

CLEVELAND - CITY AT WAR
 SUNFLOWER COUNTY
 LOWNDES COUNTY
 SNCC STAFF MEETING
 TEATRO CAMPESINO

THE



MOVEMENT

JUNE 1967



VOL. 3 NO. 6

WE ARE GOING TO BUILD



Photo: Frank Ciectorko

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 "instill in them political know-how and political power," Brown explained. The freedom Organizations will be multi-issue groups, including such things as maids' unions, welfare groups, mothers against the war.

They will not be Freedom Parties, Brown said. 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 Lowndes (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. It will undermine and drain the movement. Had we been successful in the election we would have controlled the tax assessing. We could have forced the whites to sell their land cheaply. As it is one family owns 70% of the land in the county. You can't have freedom under a system like that. Freedom Organizations must have power in order to stay independent. Black folks can't do that now."

COOPERATION

"We will cooperate with any other group that is fighting the draft in this

country," Brown said when asked about working with white organizations. "We will cooperate with any group struggling against a common oppressor."

SNCC does not see its work as competing with any already existing people's groups. It will organize in unorganized areas. A major push will be to create a nation-wide anti-draft movement of black high-school students.

CARMICHAEL

Stokely Carmichael did not run for any office in SNCC in this election. He declined a seat on SNCC's Central Committee. "I'm just an organizer," He said joyfully. He is planning to go to Washington, D.C. to organize a Freedom Organization.

SAN FRANCISCO

The Bay Area is being considered by SNCC for a project beginning this summer. If this happens, a SNCC Field Secretary will be assigned to this area, with several volunteers. The purpose of the program will be to organize a black-anti draft movement and Freedom Organization.

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. Wise 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. ◆

MOVEMENT-SNCC OFFICE RAIDED!

SAN FRANCISCO — The joint offices of THE MOVEMENT and Bay Area SNCC were raided by unknown persons in the early morning hours of May 22.

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 strewed the address stencils of the newspaper over the floor. Also taken was a list of international contacts and the names and addresses of persons working for SNCC and THE MOVEMENT.

SUSPECT SEEN

The building is shared with a church and two church-related groups. On the previous Friday at 4:30 A.M., two volunteers for the Night Ministry, seated in an office in the front of the building, saw a man trying to enter the building. They described him as "middle-aged." Their screams drove him off.

Generally speaking, middle-aged men don't enter buildings late at night through the window to rob the poor box. THE MOVEMENT staff assumes 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.

FBI NOT INTERESTED

Terence 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. ◆



Address stencils litter floor of Movement office after raid.

Photo: Nelson Stoll

THINGS ARE HEATING UP

Someone used the term "vandalism" in connection with the raid on our office last month. It was not vandalism. It was a professional raid, carried off in a business-like way by people who knew what they wanted. They ransacked our files, taking only certain ones. They clearly wanted to find out who we are, who we know, and who is in contact with us.

The government and the press are trying hard to cut SNCC off from its support. SNCC has come under extreme attack from the FBI and the House Armed Services Committee for its opposition to the Vietnam War. Rep. Mendel Rivers wants to do away with the First Amendment in order to put Stokely Carmichael in jail. J. Edgar Hoover is trying to link us with so-called insurrectionary groups.

This climate of official repression leads directly to raids such as ours. There have been three raids against SNCC and movement-related 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 can isolate us 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 repressive the government and police become the more important it is that we exist. ♦

EDITORIALS

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT US AND

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

Ralph McGill in the Atlanta Constitution

Posters of Che Guevara and of Malcolm X, the black nationalist slain here two years ago, are advertised for sale "at special bulk rates" in a San Francisco monthly, The Movement. The radical publication disaffiliated recently from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the militant, Southern-oriented movement that used to be one of the pillars of the New Left but has lately veered toward black power goals and away from Students for a Democratic Society.

I'm No Pacifist'

Che Guevara's bearded likeness was encountered on the walls of the littered offices of radical newspapers and left-wing groups. His name cropped

Paul Hofmann in the New York Times

WHAT WE SAY ABOUT THEM

'New Left' Newspaper To the Editor:

We see that out of the dingy, cluttered offices of The New York Times, where white editors sit and judge the movements of the world, has come an "article" on the New Left. [Page 1, May 7.]

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

The Movement supports fully the Black Power philosophy of S.N.C.C. It is one of the few newspapers in the country that gives without distortion the views of the Black Liberation movement. It is one of the few that S.N.C.C. respects enough to give information that it cannot trust with the American press.

Unlike The New York Times.
TERENCE CANNON
Editorial Board
The Movement
STOKELY CARMICHAEL
Field Hand, S.N.C.C.
Atlanta, May 13, 1967

MOVEMENT DRAFTEE ARRESTED

On May 17, Brooks Penney, a member of THE MOVEMENT's editorial group, was arrested at the Oakland Induction Center. He was charged with disturbing the peace of the military flunkies who were processing men to go out and kill or get killed.

Penney had been ordered to become a professional killer that day and was passing out leaflets inside the center stating that he would go to jail before anybody was going to make him a killer.

THE MOVEMENT fully supports any and all actions along this line. Perhaps, as Sartre says, "The only real freedom that we have is the freedom to say NO." We must say NO to this crime in Vietnam. We must say NO to the arrogant auto-crats who are killing black people in this country and yellow people in Vietnam. Only in this way will it be even remotely possible to move this country toward justice and sanity. ♦

WELFARE PRESSURE FORCES REAGAN

LETTERS

Brother Stokely,

During the past week there occurred a series of events at the University of Puerto Rico, for which around 30 students ... have been suspended.

FUPI (Federacion Universitarios Pro Independencia: student liberation movement with which SNCC is allied, ED.) has been carrying on an intense campaign against ROTC and for the right to picket on campus.

Last Thursday, May 4th, the Air Force ROTC -- which is in apparant decadence here, due to student repudiation -- held an "Open House" with the intention of recruiting followers. They planned to have a parade on campus honoring San Juan Mayoress, Felisa Rincon deGautier, and the officers of the 10th Naval District of the Antilles Military Command, of the Air Force, and of the American Legion. They also had a conference in the University Theater -- where you spoke when you were here. This was an evident provocation. We picketed in front of the Theater. While we were picketing, fascist students and Cuban exiles tried to counter-picket. There were several violent incidents with them, but we made them flee.

Later we, with the student mass, moved toward the Athletic Field, where they were beginning their parade. The students staged a sit-in in front of the cadets, thus not allowing the parade to commence. The stage from which the parade was being led was turned over. They had to call off the parade. The Air Force generals, American Legionnaires, and the local colonial politicians had to leave the field. They were pushed off the field, covered with dirt, and deeply humiliated.

The slogans of these acts were: Solidarity with Vietnam, Out with the ROTC, and Against Imperialism in Puerto Rico. The students remained in possession of the field; the military had to run away.

Now, the Chancellor is about to expell the FUPI leaders and some of our most militant members from the University. . .

Please let these events be known as widely as possible. We need your solidarity. Black Power! Independence for Puerto Rico!

Revolucionariamente,
Alberto Perez
President, FUPI

Friends,

We have had to take precautions ourselves against the "vandalism" bit. It must be hell to get the stencil cards thrown around, not even considering the other damage. We will reprint your press release and send it out to our membership in our next mailing.

Brotherhood-Revolution
Brian Heggen
New South Student
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Movement,

I understand your files were rifled and 'Movement' subscription lists were stolen. Under the circumstances, I'd like to take this opportunity to renew my subscription. Enclosed is a check for \$20. Keep the change to pay the phone bill.

Will Simard
Berkeley, Calif.

Representatives of some six welfare rights organizations threatened to sit-in at the office of Ralph Goff, Gov. Reagan's welfare man in Los Angeles. The demonstration occurred May 22, 1967 after a statement from Spencer Williams to the effect that there would be no June welfare checks unless the federal government acted to advance the appropriation of some \$38 million. The groups, from Long Beach, Pueblo del Rio Housing Project and other areas, included Citizens for Creative Welfare, S.O.S., Carmelitas Welfare Rights Organization,

Hawaiian Gardens Mothers Group and others.

The representatives appeared at the offices of the State Department of Social Welfare to protest the racism and inhumanity of Williams' statement. Williams tried very hard to make it sound like it was the responsibility of the federal government to rush the appropriation through and the state would simply sit back and watch people starve if the money didn't come. Charles Eure, spokesman for the groups put it this way, "We hold Gov. Reagan personally responsible for the 1,300,000 welfare recipients in the state of California. The state has been coming up with money to cover that annual federal deficit for 15 years and have always been repaid. If they can appropriate \$7,000,000 for a new Northern California Disneyland then they had better try and find this money fast."

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

"It is apparently the position of the State of California that checks scheduled for issuance June 1st must be delayed at least ten days, because federal reimbursement has not yet been authorized by Congress. We are further informed that in the past on each occasion of delay in supplemental appropriations to finish out the fiscal year, the State has advanced the money to the counties and no delay was occasioned.

"We content that, by California law -- irrespective of any rights available under federal statutory, or constitutional law -- our clients and those similarly situated have a right to their full welfare checks. Welfare and Institutions Code Sections 11011 and 11450 establish one and only one criterion for the diminution of welfare aid under AFDC, ATD, AB, or OAS programs -- decrease of the federal share. Congress has not only not decreased, it has in fact promised full payment of the federal share."

The letter was signed by James D. Lorenz, Jr., Carol Ruth Silver, and Don B. Kates, Jr. of California Rural Legal Assistance, who had prepared a class action (a lawsuit of individuals on behalf of all welfare recipients) in case the Governor did not come up with the money.

These independent actions, plus a well publicized presentation by Welfare Rights Groups at the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, did the trick, as on May 26, 1967 Gov. Reagan signed a proclamation to the effect that the state would make the necessary advances. The June 1st checks arrived in California, on time.

ANTI - WAR STUDENTS MEET

Two resolutions on the draft were adopted at the first national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, held May 12-14 at the University of Chicago. Some 500 liberal 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 (2-S) deferments and was carried 225 to 88. The second resolution, a proposal for black and white draft resistance unions which originated in the "Black Students" workshop was approved almost unanimously.

A strong statement from the "Black Students" workshop stated, in part: "... one of the main problems facing Black activists ... is the lack of definition relating the merger of the peace and civil rights movements. Thus far, the relationship has been seen as civil rights forces supplementing peace efforts rather than the formation of coalition of two equally important facets of revolutionary activity. If the civil rights movement is expected to expend time and energy developing creative alternatives to the racist war in Vietnam; the peace movement must be expected to spend equal time seeking creative alternatives to racist wars here at home."

The conference adopted a national program including a campus referendum on the war, a recommendation to the (adult) Spring Mobilization Committee for a March on Washington this fall, plus continuation of anti-war programs and caravans and attempts to expose and oppose campus complicity in the war effort.

