

# Inside: Di Giorgio Boycott Supplement

20¢

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**THE**

**MOVEMENT**

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PICKETS AT DIGIORGIO  
SF Headquarters were spit  
on by DiGiorgio employees  
(story page 2).

## LOWNDES COUNTY NEGROES WORK TO TAKE OVER COUNTY



*"Before the Black Panther Party came, when I went to the boss man to get a little money, I had to take my hat off and scratch my head, you see. And I had to look down at the ground, you couldn't look him in the eye. Well, I'll never do that again."*

-- a Lowndes County man, active in the LCFO.

LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA -- The story behind the May 3 Primary of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the "Black Panther Party," tells a lot about the most powerful movement of Negroes in Alabama.

Alabama law says that a political nominating convention must be held "in or around a public polling place." The only public polling place in Lowndes County is the courthouse, which was also the location for the Democratic Party primary.

The week before the primary, the leaders and organizers of the LCFO went to Sheriff Ryals, with their plans. The Sheriff told them they could not hold their primary there. "We said -- the law says we have to hold it here," reported Stokely Carmichael, an organizer of the LCFO and recently elected Chairman of SNCC. The Sheriff refused to give them protection. "We said -- that's okay baby, we're going to bring our guns and we're going to have our meeting uninterrupted."

Carmichael then wrote to John Doar of the Justice Department, explaining the problem. Doar sent down a Justice Department lawyer to the county. The lawyer asked John Hulett, the Chairman of the LCFO to tell his members "not to start any trouble."

"We don't intend to," replied Hulett. "We are within our rights. We will come armed. You tell the crackers not to start any trouble, because if they start something, we're going to finish it."

The lawyer then stayed up all night getting a written interpretation, signed by Alabama Attorney-General Richmond Flowers and the Probate Court Judge of Lowndes County, saying that it was within the law for the LCFO to hold its nominating convention a half-mile from the Courthouse at the First Baptist Church of Hayneville.

LCFO leaders agreed to this; a safer location meant more people would come to the convention.

The point of this story is that Lowndes County Negroes are serious about taking over their county. They have no illusion that whites will turn over their power peacefully. Already a \$1000 reward has been offered for the person who kills the first Negro Sheriff.

"We intend to become the power structure of our country," says John Hulett. "In any fair election, we will win. And we will hold onto that power if we have to deputize 1000 Negroes to do it."

900 Negroes met at the May 3 nominating convention. Several hundred more attended but were unable to vote because they had voted in the Democratic Primary. (The charge that SNCC and the LCFO asked Negroes to "boycott" the Democratic primary is false. By law no one can vote in two primaries. The LCFO urged Negroes in Lowndes County to attend the Black Panther convention rather than vote in the Democratic primary.)

They nominated 7 candidates for the available offices:

Sheriff - Mr. Sidney Logan, Jr.  
Coroner - Mr. Henry Ross  
Tax Assessor - Miss Alice Moore  
Tax Collector - Mr. Frank Miles, Jr.  
Board of Education - Mr. Robert Logan  
- Mr. John Henson  
- Mrs. Willie Mae Strickland

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization is independent in every way. It has taken no money from SNCC. It raises its money from collections taken in mass meetings and from a group of relatives and friends in Detroit. The SNCC Field Secretaries, Stokely Carmichael, Bob Mants and Courtland Cox, canvass for the LCFO, but they do not direct it. The major work is done by John Hulett, who works full-time for the LCFO, and other members and candidates.

Their work this summer and fall will be to register as many Negroes as possible and to convince them to vote for the Black Panther rather than the Democratic Party.

Their arguments have been given a boost by the results of the state-wide primaries. The choice of Mrs. George Wallace as the Democratic candidate for Governor proves

that the Party in Alabama is still fully in the hands of racists. Those Negroes who ran in the Democratic primary either lost or were put into run-offs which they will probably lose. It may be that in November the only Negroes running in the state will be those of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.

"It's not use if we get the vote and still are poor," says Hulett. The leaders of the Organization have been thinking of ways to change more than just who votes in Lowndes County. They plan to use the taxing power of the County to redistribute the wealth. When Miss Moore ran for Tax Assessor, her platform was "Tax the Rich to Feed the Poor."

Most of the big landowners are paying from 1/2 to one-tenth of what they should be paying in property tax. The LCFO plans to change that, by raising property taxes to the legal limit.

"If Dan River Mills (the largest industrial plant in the county) can't pay its taxes, we'll take it over," says Hulett, "and run it ourselves."

If they move out of the county, that's all right too. They didn't hire many residents of the county and they didn't pay taxes, so it's no big loss."

