WE ARE GOING TO BUILD

SAN FRANCISCO — The joint offices of THE MOVEMENT and Bay Area SNCC were raided by unknown persons in the early morning hours of May 31. The raiders entered by an unlocked outside window and broke the lock of an inside door to enter the office. They stole the entire MOVEMENT subscription list and confidential files containing SNCC reports and correspondence. During the raid they shredded the address labels of the newspapers over the floor. Also taken was a list of international contacts and addresses of persons working for SNCC and THE MOVEMENT.

FBI NOT INTERESTED

Terrence Cannon, MOVEMENT Editorial Board member, called the FBI told them about the raid, and asked whether they would investigate. "Is there any reason why we should?" said the local FBI chief. "This seems to be part of a general pattern of raids on SNCC and movement-related offices around the country," Cannon said. "Is that so?" said the FBI man. "Besides, I thought you'd be interested, considering the remarks your Director has made recently," said Cannon. "What do you mean, my Director?" said the FBI, with the slightest trace of hostility beginning to creep into his voice. "I mean J. Edgar Hoover, who just accused SNCC of being in contact with All-Negro, Red Chinese, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary groups dedicated to the overthrow of the United States government."

"The only grounds under which we would investigate would be if you were government property," concluded the FBI chief. "Government property THE MOVEMENT is not."

RAP BROWN, new chairman of SNCC,

ATLANTA, GEORGIA — "SNCC is moving from rhetoric to program," Rap Brown told THE MOVEMENT shortly after his election as Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "We are going to build Freedom Organizations across the country."

"The role of SNCC will be to create independent power groups and "install in them political know-how and political power," Brown explained. The Freedom Organizations will be multi-issue groups, including such things as maids' unions, anti-draft movements, independent power groups and "instill a sense of power and freedom." They will be independent forces, independent of both parties. "We don't want to be put in the bag of being just a political party," he said. "The Freedom Organizations must be looked to by Black people as a source of jobs, power and freedom."

"The problem with Lawndes (the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, organized with the help of SNCC) was that we had no economic philosophy. We built a political machine. But how do you sustain that without an economic structure? The Poverty Program will come in there and try to buy them off."

"General speaking, middle-aged men don't enter buildings late at night through the window to rob the poor box. THE MOVEMENT staff assumed that this was the same person who raided our office two days later."

During the week after the raid, THE MOVEMENT office was under surveillance by several middle-aged businessmen driving late model cars. MOVEMENT staff people took down the license plate numbers and are now checking out who owns the cars.

NEW SNCC OFFICERS

Elected with Rap Brown were Stanley Wise, Executive Secretary and Ralph Featherstone, Program Secretary. Brown formerly worked in Alabama Building Freedom Organizations similar to the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. W ise has worked in Mississippi and Alabama and was formerly one of SNCC's three Organizational Secretaries. Featherstone also worked in Mississippi and Alabama, then in Washington, D.C. His interest lies particularly in economic projects and he is expected to guide SNCC's program in related directions.

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SNCC STAFF MEETING
TEATRO CAMPESINO

MOBILITY OFFICE RAIDED!

Address numbers filled on Movement office after raid.

SNCC does not see its work as concluding with SNCC's work as concluding with SNCC's work as concluding with SNCC's work as concluding with SNCC's work as concluding with SNCC.
The government and the presses are trying hard to cut SNCC off from its support. SNCC has been under serious attack from the FBI and the House Armed Services Committee for its opposition to the Vietnam War. Muddy River wants to do away with the First Amendment in order to put Saul Alinsky to jail. J. Edgar Hoover is trying to join us with so-called 'insurrectionary groups.'

This cut-off of official repression leads directly to raids such as ours. There have been three raids against SNCC in different offices and homes in San Jose in the last few months. Official and unofficial raids have recently taken place against SNCC offices in Chicago and Philadelphia. If these forces continue to operate they will destroy the movement. We need your support more than ever. We urge you to send contributions to SNCC and THE MOVEMENT and to find subscribers for the newspaper. The more revolutionary the government and police become the more important it is that we exist.

Brother Stupfel,

During the past week there occurred a number of events at the University of Puerto Rico, for which about 30 students were involved. The FUPI (Federacion Universitaria Pro-Independencia) student liberation movement with some of its allies (allied, it is alleged, to the FBI) has been carrying on an intensive campaign against ROTC and for the right to picket on its campus.

Last Thursday, May 6th, the Air Force ROTC -- which is in appearance at least a part of the forces threatening the University -- appeared on the campus. Students who were studying in the afternoon classrooms were informed that their classes had been cancelled and were required to report to the gymnasium at 5 p.m. at which time all students were pledged to picket in front of the ROTC building.

At around 6 p.m. the Air Force ROTC marched in the 'Open House' with the intention of recruiting. We have reviewed the roster and it appears that they did not have a parade on campus honoring San Juan Mayores, Felisa Rincon de Gautier, and the officers of the 10th Nvr. District of the Antilles Military Command, of the Air Force, and of the American Legion. They also had a conference at the University Theater -- where you spoke when you were here. So it is evident provocation. We picketed in front of the Theater. While we were picketing, we were threatened and actually tried to counter-picketed. There were several violent incidents with them, but we made them flee.