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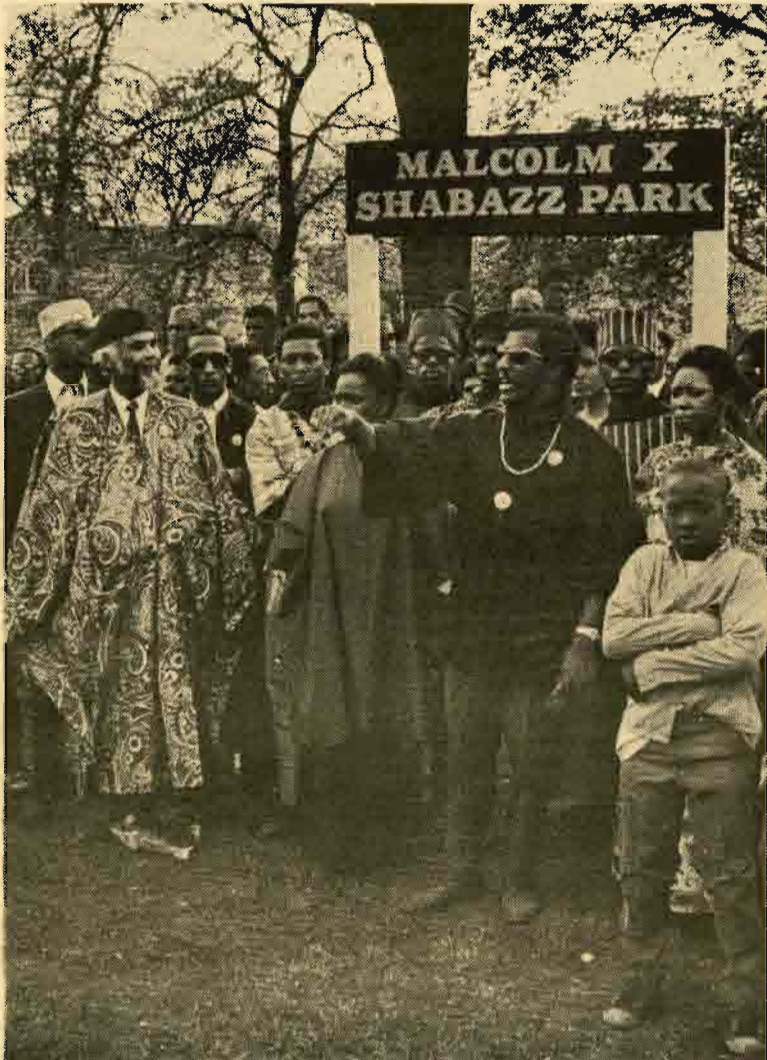
BLACKS RENAME PARK FIGHT-WHITE HOPE FOR ROCHESTER?

by Lorne Cress and Mimi Hayes

CHICAGO - On Sunday, May 21st, a Dedication 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 dance, was disrupted when two white women attempted to join the crowd of between 250 and 300 black people. When the women were asked to leave and refused, they were set upon by two black women

and bottles and physically threatening members of the huge police force who had drawn their pistols and aimed them at members of the huge police force who had drawn their pistols and aimed them at members of the crowd. As more police reinforcements arrived, blocking traffic at the intersection, the crowd was forced back into the park, where, according to eye witnesses, police fired indiscriminately upon men, women and children. A thirteen year old girl was allegedly arrested after being clubbed by police. Wal-



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

who pushed and shoved them away from the area. Within minutes, the meeting was surrounded by uniformed and plainclothes policemen with guns drawn. Heated arguments ensued as police attempted to disperse the crowd. But the group, which remained generally calm, refused to leave and continued their meeting.

As the program ended, an announcement was made that a black and gold sign bearing the name, "Malcolm X Shabazz Park" would be posted at the northern entrance to the park (about two blocks away from the meeting place) and the people were asked to re-convene at that point. Unaware that the police were waiting for them, the crowd walked toward the old Washington Park sign, intending to replace it.

VIOLENCE ERUPTS

Violence erupted when photographer Bill Wallace was beaten to the street by a police sergeant as Wallace attempted to photograph the old sign being taken down. Angered by this act, members of the crowd retaliated by throwing sticks, stones

and face sustained several broken ribs. Of the more than thirty arrested, several were injured either during the arrest or after.

COMMUNITY APPROVAL

The idea for renaming the park, which is located in the heart of the city's vast South Side black community, originated with the Afro-American Student Association, headed by 23 year old Jim Harvey. The dedication commemorated the May 19th birthday of Malcolm X Shabazz.

For over thirty years, the small hill where the meeting was held has been known as "The Forum," a public place where people of many persuasions have gathered to debate the issues of the day. Speakers at the May 21st meeting were in complete agreement that members of the surrounding black community had every right to rename the park for one of their own heroes with or without the consent of City Hall. Two comments heard were: "They didn't ask anybody permission to name it Washington Park; why should we, who live here ask permission." And, "Washington had slaves." ◆

by: Richard Fried and Alfred Price

Over 1,000 supporters and members of FIGHT, a community union of poor people in the central black ghetto of Rochester, New York, marched on Eastman Kodak's annual stockholders' meeting held at Flemington, New Jersey on April 25. FIGHT (Freedom, Integration, God, Honor, Today) was protesting Kodak's abrupt repudiation of a mutually negotiated contract which agreed to provide jobs for 600 hard-core unemployed persons.

At the demonstration, Minister Franklin D. R. Florence, president of FIGHT, gave a one-hour ultimatum to comply with the agreement or face a "war against Eastman Kodak and the power structure of Rochester." At the end of the hour, Kodak board chairman William S. Vaughan explained again that the contract was not legitimate because the company officers who signed it were not authorized to do so.

Florence then announced: "Racial war has been declared upon the black people of the United States by Eastman Kodak,"

CORPORATE POWER

The dispute between FIGHT and Kodak began last December 22 when Kodak abrogated an agreement which had been negotiated only 48 hours earlier. The contract, signed on December 20 by Minister Florence for FIGHT and by John Mulder, an assistant vice-president of Kodak, called for "the recruitment and referral (to include screening and selection) of 600 unemployed people over a 24-month period, barring unforeseen economic changes affecting the Rochester community." Mulder, head of a special bargaining committee appointed by Kodak's president, was two days later rebuffed by the company's executive committee, and with "his eyes . . . full of tears" apologized to FIGHT officers for the double-cross. Five months later, he was purged from the company's board of directors for his role in signing the agreement.

During the following week, Louis Eilers, president of Kodak, offered in place of the disowned FIGHT-Kodak agreement a vague pledge of general help for all minority groups; he termed this as "the white hope for the poor of Rochester." At a FIGHT meeting, Florence rejected the offer, saying: "We're not interested in white hope for the poor of Rochester. FIGHT asks Kodak where is the black hope for the underprivileged and unemployed in Rochester."

THE SYSTEM

The causes of the conflict are more than just a communication gap in the Kodak corporate hierarchy. They primarily stem from the paternalistic manner by which Kodak controls Rochester, a city of 600,000 people. While unemployment is currently 2% in the metropolitan area, for blacks it is estimated at 20% higher. At this same time, Kodak has just had a record first quarter net earnings of \$60,759,000.

Rochester has a paradoxical job situation with about 10,000 openings for highly skilled workers (due to the character of two of the city's larger employers, Kodak and Xerox) and many unemployed who do not have the necessary skills to enter the labor market.

The training programs of nonunion Kodak have always been inadequate to reach those at the bottom of the skill ladder. Though Kodak says it has 1,200 to 1,400 blacks working for it out of a labor force of 40,000, the number is not commensurate with the central importance of Kodak in Rochester. Blacks comprise 35% of the unemployed work force even though only 13% of the population is black.

But Kodak's role in the city is more important than the salient fact that it employs one of every three industrial workers in Rochester. It sets the town's dominant tone and style: that of benevolent

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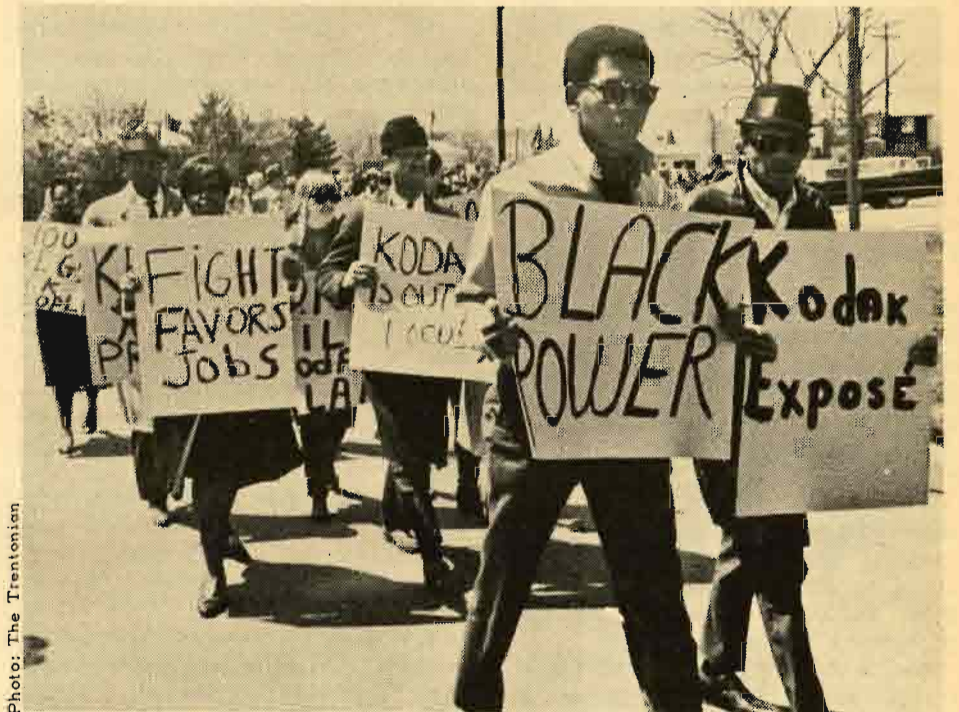


Photo: The Trentonian

FIGHT DEMONSTRATION at Kodak stockholders' meeting.

STAFF MEETING REPORT

ATLANTA, GA. - In our staff meeting held during the past week, the organization voted that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is a Human Rights Organization, interested not only in Human Rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that, in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in

a fight for independence and liberation there.

ANTI DRAFT

We shall seek to build a strong nationwide Black Anti-Draft program and movement to include high school students, along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men, who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Vietnam suffer.

FREEDOM ORGANIZATIONS

Our major thrust will be in the build-

ing of national freedom organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objective will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In

obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals.

ANY MEANS NECESSARY

The events around the student rebellion of the last few days in Jackson, Mississippi is a clear example of the continued violence, racism and exploitation of white Americans against black humanity in this country. It is, furthermore, a clear indication of the need for all black people to unite for Black Power, to create national freedom organizations, and to struggle - by any means necessary - to end our oppression and to end the noose that White America has around our necks. ◆

NEW SNCC DIRECTIONS

YOU BETTER COME ON HOME

From a speech by Stokely Carmichael to the students of Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.

Good afternoon. It is good to be back here at Morgan. I used to party here when I was at school -- after we sat in in Baltimore on Route 40.

I would think that at a black university it would be absurd for me to talk about Black Power, but rather to talk to black students about what their role is to be in the coming struggle. And so my remarks today would be addressed to you, black students of Morgan.

To give you a chance to hear some of the things that you never hear about, your need to stop being ashamed of being black and come on home.

Now we ought to then outline the points we want to discuss. We want to talk about what this country has been able to do to black people. What it has been able to do is to make us ashamed of being black.

And that is one of 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 WHITES

That means that we must stop imitating white society and begin to create for ourselves and our own and begin to embody our own cultural patterns so that we will be holding dear to those things which we have created.

For example: It is nonsensical for black people to have debutante balls. It is nonsensical because you are imitating that which white society has given to you and which you know nothing about. Wouldn't it be better to take that \$500 and give it to Morgan so that you could begin to develop a good black institution?

Now imitation runs deep in the black community in this country. It runs very deep. You know when we first got people to go to college and they went to the first white university in this country there were things called fraternities and sororities. We are going to talk about it.

Now what happened was that our black brothers and sisters could not get into these fraternities. They kept them out because of the color of their skin. So what did our brothers do -- they turned around and formed something called Kappas, and only light-skinned Negroes could get in.

Our black sisters, not to be outdone, formed AKA for only bluebloods.

So the other dark-skinned brothers, not to be outdone, set up Omega and Alpha. And then, of course, we had the counterparts, the Deltas.

Now, wouldn't it have been far better if those people, instead of imitating a society which had been built on excluding them, had turned around and built a fraternity which would have included everybody?

Perhaps that is the greatest problem which you as black students face. You are never asked to create, only to imitate.

SELF CONDEMNATION

The philosophers (Albert) Camus and (Jean Paul) Sartre raised the question of self condemnation in most of their writings. Camus, you know, is an existentialist. He wrote "The Rebel," "The Stranger." You ought to read them. What Camus says is that self condemnation is impossible.

There are examples of that. For example, there were Nazi prisoners during World War II. Those who were captured, if they admitted that they had killed six million Jews they had to commit suicide.

They must commit suicide. The ones who were able to live were the ones who had said we did not kill six million human

beings -- they were subhuman, they were inhuman, they were inferior, or we were just following law and order.

Does that sound familiar? So it is crystal clear that self condemnation is impossible.

And so it is with white America as a whole community. White America is incapable of condemning that which it has done to black people as a total community inside this country. 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

Now then we come to the question of definitions. We will talk about that for a while. It is very, very important because I believe that people who can define are masters.

I want to read a quote. It is one of my favorite quotes. It comes from "Alice in Wonderland," Lewis Carroll. You ought to read him. Just like you ought to read Winnie the Pooh and Huckleberry Finn.