The Black Panther Party may begin a new direction for American Negroes. There has only been one demonstration in Lowndes County, and it achieved nothing. The weapons used are the vote and economic power. "We spend our money where it's appreciated," says Hulett. "If people aren't for us, they don't get our money."

The new tactics have been very effective. "We don't depend on the Justice Department, the white liberals, the Democratic Party, the courts -- nobody -- to get done what has to be done. We depend on ourselves. And we'll win."

FOR THE STORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IN THE WORDS OF ITS LEADERS AND ORGANIZERS, SEE PAGE 3.

FACTS ABOUT LOWNDES COUNTY		
County Population . . . . .		15,417
Negroes . . . . .		12,425
% Negroes . . . . .		81%
Median Family Income:		
white . . . . .	\$4400	
negro . . . . .	935	
Voter Registration - 1964		
	White	Negro
Eligible	1900	5122
Registered	2240	0

There are now about 2700 whites registered, roughly 700 more than are eligible, and 2500 Negroes.

## AFTER THE PILGRIMAGE - A BURST OF ORGANIZING

DELANO -- There is a popular song that is played on the juke boxes all over the San Joaquin Valley, called "El Corrido de Delano."

"In Kern County you hear the words  
- Come brother, join the union,  
It will be better for us -  
We only ask the justice and dignity  
of man."

One day last month, when the NFWA pickets appeared on the edge of the fields at the DiGiorgio Sierra Vista Ranch, a DiGiorgio truck with a loudspeaker was driven up to drown out their cries. The driver turned the radio to a local Mexican station and went into the field. Suddenly, blasting over the rows of grapes, too loud to ignore, came "El Corrido de Delano."

Things are not going well for DiGiorgio or for corporate agri-business in California. In the month after the Delano to Sacramento Pilgrimage all has changed.

"I can't wait to get back to the Arvin area," says Marshall Ganz, a SNCC field secretary on the organizing staff of the Association. "You walk up to a worker, say Ah, and he says, Where do I sign?"

A DiGiorgio foreman, sympathetic with the union, says "The company men treat the workers different now. They're polite.

They don't shout orders, they ask." And even those who still oppose the strike talk about when the Association will win, not if.

### Organizing

The strategy of the Association has changed. The campaign is now concentrated inside the state. The DiGiorgio boycott is not planned nation-wide, but state-wide. The summer program, which hopes to involve 300 to 500 students, will center in California. Student - worker teams will sweep the state, bring the word of the Association to farm workers from North to South.

In the Delano-Bakersfield area the Association, newly re-organized into 13 departments, is putting its best people into signing up members. "Our best organizers," says a staff member, "are the young Mexican guys who were on the Pilgrimage. "There were some who didn't make much impression on us two months ago. Then during the Pilgrimage their real talent came out."

Whole DiGiorgio crews are being signed up. "We're finding out that the scabs aren't anti-union," says an organizer, "they just didn't know what was happening. We couldn't get to them, and their employers

CONTINUED ON LAST PAGE



A DIGIORGIO WORKER leaves field to talk with NFWA pickets.



## TO OUR READERS

We're calling this issue the June issue. It started out to be the May issue, but the editor had to go to the SNCC staff meeting and then to Lowndes County. This points out one of the problems THE MOVEMENT has: if the editor goes away for two weeks, the paper doesn't come out.

If we had money to help pay an Assistant Editor this wouldn't happen. Perhaps some of you know how we can get financial aid. We also need money to pay the expenses of our photographer. We can't even afford to transport him where the news is happening, or install a telephone in his apartment so we can call him.

You, reader, can help us in other ways. Could you take a few hours a week out to serve as MOVEMENT representative in your community? If someone in every area was actively pushing individual and bulk subscriptions as well as keeping an eye out for news, we could get more news to more readers and settle our financial crisis too.

Can you help us? Publishing a paper that tells the news no other paper tells is too big a job for one person or a handful of people to do.

## SNCC Rejects White House Conference

ATLANTA —

The following statement was released by SNCC on May 23:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee believes the White House Conference entitled, to secure these rights, is absolutely unnecessary and rejects its invitation to participate in this useless endeavor for the following reasons:

1. The foundation and consequences of racism are not rooted in the behavior of black Americans, yesterday or today. They are rooted in an attempt by Europeans and white Americans to exploit and dehumanize the descendants of Africa for monetary gain. This process of universal exploitation of Africa and her descendants continues today by the power elite of this country. In the process of exploiting Black Americans, White America has tried to shift the responsibility for the degrading position in which Blacks now find themselves away from the oppressors to the oppressed. The White House Conference, especially with its original focus on the Negro Family as the main problem with which America must deal, accentuates this process of shifting the burden of the problem.

2. Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference, we know that the Executive Department and the President are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to Black Americans. For example, murderers of Civil Rights Workers and Black Citizens roam free in this country with the desire to kill more freedom fighters

and the National Government claims it is impotent in many situations to bring about justice. For example, Police Chiefs, Sheriffs and State Officials who have victimized black people, beaten and jailed them and further suppressed our dignity are fully aware they were in effect given a blank check by the Executive Department of this Government to inflict these lawless acts upon Negroes, since it is common knowledge that throughout the South killing a "Nigger" is like killing a coon.

3. We believe that the President has called this Conference within the United States at a time when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb due to our involvement in the Vietnam Civil War, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa and other parts of the Third World.

We cannot be a party to attempts by the White House to use Black Americans to recoup a loss of prestige internationally.

4. Our organization is opposed to the war in Vietnam and we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss Human Rights in this country when we flagrantly violate the human rights of colored people in Vietnam.

5. We affirm our belief that people who suffer must make the decisions about who is to change and direct their lives. We therefore call upon all Black Americans to begin building independent political, economic and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country.

## DiGiorgio Employees Spit on SF Pickets

SAN FRANCISCO —

Sixty pickets, mostly from San Francisco labor unions, marched before the central office of the DiGiorgio Corporation pro-

testing the assault of two National Farm Workers' Association pickets by DiGiorgio armed guards in Delano.

DiGiorgio employees walked blank-faced through the line while others spit and dropped pennies and apple cores on the pickets from the floors above. Crowds of passers-by heard the speeches and the chanting of the marchers echoing between the tall buildings of the financial district.

Pickets chanted "Don't buy Tree-Sweet!", "Don't buy S&W!" and "DiGiorgio must go!" Leaflets announced the beginning of the boycott of DiGiorgio products.

The picket line was organized by the International Typographers' Union in response to the beating of Delano picket Manuel Rosas and the assault of another picket, Ida Cousino, by Herschel Nunez, a hired guard on the Sierra Vista Ranch near Delano. The incidents broke up talks about elections that were going on that moment between NFWA and the DiGiorgio Corp.

Pickets were attempting to speak to strikebreakers living on the ranch. (If the DiGiorgio proposal for elections were put into effect, these scabs would be the only workers permitted to vote).

One sign on the picket line read "Our taxes pay for DiGiorgio water," referring to the federal subsidy that pays for 4/5 of the water pumped for irrigation of grower lands. Another placard bore a black dollar sign with red drops of blood on it.

## "GOODBYE, MR. BROWN"

*These two letters are pretty clear. Father Kenny is the pastor of the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Sacramento. He has been active in the Delano strike since the beginning. Pat Brown is the Governor of the State of California. We think more letters like Father Kenny's passionate epistle should be written.*

Father Keith Kenny  
Our Lady of Guadalupe  
711 T Street  
Sacramento, California

My dear Father:

I appreciate your concern for the farm workers and hope you will accept the fact that I too am, and have been, concerned. Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Cesar Chavez which summarizes my record.

I spent Easter Sunday with my mother, children and grandchildren because it is one of the two days each year I have been able to keep as a family occasion.

The farm labor problem requires the continuing concern of all of us. State government will continue to enforce those laws which do exist and I will continue my efforts to move differences from the picket line to the conference table.

Sincerely,  
EDMUND G. BROWN, Governor

Mr. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown  
Governor of California

Dear Mr. Brown:

In answer to your unsolicited letter, I can only say that it fails to lighten the disappointment or cool the smouldering anger that I, along with all the little people of the State feel to discover that we really don't matter at all to the Governor of this State.

We all felt that surely you would not disappoint us, that the "public servant" would want to be with the little people, with the Mexican citizens of California when they needed him and where they needed him. But Easter has passed into history — and so have our illusions.

We are fed up with promises that do not produce. We are fed up with a pat on the head and being talked to like little children — and your sanctimonious appeal to "motherhood" and "family," and the "conference table" are just that, Easter Sunday has changed a lot of things. We found out who our friends are, and we do not forget.

Once more the "gringo" has treated us like "poor Mexicans," has ignored our sensitivities, our dignity. It has always been like that, but this too we do not forget. When you offended us by your absence it was only another example of the way you and your office, and other State offices have bungled and blundered the whole Delano issue, up to and including the latest DiGiorgio-owned conciliation service and the so-called investigation of violation of civil rights by the Attorney General's office.

