democracy in Berkeley. Even Mayor Widener confesses the need for some change in the police department.

The other approach lies in smoking out the worst part of the current crop of racist Berkeley cops. One of the best ways to do this is simply by keeping the heat on the “heat,” by watching their every move (such as the crypto-fascist Operation ID program) and blocking it, by pushing for a Police Policy Review Committee that has teeth, and by pushing for an adequate Affirmative Action program (which does not exclude women nor ignores the need for part-time jobs). One of the best ways of driving the racists out of both the fire and police departments would be to enact—possibly by charter amendment next spring—an iron-clad residency requirement for all city employees. Most of the Berkeley police who live out of town (at least 50%) have said they would never live in Berkeley. Can we afford to have men who hate out city to this degree running around with guns and clubs protecting us? And pay them over \$1,000 a month to boot? Even for the home-owner (though renters pay property taxes, too; it's just called rent), doesn't it make sense to have the chief outlay of our tax money, the salaries of city workers, *stay* within the city. Then, too, we have to get on with the job of community building, which is what Ron Charles and Johnnie Porter were all about. A house divided against itself can not and will not stand.

Many other problems with the police exist; for instance, the connections between the city department, the campus department (Beall), Madigan's Alameda deputy sheriffs, and Reagan and his reactionary regents; they are all our political enemies (because they see the world differently) and must be defeated in the long run. The sexism in the police is a malignancy also, and will be dealt with in future articles. Stay tuned. Read GRASSROOTS.

CONVENTION DIARY: MIAMI

[Ying Kelley was a McGovern delegate from the 7th Congressional District. This report is by her husband, J. L. Kelley.] Sunday, July 9

The lobby of the International Hotel at the LA airport is jam-packed. An unusual assortment of people: blacks, whites, Chicanos and Asians, young people, middleaged and old people, and lots of women. This is California's McGovern delegation, ready to fill a 747 for the trip to Miami. We're excited and jubilant—an incredibly good natured mob.

It takes two hours of shuffling to get the luggage labelled and boarding passes assigned, and we load the buses to go to the plane. Another hour and a half wait while each of us walks through a metal detecting gate and each purse and briefcase is searched. One delegate is practically stripped. He wears a concho belt and the detector registers "jackpot" each time he comes through. We're finally in the plane and with loud cheers take off for Miami.

It is too much to expect these activists to just enjoy themselves for the four and a half hour flight. Politicking starts immediately. There is a bit of initial grumbling from some of the Northern Californians on arrangements. We'd had to come to LA to get the flight, while an earlier charter left SF Saturday. A lot of misinformation on the subject was dished out at one time or another by the Northern California Hdqtrs, but apparently the earlier plane was the fat cat plane (State Demo Committee) and except for 30 places held by Willie Brown for black caucus delegates, all of us had to travel to LA.



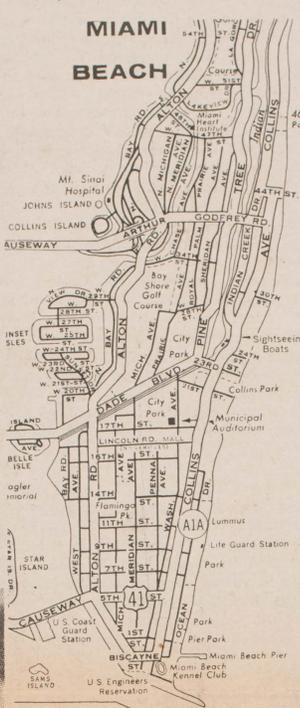
State Assemblyman Willie Brown Co-Chairperson of the finally approved California Delegation

The serious politicking concerns which of the 271 delegates are to take the 120 places the Credentials Committee has assigned the delegation. There are a couple of petitions written, copies typed (in the cocktail lounge) and circulated. First preference: seat everyone with fractional votes. Second preference: do it by lot. Senator Alan Cranston thinks seating Willie Brown and doing the rest by lot is best. Assemblyman John J. Miller agrees, and adds cheerfully that it was a mistake for the leadership to leave and let the delegation get together on the 747. Dorr S. Commons, McGovern's state leader, isn't too happy about the method of delegate selection.

We arrive in Miami and are bused 30 miles out of town to the Doral Country Club where we find the 120 have already been selected by the leadership: 20 heavyweights for floor arm-twisting, one delegate from each congressional district, and the rest by lot. Huge unhappiness

overtakes the delegation, and it caucuses. (High motivation and drive, and a cool cynicism about leadership.)