The quote: "When I use a word, Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less.' The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "who is to be master."

That is all. That is all. Understand that. You remember a couple of years ago when our black leaders would talk about integration. They would say we want to integrate. They would be talking about good houses, good schools, good neighborhoods. White people would say, you want to marry my daughter.

Now you have got to understand this concept very, very clearly, because what they were doing was defining integration, for these black leaders, and these black leaders allowed them to.

You see, I used to see these black leaders say, we want to integrate. The white man would say, you want to marry my 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 want to live next door to you, we don't want to live in your bedroom. By the time this cat finished reacting to a definition by a white man, he was out the 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.

Now when we get asked that question in SNCC you know what we say. The white woman is not the queen of the world, she is not the Virgin Mary, she can be made like any other woman. Let's move on, let's move on.

WHAT BLACK POWER MEANS

Now then, that is very, very important because the same things happen. Now, I 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.

Later, for you, I am master of my own term. If black power means violence to you, that is your problem, as is marrying your daughter.

I know what it means in my mind. I will stand clear. And you must understand that, because the first need of a free people is to be able to define their own terms and have those terms recognized by their oppressors. It is also the first need that all oppressors must suspend.

Camus says that when a slave says NO he begins to exist. You see you define to contain. That's all you do.

And so for white people to be allowed to define us by calling us Negroes, which means apathetic, 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 now, Viet Cong terrorists today bombed and killed 50 women and children, what a shame. In the meantime, our jet bombers have been flying heavily over Hanoi, dropping bombs.

And 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. If 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 that cat is your enemy. The master has defined it for you. And when he says jump, you say, how high, boss?

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.

249 million persons. He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south.

"Vietnam, thus, does not exist in a geographical vacuum from its largest storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined."

He is absolutely right. Because that's what that war is all about. And that's why we are not going.

Those, then, are the words of the ambassador to Saigon. They are not my words. And he outlines very clearly what the war is being fought for.

NECESSITY OF WAR

If you understood anything about this country, you would know that 75 percent of this budget is spent on war materials. That means that for this country to survive it must always be at war.

You will not get a victory for this country if you win in Vietnam. That's no victory. The country must keep fighting. You do not invent things that have no use. You invent them so that they have a use. And every time you invent a better bomb you must drop it.

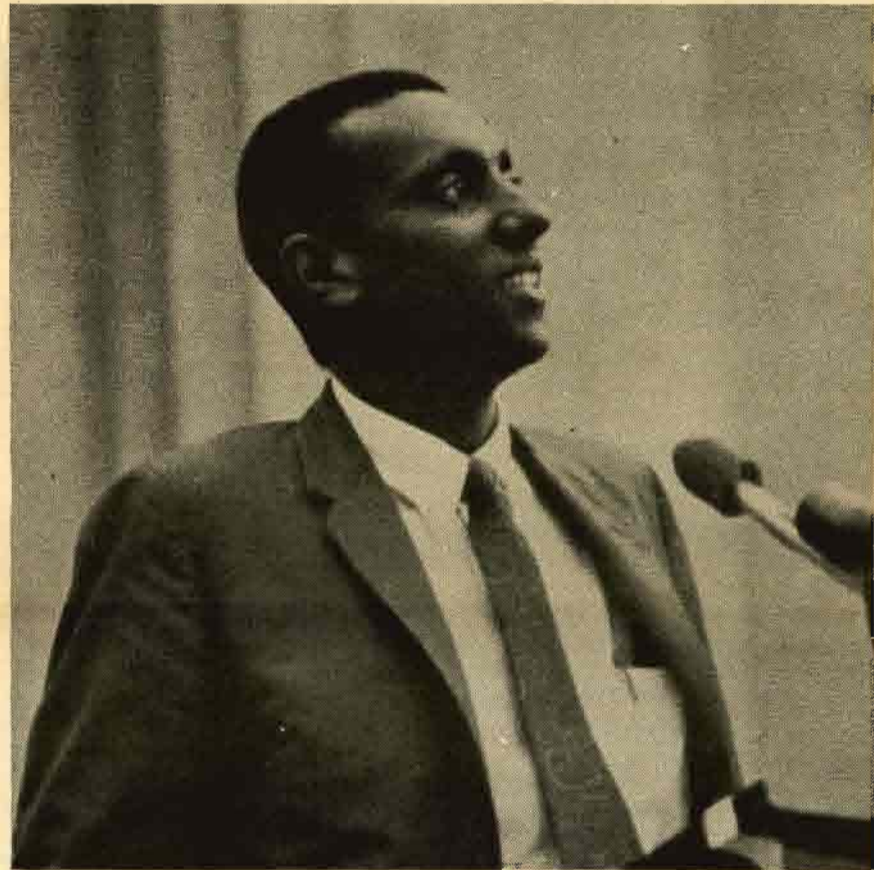


Photo: Bob Gill

VIETNAM

Now we want to talk a little about Vietnam. We think it is drastically important.

You must begin to understand the nature of this country called America, which exploits all other nonwhite countries. Now you know we are fighting for freedom, democracy, for peace. Nobody questions it. Yes, we are going to kill for freedom, democracy and peace. Those little Chinese, Vietnamese yellow people ain't got sense enough to know they want their democracy; we are going to fight for them, give it to them because Santa Claus is still alive.

I want to read a quote made August 4, 1954, before the U.S. State governors in Seattle. Incidentally, I highly recommend this book. It is called "Vietnam, Vietnam," by Felix Green.

"Now let us assume," the quote says, "that we lost Indo-China." Now that is in 1953; we were not fighting the war, the French were fighting it for us. We were just giving them the money.

"Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. The tin and other items we so greatly value (from that area) would cease coming." So that when the United States votes four hundred million dollars to help that war we are not voting a give-away program.

"We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible - the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia."

That quote was made by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

I want to read you a statement now, by Henry Cabot Lodge. He's the good-looking one, you know, tall, blond hair, blue eyes. His quote a year ago:

"Geographically, Vietnam stands at the hub of a vast area of the world, Southeast Asia. An area with a population of

So you invent another bomb. That is correct and that is why this country keeps going at the breakneck speed it is going in terms of its military might. And we have to understand that. Because we are told in this country that we are civilized -- another word to define.

Indeed what is civilization? To be able to drop bombs on Hiroshima?

Is that civilization? To be able to drop bombs on Hanoi? Is that civilization? Is it? Do we want to be civilized too?

This country has said that civilization is at stake and there is no other solution except that of war.

So what they do is, they train us in ROTC. You dig it? All they do in ROTC is teach you how to kill. You may try to justify it all you want, but your job is to kill. The job of the Army is to kill.

That is the reason why it is there. Not to teach you how to become anything. If you want to be taught something, build a school in my neighborhood and let me go there. Don't tell me about going to Vietnam to learn nothing.

INSTITUTIONALIZED VIOLENCE

Now then I have to be appalled at the president of the university who stands up and says that Black Power is about violence while at this very campus he encourages institutionalized violence by compulsory ROTC and does not speak about that.

Who does he think he is kidding? There is nothing wrong with violence. It is just who is able to control it. That's what counts. Everybody knows that. You have institutionalized violence on your campus.

You have to dress up in monkey suit and train how to kill once a week. And what is your response to that as black students coming to a university where they are supposed to teach you civilization? Is that civilization too? That one

CLEVELAND - CITY AT WAR

By Tim Hall

CLEVELAND, Ohio - Cleveland is at war. It is a guerilla war of the black poor against the police, and the blacks have the initiative. And just as in Vietnam, the police are answering people with technology.

RIOT CAUSES UNCHANGED

The city has done nothing for the causes of the 1966 Hough Riots. The Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps are training janitors and maids. Concerned businessmen set up a job center; hardly anybody got and kept jobs. Unemployment in Cleveland as a whole is 2.4%, in the slums it is 15.6%. Blacks are 38% of the city population, 17% of the work force, 13% of the journeymen in the building trades (most are laborers - which requires no apprenticeship) and 2% of the apprentices.

The black schools are miserable, with few exceptions. Welfare continues at 76% of a dollar standard set in 1959. The infant mortality rate is 50% higher among blacks than among whites. The housing code is enforced only against hippy and nationalist storefronts. Cleveland is one of the most heavily rat-infested cities in the nation.

Even Urban Renewal -- known as "Community Development" to give it a Peace Corps image -- is at a halt, with federal funds denied. It has removed a lot of people and condemned a lot of property, but has built nowhere for them to go. Hough is filled with empty houses and flattened blocks with signs speaking of your tax dollars. The people are being shunted to other ghetto areas, while the city tries to get private industry to finance renewal and rehabilitation.

RENEWAL FUNDS DENIED

When Mayor Locher went to Washington to get funds to carry out Urban Renewal, HUD's Robert Weaver wouldn't even see him, and funds were refused, pending some indication of progress back here.

The appearance of the mayor of a major American city being refused an appointment with a Cabinet member -- and a black one at that -- was comical. It was also a neat way for the federal government to cut domestic expenses during a war and get off the hook by scapegoating an incompetent administrator. Later this spring the city failed to complete its application for model city grants -- the only large city to do so.

POLICE PREPARE FOR WAR

Meanwhile the city added to its armaments with urgent calls for recruits to take the police exams, the creation of the 120-man Task Force to cover the ghetto, and the addition of such new equipment as a squad of 20 extremely mobile, radio-equipped motor scooters, and the night-patrolling helicopter.

By the end of March police totaled 2130. Each scooter covers as much territory as five foot patrolmen, and can pursue up onto sidewalks and down alleyways. High-powered mercury streetlights had been installed in much of the ghetto. The city had asked the federal government for \$137,000 for a closed circuit TV stakeout in "high-crime areas." And the Cleveland Transit System was thinking of installing two-way radios in city buses.

But the scariest new weapon was the helicopter. The police began testing its counter-insurgency potential in May 1964, before any of the major ghetto riots had occurred. A copter was then being used for traffic control, and the Department began taking target practice with automatic weapons at moving targets out over Lake Erie. Police Chief Richard Wagner was quoted at the time as saying that the helicopter was extremely useful in "riot work." (Cleve. Press, May 21, 1964) Numbers had been painted on the roofs of all patrol cars, and a three-way radio system had been installed, linking the copter with the squad cars and the central station.

POLICE HELICOPTER

The first major riot use of the copter came during the Hough Uprisings, when it droned over the ghetto nightly and called police cruisers to the scene of fire-bombings, incidents of any kind, and even to



LOOTERS GO TO WORK on firebombed store. Note fireman and cop.

Photo: Cleveland Plain Dealer

large gatherings of people. Night patrols stopped after the Riots, but started again in November after the rape-murder of a white woman in the University Circle area adjoining Hough. The patrols continued through the winter, helping in several reported arrests, but the main push was for the summer.

TROUBLE BEGINS

March and the beginning of April were warm. The trouble began with a series of robberies and shootings that killed two white ghetto grocers and one black bus driver in the first weeks of March. Council bought the motorscooters, and was asked for funds to buy two copters. (They are now leased with private funds.) Six officers were training for helicopter licenses.

On March 13 the largest Sears Roebuck store in the city, located in the ghetto, was firebombed, along with an Ohio State Employment Service Vocational Planning Center which had been hit last summer. The next night a condemned house went up and the firemen were stoned by black crowds.

On the night of March 30, a warm night, crowds heckled the police making an arrest in Hough, then rescued the arrested man from the police, shouting, "You ain't taking our friends!" The police reinforced, but did nothing.

The night of April 2 there was a fire at the Call & Post, a bourgeois Negro newspaper edited by William O. Walker, the only Negro at the 1964 Republican Convention to vote for Barry Goldwater. Police said the fire was caused by wiring, but nationalists expressed private doubts. There were two other firebombings that night, one of them at a recreation center.

FIRE BOMBINGS

On the night of April 4, some 50 fires were set in the Central Area, the oldest black ghetto. Most were firebombings. Nearly all were in abandoned houses in urban renewal areas. At one burning supermarket, reporters took pictures of looters and people cheering them while a few police and firemen stood by. Two Negro deputy sheriffs arrived and when one of them was hit with a canned ham they waded into the crowd, slugging people with shotgun butts. People yelled, "I hate you, Uncle Tom!" but the crowd broke up.

On April 5, Police Chief Wagner proposed that firemen carry shotguns to protect themselves from the crowds, but the Fire Chief said they would let the city burn first. Firebombings continued for the next several nights.