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WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT US AND WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THEM

Students for a Democratic Society have, at least unofficially, dissociated from SNCC. A San Francisco "New Left" magazine, "The Movement," has announced official disassociation from SNCC.

Ralph McGill in the Atlanta Constitution

Posters of Che Guvarra and Malcolm X, the black artist Robert Earl Haywood, and a man with an electric guitar -- a "special bulk rate" in a San Francisco monthly, The Movement. The radical publication consisted entirely of poetry from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the militant Southern-oriented movement that seeks to be one of the rivals of the New Left but has largely restricted itself to making lower goal and away from Student for a Democratic Society. "I'm No Pacifist," Che Guvarra's, headstone in the New York Times: "No one wanted to talk about my calls for violence. They felt I was too much of a "danger.""

Paul Holman in the New York Times

New Left' Newspaper To End

We see that out of the dingy, crumpled pages of The New York Times, where white editors with modish haircuts judge the prisoners in the world, has come an "article" on the New Left. (Page 1, L. 2)

You mention The Movement newspaper and claim that it has "dissociated" from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It has not.

Many forces support the Black Power philosophy of SNCC. It is one of the few newspapers in the country that gives without distortion the loyalty of the Black Liberation movement. It is one of the few newspapers in the country that gives information that it cannot get from the American press.

Unlike the New York Times, Theodore Canning

EDITORIAL
The Movement Press
Field Blvd., SNCC
Atlanta, May 12, 1967

On May 17, Brooklyn Penney, a member of THE MOVEMENT's editorial group, was arrested at the Oakland Riots Center. He was a consultant for the staff of the Black Panthers, who were preparing to go out and kill or get killed.

Penney had been ordered to be a presence on the Berkeley campus neighboring a site of the Stay Free concerts he would go to jail before anybody was killed. "THE MOVEMENT fully supports any and all actions along this line, perhaps, as he said, on the arrest of any crazy who are killing black people in this country, either in Berkeley or in the South. Only in this way it will be even remotely possible to move this country toward justice and equality.

WELFARE PRESSURE FORCES REAGAN

Hawaiian Mothers at the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisor hearings under the leadership of Congresswoman Barbara Kennelly. The following are some of the important points that they made:

"Dear Governor Reagan: It was exciting to get a few hundred welfare recipients in the State of California. The State has been coming up with money to cover annual federal deficit for 17 years and has always been repairing the "welfare" deposit: $7,000,000 for "new Southern California Hawaiian Women's Center" that they had better try and find a use for or return.

There days later, on May 25, a letter was sent to Gov. Reagan which stated in part:

"It is apparently the position of the State Department of Social Services, as evidenced by the letter of June 11-14 at the University of Chicago, some 500 Interior and radical students from universities around the country plus a delegation of civil rights activists attended.

The first resolution called for an end to student unrest and was carried 225 to 8. The second resolution, a proposal for black and white draft resistance unions which originated in the Rainbow Students Workshop stated, in part:

We content, that by California law, any number of welfare recipients in the State of California and the world, the State has advanced the money to the county and no delay was occasioned.

We content that by California law, the "social security" proposals that include federal, state, or local welfare, and constitutional law -- some closer and those similarly situated have a right to their full welfare checks.

Security and Welfare Institutions Code Section 1005.3, which imposes one criterion for the determination of welfare and under AFDC, AID, AES, or OAS programs, that the recipient has made no effort to obtain employment.

Congress has not only not decreased, but the federal government has increased to try and find this money fast;'

Reagan signed a proclamation declaring June 1st Welfare to protest the racism and inhumanity of Williams' statement. Williams tried very hard to make it sound like the basic needs of the black recipient. The government to rush the appropriation through and the state would simply sit and judge the movements of humanity of Williams' statement. Williams tried very hard to make it sound like the basic needs of the black recipient.

The letter was signed by James D. Penney had been ordered to become a "disaffiliated" with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It has not.

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BLACKS RENAME PARK
by Lorne Cross and Mimi Hayes

CHICAGO - On Sunday, May 21st, a delegation to rename Washington Park in Chicago for slain leader Malcolm X Shabazz was turned to violence, complete with billy clubs and riot guns by the city police.

The occasion, which started out on a joyous note, with speeches, Afro-American music and dances, was disrupted when two white women attempted to join the crowd of over 1,000 people bearing the name, “Malcolm X Shabazz Park”, with the agreement or face a 4-year jail sentence.

The events were set in motion the night before when the Afro-American Student Association, addressed crowd in front of sign renaming park.

Jim Lewis, President of Afro-American Student Association, addresses crowd in front of sign renaming park.

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Jim Lewis, President of Afro-American Student Association, addresses crowd in front of sign renaming park.
YOU BETTER COME ON HOME

From a speech by Stokely Carmichael to the black students at the State College, Baltimore, Md.

Good afternoon. It is good to be back here at our school where we first met when I was at school — after we sat in Baltimore on 40th.

Because of the color of their skin. So we have created.

And so it is with white America as a whole community. White America is in the same thing. For we have done to black people as a total community and therefore we must do it, we must condemn.

And after having condemned we do not try to imitate, but begin to create. And you must understand that very, very clearly in your mind.

DEFINITIONS

This is the question I said Humpty Dumpty, "The question is, said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things, 'the question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'whether you can make it mean what I want it to mean, neither more nor less.'"

That's all. That is all. Understood.