The poor still have no rights and no dignity in California — and no one in high office really gives a damn. But Easter Sunday means that now we understand all this. It also means that we are united now as never before in the history of California. You should read history, Mr. Brown, and you could learn something from it. Now we are just fed up, and fine words mean nothing — nor shall we be "bought off" by a couple of appointive positions to our race. That time also is past.

I am sorry, Mister Brown, to have to say such hard things. You see, life is hard, but I guess you don't know about that. Easter has changed so much. We are not afraid anymore to say hard things. We are not afraid anymore of anything.

Goodbye, Mister Brown.

Father Keith Kenny

## A LONG, TOUGH RENT STRIKE GOES ON

SAN FRANCISCO —

Five Latin families who live in a large slum building on San Francisco's Gough Street have been withholding rent payments since December from the owners of the building, South of Market flophouse speculator Red Rivas and the Granite Land Corporation.

The rent strike was launched soon after the building's owners demanded a near 100% rent increase — from \$60 to \$115 a month. Represented by the Mission Tenants Union of which one Gough Street tenant was recently elected treasurer, the rent strikers are demanding one year leases at \$80 a month. During the last six months, they have accumulated over \$1300 in back rents in their bank accounts.

The owners, Rivas and Granite, have responded to these moves by attempting to evict all five families (who have a total of 20 children).

Actions against the owners by the MTU and the Gough Street tenants have included "lightning" picket lines at all of Rivas' and Granite's properties asking for the support of other tenants, the regular picketing of the Granite Land office on Bush Street for the past four months, and the picketing of Granite's vice-president Dudley C. Knill's \$60,000 home in Marin county.

The MTU is seeking support from organized labor. Thus far, recognition of the strike has come from Painters Union Local

4, Local 110 of the Miscellaneous Culinary Workers and various building trades unions in the form of financial help and Unfair listings.

The tenants, who are of Mexican and Nicaraguan descent, demonstrated their solidarity with the Delano strikers by marching into Sacramento with the perigrinos on Easter Sunday.

Rivas is the sublease of at least five south of market hotels — the Daton, the Rizer, the Kennedy, the Parkside Hotel Apartments and the Netherlands. Granite has 26 different holdings in and around the Nob Hill and Marina sections of San Francisco. Its president, Edwin Connor, is a close associate of millionaire Walter Haas, the Levi-Strauss magnate.

During the past six months, several Presbyterian ministers have attempted to negotiate a just settlement between the landlords and the Gough Street tenants but Rivas and Granite have failed to deal in good faith. Backed by the Apartment House Owners Association, the landlords are still determined to evict the Gough Street tenants.

The Apartment House Owners Association has entered into the picture because the big realty interests realize that a contract with the Tenants Union would set a precedent in the fight for bargaining rights for tenants and would also be a first step towards rent control for the whole city.

### THE MOVEMENT

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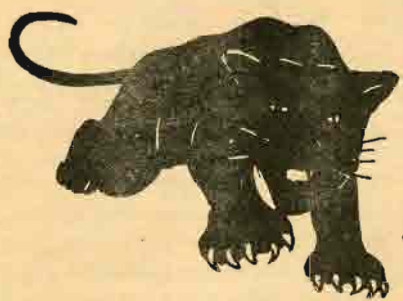
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# Lowndes County Freedom Organization Leaders Talk About Their Party

Last month, THE MOVEMENT editor, Terence Cannon, spent several days in Lowndes County, Alabama, a rural county quickly becoming the center of an important new Negro political movement. It is reported that when a meeting was held in the courthouse of a neighboring county to form a similar Freedom Organization, the Probate Judge's secretary announced, "The panthers are here." Cannon interviewed several of the Lowndes County "panthers": here is their view of the independent political party that carries the symbol of the leaping black panther.

## JOHN HULETT - "The Black Panther is an animal the comes out fighting for life or death"

John Hulett, the Chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, is 38 years old. He was born in Lowndes County and has a wife and 7 children. After graduating from the Lowndes County Training School he went to Birmingham and worked for 7 years in a foundry. There he was elected president of the foundry workers local #1489. In 1956 he moved to Georgia, worked as a construction worker and participated in NAACP activities. In 1959 he moved back to Lowndes County.

A year ago several of us met together with the idea of going over to attempt to get registered. At this time several threats had already been made that if a Negro would attempt to register then blood would run in the streets. 37 of us decided to go over anyway.

Since that time we have registered at least 2500 Negroes.

We met one night with them to decide what would we do with our vote. The SNCC workers brought the idea to us that we could organize our own political group if we wanted to. It was left entirely to the people of Lowndes County. If we became victorious in our election then we would become the power structure in our country.

