



Tenant Union fights Chicago slum conditions

"I started working for the Union because I was so mad at my landlord," explains Mrs. Minnie Dunlap, an organizer for the Tenant Union in East Garfield Park, a community on Chicago's West Side.

Mrs. Dunlap decided to go to a Union rally because she was disgusted with the conditions in her apartment. "The doorbell didn't work. The rooms hadn't been painted in three years. The mailboxes had no locks, and anyone coming in off the street could tamper with the mail," she said.

A representative from the Union to End Slums encouraged her to organize the tenants in her building. As she went from door to door, she had to convince neighbors fearful of reprisals for civil rights work that she was one of them. "When I talked about the changes we could get by working together, I was really trying to convince myself," she recalls.

Companies sign contracts

Today Mrs. Dunlap no longer has to convince herself. Her apartment building boasts a lock on the front door, locked mailboxes inside, doorbells on the doors, and many newly decorated apartments. Since Mrs. Dunlap began organizing, the Tenant Union has signed contracts with two of the largest realty companies owning property in East Garfield Park—Condor and Costalis Realty Company and Windy City Realty Company.

"The idea has caught on," says James Harvey, national representative on housing and urban affairs for the American Friends Service Committee (the AFSC was one of the groups that helped start the tenant union). "People from other buildings are now coming to the Union and asking the staff to help them organize."

A sense of community pride

The Union has established contact with at least 60 buildings in East Garfield Park. In addition to its functions as a negotiating agency, the Tenant Union tries to help individuals, both union and non-union members, with grievances.

"The realization that their voices can be heard has given these people a new sense of pride and an awareness of their own responsibilities," says James Harvey. Contracts stipulate that the union instruct tenants in proper grievance procedures, show them the correct way to dispose of garbage, and "encourage tenants to feel a sense of community pride in

their buildings."

The Tenant Union is a pioneering effort in the area of tenant-landlord relations. In the past, landlords signed contracts with tenants promising repairs and other improvements, but tenants had no recourse when the promises were broken. The contracts signed by the Union and the realty companies give the tenants the right to initiate rent strikes if the landlord does not carry out his part of the agreement. The money is held by a third party until the dispute has been settled. It can be released to pay for repairs.

AFSC involved since 1951

The Tenant Union grew out of the efforts of the Citizens Committee to End Lead Poisoning, formed in the beginning of 1966. In 1965, fourteen local children had died from lead poisoning which they contracted by eating pieces of plaster and paint which had fallen from the walls and ceilings of their apartments.

The AFSC, which had been working on problems in East Garfield Park since 1951, became deeply involved in the campaign against lead poisoning. Bernard LaFayette, appointed director of AFSC's Urban Affairs Program in 1965, emphasized the need to eliminate

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War interrupts AFSC programs in Vietnam



All AFSC work in Vietnam was suspended for the time being in mid-February because war conditions made it impossible to continue. At press time, personnel were being flown to Hong Kong and Singapore as conditions permitted. No decisions had yet been reached on the future of the programs.

The following report was written by Bronson Clark after spending the month of December, 1967 in Vietnam revisiting many of the sites and people he had seen a year before. At that time he reported a widening of the war to include all Southeast Asia, a developing discrepancy between administration claims of progress in the war and reality, a growing anti-Americanism, and a new eagerness on the part of uncommitted South Vietnamese intellectuals to negotiate with the National Liberation Front.

by Bronson Clark

A year later the Quang Ngai hospital looks grimmer and more overwhelmed with casualties than before. At the time of my visit this 400-bed hospital had a 750-patient load, plus some patients on porches and entryways who were not actually enrolled in the hospital. It continues to be a shattering experience to walk through these overcrowded wards with patients two to a bed, patients on a double line of stretchers along the corridor, with inadequate medical staff, inadequate sanitary facilities, and even lack of water.

The Sunday previous to my visit the 30-by-40-foot admissions ward was overwhelmed with 60 civilian wounded who had suddenly arrived after a brief military action some twelve miles to the north. You can imagine the addition of 60 patients, many of them badly wounded and bleeding, to the load of an already overwhelmed staff and hospital. As Joe Clark, the Quaker director of the prosthesis program, said, "It was sheer carnage."

Any visit to a civilian hospital anywhere in Vietnam brings to sharp

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AFSC studies fish-fight

In 1964 a well-known movie actor was arrested with a group of Indians in Washington State for net fishing in a river in defiance of the State Game Department. In 1965 Indians and State enforcement officers fought with blackjacks, canoe paddles, sticks, stones and fists. In 1966 another entertainer was arrested at a "fish-in" to assert Indian treaty rights.