Larry Lawrence (So. Calif. Demo Chairman) talks and reasons, there are some rough questions, and finally the good grey Cranston smooths things over. Two of our three chairpeople, Burton and Huerta, arrive belatedly to soothe us. It is 3:30 Monday morning.



The coffee shop is crowded, and the waitresses harassed and irritable. They get five dollars a day and tips and this isn't a rich crowd. Don't think it's a union shop but if it is, it's not much of a union.

Ying and some other Asian delegates are already involved deeply, planning to use the convention for anti-war activity and to increase Asian participation in the anti-war movement. I wind up as porter, sec'y, and busboy for the Asians. They plan to take a huge sign (50 feet long, NOT ONE MORE DEAD!) onto the convention floor.

The California delegation has its first formal caucus at 1 p.m. The three co-chairpeople are Willie Brown, John Burton and Dolores Huerta. Willie is a small Black man, very sharply dressed, articulate, a real comedian, wheeler-dealer, ambitious, and magnificently theatrical. John Burton is dressed casually and comes on as very thoughtful and sharp. Rather low key speaking style, barefoot boy with cheek, shows sensitivity on issues. Dolores Huerta (UFWOC) seems shy but is very much out front on organization. There is a lot more talk about the selection of the 120 and the discontent seems to have died down. Cranston the peacemaker is in evidence.

The convention is on and all minus 120 sit around TV sets in the Doral and agonize. Spirits sink on the South Carolina vote. TV cameras are here to catch reactions. After the vote on the California delegation there's enormous relief and joy and a little crying.

Ying and I wander back to the room (it's 3:30) and she goes to sleep. I watch on TV the rest of the challenges until the amended credentials report is finally approved at 5:30 or 6:00. That means all 271 California delegates will be on the

floor tomorrow. Daley and his delegates are excluded.

Tuesday
Breakfast at 2:30 and then another caucus of the California delegation. The platform committee reports tonight. Oklahoma's Senator Fred Harris speaks to the delegation on the minority tax plank: an honest populist repeal of tax exemptions, including capital gains and interest exemptions. Ying speaks to the delegates about the war, emotionally and effectively, and they agree to show the banner NOT ONE MORE DEAD! on the floor. Ying is wearing braids and black pajamas.

I watch on TV all the damn night. California comes on strong: "California, the state that boycotts lettuce, votes . . ." The banner shows briefly but clearly. The minority tax plank loses on a voice vote (a questionable call by the chairperson, and a slight stench of politics). A bit more of the same on the abortion plank, after a neat flip flap by Shirley MacLaine. The session is finally over at 7:30. Ying is back 45 minutes later and we're in bed at 8:00.

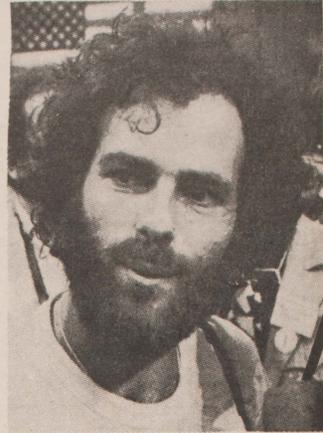
Wednesday
We wake up and look at the big bedroom, furnished in expensive hotel nondescript, with a little balcony facing another big people warren of the same sort. We get out the immersion heater, make instant coffee; Ying makes a bowl of noodles, and we have a quick snack.

Walk across to the main building of the Doral, looking around in amazement. It's a huge, expensive, ostentatious layout, parked in the middle of a bevy of golf courses, swimming pools, tennis courts and so on, all landscaped and steaming in the lush tropical growth. Low lying cumulus clouds, wet hot air with a soft feel on the skin.

McGovern throws a curve: armed forces will stay in Thailand until the POWs are released. The delegation hums. At the California caucus there's a long tedious stalling about seating at tonight's nominating session. We hear the "clarification" statement of McGovern's and more soothing talk. The caucus agrees that Willie should try "California,



Jesse Jackson replaced Mayor Daley as head of the Chicago Delegation



Jerry Rubin, one of the young who planned a picnic of watermelons & peanuts for the senior citizens in the park.

the state that demands that we stop bombing the dikes, votes . . ." The anti-war people, Fred Branfman and others from Mass., are getting their stuff together. Project Air War will make a 40 foot banner, STOP BOMBING THE DIKES, for the California delegates.