You see, I used to see these black leaders say, we want to integrate. The white man, we say, you want to marry your daughter. They would say, no, I don't want to marry your daughter. We just want to be your brother, we don't want to be your brother-in-law. Or we would say the black must move to a white neighborhood and we want to live in your bedroom. By the time this cat finished reacting to a definition by a white man, he was looking in his window.

And by the time he came back to be aggressive the black community said "later" for that cat. He allowed white people to define his reaction at his own terms. When you get a good black institution, you want to be in the coming struggle. And so you invent another bomb. That is civilization? To be able to drop bombs on Hiroshima?

Whether you can make words mean so many different things, is for us to accept those definitions. We must define what we are and move from our definitions and tell them to recognize what we say we are. You ever listen to the news? Every day, Viet Cong terrorists today bombed and killed 50 women and children, who, shame on me, the majors, our jet bombers have been flying heavily over Hanoi, dropping bombs.

And so for white people to be allowed to define us by calling us Negroes, which means aesthetic, lazy, stupid and all those other things, is for us to accept those definitions.

We must define what we are and move from our definitions and tell them to recognize what we say we are. You ever listen to the news? Every day, Viet Cong terrorists today bombed and killed 50 women and children, who, shame on me, the majors, our jet bombers have been flying heavily over Hanoi, dropping bombs.

And so the power to define is the most important power that we have. He is master who can define. That was made clear in the McCarthy period. McCarthy said you were a Communist, you had to get up and say, no, I am not a Communist. He had the power to define. It is the same thing. My fellow Americans, the Communists, the slanted eye Viet Cong are our enemy. You must go kill them. You don't have the right to define whether or not a cat is your enemy. The master has defined it for you. And when he says just that, how, how, how.

So then we must begin to define our own terms and certainly our own concept of ourselves and let those who are not capable of following us fall by the wayside.

STOP IMITATING WHITE THINGS

There are examples of that. For example, it is nonsensical for black people to have debutante balls. It is nonsensical for us to say, that which white society has given to you and which you know nothing about. Wouldn't it be better, why is it that instead of getting the Poet and Tuckberry Frims, wouldn't it be better if we will be holding dear those things which have been given to us by black people?

For example: It is nonsensical for black people to have debutante balls. It is nonsensical for us to say, that which white society has given to you and which you know nothing about. Wouldn't it be better if we will be holding dear those things which have been given to us by black people?

Now imitation runs deep in the black community in this country. It runs very deep, so when we hear about those are doing in the campus, we are going to talk about it.

And that happened was that our black brothers and sisters got together, said, well, let's go to college and they went to the first white university in this country there things were much worse, but they say, since that which white society has given to you and which you know nothing about. Wouldn't it be better to be doing certain things, that instead of getting the Poet and Tuckberry Frims, wouldn't it be better if we will be holding dear those things which have been given to us by black people?

Now you have got to understand this concept very, very clearly, because they that they were doing was defining integration, that is to say, you want to marry a black woman, you want to marry a black woman. It is the same thing. My fellow Americans, the Communists, the slanted eye Viet Cong are our enemy. You must go kill them. You don't have the right to define whether or not a cat is your enemy. The master has defined it for you. And when he says just that, how, how, how.

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NECESSITY OF WAR

If you understood anything about this country, you would know that 75 percent of this budget is spent on war. That means that for this country to survive it must always be at war. So it is for this country if you win in Vietnam. That's no victory. The cat must keep fighting. You do not invent destruction when you do this. You invent them so that they have a use. And even when you invent a better bomb you must drop it.

What black power means

Now then, that is very, very important because the same things happens. Now, you say black power and someone says you mean violence. And they expect me to say, no, no, I don't mean violence, I don't mean that.

And so for you, I am master of my own term. If black power means violence to you, that is your problem, as is marrying your white woman. If black power means violence to you, that is your problem, as is marrying your white woman.

And I want to read to you a statement now, by Henry Cabot Lodge. He's a good-looking one, you know, tall, blond hair, blue eyes. His quote a year ago. "Geographically, Vietnam sounds like the hub of a vast area of the world, southeast Asia. In a area with a population of 249 million people. He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Japan and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, rice and tin to the south. "Vietnam, thus, does not exist in a geographical vacuum from its largest stareshousers of wealth and population can be unaffected and unenriched."

And so it is with white America as a whole community. White America is in the same thing. For we have done to black people as a total community and therefore we must do it, we must condemn.

And after having condemned we do not try to imitate, but begin to create. And you must understand that very, very clearly in your mind.

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And the first of all the first recognitions of a free people. That we recognize that we must be united as a people; that we understand the concept of peoplehood and not be ashamed of ourselves.

STOP IMITATING WHITE THINGS

There are examples of that. For example: It is nonsensical for black people to have debutante balls. It is nonsensical for us to say, that which white society has given to you and which you know nothing about. Wouldn't it be better to be doing certain things, that instead of getting the Poet and Tuckberry Frims, wouldn't it be better if we will be holding dear those things which have been given to us by black people?

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CLEVELAND—CITY AT WAR

By Tim Hall

Cleveland (Ohio).—Cleveland is at war. It is a guerrilla war of blacks against the police, and the blacks have the initiative. As far as I am concerned, this is the greatest of our welfare programs with technology.