TENSION BUILDS

Tension was building toward May 9, the date set by a nationalist astrologer named Almed for a racial apocalypse in Cleveland and other American cities and

also between Red China and the U.S. Publicity in local papers and in the Wall Street Journal (March 14) had the Greater Cleveland Metropolitan Area shook up. The Lorain County Sheriff, next door, announced that he would deputize and arm 500 (white) men, a plan made popular by Jim Clark of Selma.

At the April 18 City Council meeting the reaction began in earnest. The Mayor had told the police that day to "fill every jail we have." And the Safety Director had added: "This city is not going to be run by hoodlums."

That set the tone for a chorus of white councilmen. Councilman Latkovic: "Shoot 'em dead. The only good hoodlum is a dead hoodlum." Garofoli of Murray Hill, a racist Italian ghetto where a Negro was killed during last summer's riots, said his people were ready to take action if the police didn't. Councilman Katalinas: "The best way to leave a hoodlum is on the street to be picked up by an ambulance."

Councilman Banko threw down the glove: "If the police have to break some skulls, what will be the reaction of the people in this area? Riots? Or will they rise to the occasion and support the police? Let's find out." And Negro Councilman Leo Jackson called for the national Guard, no doubt to protect his flock.

The weather turned cold, and a publicity campaign began which was meant to cool things off for May 9 and also to push the income tax - two contradictory aims, since the tax, everyone knew, was to arm the police.

SUBMACHINE GUN FIRE

On the night of April 20, the helicopter sighted some young blacks firebombing an abandoned house in Hough, spotlighted them and pinned them down with sub-machinegun fire until the Task Force (Green Berets) arrived. Both papers compared the action to helicopter operations in Vietnam, implying that the guys had acted like Viet Cong.

The helicopter can be heard all over the East Side at night. It sounds like a mosquito when far away, and it can't be seen until it's extremely close, and then only if the watcher is not standing under a streetlight. Mothers tell of their children getting nightmares and of the helicopter coming down so close to their houses at night they can see the pilot. One young guy told me how the helicopter broke up a football game after school at Glenville High. About 50 black students were playing or watching when the copter spotted the group and radioed for the Task Force. Three squad cars came screaming, and one of them drove up onto the grass and moved slowly through the group, sirens going, and broke it up. When I later spoke on the phone to Sgt. Lemieux, the copter

pilot, he said: "Don't call it riot control. Call it crime control."

'BLACK BEASTS OF PREY'

On the 24th the United Pastors Association (formed after the riots to preserve "law and order") released a statement calling black gangs "beasts of prey" and the city began its attempt to divide the Negro middle classes from the black poor and the older black poor from the young who were doing the firebombing. 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, Bertram E. Gardner, was passing the word down to black groups to "forget this police brutality business, and if the cops have to use a little force, look up at the stars, look away." Safety Director John N. McCormick, a past FBI agent, appeared on TV to say that he expected charges of police brutality but "I don't care." Also that day the Cleveland Transit System threatened to stop night service in the ghetto.

KING TO SEND ORGANIZERS

On April 25, Martin Luther King arrived and was "saw" that Mayor Locher had called him an "extremist" along with McKissick and George Wallace and had refused to meet with him. The next day he spoke in two high schools, one junior high and before the United Pastors, saying: "Our power does not lie in molotov cocktails. Put a black man in city hall." And: "Build, baby, build! Organize, baby, organize! Vote, baby, vote." He said he will send organizers into Cleveland to carry out Operation Breadbasket, a selective buying program to get jobs for black people in ghetto stores and businesses and promote black products.

On April 30, Bayard Rustin spoke before the NAACP and called for a political movement to get millions from Congress. Negroes, he said, "must fight the Black Power Movement and join with our white friends to build an accumulated strength." His crowning comment was on King and Vietnam: "The civil rights movement has no mandate to deal with peace questions, no more than the Girl Scouts should be involved with anything but Girl Scout problems."

BLOODY REVOLUTION

The cold spell continued into May and there were few reported incidents in the ghetto. On May 2, Sgt. John Ungvary of the police Subversive Squad testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which is rumored coming to Cleveland this summer. Ungvary asked for a federal law to arrest all adult nationalists for con-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

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 canvassed the black community of Sunflower City (population 662). They have built a slate, campaigned for it, set up black captains and held meetings. They have explained the action of the Fifth Circuit Federal Court in setting aside the 1966 municipal elections — black people had not been allowed sufficient time to exercise their voting rights, recently clarified by the 1965 Voting Rights Bill, by registering, in time for that election.

The town's 55% registered black voters (out of a potential voting age majority of 75%) were urged to select their own candidates. They nominated a slate of six: 20 year old Otis Brown for Mayor, and for the five aldermanic positions, Elvin Gipson, Mrs. Annie Mae King, Mrs. Willie Mae Smith and the fiery Mrs. Lela Mae Brooks.

NO BLACK ELECTION OFFICIAL

A group of northern liberals called the national Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower (headed by William Fitz Ryan and Bayard Rustin) formed and began to apply pressure on the Justice Department to send in federal officials. In an apparent effort to discourage such a likelihood, the local election commission agreed to let Joseph Harris, one of the leading local black organizers, serve as an election official. This meant he would be available to go behind the curtain with any illiterates who requested his help.

On May 1, the day before the election, the JD announced that it would be sending federal observers to Sunflower. That evening, less than twelve hours before the election, the election commission held a special meeting and decided not to let Joe Harris give help after all. This news was brought to the pre-election mass meeting just as the lawyers were confidently explaining that all people had to do was to "ask for Joe." "Oh well," said the lawyers, "you still don't have to worry about a thing; just demand that you and whoever helps you be accompanied by a federal observer." But many poor black people in the Delta are not yet used to demanding anything, and besides, the federal observer was just another white man. There was no longer any guarantee, for illiterates, of a secret ballot, free of reprisals.

Lawyer Morty Stavis explained what had happened. There was a difference of 49 votes between the highest vote for a black candidate (111) and the lowest for a white (160). "Now, there were 38 'spoiled ballots' — THEY said defectively marked. There were 13 challenged ballots. And there were somewhere between 27 and 32 ballots in which people were helped — but only by whites." Stavis argued that there would have been at least 65 more uncontested votes, more than enough to reverse the difference of 49, if the election officials had not reneged on their agreement to let Joe Harris act as helper. If Joe Harris had been a helper, there could be no challenge of the 27-32 votes where people who asked for help and could only get white help waived all possibility for a secret ballot. If Harris had been a helper, the 38 ballots would not have been improperly marked by people too afraid of whites to ask for help.

"So," said Stavis, "we're going back to federal court. We're going to ask the federal court to set aside this election exactly the same way that we asked the federal court to set aside the last election."

Confusion was further served with the following two letters, both sent out to the black citizens of Sunflower the day before the election. The first one was headed: "Important Notice to Sunflower Citizens:

"In the face of the election of officers to serve the next two years in the department of city government, we want to thank you for the fine support you have given this administration in the past.

"We have had complaints from some of our local citizens that they have been threatened and harassed by people working

for the Freedom Democratic Party. As your city officials, we want to take this opportunity to assure our citizens that we will take any and all means to protect the citizens of this community; therefore, your city officials have contacted the proper authorities who have assured us that the highway patrol will assist our local law enforcement in protecting all citizens against their goal. This protection will be guaranteed on election day, after election day and at all other times. We urge all citizens to report any violation or threat to the city officials, county officials, or to the highway patrol so the offenders can be prosecuted to the full extent of the law." (signed, "the mayor and board of Alderman.")

NO ONE CAN MAKE YOU VOTE

The second letter was from the chief of police:

"We have had many reports of lies, threats and intimidation directed against the citizens of Sunflower. Threats and intimidation against our citizens will not be tolerated and any such reports are promptly passed on to the proper authorities. As for the lies and falsehoods told our citizens this is the truth and that's the way it is:

*No one, including the United States Government, can MAKE you vote in any election . . .

*If you CHOOSE to vote in any election, NO ONE, including the UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, can tell you who you HAVE to vote for.

*If you are a duly registered citizen and CHOOSE to vote NO ONE can tell HOW you voted. THE VOTE IS COMPLETELY SECRET. You use your own



PREPARING sample ballot.



LAWRENCE GUYOT, state MFDPC chairman, reviews sample ballot with voters on their way to polls.



MRS. HAMER: "We doin this cause our lives are at stake."



FIRST IN LINE to vote that morning.

best judgment and pick the candidate you ALONE think is the best person for the job, best qualified, best experienced, and you vote for that person and not even your own wife or husband will know how you voted unless you tell.

*No person, organization, nor even the United States Government can tell a free citizen how to vote or who to vote for.

"THAT'S JUST THE WAY IT IS. Anyone tries to tell you different or makes threats against you or your property is wrong and should be reported to the authorities at once."

Obviously designed for the nervous fringe of the black community, the letters were apparently intended among other things to 1) implicate the FDP as an unlawful, questionable group in league with ever-insidious "outside agitators", 2) bring to mind the head-bearing SS troops of the Delta, the Highway Patrol, 3) further shake what little faith there might have been in the protective presence of the United States Government.

"THAT'S JUST THE WAY IT IS."

On May 2, election day, the polls were scheduled to open at 7:00. At least 50 people were up at five for a final prayer meeting, urging the Lord not to forsake the side of righteousness. Students from North Carolina College, a couple of Free Elec-



SUNFLOWER POLICE CHIEF as ballot.



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

tion Committee volunteers, local people and a handful of other outside agitators canvassed their assigned streets for the final time, working with local SNCC people in arranging transportation for all who needed it. Women prepared food for those 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. Lela Mae Brooks began her final round-up among the community's faint of heart, the not quite confirmed Uncle Toms: "Just want to see if you need a ride down to the headquarters . . . OK, I'll be looking for you now; you know, we can't all live together in Sunflower if we don't get down there and vote, now can we?" "No Ma'm," was the usual nervous reply.

FIRST VOTES

At 6:55, the first wave of people began to move down to the Town Hall polling place to line up for the long-awaited

vote. As it turned out, the bailiff was also the chief of police, who, throughout the day, did not hesitate to utilize his position at the polls' entrance to do considerable electioneering, while intimidating Negroes. And so the day began.

Outside and across the street from the Town Hall, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer was circulating through the gathering crowd, generating that spirit of determination with which she infects people wherever she travels. This particular day, she and her husband had only to travel 20 minutes from her home in Ruleville, just north of Senator 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 Brownie camera with which he tried to intimidate blacks on their way to vote. Although reporters and photographers were warned to stay at least 30 feet away from the polling place, nothing was said to the heckling whites, sitting on a pickup truck, less than fifteen feet from the exit door, nor to the mayor's wife, sitting in a parked car just outside the door, very visibly "takin down names." Inside, things were reported to be very tense, with officials discourteous and uncooperative.

JUST THE WAY IT IS

Around 10:00, 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 parallel 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 10:30, only 68 of the eligible black voters had not yet come to the polls. Included among these 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 4:00 p.m., 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 graveyard sure enough," said one girl, when a cripple, whom she identified as living "out in the rurals," was unloaded 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 6:00, when the polls closed, Guyot 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 involved thought it was touch and go as to who had actually won.

WE LEARNED A LOT

When it was announced that the racist incumbents had taken the election right down the slate, people quieted down into mournful headshaking, groans of sadness or general dull disbelief. In a kind of trance, people "amen'd" Joe Harris as he assured them that "we might not see anybody sitting in the City Hall, but we still won. 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 pain and anger in the room began to surface as people who could contain it no longer began to speak. These were the people who drew cheers and shouts. 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 doin' nothin' symbolic; we doin' this cause our lives are at stake!" She called for a campaign directed at pressuring Negro school teachers (who traditionally in the Deep South have been intimidated by all white school boards) to register and vote in the November elections, by organizing for a boycott of their schools in September.

"I think it's time," said Guyot, for people who are fighting to survive in the Delta to establish HOW we're going to fight and WHEN we're going to fight, for the first time in our lives. And I'm going to ask that three people from each Delta county come to a meeting . . . so we can talk about lining up a complete black slate, to run as independents throughout this Delta and to STAY THE HELL OUT OF THE GODDAMN DEMOCRATIC PARTY . . .