Ying goes off to work. I haven't drawn a pass so I go to McG hdqtrs at the Doral Beach Hotel to see if I can pick up a late pass and, if not, to watch the nomination from there. Arrive and find the lobby full of young demonstrators, all up tight about McG's statement on Thailand. McG has already talked to the demonstrators and it looks very peaceful to me. No cops. I talk to some kids. Try to go upstairs to try for a late pass, but the elevators are turned off and the stairs are blocked by McG workers. One of them, apparently called for extra duty, gives me a pass to the convention hall and I take off.

Meet Ying in the lobby of the hall. There's a foulup on the pass for one of the delegates and I make like an errand boy on and off the floor for an hour or so. By then my hand is marked with the purple spot used to check people going on the floor, so I wad up my gallery pass a bit, stick out my hand and go back on the floor. A real demonstration after Illinois' vote puts McG over, and another when the vote is all in. So home and to bed. It's 4:30.

Friday
Another caucus, and Mike Gravel and other vp candidates make their pitch. We get the Eagleton word and a sales pitch from our leaders, and Cranston speaks up for the junior senator from Missouri. Asians try to arrange for a group chant on bombing the dikes. Very late, too late for any serious discussion, democratic national committeemen for California are elected.

The delegation takes off, nine of us take off to try and crash the hall. We have

Continues on page 9

"REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY."

Yenan Books



2506 Haste St. Berkeley, Ca. 94704

From page 8 . . .

five passes and after some maneuvering we all get into the galleries. Security is tighter than last night. The purple hand stamp has been changed.

The STOP BOMBING THE DIKES banner circulates. VP nominations are a drag. Items: Gravel seems very much upset when he makes a nominating speech for himself. Sissy Farenthold surprises us all with her support.

Curious moment: Wallace's Alabama delegation announces that, had their candidate been successful he would have named his own VP, so they extend the same courtesy to McG and vote for Eagleton. They get a standing ovation. (Our guys cheering the Alabama delegation!) The place drips with good feeling.

House leader Albert and other demo housekeepers get resolutions of thanks, good housekeeping awards. Kennedy comes in, gets the big hand, makes speech beautifully prepared for applause at one sentence intervals. McG comes in. Big unity display by all candidates. The place reeks of unity and euphoria.

McG's speech touches all bases. New item: the bombing will stop on inauguration day. (God bless the young demonstrators.) Come home, America. There is one hell of a long, joyful demonstration.

Back at the Doral at 3:30 or 4:00. There is a party (I didn't see a single drunk the whole week). Party gradually breaks up and we wander back to our room. Rap. Pull back the curtains (it's daylight). Wander out on the balcony; it's almost 8:00 a.m. A few people on the balcony of the next antheap wave and give us the peace sign, and we reply. And so to bed.

Hiroshima Action



Photo by Betty Segal

Ying Lee Kelley of the American Reparations Committee will be a speaker at the memorial services commemorating the victims of U.S. atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The services will take place on August 6 at the Peace Pagoda of the Japan Trade Center in San Francisco. The services at 12 noon will be followed by a march to the Western Institute for Medical Research in the Presidio. For further information call: 567-7029.



child CARE SOON ?

In an atmosphere as confused as it was tumultuous, the Berkeley City Council voted on July 18th to approve the Berkeley Child Care Development Council's controversial Comprehensive Child Care Plan. The vote (Hancock, Widener, Hone, Price, Bailey and Simmons for, Kallgren abstaining, Sweeney and McLaren absent) came on the heels of an often tense and racially polarized presentation by the strife-ridden BCCDC, asking the city to allocate to them the \$168,000 necessary to fund their Plan and capture matching federal and state child care grants.

BCCDC supporters were angered by a motion passed at a previous City Council meeting setting up a tripartite committee of Council, School Board and BCCDC to work out matters not dealt with in the Comprehensive Plan but germane to the transition of the BCCDC from an advisory to an agency status. BCCDC saw this committee as an attempt to undermine its authority in child care matters and demanded that the Council rescind the Tripartite motion and immediately fund the Comprehensive Plan.

Substantive questions regarding the merits of the Plan were viewed by the black leadership of the BCCDC as attacks on them and the organization.

Adding to the confusion was the largely abstract format of the Comprehensive Plan. The BCCDC has been charged to bring to the Council a picture of Berkeley's total child care needs together with its recommendations for funding specific proposals prepared by community groups wishing to operate child care centers.