ROBT. WEAVER DENIES MODEL CITY CLAIMS

The city has done nothing for the causes of the Hough Riots. The Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps are training janitors and maids. Concerned of the 1966 Hough Riots. The Job Corps is at a halt, with federal money collecting dust in the warehouse in the slums. But 17% of the work force in the city is 15.6%. Blacks are 38% of the city population, 17% of the work force, 15% of the teenagers in the building trades (most are laborers — which requires no apprenticeship) and 2% of the police.

The blacks are miserable, with five percentage points greater mortality rate, 50% higher among blacks than whites. The blacks are cursed with a Negro middle class from the black poor and the older black poor from the young poor now over the older blacks.

The city sees a few small gangs as the whole problem.

On the same day the New York Times reported that Negro Community Relations Director for the city, Burton K. Sanders, was passing the wasp to the Negro brutality, but the cops have to use a little force, look at the stores, take away, Safety Director John H. McGor- rick, a post-WWII agent, appeared on TV to say that he expected charges of brutality but "I don't care."

KING TO SEND ORGANIZERS

On April 25, Martin Luther King arrived and spoke in the Municipal Auditorium, called him as "controversial" along with McCracken and George Wallace and had McCracken interned because he spoke in two high schools, one junior high and before the United Press, saying: "The power and politics of the white establishment, and that he could not sit down with our white friends to build an accumulated strength." Put a black man in a city hall. And "BROTHER, make a change, make a change, on TV that he expected charges of brutality but "I don't care."

BLOODY REVOLUTION

The civil rights movement has no mandate to deal with peace questions, no more than the Girl Scouts should be in the police.
SUNFLOWER COUNTY

WE'RE GONNA RULE

By Bob Fletcher

SUNFLOWER CITY, MISS. — For over eight months, a small, militant and determined force of local residents have convoked the black community of Sunflower County (population 662) to bring to the pre-election meeting a special observer. They realized the importance of having a representative from outside the community to witness the proceedings and to ensure that the election was conducted fairly and according to the laws of the land.

The town's 55% black population was eager to have a voice in the political process, and they hoped that the observer would help them achieve their goal of electing their own officials. They wanted to be able to vote freely and without fear of reprisal.

Confusion at the Polls

On election day, the polls were scheduled to open at 7:00 a.m. However, the polls were not open on time, and some voters had to wait for over an hour to cast their ballots. There were instances of ballot tampering and voter intimidation. The Observer was forced to leave the scene as the situation escalated.

The Observer's Report

The Observer reported that there were 13 challenged ballots. And there were somewhere between 27 and 32 ballots in which people were helped — only by whites. There were 13 challenged ballots. And there were somewhere between 27 and 32 ballots in which people were helped — only by whites. The Observer's report was critical of the election officials, who were accused of favoring white candidates.

The Observer's Call

The Observer called for a recount of the votes and for the election to be held again. They demanded that the election be conducted fairly and according to the laws of the land. They also called for the resignation of the election officials, who were accused of favoring white candidates.

The Observer's Conclusion

The Observer concluded that the election was rigged and that the black community was being denied its right to vote. They called for action, and they demanded that the election be held again.

The Observer's Recommendation

The Observer recommended that the election be held again, and that the election officials be held accountable for their actions. They called for the resignation of the election officials, who were accused of favoring white candidates.

The Observer's Appeal

The Observer appealed to the United States government to intervene and to ensure that the election was conducted fairly and according to the laws of the land. They called for the election to be held again, and for the election officials to be held accountable for their actions.

The Observer's Closing

The Observer finished their report by saying that the black community was determined to have a voice in the political process. They called for action, and they demanded that the election be held again.

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vote. As it turned out, the ballot was also the chief of police, who, throughout the day, did not hesitate to utilize his position at the polls' microphone to discourage eligible electors, while intimidating Negroes. And so the day began.

Outside and across the street from the Town Hall, Mrs. Hamer was circulating through the gathering crowd, gesturing that she did not have to travel 20 minutes from her home in Ruleville, just north of Sen- ntor Eastland's 6,000 acre Doddsville Plantation. Mrs. Hamer was the MFDP plaintiff in the court action responsible for this special election.

Kitty-cornered to this group was a service station where about 15-20 crackers had gathered, one with a camera to which with he tried to intimidate blacks on their way to vote. Although he was apprehended and photographers were warned to stay at least 30 feet away from the polling place, nothing was added to the bucking whites, sitting on a pickup truck, least than fifteen feet from the exit door, nor to the mayor's wife, sitting in a parked car just outside the door, very visibly "taken down name," beside, things were reported to be very tense, with officials discourteous and uncooperative.

JUST THE WAY IT IS

Around 1030, a group of about 10 whites arrived. A cracker in a pickup truck with a scoped rifle and police dog began circling around the block. Some of the young people began singing rather defiantly. Joe Harris came out and asked them to stop the singing, which he was worried might provoke violence. He told them that they were there to win an election, and nothing more.

The 10 whites formed a separate line parted to blacks who had been patiently waiting their turn. The police chief came out and let the whites in right away.

"THAT'S JUST THE WAY IT IS.

By 1030, only 68 of the eligible black voters had not yet come to the polls. Excluded among them was the small minority of residents who have some form of employment. They would not be in from work until the afternoon. For the next five hours things went pretty uneventfully in Sunflower City.