Personally I have seen many of the trickeries on election day by people who control the ballot box.

If we went into the Democratic Party they would still control us; we would have to do the things they wanted us to do. They set the standards and everything for us to go by.

Second thing -- after a large number of Negroes had registered, the County Committeemen of the Democratic Party upped the qualification fees from \$50 to \$500. As Negroes we felt it wasn't our job to increase their treasury. We decided it was time to do some things for ourselves. If we were going to build up a treasury we were going to build up our own.

The Black Panther is an animal that when it is pressured it moves back until it is cornered, then it comes out fighting for life or death. We felt we had been pushed back long enough and that it was time for Negroes to come out and take over. As you know, the symbol of the Democratic Party is the rooster and we felt that the panther could destroy the rooster. That is our plan. On November 9 we feel we can destroy the rooster in Lowndes County.

What are your plans if you win?

Lowndes County school children have one of the worst school systems in the state. If we win we'll put most of our money into the Negro schools to bring them up to an equal with the white.

One thing. According to state law, people can tax the rich at 60% of their evaluation. This would provide our children with a better education. It would mean that Negroes maybe would have to pay a little more but people who own hundreds of acres of land and lots of property would have to pay more money.

People who pick cotton for \$2 a day and tractor drivers who earn \$4 a day -- they would have to earn at least \$1.25 an hour or more. Even if it means they would have

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE, COLUMN 1

## SIDNEY LOGAN, JR.

### "I'm not afraid"

Mr. Sidney Logan, 42, is a widower. He lives with his children on an 80-acre truck farm.

He is the Black Panther candidate for Sheriff.

After Mrs. Liuzzo got killed out on the highway they had memorial services, I went up to take a part. A lot of them came in singing What Side Are You On, so I had to go out and show them what side I was on. The Highway Patrol wrote my tag number down and so the next day the white peoples questioned me about it -- "Tell me you was over messing around with those people". . . And that's when they started to boycott me. They quit giving me hauling to do.

We went over to reddish back in Spring of 65. The white people had a kind of bad attitude you know. We went down and I said, "It's come time for the colored people to get reddished." The registrar said "Many of em?" And I says "A lot of them." He said, "You all done get along all right with us. You all want anything we'll let you have it. We don't want all those outside agitators in here." I said, "Well, it's time for all us to get reddished now." They wouldn't let us register in the courthouse, we had to go on down to the old Jailhouse.

Then one day we was going to have a Freedom Day, and the law say, "All you all, get them children back home! Put em in school. Ain't going to let nobody register until you do that. Go back home."

He's standing in the door -- that's the deputy. And I said to myself, "People want to get reddished and he's supposed to be the law and protect the citizen. We do the right thing and he want to run us away." Then that gave me courage and I decided somebody else need that job.

Then when they boycott my truck on account of I want to be a citizen it seems like they have the law in their hands and aren't using it properly like they should be.

They put a colored deputy on there and he been saying to me, "Better be careful. Stay out of Hayneville." There's \$1000 already been put up to get me killed. But I didn't quit going to Hayneville.

I'm not afraid. If I had to lose my life for what I think is right, I ain't backing down, cause I done made up.

I ain't running for it to get even with nobody and I ain't running for it to take advantage of nobody.

The white folks tricked us in the ASCS elections, that's when I started to get wise to the Democratic Party. That's what gave me the idea I better stick with the Black Panther if I want to win. The Democratic Party is full of tricks. White people control it.

They don't want us to come together cause we got too much strength. Once we get together we can move them out. That's the reason for all those shooting. They think if they get one afraid that'll frighten a lot of them. But now Negroes ain't planning on scaring no more. We ain't backing up. Course now we ain't segregating ourselves from nobody, but we're looking for power.

If I be cut down I still want it to go. I want somebody to step right up and keep on going.

## FRANK MILES

Mr. Frank Miles, Jr., 35, was born in Lowndes County and works for a furniture company. He is the Black Panther Party candidate for tax collector. He lives with his wife and children on a small farm.

Peoples today believe that's the only chance they do have -- is to join the Freedom Organization and try to come out under the fear that they have. You can't have any control over the Democratic Party. We knew that we couldn't win by joining with them.

When we had the ASCS election, we found out how we was tricked by the ASCS election: the white peoples had control over that.

One reason we hasn't had too much outside funds is because once a person goes to aid you then he tries to give you some advice and if you doesn't take the advice then the next thing you know the money is cut off. That's why we doesn't aim to depend on anybody except the peoples of Lowndes County.

We had quite a few white peoples that say -- If you get registered you have to find you a new home. Now we're taking them into court because they were driving peoples off the land for registering to vote.