The U.S. Department of Justice announced it would defend Indian fishermen arrested by the State; a Washington State judge ruled that one of the Indian tribes no longer existed. Congress considered bills to resolve the conflict.

Emotionalism and biased reporting on both sides beclouded the issues. Even those closest to the controversy were puzzled by its legal and historical intricacies. In an effort to clarify the issues, the AFSC called together a study group in January 1966. Eighteen months later the group issued a 250-page report, which has now been published by the National

Congress of American Indians under the title, "An Uncommon Controversy — An Inquiry Into the Treaty-Protected Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Tribes of the Puget Sound."

What are the facts? Salmon and steelhead, a sea-going trout, are at the center of the dispute. The State Game Department, which stocks the rivers with steelhead for game fishermen, claims that it must control off-reservation Indian fishing for conservation of the salmon and steelhead. The three Indian tribes claim their right to fish the rivers at "usual and accustomed" places is guaranteed by treaties made with the Government of the United States in the 1850's.

The report examines the historical background of the controversy and the legal position of the tribes. It says fishing is not only of great economic importance to the Indians, but is also central to their sense of cultural identity. It says that the in-

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The AFSC and Civil Disobedience

In July 1948 a large body of Friends representing Meetings from all over the country met in Richmond, Indiana to consider the peace testimony of the Society of Friends. They endorsed the stand of their young men who felt unable in conscience to cooperate with the conscription system and added these words:

We warmly approve civil disobedience under Divine compulsion as an honorable testimony fully in keeping with the history and practices of Friends.

The United States has changed radically in the twenty years since the Richmond Declaration. Policies born of negative anti-communism and stubborn retention of privilege have led to our involvement in war overseas and to grave unrest at home. Young people, in numbers undreamed of in 1948, are taking to the streets to protest against the wickedness of the Vietnam War and the betrayed promises of the Great Society. As protests go unheeded, demonstrations become more militant, and there is a rising clamor of voices asserting that civil disobedience is breaking down respect for law and undermining the foundations of our free society. Some of them are strident and unthinking, but others reflect the deep misgivings of concerned Americans who see violence emerging as an increasing factor in demonstrations involving civil disobedience.

In the face of these changed conditions, should Friends revise their views on civil disobedience? Should the American Friends Service Committee cease giving its moral support to individuals whose conscience directs them to violate a law? Surely not. On the contrary, with civil disobedience under attack, the AFSC should explicitly reaffirm its approval of it when rightly used. The problem is not the use of civil disobedience but its misuse.

It is well to remember amid all the hand-wringing and the uproar that the root freedoms we enjoy today were largely born in civil disobedience. Popular folklore identifies the triumphs of freedom with victories on the battlefield, but whatever may be said for the historic role of the military in protecting western civilization from invasion, the fact remains that our precious freedoms owe much more to the dissenter than to the warrior. Jesus engaged in civil disobedience, not once but many times. Does anyone suppose that the money changers were not legally in the temple? Or that his Sabbath healing or his ride-in to Jerusalem were not in defiance of established authority? From the days of the Hebrew prophets to the modern Buddhist monks in Vietnam, the struggle for religious liberty has been basically a struggle of conscience against authority and not of armies marching against the forces of repression. And the same can be said of civil liberty—from Magna Carta to William Penn to Benjamin Spock.

This is not to say that civil disobedience is not a dangerous instrument, or that its misuse cannot undermine the foundations of society. It is to say that Friends, who have a long and honored tradition in civil disobedience, have an obligation to be out in the market place supporting its right use. Civil disobedience should be a last resort, exercised under the compulsion of conscience. It should be used to advance freedom or resist injustice, never for self-gratification or as a gimmick, and it should be animated by a spirit that accepts willingly whatever punishment society metes out for its use. All three of these ingredients must be present; the absence of any one of them erodes the power of the witness and ensures that, even if successful, it will leave bitterness in its wake. When they are all present, civil disobedience, by witnessing for justice, adds to the stature of law rather than lessens it. It is in this context that the AFSC should continue to honor civil disobedience as a "testimony fully in keeping with the . . . practices of Friends."

STEPHEN G. CARY, *associate executive secretary*

Tenants organize

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the source of lead poisoning by painting and repairing the buildings.

In the spring of 1966, local residents formed the Union to End Slums. The American Friends Service Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) and other community organizations were on the steering committee. The East Garfield Park Community Organization had started a rent strike in one of the buildings owned by Condor and Costalis. The Union to End Slums stepped in as a collective bargaining agent. After months of picketing and rent strikes, the firm agreed to sign a one-year contract on July 12, 1966.