Around 1400, the whites of Sunflower City began to arrive in large numbers to do their voting. White teenagers, on their way home from school, joined the growing numbers of crackers at the service station. White housewives, on their way home from shopping or picking up their grade-school children, got out of their big cars to take snapshots. During this time, more than 10 whites were spotted by local young people as living outside the legal boundaries. "Next, they'll be hauling them in from the Crawf- rune sure enough," said one girl, when a cripple, whom she identified as living "out in the ruralis," was unhandled and wheeled into the polls. Some of the crackers moved from the service station and stationed themselves right outside of the exit door, and of course, nobody ordered them back to the other side of the 30 feet limit.

At 1600, when the polls closed, Goyo and Mrs. Brooks began to move people off the corner and back to the community center, for fear that the tension of waiting might cause violence to erupt. At that time, everyone traveled thought was touch and go as to who had actually won.

LEARNED A LOT

We learned a lot from this election. It was announced that the racist incumbents had taken the election right down the slite, people quited down into meaningful headshaking, groans of sad- ness or general dust dilation. In a kind of trance, people "samenuff" Joe Harris as he asserted them that "me might not see anybody sitting in the City Hall, but we will soon. This is the first time in the history of the city of Sunflower that 97% of the vote turned out in this small town ... We learned a lot from these elections here in Sunflower ... and we've got other elections coming up ... We made a lot of mistakes, but we won't make those mistakes in November."

To this there was polite hand clapping from people who were no longer very optimistic.

TIRED OF BEING NICE

The press and anger in the room began to subside. People couldn't understand how it no longer began to speak. These were the people who knew the songs and shouted. Mrs. Hamer, with tears in her eyes, said, "I'm tired of folks comin' and tellin' us to be nice. That we got a symbolic victory. We ain't lost nothin' symbolical. We dost this cause our lives are at stake."

A woman who had gotten up too early to think about eating. The townspeople came for a final briefing, reviewing the names of the black candidates on their sample ballots. Mrs. Hamer was the usual ner'vous reply. 'OK, I'll be looking for headquarters ... OK, I'll be looking for headquarters ... OK, I'll be looking for headquarters ... OK, I'll be looking for headquarters ...

MRS. BROOKS: "we're the majority and we're gonna rule."

NOT LOST, STOLEN

"Now I want y'all to understand something," said Mrs. Laos Brooks. "We did not lose the election, the white folks STOLE it! Like they stole our land, like they steal our commodities every month, like they steal our great, great grandparents from Africa a long, long time ago. Now they got notice to take from us cut our lives ..."

"Now talk about Viet Nam, it can be Viet Nam right here; in Sunflower in Mississippi. They better believe that, just the same as we can over there, we can fight right here."

"They think it's over, but it's just startin'. It's not over for Mississippi. It's not around for Mississippi anymore. We're a majority, and we're gonna rule."

MAN IN WHEELCHAIR identified by bystanders as living "out in the ruralis"

WHERE PAY MEERLY FOR WAR?

Legally demand income tax refund. Write: TAXPAYERS AGAINST WAR P.O. Box 15394 San Francisco California 94115
TEATRO CAMPESESINO
Cont. from P. 12

workers and in-run down labor camps. Starting out as a neutral battleground, the screen ends up a character in the acts. When Delano almost prevents a community boycott, Don Segundo and Mrs. American Consumer added by Parity and Thrifty Market asks the screen around his hands. The two and parallel of the screen have two signs on the back reading (KNOX) and (CUT). When the screens are totally closed, Plm is cut off from his market to the right, red and black box marked, of course,ady.

ACTION, NOT WORDS
These acts are hardly the last words in a theater which is so decribed to illustrate our elaborate use of visual dramatic images. Our prints must be the object of the screen actor's and audience. Vagueness and poetic obscurations are out. We are seriously devoted to the task of organizing our print of space, like a screen. Our prints must have a minimum, having been improvised from the action to provide only the necessary information to keep the acts going. We are not a theater that bombards its audience with talk

Away from Delano, it is necessary to it must stimulate and agitate its audience. Worker actors are "acting" in a reality not as such but only a flat bed truck or a improvised from the action to provide context. This belief is an inheritance from Ron Davis and the San Francisco Mime Troupe. The same is true of our scenery, as necessary to make our point clear. Our dialogue in the acting and recorder music into our more lyrical concrete wall. Theater workshops

SPIRITUAL TRANSFUSION
The Course that will motivate farm workers to build their political, popular and social movements. Criteria, is a spiritual transcendence of a mass of over two million farm workers eager to understand their own lives and make new social, workers, playwrights and directors sprang from a people only recently conscious of themselves, in the periphery of American drama.

CLEVELAND
CON’T FROM PAGE 5

Crzytary because they were planning a "black and bloody revolution." "Wouldn't this place be better off if we had an overt act?" he asked. He also said that BLK youth were "being trained for guerrilla warfare," that they were "exploding the movement. The paradox of a black worker at Vist Avon, grew stronger.

On May 3 the income tax was approved by the mayor and a couple of city officials stressed its importance for police protection. The tax had lost in all white wards. In a meeting on June 10th last appeared on the ballot. In November Council passed it, and a referendum was ordered. It was the last ballot for the tax.

Armed with the mandate, the city narrow succeeded the predicted May 9 riots. Everybody had some inside word on what people were going to do. When they were being let out of school, that no one was going to be able to stop them. This meant a free-for-all at the plantation owner.