"I would certainly hope that if we're going to fight for the right of black people to eat and sweat and to live in the Delta, it shouldn't make much difference to us WHICH hunky becomes governor of Mississippi. I just hope that we can understand that what we've got to do now . . . is REGISTER BLACK PEOPLE TO VOTE."

NOT LOST, STOLEN

"Now I want y'all to understand something," said Mrs. Lela Mae 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 stealin' our young men every day to go and fight their war in Viet Nam, like they stole our great, great grandparents from Africa a long, long time ago . . . Now they got nothin' to take from us cept our lives . . .

"They think they can scare us with them guns in their cars; we not scared of them damn guns, and we want them to know it. If we were scared of them guns, we wouldn't even register to vote . . .

"We been running around here talkin' that non-violent stuff and this violent stuff. Now, dammit, when THEY get ready to get violent, let's ALL get violent . . . we ain't swore to nobody we wasn't gonna fight . . .

"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 fight over there, we can fight right here . . .

"They think it's over, but it's just startin'. It's time out for sufferin'; we're not afraid of Mississippi anymore . . . We're the majority, and we're gonna rule." ◆

Advertisement

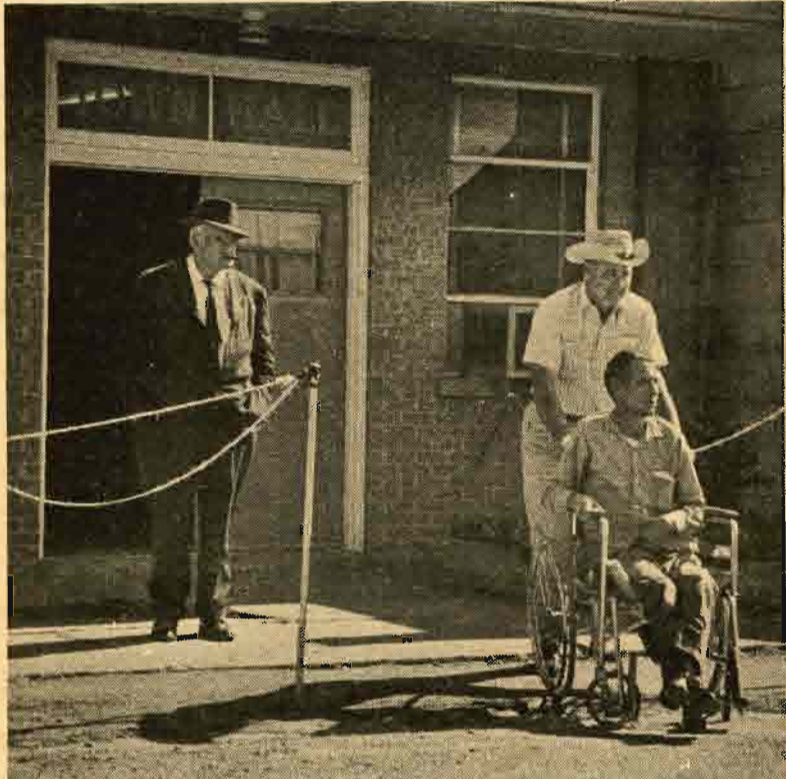
WHY PAY MEEKLY FOR WAR?

Legally demand income tax refund. Write:

TAXPAYERS AGAINST WAR

P.O. Box 15394

San Francisco California 94115



Photos: Bob Fletcher

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



MRS. BROOKS helping get out the vote.

TEATRO CAMPESINO Cont. from P. 12

trucks and in run-down labor camps). Starting out as a neutral backdrop, the screens end up a character in the acto. When Perro-Minetti resists a consumer boycott, Don Sotaco and Mrs. American Consumer aided by Purity and Thrifty Markets close the screens around him; the two end panels of the screens have two signs on the back reading BOY and COTT. When the screens are totally closed, P-M is cut off from his market in a tight, red and black box marked, of course, BOYCOTT.

ACTION, NOT WORDS

These actos are hardly the last word in effective, political theater. They are described to illustrate our deliberate use of visual dramatic images. Our points must be absolutely clear to our farm worker audience. Vagueness and poetic obscurantism are out. We are seriously devoted to the task of organizing our people, not to proving how clever, subtle or radical we can be. The dialogue in the actos is at a minimum, having been improvised from the action to provide only the necessary information to keep the acto going. We are not a theater that bombards its audience with talk.



Away from Delano, it is necessary to supplement the actos with a few historical facts about the Huelga and union, but that is presented in the form of a narration which does not pretend to be drama. The actors themselves are free of the tiresome expositions and conversations so often used by those playwrights who put everything into their works except dramatic action. The same is true of our scenery, costumes and props; we use them only as necessary to make our point clear. Our main theatrical device is the human body itself; there is more power in the human face and body, than in all the theatrical claptrap of a new, million-dollar theater in New York. This belief is an inheritance from Ron Davis and the San Francisco Mime Troupe.

GUERRILLA THEATER

A socially-oriented theater must belong to the people it is trying to reach, if it is to become a serious political weapon. It must do more than educate and delight; it must stimulate and agitate its audience to act - in the theater and in reality. So it is with the Teatro Campesino. The farm worker actors are "acting" in a reality that far exceeds the artificial limits of the stage. Often enough, there is no stage as such but only a flat bed truck or a union hall cluttered with artifacts belonging to the same reality the performance seeks to synthesize through the theater art. Sometimes the Teatro is forced to share its narrow stage in Filipino Hall with boxes of donated food and clothing; before that, when the NFWA used to meet in Negrito Hall (public buildings, like labor camps, are distinguished by their racial names in Delano; the Mexican Hall in town was torn down some years ago to make room for the freeway) we literally performed our acts in between, around and on top of the children and adults sitting on the floor up front. The intimacy of audience with cast provided a perfect atmosphere for the sharing of social truths that reach into our most private lives; the actors were not strangers or professional entertainers or stage stars (who are alienated from the common mass anyway, by their reputation); the actors were strikers - a blood and bone extension of

the audience, made up of strikers; and they were "acting" to achieve social change. Their acts onstage were political acts within the broad reality of the Huelga. The skill and craft of the actor thus shared a practical value with the skill and craft of a union organizer, secretary or strike kitchen cook.

If farm workers are to have their political, popular theater, the skills and crafts of the theater must be taught to them. We need to teach the basics in the Theater Arts, just as farm workers are being taught the basics about nursing care in our clinic, secretarial skills in the offices, organizing skills in the fields, mechanical skills in our cooperative gas station and garage. Theater workshops must be organized with weekend volunteers coming from the cities to teach playwrighting, directing, acting, mime, music, etc. to farm workers who will then teach other farm workers. This is already happening in at least one concrete way. During the last six months or so, Tim Kelly - an old, retired radical longshoreman from the San Francisco docks - has been holding sight-reading and recorder music classes in our Teatro. He has children and adults, beginners and advanced students participating. They meet four times a week, and some of the guys in the Teatro are now introducing soprano, alto and bass recorder music into our more lyrical ballads on the farm worker. Two guitars, an accordian, a guitarron and three recorders. A new sound in our work.

Delano is the base of our farm worker movement. It will be the base of our popular theater. Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers recognize the tremendous power of the arts in human communication; and human communication is at the basis of our non-violent effort to organize and win strikes by winning people over to the Cause. So the Teatro Campesino is now one of the departments of the union. The union pays our rent, utilities, gas, etc., but we more than pay our own way by fund-raising ten to fifteen times a month what the union pays for the building that houses our work.

SPIRITUAL TRANSFUSION

The Cause that will motivate farm workers to build their political, popular theater already exists. Given the practical skills, the people themselves will develop their own art, their own artists. The American Theater could well do with a spiritual transfusion from a mass of over two million farm workers eager to use their newly found voice; it could well do with new actors, playwrights and directors sprung from a people only heretofore included, as in society, in the periphery of American drama. ♦

CLEVELAND CON'T FROM PAGE 5

spiracy because they were planning a "black and bloody revolution." "Wouldn't this be far better than to wait for an overt act?" he asked. He also said that 300 black "youths" were being trained in guerilla warfare, and that Communists were exploiting the movement. The parallel with Vietnam, with the black youths as Viet Cong, grew stronger.

On May 3 the income tax was approved by a 2-1 margin, after a campaign that stressed its importance for police protection. The tax had lost in all white wards in the city in June 1966, when it last appeared on the ballot. In November Council passed it, and a referendum was called. This time all the white wards went for the tax.

Armed with the mandate, the city nervously awaited the predicted May 9 riots. Everybody had some inside word on what would happen. Rumors were that black kids were being let out of school, that they stayed at home, that no one was going to work, that suburban shopping centers would be firebombed.

QUIET MAY 9

Nothing happened on that day, and the police couldn't take it. Early in the evening, several officers and detectives came up to the Plain Dealer city room and asked for the NBC cameraman. They said that NBC knew where the riots were. Next the police went to Ahmed's book store and arrested him (for the third time in a month) and 20 others, among them Lincoln Lynch of CORE and a girl researcher for NBC. Lynch was charged with drunkenness and

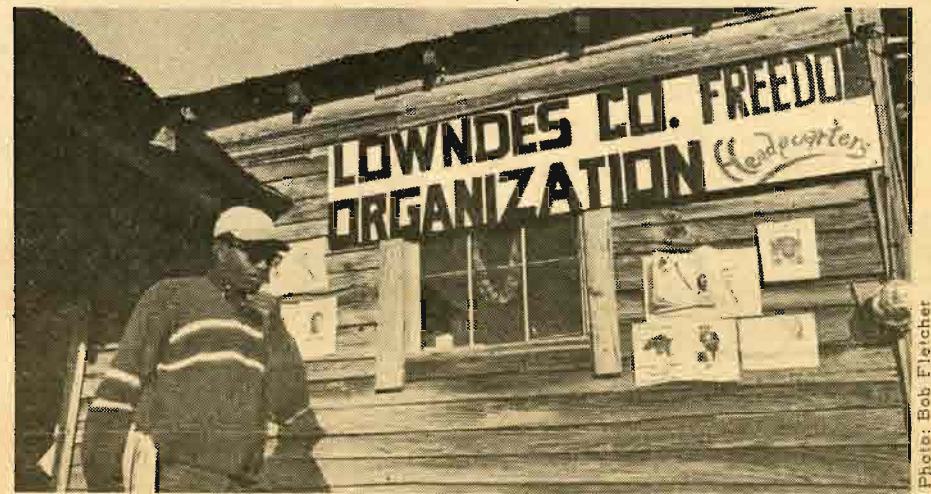
POVERTY WAR HITS LOWNDES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

At a mass meeting a few weeks ago, Smith was arguing for his deal with Coleman over the poverty building. When he finished, the people politely applauded. Then a SNCC Field Secretary stood up and attacked the plan for "helping out the same white man who's been keeping you down." The people applauded him.

"I can't understand it," Smith said afterward. "They applauded me and then they applauded that SNCC guy. I don't want SNCC people around any more."

"If he tries to keep SNCC people out of the county, the whole place will blow up," Frank Miles said.



BOB MANTS, SNCC Field Secretary at LCFO headquarters.

Shortly after that Stokely Carmichael paid a surprise visit to the Poverty office. The secretaries hugged and kissed him when he entered. Mr. Smith was unusually quiet.

"SNCC people don't come round much more," Frank Miles told us. "Stokely came down and told us how to do good. He didn't want to take over or run us. We're independent. He told us to take what we could use from what he gave us, and leave the rest."

"We don't hate whites. Neither does Stokely. But you defend yourself. If everyone, black and white, carries guns, that equalizes things. Nobody wants to go down, to kill people. But in Lowndes County no one will protect Negroes. We have to defend ourselves."

Two stories tell the way things have changed in Lowndes County, once one of the most oppressed counties in the South.

It was the intimidation of black people living on the plantations that cost the LCFO the last election. A major thrust now is to register the tenants and sharecroppers and to fight the fear under which they live.

John Hulett and Mrs. Strickland went out on one of the big plantations to convince people to register. Hulett went up to the home of one of the sharecroppers. The man who lived there was not home and Hulett asked his wife if he could come in and talk to her about registering. He was sitting there when the plantation owner came in.

"I don't want no Black Panthers in

my house!" yelled the owner of the land.

"I'm not a Black Panther," said Hulett. "I'm a MAN."

He left the house and went over to the plantation owner's car. In the car were three black tenants the owner had to drive back to work on the plantation.