Instead of specific recommendations, however, the Comprehensive Plan took the form of a series of model budgets for various categories of child care (full-day, drop-in, etc.) In addition, the Plan indicated that the BCCDC had not as yet established its guidelines for funding, leaving up-in-the-air the fate of the community-originated child care proposals hoping to open in September who had sought funding at the City Council's partially completed public hearing on child care last June 29.

The ambiguous relationship of community child care programs to the

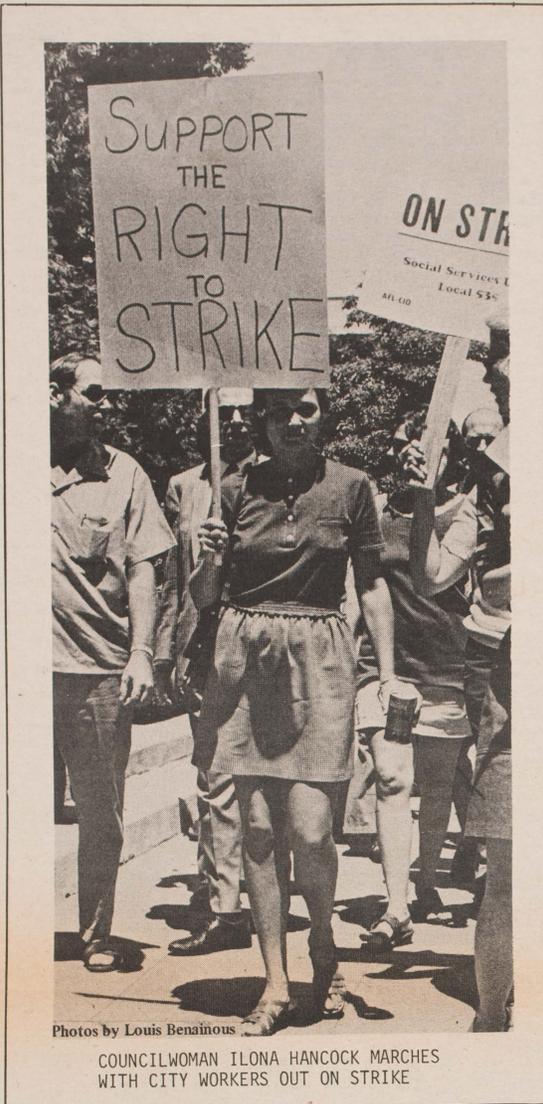
Comprehensive Plan was not discussed, however, for Mayor Widener ruled against public discussion of child care until after the Council had voted on the Comprehensive Plan.

Councilwoman Hancock attempted to bring together the community child care proposals and the BCCDC's Plan by moving to grant immediate funding to the community proposals, and in addition set aside \$50,000 (to be matched by the school board) for funding further child care proposals upon the advice of the BCCDC.

This motion was greeted with loud protest by BCCDC supporters, and failed to pass. The motion to approve the Comprehensive Plan was then passed by a 6-0 vote, Kallgren abstaining.

While it is unclear precisely what "approval" of the Comprehensive Plan means, it is presumed that BCCDC now has sole discretion over the funding of community child care proposals. It is hoped that BCCDC can establish guidelines in time to fund at least those child care centers ready for a September 1st opening.





Photos by Louis Benainous

COUNCILWOMAN ILONA HANCOCK MARCHES WITH CITY WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE

GRASSROOTS BERK STRIKE cont. From page 1...

and council members unanimously refused to make public comments about strike issues or the progress of negotiations—if any.

SCENARIO CHANGES

Up to this point the scenario followed the typical course of strikes by public employees—employer intransigence, heavy-handed legal shenanigans, and the likelihood that citizens, impatient about interrupted garbage collection, would soon begin to see union members as responsible for the trouble and resent them accordingly.

Not for the first time, though, the familiar pattern went off the rails in Berkeley. Instead of community hostility, a wave of community support for striking workers began to take shape with the formation over the July 15 weekend of the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Strikers. The group included a wide spectrum of Berkeley activists—members of the April Coalition and the Black Caucus, the chairman of the Co-op Board of Directors, officers of U.C. union locals, and others.