QUIET MAY 9
Nothing happened on that day, and the police couldn't take it. Early in the evening they mounted two jeeps and rode up to the Main Dealer city room and asked for the NBC newscast. They said that NBC knew where the riots were, and that a riot was going to happen after midnight. There were two black helicopters on the roof.

The rest with a housing violation. The girl

POVERTY WAR HITS LOWNDES
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

At a mass meeting a few weeks ago, Smith was arguing for his deal with the police over the present building. When he finished, the people applauded wildly. Then a SNCC Field Secretary stood up from the audience and said, "Helping out the same white man who's been keeping you down." The people applauded him. The governor didn't understand what was going on. Smith announced there was a new police report. "They asked me and then they told me that SNCC says I do," "He didn't want to SNCC people around any more. "If he tries to keep SNCC people out of Lowndes, the county, the police will blow up," Frank High said.

Shortly after that Stokes Carmichael pensé à la suite, to the Harris offices. The secretary hugged and kissed him when he entered. Mrs. Smith was said to have been moved.

"SNCC people don't come round much anymore, Frank High told us. "Somehow they come down and told us how to do good. We didn't want to take over or run us. They're independent. He told us to take what we could use from what he gave us, and leave the rest." The police couldn't have been more helpful. Neither Stokes, Frank High or anybody else. The dialogue in the acting. It's all the screen

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Now what happens then is that the people who have power in our ghettos are the property owners. So that when their shoes are touched they teach their children to be cultured. But analyze that one step further; everybody will be charged higher prices for rotton meal, everybody knows that, but nobody says we areAing out the thing was to get the black people to take the political power which they have already acquired. Here to learn how to help your people go to West Point.

But violence never accomplishes anything. Yes, we are trained in your thinking violence. But violence isn't because we expound violence; it is because we refuse to condemn black responsibility. That is why, and I'll say that is the only reason why, because I look at all the other things that happen, and you simply don't get up and turn your backs as soon as you get a chance.

The reason why they say we expound violence isn't because we expound violence, but because we refuse to condemn black responsibility. That's where we need it.

Are you everyday class? Are you against violence? Do you analyze? Do you recognize what you're doing? That's the question of property vs. propertylessness. That's what those rebellions are about. Nothing else, nothing less. And what appendix we write about the violence that goes on in the street. Those kids are your black mothers scrubbed floors so that you can get here, and the minute you get there you'll ask, 'Do you have the guts to say I will not fail you?'

What is it? Is it because you are too busy trying to find out where the Kappas are partying Friday night? Is it because you are too busy trying to find out where the Kappas are partying Friday night? Is it that you don't want to read anything about being black being a killer? Is it that you don't want to read about the authenticity of this tribunal will be brought before a wider justice. And the choices are very clear. They are either your responsibility or you become a killer. I will choose to suffer. I will not inflict suffering. Either you go to Leavenworth, or you go to Leavenworth, or you go to Leavenworth.

What is your responsibility? What is your responsibility to the country last summer, 'And I will blame you for the rebellions across the country. And I will blame you for the rebellions across the country. And I will blame you for the rebellions across the country. And I will blame you for the rebellions across the country. And I will blame you for the rebellions across the country.

You had better recognize that in- internalism. The black ghetto is split between two appointed leaders, acceptable to the dominant institutions, and the mass of the people.

The two traditional political parties have been the most successful. The two major parties, two years ago, 25% of the blacks were registered to vote. The entire organi- the two major parties, two years ago, 25% of the blacks were registered to vote. The entire organi- the two major parties, two years ago, 25% of the blacks were registered to vote. The entire organi- the two major parties, two years ago, 25% of the blacks were registered to vote. The entire organi- the two major parties, two years ago, 25% of the blacks were registered to vote. The entire organi-
**WAR ON POVERTY HITS LOWNDES**

by Terence Cannon

Hayneville, Alabama -- Lowndes County is the heartland of Black Power.

A year ago the black residents, with the aid of SNCC, organized the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), the powerful political potency that is changing life in the county. Since January there has been a battle between the LCFO and the federal poverty program. It looks like Black Power is winning.

The Poverty Program is teaching local people how to read and how to touch reading. A medical program is being planned. These are good and important programs. People will be able to read in order to run their own lives. The water in Lowndes is contaminated and medical services will be provided. In order to change this, the people of the county applied for a federal poverty program.

Mr. D. Robert Smith

Mr. D. Robert Smith is the Director of the county poverty program. His salary is $500 a month; he lives in Tuskegee, 75 miles from Hayneville. He commutes every day. Mr. Smith reminded me of a football coach, friendly, cagey, and full of energy. A lot of this energy, I think, is nervousness. For good reason.

**THE BUILDING DEAL**

The people in Lowndes County tell many stories about Mr. Smith. One is about his office, which he opened in Hayneville.

Two months ago the church was burned down, a trailer house housed the Program office on the same property. Smith drew up a contract with Coleman which said a new building would cost the Program between $5,000 - $10,000. The building must be completed within 90 days from the beginning of construction and must be $10,000 worth of insurance for 10 years.

The contract also said that at the end of 10 years, ownership of the building goes back to Mr. Coleman.