Hulett went over to the owner's car, leaned in the right-hand window and started to talk to the workers about registering. The owner, behind the steering wheel, was turning bright red. "He didn't want to drive away first and leave me there," said Hulett.

Then the owner jumped out of the car and stood a few feet behind Hulett, getting redder and redder. Mrs. Strickland got out of Hulett's car and stood a few feet behind the plantation owner. Hulett continued talking to the black workers in the car for 45 minutes.

Finally the owner couldn't stand it any more, got back in his car and squealed out.

"Then," said Hulett with a satisfied smile, "I turned around and registered EVERYONE on that plantation."

The other story is from Frank Miles. Miles was driving on the highway to Montgomery. The speed limit was 50 and a Highway Patrol car ahead of Miles was going 45. Miles passed him. The cop pulled him over.

"Boy, where y'all going?"

"To work."

"Don't you know you were speeding?"

"I wasn't speeding. I've got a speedometer in my car, same as you."

"Don't get smart, boy," said the cop.

"Where you from?"

"Lowndes."

"Where they're stirring up all that trouble?" asked the cop, suddenly nervous.

"What trouble?"

"You know," said the cop. "Them black cats ... black panthers...."

"You mean the Lowndes County Freedom Organization," said Miles.

"Well, look here, MR. Miles, uh, you better watch your driving all the same, and uh, be careful."

Things have changed in Lowndes County. Black people are organized. ♦

the rest with a housing violation. The girl lives in New York. "It was a normal police procedure," said Lt. Mauk. "There's nothing more to it than that."

Two firebombings were reported that night, at a junior high and a high school, but they were controlled.

MARTIAL LAW BILL

The real bomb came the next day. Papers reported that Stokes had authored a bill in the Ohio House that would allow the governor to declare martial law in the case of riots and suspend civil penalties against guardsmen on duty. The governor would be commander-in-chief and the troops would be responsible only to military court. At present the governor must wait until the mayor calls for the Guard.

It appears that Stokes wants to pick up white votes before the reaction against black power grows too strong, and also to use the threat of riots to strike a political blow against the mayor. He sees that the ghetto has no other choice than him, so he can show himself as a law-and-order Negro. It is said that he is Lyndon's man for mayor this fall. Hubert Humphrey has been in town three times in

the last year and a half, and each time he has visited with Stokes. It would look good for LBJ to have a black but controllable mayor in a major northern city before 1968.

Then early in the morning May 11, a young black guy shot and killed a white police "Green Beret" after a burglary. The black guy had been a member of JFK (Jomo Freedom Kenyatta) House, a nationalist center, last year before it was blamed for the Hough Riots. It has since been torn down.

This event, the continuing helicopter operations and other police tactics have had a strong effect on the mood of the ghetto. Many blacks say that the poor are uniting behind the firebombers and the gangs, despite the city's "divide and conquer" campaign. If this is so, then Ungvary's testimony before the Eastland Committee may take on a new meaning.

It may indicate that the Police Department tactics will lead them to identify the whole population of the ghetto as the enemy, just as the American forces have been led to identify the entire rural population of Vietnam as the enemy. Then the helicopter will begin to "search-and-destroy" in earnest. ♦

CARMICHAEL

CON'T FROM PAGE 4

was killed?

Is that what you are imitating? Is it for you not to reason why at a university, but to do and die? Do you not have the guts to say, hell no?

Do you not have the guts to say I will not allow anyone to make me a hired killer?

When I decide to kill, since it is the greatest crime that man can make, I will make that decision. And I will not only decide to kill, I will decide whom to kill.

So that you are now at a vast black university where they have already incorporated in your thinking violence. And here you are marching around every Friday, or Thursday, or Wednesday or whatever it is, with your shoes spit shined 'til three o'clock in the morning marching with a gun in your hand, learning all about how to shoot.

Over in Vietnam they put you on a front line and you are shooting. But that is not violence because you can't define for yourself. You ought to tell the school that if you wanted to learn how to kill you would go to West Point.

They turn them out there. You came here to learn how to help your people of Baltimore in the ghettos upon whom you turn your backs as soon as you get a chance.

And what can you tell a black man in Baltimore who lives in the ghettos about killing? Hasn't he been subjected to it all of his life? What is your analysis about the rebellions that have been occurring all around the state?

Are you like everybody else? Are you against violence? Do you analyze? Do you recognize what it means? Let me explain.

The reason why they say we expound violence isn't because we expound violence but because we refuse to condemn black people who throw rocks and bottles at policemen.

That is why, and I say that is the only reason why. Because I look at all the other Negro leaders -- so called leaders -- everytime there is a riot. "We deplore violence, we avoid use of violence, it is very, very bad, there is only a small group of vagabonds, they don't represent our community, and violence never accomplishes anything. Yes, we are training our boys to go to Vietnam. We think it is a good thing to send them to Vietnam but violence never accomplishes anything at all."

GHETTO VIOLENCE

Now you have got to understand this very clearly. If you know anything about the ghetto, you would know that on any given Friday or Saturday night there is more violence inside the ghetto than any place else in any given city.

You know that we cut and butcher and shoot each other. And do you also know that in any given ghetto there is more police power, that is, in terms of numbers, there are more police per block, per square inch than in any other area of the city?

What does that mean to you? It means that on Friday night while there are more police there is more violence among black people. So obviously they don't give a damn about the violence among black people . . .

Let one black boy throw one rock at some filthy grocery store and the whole damned National Guard comes into our ghetto. Why is that?

Because property rights means more than human rights and in the ghetto we do not own the property. If we get robbed, you can call the policemen. 'til you turn white. He ain't coming. But just hit a grocery store. Just throw a molotov cocktail through a window and see how quick they come in.

They deplore violence. They can't stand the violence that goes on in the street.

It's all right on Friday and Saturday night when we cut each other in the street and no one black man ever talks about it. We need nonviolence in the black community. That's where we need it.

We have to learn to love and respect ourselves. That's where it should begin. That's where it must begin. Because if we don't love us, ain't nobody going to love us.

Now what happens then is that the people who have power in our ghettos are the property owners. So that when their stores are touched they call the National Guard.

But analyze that one step further, everybody in our ghettos knows that we are charged higher prices for rotten meat. Everybody knows that, but nobody says we deplore the high prices they charge the Negro for rotten meat.

They don't say that. Nobody moves to readjust the problems black people are facing in the ghetto -- the slumlord, machinery set up.

And if they try to, they find out that the people who own the property are the people who make the laws.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Property rights, property rights is what the United States Constitution is based on. You should know that.

People who didn't own property could not vote when this country was first founded. Not until years afterwards were such people able to vote. So the analysis is the question of property vs. property-less people. That's what it's all about.

That's what those rebellions are about. Nothing else, nothing less. And what appalls me about the black leaders is they do not have the guts to condemn the grocery store owner. Now I will say anytime a man has been charging us all that money for 15 years, his store should have been bombed five years ago.

Should have been out of the neighborhood five years ago. And if nobody wants to do it, then you can't blame people when they move to do it for themselves.

If you want to stop rebellion, then eradicate the cause.

You are college students, you should think. Now then we want to talk finally about the responsibility of youth. That's black students.

RESPONSIBILITY OF BLACK STUDENTS

What is your responsibility to your fellow black brothers? Why are you here? So that you can become a social worker so that you can kick down a door in the middle of the night to look for a pair of shoes?

Is that what you come to college for? So that you can keep the kid in the ghetto school, so that you can ride up in a big Bonnevillie with AKA sign stuck on the back? Is that your responsibility? Is that your responsibility? What is your responsibility? What is your responsibility to black people of Baltimore who are hungry for the knowledge you are supposed to have?

Is it so that you can just get over? Do you forget that it is your sweat that put you where you are? Do you not know that your black mothers scrubbed floors so you can get here, and the minute you get out, you turn your back on them? What is your responsibility, black students? What is it? Is it to become a teacher so you can be programmed into a ghetto school? So that you can get up and say, "It's a shame how our children are culturally deprived?"

What do you know about culturally deprived? What is your definition of culture. Isn't it anything man-made? Is it not anything man-made? How the hell can I be culturally deprived? You deny my very existence, to use that term.

Do you question what they tell you at school? Or do you only accept, carry it back, get over; and go out to further stymie black people in the ghetto?

I blame you for the rebellions across the country last summer. And I will blame you again when they increase more this summer.

It is your obligation to be back in the ghetto helping out black people who are looking, who are acting, begging and thinking a way to solve their problems. And you are running out of the ghetto as fast as your sports cars and Mustangs can carry you?

What is your responsibility, black students of Morgan? Do you know about Du Bois? Have you read Douglass? Do you know Richard Wright? Can you quote A. J. Rogers? Do you know Claude McKay?

Can you understand, can you understand LeRoi Jones? There is a young man with me now. His name Eldridge Cleaver. He just spent eight years in jail, he is writing some of the most profound writing

that has come out in the country from black men.

Do you know of him? Have you read his stuff? Why haven't you read his stuff? Is it because you are too busy trying to find out where the Kappas are partying Friday night?

Why is it that you haven't read his stuff? Is it that you are spit-shining your shoes so that you can become a lieutenant colonel to go to Vietnam when you graduate? Why is it that you haven't read his stuff? Is it that you don't want to read anything about being black because you, too, are ashamed of it and are running from it?

So you want to run to your debutante ball with your light-skinned girlfriend to be white. So you want to run to your Kappa fraternity ball and forget all else.

When the ghettos rebel you are going to be the buffer, and you are the ones who are going to be caught in the middle. The gate is swinging open. Brothers and sisters, you had better come home. You had better come home early this summer. You had better take what knowledge you have and use it to benefit black people in the ghetto.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

You had better recognize that individualism is a luxury that black students can no longer afford. You had better understand that. You had better begin to see yourself as a people, and as a group and, therefore, you need to help to advance that group.

Can you be aggressive? Can you say that Baltimore is almost 52 percent black and black people should own, run it, lock, stock and barrel? They do it every place else. Or, are you afraid?

Can you not go out and organize those people to take the political power which they have been denied? Can you not help? Or are you too busy trying to be a doctor and lawyer so that you can get a big car and a big house and talk about your house in the suburbs and I'm the only one out there?

Can you begin to say that James Brown is us, that he is a musical genius as much as Bach or Beethoven? Can you say it?

Can you understand your culture? Can you make them teach it to you here in college, rather than to teach you Bach and Beethoven which is only one-sided? Why can't you also have James Brown so that you can begin to know what culture is all about?

I want to finish with two quotes. The first is by Bertrand Russell. You know about the war tribunal. You should. Bertram Russell is calling the war tribunals to judge people of this country.

I want to read from what he calls "An Appeal to My Conscience." You ought to try to understand it very clearly because what you ought to understand about the war in Vietnam is that it has interest to you not only personally, that is during your student days, but it is very political for black people. When McNamara says he is going to draft 30 percent black people out of the ghettos, baby that is nothing but urban removal, that's all it is. And if you don't begin to understand that, you are going to be the fellows leading the charges of your 30 percent black people. You don't understand that. Do you have the guts to stand up now and say I will not follow law and order, I will follow my own conscience?

That's what they sent Eichman to jail for, you know, because he followed law and order. And they said that there is a higher law than the law of government. There is the law of each of us and they are absolutely right. And that is my law, and I will not go to Vietnam, I will not serve in the army. I will say hell no. The choices are very clear. They are crystal clear. You either suffer or you inflict suffering. Either you go to Leavenworth or you become a killer. I will not become a killer. I will choose to suffer. I will go to jail. To hell with this country.

Now then the quote by Mr. Russell: "Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither, the bona fides nor the authenticity of this tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide.

"President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, General Westmoreland and their fellow criminals

will be brought before a wider justice than they recognize and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand."

That is a profound statement.

IT NOT YOU, WHO?

Now the last statement that I want to leave you with is by John Donne. You know John Donne is my favorite philosophical poet of the 17th century. He said "the death of any man diminishes me because I am involved in mankind."

Now what this generation has allowed to happen is that we are not involved in mankind. Now when we began to crawl they sent six million people to an oven and we blinked our eyes. And when we walked they sent our uncles to Korea. And we grew up in a cold war to continue their head-wrecking period so that we are immune to humanity and we, this generation, must save the world. We must become involved in mankind.

We must not allow them to stage the killing of every and anything that gets in their way.