Although Condor and Costalis met regularly with the Union's grievance committee, the tenants periodically resorted to rent strikes to get promised improvements. When the contract expired in July 1967, tenants went on rent strike again. An agreement was reached in October.

Contracts bring improvements

In November, the Tenant Union signed an 18-month contract with Windy City Realty Company, which had taken over two buildings formerly owned by Condor and Costalis. Under the contract, the landlord promised not to demand a security deposit and to set standard rentals for all apartments. For many tenants, the resulting rents were lower. Rentals below the standard were not raised. In addition, Windy City agreed to bring the buildings covered by the contract up to city building code standards within three months.

The Tenant Union is proud of the fact that none of its members have been evicted. This summer, Condor and Costalis initiated eviction proceedings against Mrs. Vernedia White, president of the Tenant Union, apparently because of her participation in rent strikes. Union law-

yers won her a jury trial, the first in an eviction case. It is still in process.

The Tenant Union exists today as an independent group. It belongs to the Community Union, an umbrella organization which replaced the Union to End Slums. Since the formation of the Tenant Union, unions have started in other parts of Chicago. The Tenant Union has shared with them the information it gained from its experiences.

IN PLACE OF WAR

AN INQUIRY INTO NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE

Prepared by the
Peace Education Division,
American Friends Service Committee

Is "war without weapons" possible? Several years ago the Peace Education Division of the AFSC organized a working party to study this question—a party composed of such eminent scholars and workers for peace as the late A. J. Muste, William Davidson, John M. Swomley, Jr., Mulford Q. Sibley, Charles Walker, James E. Bristol, Stephen G. Cary, Sidney Lens, Stewart Meacham, and Mark Morris as staff writer.

In Place of War is the result. It develops a step-by-step plan for "transarmament"—a new word that describes the conversion from armed defense to nonviolent resistance—and covers both the personal details and the national methods involved in this dramatic form of "war without weapons". It is a bold and imaginative concept, and one that demands the attention of all who would work to abolish war.

"Once again we are indebted to the American Friends Service Committee for having opened a new debate on a fundamental public issue. Because this is a book which should have the widest possible distribution, I fervently hope that a copy will find its way into every library in the United States."

—RICHARD A. GRAY, *Library Journal*
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Road to the future



Until last year the Algerian village of Cheraia was like many regroupment centers left from the war. More than 2500 people lived in 400 mud and thatch gourbis. Today, for the first time, Cheraia has the feel of a

real community with roads and a village corral.

Quaker Service has been working in the Algerian settlement since 1964. When the idea of a road improvement project came up in November

1966, there had already been two Quaker-co-ordinated USAID projects which had provided Cheraia with public fountains and sanitary facilities. The villagers decided that they wanted more than a re-leveling of their dirt roads. They said they would be willing to break rocks by hand for the road bed if Quaker Service could help them with transport. The Quaker Service team then drew up an AID request to get at least a gravel surface on the four major streets. The request was submitted in March 1967 and approved three weeks later.

Teamwork paves the way

"Work forged ahead vigorously," says Dave Parsons, who was working with the project. Villagers broke the rock in the environs of the village and piled it near the main highway where it was collected by a truck. Meanwhile other teams of men were widening and leveling the existing rough paths and digging drainage ditches. The truck collected rocks and took them into the village, where they were placed and tamped by hand.

The volunteers then added a layer of finer stone, brought from a nearby river. Tar was rolled by a rented steam roller.

The project was not without its problems and dragged on well into November. A sudden burst of energy on the 23rd brought the project to a dramatic eleventh-hour conclusion, during which the village volunteers carted sand by wheelbarrow for miles and Dave spent his time running back and forth to Collo for gasoline, additional sand and parts for broken motors.

Torrential rains came at the end of November, lasting three days, but the new roads held.

The village is beginning to have a permanent look. To preserve its new roads Cheraia has zoned certain areas for animals near the outer edges of the village and built stables there. This has greatly improved village sanitation. A dozen brick houses have appeared . . . the first ones in Cheraia. When Dave Parsons remarked on the new structures, one of the men replied, "Now that we have a road, we've decided to stay."

AFSC volunteers shun American military effort, support Vietnamese initiative.

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focus America's responsibility for these civilian casualties. The nature of the war in which America is engaged, the artillery barrages, bombing attacks, and search and destroy missions take a heavy toll in Vietnamese people killed and injured. Indiscriminate warfare by U.S. armed forces is commonplace if for no other reason than that they are not able to tell the difference between a peasant and a guerrilla, or between an NLF supporter and a simple peasant. So all become part of the target.