All those threats is a bluff they's been pulling. Although they says they gonna kill the first sheriff we put out -- they say you better elect 52 sheriffs cause we gonna kill one every week. We know that's a lot of agitating, we ain't paying it any mind. But if they kill one, we gonna put another one in. We ain't planning to backing down. One day somebody's gonna get tired of killing, or else we're gonna start killing too. If trouble get in our way, we're gonna walk through it.

If SNCC should happen to pull out of Lowndes County, Lowndes County would still go just like it have been. SNCC have gave us good information and supplied us with lots of stuff we needed. SNCC mentioned about the third party and we decided we would do it, because it didn't make sense for us to go join the Democrat party, when they were the people who had done the killing in the county and had beat our heads.

## TAX ASSESSOR

①



②



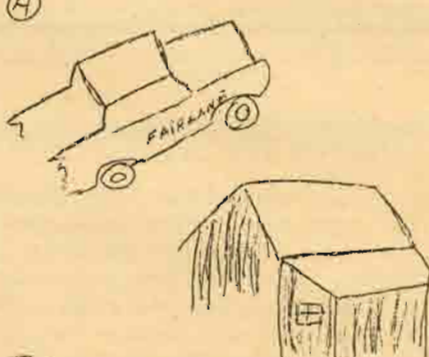
The tax assessor is the person in the county who say how much your property is worth for taxation purposes.

③



The taxassessor is supposed to assess property at its fair and reasonable market value.

④



The cars are reckoned at the same rate as houses but separately.

⑤



The tax assessor can assess up to 60% of properties value

⑥



The tax assessor may hire deputies to help him or her to work.

The first page of a Primer written for Lowndes County voters by SNCC staff. Other Primers are on the Sheriff and the need to join the Black Panther Party.





*Stokely Carmichael, newly elected Chairman of SNCC. His work in Alabama led to the organizing of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.*

The one thing I learned from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was that you don't work for integration in this country -- what you've got to work for is power. The mistake we made was that we went to the National Democratic Party begging them to come into their party. If we're to do anything, we have to stop begging.

### Organizing Techniques

One of the first things we decided when we moved into Lowndes County was that we wouldn't hold mass meetings at the same church. We held them at different areas of the county every Sunday night. What that meant was that everyone in the county was able to come to a mass meeting and you wouldn't get just the same people. Only two or three times did we have less than 200 people.

We also organized community meetings. Every community has a meeting once a week where they discuss all the things that are relevant to that community.

I also found that the role of the organizer had to be minimized, but I got out of that bag of manipulation. I went in there with certain ideas. One idea was to organize people to get power. And if that is manipulation so be it.

### No Strings

When I went into Lowndes County I had a big argument with the Alabama S. aff. We decided that we weren't going to a SNCC for a penny and that all the money we got we were to raise in Lowndes County. Now we've done that.

Bob Mants went to Detroit. Everybody in the county gave him a name of their sons or daughters or their grandmothers or their kinfolk. Bob got all those people together

## STOKELY CARMICHAEL - "Integration is completely irrelevant to us: what we want is power for people who don't have it"

and had a meeting with them. And they made a commitment to send \$100 a month down to Lowndes County. Now that was good because that meant you cut off all your white liberal support. That's something else I found out from the MFDP; when the chips were down the white liberals cut out and we were left holding the bag. But if you didn't depend on them for anything you could do anything you wanted to do.

### It Isn't Integration

Now what happened in Alabama is that we started building something, and we made whites irrelevant to everything we did. Whites in the county and whites in the North. We were building a party for black people, because they were disenfranchised in Lowndes County. I'm not in any bag about "Black Nationalism" and all that. We've done it without talking about "Whitey" and "getting rid of Whitey" and that shit. We just don't want to become a part of the Man.

What I've learned about integration is that this country always defines it. But it was always a one-sided thing: Negroes were always going to whites and it was in fact white supremacy. Because everything good was white.

For example: in Lowndes County we boycotted the school to get rid of the principal. She's still in there. But next year she won't be. We will control the school board and we will determine who is principal. And we won't need to protest anymore. Now you have to understand that very clearly because that ain't anti-white.

It's impossible for a man making \$3 a day to vote for a man making \$10,000 a year. It's impossible for both of them to be in the same party. I've seen that clearly in Lowndes County. You just can't do it.

When you talk about going for power, moral force and non-violence become completely irrelevant. When you go for power you go for it the way everyone in the country goes for it.