We must not become part of that machinery. Now I want to read my favorite quote:

"If I am not for myself, who will be? If I am for myself alone, who am I? If not now, when? And if not you, who?"

I want to thank you. ◀

If the money the Americans are planning to spend on the war next year were simply divided up and given to the 16 million inhabitants of South Vietnam, every man, woman and child would get a sum of nearly \$1,960 each, which would give them one of the highest per capita incomes in the world.

-The New Statesman

FIGHT
CON'T FROM PAGE 3

paternalism. The black ghetto is split between a few appointed leaders, acceptable to the dominant institutions, and the mass of the poor.

The two traditional political parties have ignored the black community, and until two years ago, only 25% of the blacks were registered to vote. The entire operation of Rochester indicates that it is closed to any leadership which does not represent a segment of the business community.

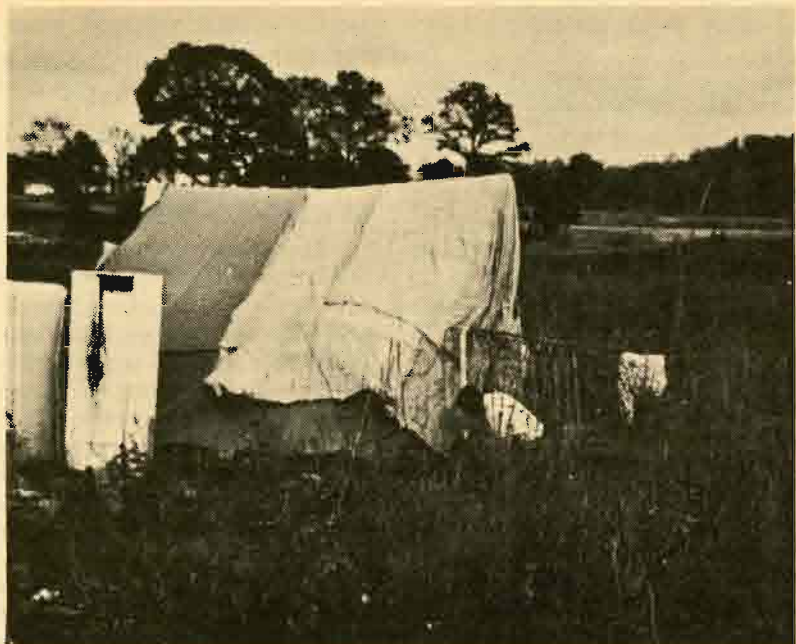
FIGHT

"They run this town like a southern plantation," exclaimed "professional radical" Saul Alinsky, whose organization, the Industrial Areas Foundation, was imported by the Rochester Council of Churches to give the black community a voice, following the 1964 uprising.

After a year and one-half of work, FIGHT emerged as an organization of organizations representing some "105 churches, fraternities, block clubs, civil rights groups, small businesses, poolhalls, barbershops and youth groups." Nevertheless, the degree of real cohesion within the black community and the amount of support for FIGHT is largely indeterminate.

In spite of the fact that local Protestant ministers, selected by Alinsky and the Council of Churches, provide the primary leadership for FIGHT, the organization does project an image of militancy. Minister Florence, FIGHT's dynamic and aggressive leader, working closely with Alinsky and the two full-time professional IAF organizers, has openly proclaimed his support for black power. Florence and Alinsky intend to make the confrontation between community unions and business corporations the new focal point for a revived civil rights movement and thus transform black power from a slogan to a strategy for social action.

Supporting Florence, Stokely Carmichael, who visited FIGHT in February, remarked: "When we're through with them, Minister Florence will say 'jump' and they'll ask, 'How High?'" So far, the corporate business leadership has not responded with that question. ◀



PART OF TENT CITY in Lowndes County.

Photo: Bob Fletcher

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 party that is changing life in the county. Since January there has been a quiet war between the LCFO and the federal county poverty program. It looks like Black Power is winning.

The Poverty Program is teaching local people how to read and how to teach reading. A medical program is being planned. These are good and important programs. People must be able to read in order to run their own lives. The water in Lowndes is contaminated and medical services are poor. 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 \$800 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 that 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 the Poverty Headquarters. The main office was located in a church in the white district of Hayneville, the county seat. The church and the property were owned by a Mr. Coleman, first cousin of the Coleman who murdered Jonathen Daniels.

Two months ago the church was burned down. A trailer now houses 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 have \$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 headquarters there. What is it doing in the white community anyway? The Lowndes County Christian Movement owns its own land. If the building was built on our land, we'd own it forever."

Smith proposed the contract at a meeting when Hulett was out of the county. Since then the people have learned the full story. Hulett says he doesn't think they will let the Poverty Program build the new headquarters there.

"The OEO is for poor people to help poor people help themselves," says Hulett. "We take what is good from the Poverty Program, the literacy and the medical services. The other part, brainwashing to get people to compromise with the power structure -- we don't buy that."

"Poor people don't have to be grateful to the government. It's your money and we are the government."

"Mr. Smith says he thinks poor people don't know what they want. He writes proposals and then shows them to the Board."

THE MAN FROM BOSTON

The "Educational Consultant" for the Program is Dr. Carleton Menge from Boston, a white man. When we asked him about the church burnings, he said, "The burning of the church has aroused a lot of sympathy in the white community for the Poverty Program."

"You mean the white community IN LOWNDES COUNTY?" "Yes."

"How do you mean?" we asked.

"Oh, they've given money."

"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 Mr. _____," he said, pointing to a black man sitting against the wall. "He's 70 years old, but he's just a BOY."

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

"I'm simply amazed," Dr. Menge told the audience, "that you 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 very top."

Later in the churchyard, Menge told us, "It's amazing -- these people admire Stokely Carmichael so much. And they don't seem to know anything about the more successful Negro leaders."

What Negro leaders does Mr. Menge admire?

"Whitney Young is a great man," he said. "He operates out of New York and Washington. He works behind the scenes with businessmen and politicians."

"But," he said sadly, "nobody knows about what Whitney Young does."

Menge is doing his best to let the Lowndes County people know what a great man Whitney Young is. He purchased 18 copies of a NEWSWEEK article on the Negro Movement and was giving it out to his trainees. This article is one of the most vicious anti-Carmichael attacks ever written.

"SENSITIVITY TRAINING"

Menge was using the NEWSWEEK article in one of his classes. It was a "sensitivity training" class of which he was very proud.

"These people have a natural sense of body contact," he said. "So I divided them up in pairs and had them put their fingertips to the fingertips of the other person. Then I asked one of them to pretend that he was one of the Negro leaders in NEWSWEEK and to try and let the other person know who he was through his fingertips. And it worked! They were able to tell who the other person was pretending to be!"

"Who did most of the people choose to be?" we asked.

"Stokely Carmichael," Menge said, puzzled.

they would all quit if the money was not 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 meet with one another and discuss what is happening. When Smith paid a friend of his \$175 to take some photos of the burned office, the people learned about it fast.

"Poor people don't have that kind of money," says Frank Miles, LCFO candidate 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: he's too busy. But if a white from the courthouse comes down, he'll talk with him for 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 has no traction 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



JOHN HULETT, head of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

Photo: Bob Fletcher

THE \$200 DESK

We met Dr. Menge later in the Poverty Office. He was lamenting that there had not been enough money asked for in the original poverty grant.

"The people who drew up the original proposal were very unsophisticated," he said -- meaning John Hulett and the members of the Lowndes County Christian Movement. "They only requested \$1000 for office supplies."

"Why, anybody knows that a desk like this costs \$200," he said, rapping his knuckles on a modern metal desk. "Now when Mr. Smith draws up HIS proposal for next year, we'll have plenty of money to run an office."

"That's right," John Hulett told us. "Smith wants to draw up a lot of programs under his control, so all the money goes through his hands. Smith told us he wants to have an expensive office to impress Governor Wallace."

THE REVOLT

Hulett and the people of Lowndes are not letting Smith get off lightly. They are not giving up their control over the program. "You can't brainwash Lowndes County people," Hulett told us.

A while ago the stipends paid to the trainees were held up for several weeks, because of an accounting error. Many had a large sum coming to them. Smith objected to paying them the full amount, saying "You can't give that much money to poor people at one time."

Hulett went to the trainees and explained what had happened. The group went over all the rules about the stipends and then called in Smith and told him

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 refuses 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 OEO 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 rush and the people were told that if they did not have the program set up in a week they would lose the money. The Board felt pushed to appoint Smith.

WELFARE BLUES IN CHICAGO

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 request of the IUPAE for support brought up once again the dilemma facing radical organizers who consider working with two constituencies which, by their position in the system, are in conflict. Can recipient unions work with a union of caseworkers? Can they unite to improve an immoral, repressive system while it exists? Or are their goals mutually exclusive?

REASONS FOR SUPPORT

Last year at this time we faced the same dilemma. At that time the caseworkers were on strike for the right to organize and unionize and wanted support from the various organizations doing welfare and civil rights work. Last May we decided to support the union in their demands although each organization did so separately. We supported them because:

1. We felt that they had the right to organize, unionize and strike.
 2. It was a chance to use disruptive tactics which pointed to the inadequacies of the welfare system.
 3. The administration was arguing that the unionization and striking of Public Aid Employees injured recipients. We wanted to dispell that myth and make it clear that the real enemy was not the union but those same administrators.
- Since that time the dilemma has been intensified and has grown more complex:

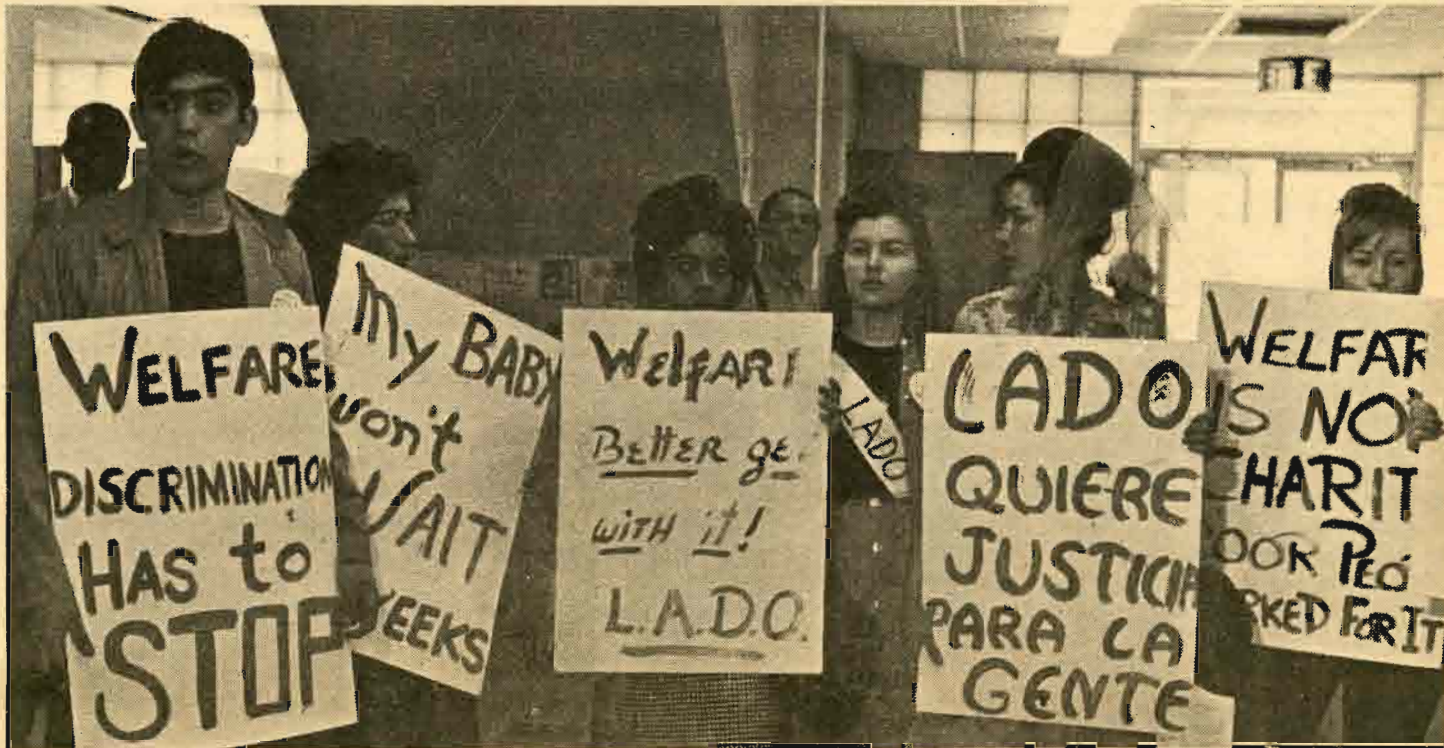
1. We are no longer dealing with an administration equally oppressive in rhetoric and deed, but one which has assumed a liberal rhetoric and is headed by a man (William Robinson, a Negro) who was nominated and supported by the Welfare Recipient Unions.
2. The IUPAE has done little to further working relationships with the recipient unions in the past year.