When Smith brought the contract to the Poverty Board, made up mostly of Lowndes County black people, for approval, he did not tell them they would lose the building in 10 years. He did not tell them about the 90 day limit.

John Hulett, head of the LCFO, told THE MOVEMENT, "We don't need the building in 10 years. He did not tell County black people for approval, he should be an example to your race. He's successful. He's a Negro who has reached the top very fast."

Later in the chamber, Mr. Smith said to us, "It's amazing how fast you've learned to read."

"I'm simply amazed," Dr. Menge told us, "people who drew up the original program were very unpatriotic, he said -- meaning John Hulett and the members of the Lowndes County Christian Mission. They only requested $1000 for office supplies.

"Why, anybody knows that a desk like this costs $200, " said Smith, explaining it had knuckles on a modern metal desk. "How do you mean?"

"Oh, they've given money," said Mr. Smith.

"Who has?"

"Why, Mr. Coleman who owns the building and land, put up $1000."

"Did any other whites in the county give money?" we asked.

"No answer.

Later we asked Hulett about Coleman's 'gift.'

"Wouldn't YOU give $1000?" he said, "if the building was yours after 10 years?"

**THE 70 YEAR OLD BOY**

Our first impression of Dr. Menge was at a mass meeting of trainees in the Program. "You people are simply wonderful," he told the audience of 200 black people. "Why it's amazing how fast you've learned to read."

"Now take me," Mr. Smith said, pointing to a black man sitting against the wall, "He's 70 years old, but he's just 10 years old.

Later John Hulett said to us quietly, "We don't go for that in Lowndes County."

"I'm simply amazed," Dr. Menge told us, "that people don't know who Senator Brooke of Massachusetts is. He should be an example to your race. He's successful. He's a Negro who has reached the top very fast."

Later in the chamber, Mr. Smith said to us, "It's amazing -- these people admire Stokely Carmichael so much. And they don't seem to know anything about the most successful Negro leaders."

What Negro leaders does Mr. Menge admire? would they all quit if the money was paid in full. The money was given to them that day.

"People in Lowndes County are well-informed," says Hulett. "And we keep them informed. They told Smith things about the stipends that he didn't know about."

The people in the county can control the program because the staff cannot keep information away from them. They can sue with one another and discuss whatever is happening. When Smith paid a friend of his $175 to take some photos of the burned office, the people learned it fast.

"Poor people don't have that kind of money," says Frank Miles, LCFO conditions for tax collector. "Smith could have bought himself a camera and trained people to use it for less than that."

An LCFO leader told us, "Smith wants a good reputation with the whites. Negroes can't talk with him too fast. But if a white from the courthouse comes down, he'll talk with him half the day. And he holds unauthorized meetings. I think he's the worst enemy of Negroes in Lowndes County."

**ACT LIKE WHITES**

It is obvious that the Program staff have no sanctions when it comes to brainwashing. When Smith told Hulett that he thought that Negroes in Lowndes should learn to act like whites, Hulett let it pass without comment. A few weeks later, the white bank that handles the poverty account completely screwed up the Program's cancelled checks. Smith was furious. "Those people at the bank are stupid and incompetent," he fumed.

"Are those the white people we're supposed to act like?" said Hulett.

There is no way that the Program can control Hulett. He refused to take a job with them and refused to run for office. Smith needs Hulett's support and knows it.

"Smith is employed by the poor people," says Hulett. "We decide. We elected professional people to the Board, but we made it clear that the poor controlled them. They've done very good.

How did Smith come to be chosen Poverty Director? According to local leaders it came about this way: The O. D. in Washington wanted a person with a Masters Degree to head the program. It appointed a Consultant from Tuskegee. "A guy making $50 a day working for Humphrey and Johnson to tell poor people what they need" Frank Miles described him.

The Consultant had to recommend a person with an MA, and recommended Smith. However, he made it clear to the Poverty Board that they did not HAVE to take him. Then there was a big fight inside the Board. Finally, when they did not have the program set up in a week they would lose the money. The Board felt unable to appoint Smith.
LADO ORGANIZERS demonstrate at Wicker Park Public Aid office.

The contract called mutual respect for picket lines, refusing to cross a line set up by either union and the administration equally oppressive in its rhetoric and deed, but one which has assumed a liberal rhetoric and is headlined by a man (William Edmonson, a Negro) who was substituted and supported by the West Side organization.

NEW PRIORITIES

When the Welfare Unions met this year, we acted upon a new set of priorities. Our primary commitment was to the unionization and striking of Public Aid Employees injured recipients. We wanted to dispel that myth and make it clear that the real problem facing us is not union but those same administrations.

Since that time the Coalition has been institutionalized and grows more complex:

1. We no longer dealing with an administration equally oppressive in rhetoric and deed, but one which has assumed a liberal rhetoric and is headlined by a man (William Edmonson, a Negro) who was substituted and supported by the West Side organization.

2. The IUPAE has done little to further working relationships with the Recipient Unions and LADO.

SOME LESSONS LEARNED

The IUPAE, though not last month has not been re beckoned, but the past month of striking has been extremely educational for all of us. We have learned that the administration is not particularly productive in actual gains. The liberal administration's rhetoric has been completely stripped bare of all its trappings although its intentions remain the same.

The unstable conditions in the Chicago Public Aid offices have been completely stabilized, but the system is still being manned by a contract but1 human being that it does not include an agency-improvement section of its contract and it becomes even more clear that the majority of the IUPAE was directed toward the development of a professional trade union.