Vietnamese apprentices

Into the grim picture at Quang Ngai Provincial Hospital has come the Quaker rehabilitation program now operating in a new building where 20 Vietnamese apprentices manufacture artificial limbs, primarily from local materials. There is a current production level of approximately 200 limbs a month and an objective of 300 limbs a month under present goals. These limbs are being fitted on a small number of the over 4,000 amputees in Quang Ngai Province who, like all the other Vietnamese in the northern provinces of South Vietnam, have no other available prosthetic service. It is a moving experience to see a mother holding the hand of her 4-year-old son as she leads him through the practice steps of learning to walk with an artificial limb.

Most of the patients are wholly ignorant of the need to exercise the wounded muscles and have no knowledge of the techniques for recovery, particularly when artificial limbs are involved. Yet they are eager learners with the encouragement and love of these Quaker workers. An outstanding service of binding up the wounds of war is now underway which in time will match such other great Quaker stories as the child-feeding program in Germany or service in the Soviet Union during the Russian famine.

Day care center for orphans

The Day Care Center for children who have lost at least one parent in the war has settled down into a program typical of a nursery school. The children participate in collective exercise and games and receive two snacks during the day and a hot meal at noon. The overcrowded schools of Quang Ngai will not accept students into the first grade who cannot at least read and write, so they are given rudimentary reading and writing skills as well as number recognition. The result is that they are being admitted into the public school system.

Advanced classes for older refugee girls continue in sewing and diet, and an active social-work training program is proceeding under the direction of two Quaker social workers—not only with the families associated with the Day Care Center but also with those associated with the prosthetic and physical therapy center. Three Vietnamese are now engaged in social-work training, a much-needed skill in Vietnam.

Under the VISA program (Volun-

tary International Service Assignments) ten young people are at work in Vietnamese organizations under Vietnamese direction. This program has at its heart an attempt to relate to the real concerns and cares of the Vietnamese. It demonstrates that there are Americans who do not share the methods or objectives of the present American military effort, and who are prepared to express support and concern to the Vietnamese that they be given the freedom to find their own way.

One VISA volunteer works in a Catholic hostel for boys between the ages of 12 and 17 who are "shoeshine boys," meaning that they have come adrift and are without family,

forced to scrounge a living by whatever means they can. This hostel offers a home atmosphere and some educational and employment assistance. Other VISA personnel are engaged in teaching automobile mechanics to young boys, while still others work in Buddhist educational institutions, in the Saigon Children's Hospital and in medical programs in the Pleiku area.

Quakers known in Vietnam

Quakers are very well known to many large sections of the Vietnamese community. The VISA and the Quang Ngai programs, the latter in operation for almost two years, have achieved a measure of acceptance and

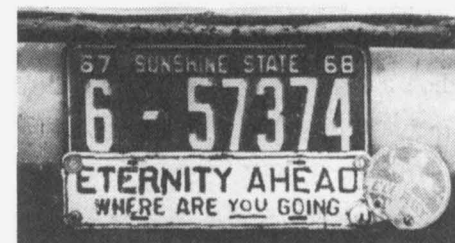
understanding. In addition, the numerous Quaker visits, the publication in the United States of our public statements against the war and of *Peace in Vietnam*, and the voyage of the Phoenix have all helped to make our position fully understood.

One can only feel after discussion with many Vietnamese that the Quaker work in Vietnam is a valuable contribution. For example, two leading nationalists expressed to me their great appreciation of Quaker work in South Vietnam. As they put it, "The work here gives you a basis to understand what is going on and enables you to remain in touch with those of us who are struggling to devise an alternative to war."



This is the winter home of a migratory worker in Florida (below).

MIGRANT LIFE FLORIDA 1968



A Jamaican woman work in the fields. Many Caribbeans are brought to Florida each year at peak season (left).



An AFSC family planning aide explains birth control methods to a mother of nine (below).



An AFSC aide discusses a problem with a fellow farm worker. (above).





Assignment Appalachia

Eight VISAs fight apathy, illiteracy

The mining camp lay gray and dreary in the fog. Rows of look-alike shacks rested amid trash and wrecked cars. Clothes hung along the porches to dry were the only sign of life. A visitor looking up from the houses to the mine and then up to the knob of the hill saw the graveyard with its golf-tee green grass, white tombstones and pine trees blowing in the wind . . . all surrounded by a neat board fence. The stones glistened as the winter sun shunned the valley to spotlight the hill.