Black people never have a chance to define integration. It's always defined for us by the New York Times, by Time magazine, by OEO and the Headstart program. What can really happen in Lowndes County: Once we take over the Board of Education, we can spend the same amount of money on the Negro schools as they do on the white school -- make it a real school -- then the problem of integration will become irrelevant. You can have integration being initiated on both sides. Integration in this country has always been initiated on one side; black people have always initiated integration.

What King is about to do is integrate this county. That's what he tried to do in Alabama. He told all those Negroes that the best thing they could do was instead of voting for black people like themselves was to vote for crackers like Al Lingo

and Wilson Baker, and that they should ignore the county level where their power really was. What you have in this county is that Negroes are always told to vote for someone who is less of a racist instead of more for Negroes.

We thought we could take over the Democratic Party in Mississippi and that's a farce. They crackers ain't never going to let us in. We got to build something of our own. The Negroes who voted Democratic in Alabama are like Negroes all over the country who pulled the Democratic lever: like Negroes in Watts -- they voted Democratic and they don't have a damn thing to show for it. Because they can't control the vote. You've got to get people into independent political power where they can control on the county level. They can control the money that comes into it, they control the law, the taxes.

When they can do that, then they can meet a white man with power. Right now we can't do that. When the Man says jump we got to ask him how high.

### "Black Nationalism"

I want to talk a little about this "black nationalism". Now a lot of people are talking about how this organization has to become all-black. What I learned was when we were starting the Party we kept saying to people -- "We got to have it all black, cause that's what we really need." And they wouldn't touch it. Local people would not touch something all black because they think it's bad. The way we had to do it was to say -- This is a party, it's just

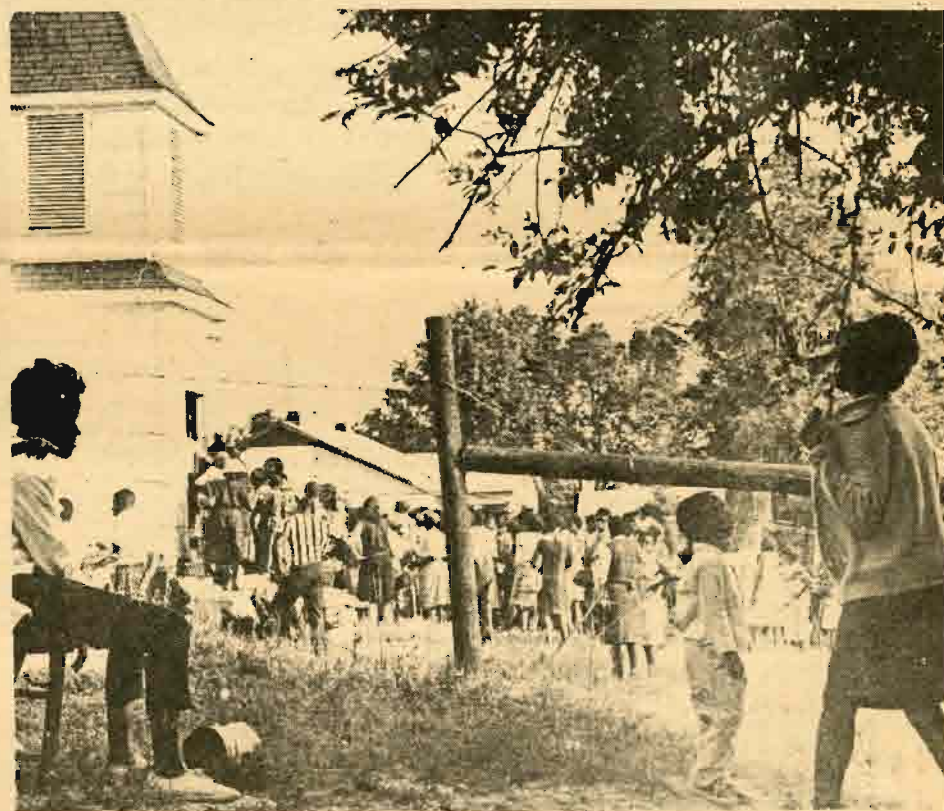
like the Democratic party and the Republican party. We want power, that's all we want. After we get power we can talk about whether we want all black or not.

The thing we get beat over the head with by Martin Luther King and people like that is that anything all black is as bad as anything all white. But that's not true. All white is only bad when you use force to keep it all white. And something all black isn't bad if you don't use force to keep it that way. But these arguments didn't make any difference to local people: they want to see black and white together. You have to leave some spaces open for white people.

Now I have said, and I mean it, that the Democratic Party is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro people on a national basis. They step on us, they take our vote for granted and we're completely irrelevant. Johnson passed that Voting Rights bill because he knew we were going to vote Democratic. He knew he was going to have all those votes in 1968. And that's what's going to happen unless we begin to move, and start controlling those things with independent forces.