HANCOCK PICKETS

First result of the group's activity came when Councilmember Hancock joined pickets outside City Hall July 14. Ms. Hancock, continuing to respect the Council's self-imposed secrecy rule, offered no comment on substantive strike issues, but reiterated her opposition to the city-sought injunction and added, "I support without reservation the right of city employees to organize and to strike, when necessary, for their needs."

No progress toward a settlement had been reached—and the city's negotiator

had begun a four-day Oregon jaunt—when the Council held its next regular meeting July 18. Ad Hoc Committee members attempted to read an open letter to the Council but could not get space on that night's high-pressure agenda. The letter criticized the injunction and secrecy as a smokescreen permitting the Council to hide behind Ray Smardon, expressed support for all the union demands, and called on Council members to state their positions publicly and begin good faith negotiations. Signers included Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale as well as an enlarged list of Committee sponsors.

The Committee then switched its focus to the next Council meeting, scheduled for July 25. Plans were made for a support rally outside City Hall and for union members and supporters to attend the Council session in force. Some 13,000 leaflets, stating the Committee's position and outlining its strategy, were handed out over the weekend at shopping centers and door-to-door.

SECRECY COLLAPSES

Monday, July 24, the secrecy wall began to crumble. Councilmember Hancock was the first to break silence concerning strike issues. In a press conference at the Corporation Yard, she announced her support for agency shop and arbitration and for a cost of living wage boost—better than the city's take-it-or-leave-it offer though still less than the unions' demands. She also urged her fellow councilmembers to come out from behind closed doors and make their positions known. Her stand was welcomed by union members and their supporters as

a step toward settlement and a reasonable basis for negotiation. The same morning, State Senators Moscone and Petris and East Bay Assemblymen Meade and Miller urged the city to begin real talks, though they took no position on strike issues themselves.

Only a few hours before the Council met July 25, Councilmen Bailey and Simmons added a new element to the by now wide-open discussion of the strike. In simultaneous statements, they asserted their support for a 15% raise for refuse collectors—much more than the unions' overall demand—but disavowed other city workers whom they characterized as overpaid. Bailey and Simmons charged that a deal existed whereby Police and Fire Department employees would get increases paralleling those awarded the four striking unions. Their statements also bore down heavily on the fact that most refuse workers are Black while electricians belong to an old-line craft union with a long racist history. Overlooked in their statements were other underpaid city workers—such as Community Health Workers, also Black and paid even less than refuse collectors. Finally, Bailey and Simmons warned, binding arbitration could be used to undermine the new city affirmative action hiring plan to end racist and sexist hiring and promotion practices. This although Local 390's executive secretary, Paul Varacalli, had supported affirmative action at public hearings long before the strike began, and Locals 535 and 2077—with large Third World and women memberships—were on record in favor of affirmative action. (Varacalli had agreed to include in a new contract language specifically protecting affirmative action from being hindered by an arbitrator's decision.)

COUNCIL MOVES

By the July 25 Council meeting the situation was ready to shift—and shift it did. The Ad Hoc Committee rally drew several hundred union members and supporters—including about 100 Black Panther Party members and their Chairman, Bobby Seale—who heard union spokespeople demand the council deal with the striking unions immediately. Inside the council chamber, Hancock moved the council accept arbitration and the agency shop, offer a cost-of-living benefit package and get down to serious bargaining. She did not get a second. Union

members and supporters present backed her up but the Council went into executive session as soon as the roll was called.

While the Council deliberated and the crowd outside picketed and chanted, people in the council chamber conducted an informal public hearing at which one union member after another told the crowd their side of the strike and recounted the city's unwillingness to bargain.

After almost two hours, the Council came back in with a new offer—partial agreement on agency shop and arbitration and a benefit deal adding up to about 5½% over eighteen months, with an additional premium for refuse workers. Hancock abstained in the vote on this offer, since it did not represent her position. While the crowd inside and outside waited, 390's Paul Varacalli asked Mayor Widener if this represented a final offer or a negotiating stand—"because if its a final offer I'm going to say no right now, and you guys can go back in there and come up with something better." At this Widener called a ten-minute recess.

BAILEY ON SPOT

About this time Councilman Bailey got into a public debate with union members, who had earlier expressed resentment of what they saw as his attempt to divide united strikers along racial lines. Bailey, unused to being on the defensive, tried all his time-tested routines—"let's not have black people arguing with black people"—but met mounting hostility from union members, reaching a peak when Cornelius Moore, a refuse worker and member of 390's negotiating committee, furiously charged that one of Bailey's aides had called him a "motherfuckin honky." Mr. Moore, who is Black, told Bailey, "You can't pull that shit on the rough and ready garbage men of Berkeley... we are together and we're staying together." He was backed up by a woman health worker from 535 who, to shouts of support, denounced "D'Army Bailey's sexist politics."