INDEPENDENT ORGANIZING

It is my life now and what I just wrote gives you a clue as to what direction I'm going to take. And I only hope that I can get there.

The proposal was voted down by the CWU although there were differing feelings among members about the present strike. No one had expected it to last as long as it did and people felt that some action had to be taken. On the one hand, recipients were being turned away from the district offices and the administration's liberal rhetoric was increasingly being worn thin by the repetitive nature of its actions and such overt hostility in their district offices, but all realized the battle lines were being drawn at Wicker Park.

Today in Monday and it appears that the caseworkers will be going back to their jobs this week. The picked lines are still being manned but a contract has been negotiated which only needs ratification from the contract board the other day of a copy of the contract but rumour has it that it does not include an agency-improvement section of its contract.

The liberal administration's rhetoric has been completely stripped bare of all its trappings; although its intentions remain the same. The liberal administration's rhetoric has been completely stripped bare of all its trappings; although its intentions remain the same.

THE JOINT UNION ACTION had presented to them. When they attempted to enter this office, we turned away from the district offices independently. We must not be forced to keep reacting to situations as individuals who come together only at the point of crisis. Instead we must act as a unified group that knows where it is going and has a strategy which will enable it to direct action so that it can get there.

by Marilyn Katz

CHICAGO -- On April 28, 1967, the Welfare Recipient Unions in Chicago met at the West Side Organization. The question before them was whether to support the strike of the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees and if so, how. The proposal of the IUPAE for support brought up once again the question of...
For the past 18 months, a "theatre of the farm worker" has been evolving in Delano. It works toward the organization of farm workers into a national union through the Comite Campesino Interorganizaciones Organizing Committees, AFT-CIO. It is a "poor people's" theatre realized in an art's milieu to dramatize their reality. It is known as TEATRO CAMPESINO (Farmer Workers Theatre).

"Are you really farm workers?" asks a well-intentioned union supporter, "Just a cop to a clown," and used to them, "Do you realize how much of your property is owned by others?" These are questions often asked of us after a performance in one of the big cities. They imply that farm workers would not be doing their job if someone hadn't put them up to it. True, but by the same token, there wouldn't be a United Farm Workers Union if Cesar Chavez and his staff hadn't put farm workers up to it. Even so, all "street agitators" must eventually leave the organization of the common people. So it is in the Teatro.

POLITICAL ART FORM

What we mean by "theater" here is not a group but a political form used by farm workers to organize. A kind of "art" aimed at the popular mind, where the audience is both the actors and the audience. It is as boisterously as the actors themselves. A theatre with groups across California from farm camps to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, Arizona and Texas. Perhaps even in Colorado, and as far as New Mexico and New York, Except for the last three states mentioned, the Teatro Campesino has been performed. Farm workers have seen the simplicity with which the theatre works, and they have asked, "Do we make our own theatre?" "Do we own our Teatro?" The people are ready for their theatre, if we will not be organized to give it to them.

Part of the problem is that we didn't know what a Farm Workers' Theatre was when we started the Teatro. There was no blueprint (as far as we know) provided for such a project in American Theatre history, and so we had to start from scratch. In the genre of workers' theatre there was Brecht, O'Casey and the Cerveza Theatre Project in New York, during the 30's, etc. - all dream and academic. There was the Teatro Proletario, the Teatro Lirico, but they made no pretenses to being a workers' theatre and never seriously tackled the problem of teaching Spanish-speaking actors how to produce and dramatize their own cultural forms. A kind of theatre that would be realistic, in the late hours of the night after picketing, after organizing, after all the immediately necessary work had been done. If there was time, the actors were rehearsed and presented to the strikers at the weekly meetings. Strike situations were composed in much the same way.

Nothing was ever written down, nor scripts were used, actors continually changed, and much of a performance was improvised. The group was never officially launched and baptised as a union theatre. In those early months of strike, nobody was even sure the union itself would survive.

From the very beginning, the measure of a good actor became how well he dramatized the practical issues of our struggle. The need for union recognition, the tactics of the consumer boycott, the protection of a union contract. We began to learn how to dramatize the reality we were all living in. It was a collective reality, so what emerged was an "unstructured" (as opposed to unrealized) piece of theatre. Organizations, inanimate objects, seasons, and ideas became the archetypes of our struggle: the simple act of hanging signs on actors, animate objects, seasons, and ideas became the archetypes of our struggle. The SOTACO is the Patroncito, the PATRONITO (writer), the CONTRATISTA (contract), the CERVEZA THEATRE (scab), HUELGISTA (striker), PATRONITO (grower), and CONTRATISTA (contractor). I put string on them, and then at a small meeting, a kitchen, hung them on some willing "actors," asking them to act out some event from the Huelga. The very first situation that developed was a Huelga scene on the picket lines, talking to a scab in the fields, trying to convince him to join the strike. It was a scene straight out of reality, and its impact on the little sub­lime gathered there that night was consid­erable.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

A scenic, however, was not to make a theatre. For about five months, we put our actors (blanks) together, quite un­structurally, in the late hours of the night after picketing, after organizing, after all the immediately necessary work had been done. If there was time, the actors were rehearsed and presented to the strikers at the weekly meetings. Strike situations were composed in much the same way.

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