NEW PRIORITIES

When the Welfare Unions met this year, we acted upon a new set of priorities. Our primary commitment was to the unification and strengthening of recipient groups, and all our decisions proceed from that. The West Side Organization, JOIN, East Garfield Park Community Organization, the Latin American Defense Organization and the Englewood Civic Organization, uniting as the City-wide Welfare Union, decided that we would have to demand certain legally binding commitments from IUPAE if we were to support them. Consequently a five point contract was submitted to the Community Organizations Committee of the IUPAE.

The contract called for mutual cooperation between IUPAE and the Welfare Unions including a joint grievance board and mutual efforts to change the Illinois Public Aid policy and administration. The most important and controversial point was #1 which read:

Welfare Union and IUPAE will show mutual respect for picket lines, refusing to cross a line set up by either union



LADO ORGANIZERS demonstrate at Wicker Park Public Aid office.

at any Cook County Department of Public Aid location.

Through this contract, on all matters of major policy and legislative change the IUPAE would be obligated to support Union actions. If the IUPAE purports to "be about the same thing we are", then it is only logical that they agree to this clause.

CONTRACT VOTED DOWN

However, this contract was voted down by the delegate assembly of the IUPAE 38-4 on the following Monday night because of Article 1. The assembly felt they could not ask their membership to go out on strike in support of WRU demands when it would mean breaking their contract which specified no strike action during the duration of the contract. Furthermore, they felt they could not ask their membership to give up a day's pay for support of issues which would not benefit them. Finally they brought up the point that there was no way they could enforce this clause even if they did agree to it as they had no effective control over the behavior of their members. Thus negotiations broke down and we took an essentially neutral position on the strike.

The next Friday the IUPAE presented the Welfare Recipients Unions with a four point proposal similar to the one the City-wide Union had presented to them. However, they had emasculated the whole thing by changing the first point so that instead of mutual support for picket lines there would be a committee set up to discuss whether or not either group would support the actions of the other and to what extent.

NEED FOR ACTION

The proposal was voted down by the CWWU although there were differing opinions among the 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 repressive nature of its actions toward

recipients and caseworkers alike. On the other hand the IUPAE had dropped most of the agency-improvement section of its contract, and it became ever more clear that the majority of the IUPAE was oriented toward the development of a professional trade union.

INDEPENDENT ORGANIZING

At this point we decided to go into the district offices independently. We would do heavy organizing and grievance work to make sure that the department was not screwing recipients any more than usual. We felt that it was an excellent time to recruit members for the union, as the department's inefficiency was at its highest.

Also, some of the more active IUPAE members were going out in the communities encouraging recipients to go to Recipient Unions if they had problems and not to stay away from the offices because of the strike.

The most active union in this independent organization was LADO. They had taken a softer line with the IUPAE and were willing to work with them at their district office (Wicker Park) which has the well-earned reputation of being one of the worst offices in the city.

LADO organizing and grievance work was met with police state tactics. On their third day of organizing LADO organizers found recipients enclosed in an office where they could not get to them. When they attempted to enter this office to distribute their literature and take care of the grievances of the recipients they met with resistance from office officials aided by a goon squad of cops. Obed Lopez was carried out by one of the thugs who had attacked him without warning. The next day the LADO organizers were promised safe conduct by the Administration of the Welfare Department but Obed and a fellow organizer, Olga Petroza, were arrested on a charge of criminal trespassing and whisked out the back door before anyone could protest.

None of the other Recipient Unions met

such overt hostility in their district offices, but all realized the battle lines being drawn at Wicker Park

Today is Monday and it appears that the caseworkers will be going back to their jobs this week. The picket lines are still being manned but a contract has been negotiated and only needs ratification from the county board. We have not seen a copy of the contract but rumor has it that it does not include an agency improvement section nor does it insure any kind of IUPAE security within the department.

SOME LESSONS LEARNED

The dilemma which faced us last month has not been resolved, but the past month of striking has been extremely educational for all parties involved, though not particularly productive in actual gains.

The liberal administration's rhetoric has been completely stripped away and although Robinson claims to be a soul brother, his "goodness" can only be seen as irrelevant in an immoral and oppressive system.

The IUPAE, although the contract they won was weak, may have learned a lesson in power as evidenced by their growing militancy and increased out-reaching to recipient groups as the strike progressed.

The contradictions are still there but the IUPAE can be worked with while the contradictions between the Recipient Unions and the Administration are irresolvable.

However, no matter who the Recipient Unions decide to work with in the future, it is essential that we be unified. If we allow the department or the IUPAE to divide us on issues we will never be able to gain the power or gain control of the system.

We must not be forced to keep reacting to situations as individual groups who come together only at the moment 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. ◆

GOODFELLOWS FIND PLACE

by Junebug Boykin

CHICAGO -- The Chicago Goodfellows started last summer when a couple of hillbilly guys had an idea and got together. And the idea was that something had to be done about police brutality. The only way we thought of to stop police brutality was getting guys together and march on the police. (200 Guys marched. See Movement, Oct '66) So the march on the police was done, but something happened and it wasn't for the good.

What happened was that after the march guys went their separate ways and the cops really let them have it. Then before you knew it there was no more Goodfellows.

Winter came and things moved slowly, but it gave a few guys time to think and think hard. And then another idea popped up. That was to open a place for

young guys to hang out. A place where we could talk to guys and try to get through to them and be friends with them.

We just opened the place. We know that it will be a slow hard task, but it will be worth it in the end. Not only on police brutality, but bad housing and food and everything that is wrong with this damn society.

All we have in the place is a ping-pong table and a juke box. But we will get more machines to put in the place. It's not so hot inside the place, but it's started and we're fixing it up.

There is something that I want to say, and that is when guys like myself keep popping up with ideas they might just fit together and be the answer to our problems though it might take a life time. This is my life now and what I just wrote gives me and people like me faith. ◆



GOODFELLOWS' HALL.

Photo: Nancy Gillin

TEATRO CAMPESINO

LUIS VALDEZ, DIRECTOR

POLITICAL ART FORM

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 United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, it is a "poor people's" theatre realized in an art-idiom intended to express their reality. It is known as El Teatro Campesino (Farm Workers Theatre).

"Are you REALLY farm workers?" asks a well-intentioned union supporter. "Who taught you how to act? Who writes your material?" These are questions often asked of us after a performance in one of the big cities. They imply, I suppose, that farm workers would not be doing theatre 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 "outside agitators" must eventually leave the organization in the hands of its own people. So it must be in the Teatro.

POLITICAL ART FORM

What we mean by "theatre" here is not a group but a political artform used by farm workers to organize. A theatre aimed at the popular mind, where the audience is encouraged to participate as boisterously as the actors themselves. A theatre with groups across California from Brawley to Yuba City, and even in Oregon, Washington, Arizona and Texas. Perhaps even in Colorado, and on east to Wisconsin and New York. Except for the last three states mentioned, the Teatro Campesino has performed in all of these places. Farm workers have seen the simplicity with which the Teatro works, and they have asked many times: "How do we start our own Teatro?" The people are ready for their theatre. It is we who are not organized to give them one.

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, Odets, the Federal Theatre Project in New York during the 30's, etc. — all distant and academic. Then there was the Free Southern Theatre, but they made no pretenses to being a workers' theatre and never seriously tackled the problem of teaching Southern sharecroppers and farm workers how to produce plays of their own. "Waiting for Godot" is, after all, a bit way out even for the well-fed white audiences in the North. There was the Mexican popular theater of the 20's when the Mexican Revolution was still young and radical, but that too was distant; only the popular caricatures of Pozada, Orozco and Rivera inspired by the bawdy, satirical characters of the Teatro Tepache and Teatro Lirico remained to inspire us. Orozco's savage, satirical sketches showing drunken hags and politicians; Rivera's murals showing gorilla generals and capitalists hogging bags of money while stepping on the starving poor; Pozada's CALAVERAS (skeleton caricatures) and his gift for capturing the expressions of the Mexican peasant — these did more for us than all the plays of the radical 30's.

MEXICAN SPIRIT

More of the spirit of the Mexican popular theater came into the Teatro through specific individuals. Not all Mexican farm laborers in the United States are illiterate. Many in fact are surprisingly educated IN SPANISH. Felipe Cantu is a case in point. He is 45, has seven children, and has worked in the fields during the last 20 years he has been in the U.S. In Mexico, however, he was everything from "a cop to a clown," and used to act in provincial theaters. From time to time, he quotes us long passages of Mexican poetry, and his fund of folk songs in fantastic. Cantinflas is his hero, but he has a comic style all his own. He has been building a character during the last year or so, based on Andy Zermeno's comic hero in EL MALCRIADO cartoons. When Felipe comes on as "Don Sotaco,"



Photo: Gerhard Gscheide

FELIPE CANTU as Don Sotaco, Augie Lira as his conscience

farm workers cheer and applaud him. His "Don Sotaco" is THE farm worker.

Without any real precedents to confuse us, the Teatro developed by working with what was available. It would have been impossible to try to present a play in the beginning. Much less, find a stage, lights and a rehearsal hall, etc. We began in November '65, in the second month of the Delano Grape Strike, with little more than the willingness of a few farm workers to "act out" what they were experiencing in the struggle. We had some small signs saying in plain black letters on white poster board: ESQUIROL (scab), HUELGUISTA (striker), PATRONITO (grower), and CONTRATISTA (contractor). I put string on them, and then at a small meeting in 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 Huelguista on the picket line 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 audience gathered there that night was considerable.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

A scene, however, does not make a theatre. For about five months, we put our actos (skits) together, quite unobtrusively, 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 actos were rehearsed and presented to the strikers at the weekly meetings. Strike songs were composed in much the same way. Nothing was ever written down, no scripts were used, actors constantly 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 acto became how well we zeroed in on the practical issues of our struggle: the need for union recognition, the tactical workings of a 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 "unnaturalistic" (as opposed to unrealistic) form of theater. Organizations, inanimate objects, seasons, and ideas became living characters — all by the simple act of hanging signs on actors, reading WINTER, BOYCOTT, CONTRACT, SOCIAL JUSTICE. Our human characters became the archetypes of our struggle: the farm labor contractor became DON COYOTE, representing all contractors; our huelguista became DON SOTACO,

representing all farm workers. The patroncito became SCHENLEY, then DIGIORGIO, then PERELLI - MINETTI, changing names as soon as we won a new contract, but always there just the same. The PATRONCITO represents all growers. We needed no curtains, no lights, no make up; we used costumes and props only sparingly (who had time to make them anyway?) — a cigar, a hat, an old pair of pants (taken from donated clothing), a pair of pruning shears, a wine bottle. The union hall was our stage, and the living presence of the Huelga was our set.

REFLECTING THE STRIKE

We began to see that our little Teatro had a real function. Done well, it could articulate our collective experience, reflecting the strike back to the strikers in clear images. The actos became little morality plays expressing the morality of the Huelga. As the strike grew more complex, the actos — in order to remain simple — began to depend on the synthetic power of symbolism. Poetic images emerged from our broad comic style. In "La Quinta Temporada" (The Fifth Season), the four seasons are personified. Don Sotaco is hired by Don Coyote to pick the Patroncito's summer crop. When the time comes, "Summer" enters dressed in farm working clothes, but with dollar bills hanging like green leaves all over his worn, khaki work shirt and hat. The green dollar-leaves are the crop Don Sotaco picks.

Another acto on P-M is called "El Boycoteo del Perro-Minetti" (The Boycott of Dog-Minetti). The action takes place in front of our two, four-paneled folding screens. (The black and red paneled cloth screens serve as our all-purpose backdrop, wings, and dressing room during performances on flat-bed

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