Temporary resolution of the dispute finally came when Widener announced that the new city offer represented a bargaining position and that he and other council members would begin talks with the unions early the next morning. Union members and supporters, seeing this as a major step forward, went home to await developments.



Photo by Louis Benainous

BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY, DEMANDS A FAIR SETTLEMENT FOR ALL FOUR UNIONS ON STRIKE

CITY MANAGER

From page 2...

priorities, and passed legislation in its own interest, not in the interest of the professional or working classes. The members of the NCF saw the need to solidify their own influence on the local level in order to survive the onslaughts of monopoly capital and socialist revolution.

It was under these conditions that the concept of council-manager government arose. The NCF adopted some programs put forth by the socialist movement like unemployment and health insurance but were basically very conservative. They wanted to adjust capitalism to favor interests of their class. Between 1912 and 1915, Chambers of Commerce all across the country adopted stands in favor of council-manager government. They used arguments pointing to the need for more professionalism like the analogy of successful business with a board of directors (city council) and the appointed president (city manager) who could run the operation efficiently and business-like. Literally, they wanted city governments to be run as smoothly as a good business operation. Their power and profit was the goal.

Success for the NCF depended on the minimizing of the socialist influence. Thus, they espoused non-partisan city-wide elections with the council-manager form of government. These more costly

and time consuming campaigns could only be taken on by monied interests. A worker could never hope to win a city wide election. Only those best known "community leaders" could now wage successful campaigns. The city manager (a professional himself) served at the will of the new middle class council.

BERKELEY

In Berkeley, as in many cities, the manager form was resisted. But the manager form gained strength as part of the right wing upsurge that followed World War I. The city manager form was instituted in Berkeley in 1923 through the united effort of The City Club (an elite group of professional and businessmen), Berkeley Manufacturing Association, and the Berkeley Gazette.

The comparison of the key issues used to forward the Charter Amendment in 1923 with today's political struggles in Berkeley is striking for its similarities. First, the waterfront development was a battleground for the Berkeley Manufacturing Association and the mayor representing the interests of the people in south and west Berkeley. When the mayor initiated a successful referendum campaign against the development plan of the Association, the Association directed even greater energy to establish a city manager form of government for Berkeley.

'Army On Trial'

Second, the municipalization of garbage collection was violently opposed by the protectors of free enterprise. The moderate-conservative alliance against the socialist political forces foresaw creeping nationalization in city run services. The Gazette mounted the kind of campaign for which it is now famous against the left forces in the city which then held considerable power.

Only one-fourth of the registered voters went to the polls in the special charter amendment election in 1923. But the higher percentage of those voting in north and east Berkeley more than offset the opposition in south and west Berkeley. The City Manager Committee had done its job well. Thus professional city manager government came to Berkeley.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War is planning a Winter Soldier style tribunal which will be called "The Army on Trial" at which testimony will be given and read by veterans and active-duty GI's on racism in the military and repression of political organizers in the military. This tribunal will be put on just before Billie Dean Smith's courtmartial begins, September 6. The issues of racism and political repression of organizers are key to Billie's defense. Billie is a black GI accused of "fragging" two white officers in Vietnam. If any vet or GI can give testimony or affidavits for "The Army on Trial" or help with Billie's defense, contact VVAW in San Francisco (415) 861-7700. The address is: VVAW, 1380 Howard Street, San Francisco 94103. ■

CHARTER ACTION

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ARLENE SLAUGHTER

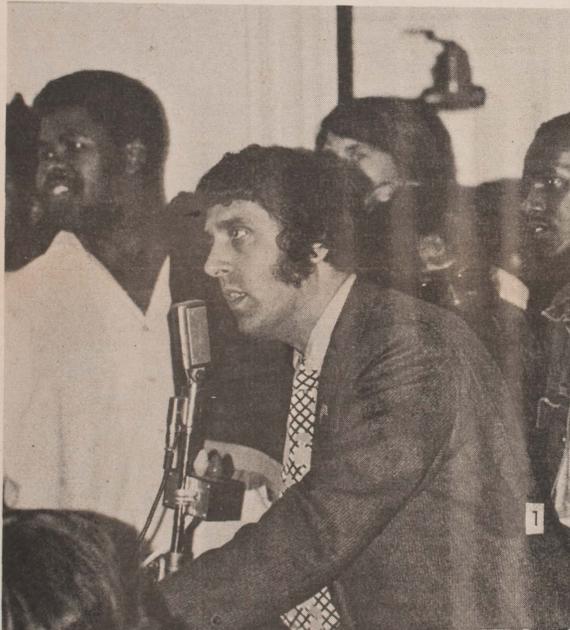
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Photos by Louis Benainous