Here in Kentucky's Appalachia eight volunteers in an AFSC program called Voluntary International Service Assignments (VISA) are helping in the fight against poverty, disease, illiteracy and apathy. They live up the "hollers," along the streams and in the small rural communities. They say to their neighbors: "Let's try to do these things you want." To those who have tried, failed and given up they say, "Try again . . . we'll help."

Jennie Bull makes learning fun

Jennie Bull's problem is how to teach reading and writing to teenagers. Jennie and three colleagues make up one of two teams developing an educational program for drop-outs in the 4-county area around Hazard. Each day they experiment with new ways to make learning interesting.

Jennie meets with 25 boys, 16 to 20, who can neither read nor write. "Others may read," she says, "but they don't understand the words. It's a problem finding a reader for a 20 year old that's simple yet not childish."

Four days a week the team teaches a different group of 25 to 35 students. One day they meet in a country community center around an old coal stove, other days in the basement of Hazard's Presbyterian church. Students aren't compelled to attend but they rarely miss.

"In the mornings," Jennie says, "we talk about how to get a job, or look in the newspapers at the want-ads and compose a letter to an employer. We discuss how to get your money's worth and how to get along in the city. Afternoons we practice reading and writing." To stimulate

composition Jennie once put up a picture of a car on a pole and asked them to write down what they thought happened.

Jennie, who hails from Knoxville, is no outsider coming in to work on the community's problems. The minister at the Presbyterian church holds her up as an example, saying "She's one of us." Jennie, who says "it's the individual attention that counts," has enlisted some of the congregation as tutors.

Robin Yaghjian goes to Little Creek

Along the fork of two streams lies Little Creek: 20 wooden houses, a small church, a one-room school and a store.

Most of the men in Little Creek are unemployed, disabled miners, living on welfare plus the food they can raise or hunt. "The families eat well the first half of the month," Robin Yaghjian says, "it's the last half that's hard."

Robin arrived in Little Creek in August. Unable to find a room, she decided to build her own house. The people were friendlier after this. They began to venture up to take a peek at the three-sided tool shed she was converting to a tar-paper shack. Some stayed to help. They put on siding and mended the roof while Robin insulated the walls and put on the paint. The jailer in Cawood gave her boards for her floor. A second-hand store yielded a coal stove and an oil lamp.

In October Robin wrote: "Last night we held our first community meeting. Despite the fact it was church night for some and school

night for others, and that the meeting was held in my shack lit by an oil lamp, heated by a coal stove and furnished with crude benches, about 25 people showed up. One of the men acted as chairman—although he said he'd never done that kind of thing before—a woman explained about the health tax, another talked about the Hallowe'en carnival, and I spoke about my day-care center."

Robin started a day-care center in an unused 3-room house, with children coming three mornings a week to draw, play games and sing. She helped the girls in the community organize a club because there was nothing for them to do after school but the chores. In December they went caroling and gave a Christmas play. The big excitement was who would be Mary.

As she walks down the road voices call out, "Robin, come sit awhile." She's a good listener. She may stay to sing hymns, talk about quilts, help someone with homework, or hear a mother's problems. As much a part of the community as the oldest resident, she says, "When I'm away I get homesick."

Starting a community center

Getting a community center started in a small, isolated mining community was no easy task. The first year, Bob Gainer says, "was spent disturbing the dormancy of the valley . . . and in my own quiet feeling-about manner trying to stimulate some community action and participation." There was no place for people to congregate but the store. If they had a community center, the people said, they could use it for meetings, classes and recreation.

Bob helped them form committees,

make plans and then get the deed to the old abandoned school. Last summer he and community volunteers renovated the school to make the community center a reality.

In September OEO hired a director and a staff of five local people to begin programs in the community and now everyone's participating. After months of hammering and sawing, Bob moved back into the mainstream of life in the town. Now his days are spent visiting neighbors, listening to them, encouraging them in ways they seem to want to go, and taking part in activities which seem close to them and meaningful.

Fish-Fight

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tegrity of the United States Government requires that the treaties be observed.

The Indians still hold important their Indian identity and special Indian status. "The real conflict," says the report, "is a question of the capacity of the larger society to live with diversity." Factors other than Indian fishing are more serious threats to the fish—pollution of the rivers and dam construction in particular. The report concludes that the controversy is actually diverting attention from major problems of conservation. It recommends that Indians be respected as Indians and their fishing recognized as a separate fishery alongside commercial and sport fishing. Representatives of the tribes should be included in planning and carrying out salmon and steelhead conservation programs for all fisheries. A commission representing all three fisheries is recommended to allocate fish among them.



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