1. Paul Varacalli, Exec. Secretary Local 390, saying "Mr. Mayor, if that's your final offer, the answer is NO!"
2. Women from Local 535 on the firing line.
3. A 390 worker lays it down at the dump.
4. Dwight & Telly stands knee-deep in refuse.
5. Meter readers on strike, too.
6. Councilmen Price & Bailey take their ease.

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE celebrates the CUBAN REVOLUTION



Vietnamese cultural presentation by Vietnamese students in the United States.

Photo by Constance Kon-nin Hwang

The Cuban government and people—Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the have been in the forefront of support for spirit of this solidarity, the Venceremos the NLF in South Vietnam and the Brigade had as the theme of their 26th of

July celebration, "Cuba, Vietnam, y Nosotros Venceremos!" ("Cuba, Vietnam, and We Will Win!")

TOWN AND GOWN STRIKES

A backward look at the ten-week strike by University of California employees—settled on June 22—shows some sharp contrasts with the current Berkeley employees' strike.

The U.C. strikers—never a majority of University employees because State workers have still not won the principle of collective bargaining—struck in a holding action to try and defend their existence under heavy attack by Reagan and the Regents. From the start, they faced an employer who could not be hurt in the pocketbook, unlike a private industry, and which (unlike the Berkeley city government) is not subject to political pressure. (U.C. Regents are appointed to 16-year terms by the Governor, who for his part couldn't care less about antagonizing students and U.C. workers.)

On wages, U.C. strikers sought to hold the line on prevailing rates paid in comparable jobs by private industry. On union rights, the workers struck for binding arbitration of grievances—a key issue in the city strike—and for affirmative action policies in hiring and promoting Third World and women workers.

LACK OF SUPPORT

In contrast to the Berkeley strikers, U.C. unions yielded to pressure from labor lawyer Victor van Bourg and area labor leaders not to seek strike support from their community—the students. Thus, while a handful of students lent some support, most ignored picket lines and went to classes—keeping alive the image that the University's functioning was undisturbed.

When the Regents got an anti-strike injunction the unions attempted to sidestep it by legal maneuvering, insisting for the record that the walkout wasn't a strike at all, and thus didn't violate the state law against strikes by public employees. This muted, half-hearted approach also played a part in turning off potential student and community support.

Support from the rest of labor was feeble until the last week of the strike. AFSCME Local No. 1695—one of the striking unions—got only \$1000 from its International union—hardly enough to keep pickets in coffee and doughnuts for ten payless weeks. Some embittered union members concluded that AFSCME was banking on a defeat at U.C. to discredit radical union activists here.

POLICE ATTACK

In the end, though, as one union official told Grassroots, "the University—as ever—built our movement for us." U.C. police brutally attacked pickets at University Hall on June 8, sending one 58-year-old striker to the hospital with a fractured skull. The response was a show of organized strength from several powerful local unions and labor councils that forced the University to begin negotiations after nine weeks of silence.

The final settlement, according to Dave Rynin of AFT Local 1570, was "a victory—under the circumstances." U.C. workers held off the Regents' attack on pay scales except in the building trades and bought time until the question of prevailing rates is reopened—possibly next year.

On arbitration, the unions won University recognition of the principle—but not binding arbitration in fact. The agreement permits the University to bypass an arbitrator's findings simply by announcing its intent to do so. The affirmative action clause is also weak, amounting to a pledge by the University to comply with Federal laws against discrimination. Library workers, though, see this as an additional weapon in their long fight against sexist hiring and promotion practices within the U.C. Library.

A combination of community support, a damn-the-torpedoes attitude toward legal threats, and majority union muscle may add up to a precedent-setting deal for City of Berkeley workers. With a limited victory in a basically defensive fight under their belts, U.C. workers will be watching developments in the Berkeley city employees' strike with more than casual interest.

the problem of day care gave Mrs. Wynne the latitude to work with community groups on program development and to mediate freely between providers and recipients of services and the maze of funding channels, federal, state and local requirements, and the welfare bureaucracy.

Her work set the precedents for federally-funded day care in Alameda County: she established fee scales which put quality day care within the reach of borderline low-income families; from her work with the Berkeley Rose Street Center, it became the practice that the local 25% could be paid in monthly installments, rather than being deposited *in toto* with the Welfare Department at the beginning of the operational year; Mrs. Wynne and her San Francisco counterpart implemented the broad interpretation of Title IV eligibility by including former and potential welfare recipients along with the current AFDC population. When the state sought in 1970 to limit federal funds to present AFDC recipients, the established liberal practice of Alameda and San Francisco counties quashed the attempt.

When Alameda County Welfare Department transmogrified into the Human Resources Agency, Mrs. Wynne fell under a three-layer bureaucratic supervisory structure bent on intra-agency discipline. Her new immediate supervisor, Frances Porter (with 15 years in the Navy behind her and no experience in day care) manifested consternation at the energetic system of services and the independence of the Day Care Coordinator. Mysterious blocks appeared to the movement of contracts for day care money through the upper echelons of the Department. Contracts ready for funding disappeared into McKay's office, where they remained for months, uncommenced upon.

The final disagreement occurred over the expenditure of state "SB 796" money which belatedly entered Alameda County in June. Mrs. Wynne was given less than a week to prepare a plan for spending about \$850,000 in combined state and federal funds for day care. Based on her developmental activities in the community she produced a plan comprised of programs that could be functioning quickly. Mrs. Wynne's scheme did not suit her supervisors who wanted to include programs (like the fledgling bureaucracy, Office of Community Child Care in Berkeley) which were not even eligible to receive SB796 money. The difficulties between the welfare bureaucracy and Mrs. Wynne were exacerbated by the Berkeley Model Cities, some members of which incorrectly blame Mrs. Wynne for their year-long inability to translate their considerable federal allotment for day care into real services. The welfare bureaucrats jumped at the chance to rid themselves of a person whose record of accomplishment can be nothing but an embarrassment to them, especially now that they must administer a large and well-publicized state grant for day care.

The Day Care Desk is presently manned by a temporary employee; it is impossible to get a straight answer about day care money out of the supervisory bureaucracy. The plans for SB 796 are still obscure. It is therefore difficult to believe that Mrs. Wynne's transfer signifies anything positive for the future of federally funded day care in Alameda County. Rather it represents the notorious error that the goals of an agency are best accomplished by internal conformity to the rigid structure of bureaucratic self-interest. Mrs. Wynne's transfer—unfortunately not an isolated case in California this year—lends credibility to the opinion of some observers that the State Department of Social Welfare seeks to eliminate those people who have been effective in delivering services because successful child care programs can only mean increased demands upon the government for day care. As Gwen Morgan, Vice President of the Day Care and Child Development Council noted: "No one is responsible for being responsible for children."

Who Cares for Child Care ?

by Mary Millman

When Helen Wynne took the position of Day Care Coordinator for Alameda County Welfare Department in November, 1968, the agency had no idea of what she was supposed to do. Not only was there no job description, there was not so much as a list of the county's child-related services. Both county and state were ignorant of the ins and outs of Title IV funding (the main federal reservoir of day care monies providing 75% to match local contributions of 25%). At the end of fiscal year 71-72, Mrs. Wynne had cornered \$1,185,000 (most of it federal) which represented 13 contracts with the Welfare Department, or, translated into reality, 22 day care centers in the county (4 for the retarded) serving 840 children, the majority of whom came from low-income families. Today, Alameda County is second only to Los Angeles in amount of federal funds in use for child care in California.

As a result of dedicated, intelligent, and successful service to the children of Alameda County, Mrs. Wynne was transferred from the Day Care Desk to a Welfare caseload unrelated to child care on July 10, 1972. Two weeks later her appeal to the County Board of Supervisors failed because Joe Bort refused to admit any other issue in the transfer than the "administrative discretion" of Jack McKay, Director, Alameda County Human Resources Agency.

Mrs. Wynne's mistake was that she created, in an environment characterized by lack of commitment to day care at all levels of government, a functioning concept of quality day care development which accomplished its purpose of caring for children. The indifference of the County and the Welfare Department to