### Poor Whites

There are also a lot of poor whites and they're in the majority and they don't control. That can start growing too: independent parties that those people control, and eventually we can hook up with. That means there's a chance for real deep change to be wrought in this country. SNCC has to become less popular because it's going to have to say the things that I'm talking about.



BLACK PANTHER PARTY PRIMARY at First Baptist Church in Hayneville. 900 voted.

and we don't intend to do evil for evil, but we definitely don't intend to be pushed around in Lowndes County.

### How has the movement changed life in Lowndes County?

Before the movement came, Negroes were being pushed around by white people. The law would come into houses and break in, push their doors in and make searches without anybody saying anything, without a search warrant.

Today it's different.

Then you could hardly ride the highway on Sunday evening. State Troopers would block the highway and give just about everybody who comes along a ticket. Now, through the suits we've filed, hardly a person is getting arrested in the County.

Real changes have been made. A Negro couldn't even go into the courthouse at one time, without the whites speaking rough to them. Now it's different -- when Negroes walk in, the whites get together and stand whispering to one another and never say anything. Negroes don't fear any more of going to places they was afraid of going to.

Personally, I used to have a little fear of going into some places, but now it's altogether different. A man just happen to be a man now. I don't think no other way.

A gambler who carried his cards around in his pocket got to let someone else win now and then to keep his game going. This is what the Democratic party is doing for Negro people. They have fixed it where one person can win every now and then and they are picking their people. That's why I think every county, even if they don't have enough to take over, should organize their own political group and they should endorse the candidate they feel is the lesser of two evils.

Stokely Carmichael, Bob Mants and Courtland Cox from SNCC moved into the county in February 1965. They brought a lot of strength to our people, a lot of courage, they were good workers. I think today all our people, whatever we have done for our county, we give those people credit for. They are, as far as we are concerned the best organizers in the country. They always let the people make their own decisions. They bring ideas to the people and you accept whatever you want to accept.

I think once we take over the county government, instead of having two communities white and black, we will have one community, where people could sit down and talk across the table with one another. This is what we're working for. They'll deal with us when we're in power.

We feel in Lowndes County that the power does not lie in the person who runs for office but in the organization around the person.

## JOHN HULETT - CONTINUED

to stop working until they get it. Having the vote and people still being poor won't solve our problem.

If we had our own Sheriff and if we were to picket Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would come out and protect the picketers and if anybody tried to interfere, he would arrest them.

Also I think we could get a larger sum out of them for taxes. If they refused to pay the taxes they would have to move. We could take Dan River Mills and put the equipment back into its place, hire our own people to operate it and the county would get all the profits from it and we wouldn't have to be worried about taxes and our children not going to school. We'd have a county-run plant. It would provide more jobs for our people.

I know one thing -- if Negroes become strong enough in the county then a lot of people are going to move out. I don't think a lot of these land owners are going to want to be dominated by Negroes who's controlling the county. I do believe they're going to sell their land and move into some other area. And with the taxes that are going to be put on them, they aren't going to pay it. Most of them have only been paying a small amount of the 60% they owe.

I really don't think they are going to go along with it.

### How do you organize?

We go from house to house. We go into the worst areas where people are still afraid and shaky, people who live on plantations. So far there have been at least 65 or 70 families who've been evicted because they exercised their right to vote. We go in and talk with these people and let them know that they can live without these land owners. That the land owners need them to take care of their land. They need us worst; they make a living off of us and we don't make a living off of them. Once you start telling people this they start thinking about it. You may have to leave them for a day or two, but you keep going back to them and finally you're able to pull most of those people in. Our biggest fight now is among our own people, like the professional people, school teachers and preachers who don't want any part in it because once the common Negro moves up he will become equal with him.

Once we win I think the Sheriff could deputize enough people to keep law and order in the county. I also think that people have made up their minds that they are going to be their own protection. The white people aren't going to go out and start trouble because they might end up on the worst end of it. We don't bother people



# THE MOVEMENT: DIGIORGIO BOYCOTT SUPPLEMENT

The National Farm Workers Association asks you:



## Please Don't Buy TREE-SWEET FRUIT JUICES S & W FINE FOODS

*These are products of the DiGiorgio Corporation, the largest grower of grapes in the Delano area. It has employed farm workers at miserable wages for years.*

*3,000 farm workers have been on strike in Delano since September, 1965. Thousands more marched in the Pilgrimage to Sacramento. The Schenley Corporation broke down and negotiated. But the DiGiorgio Corporation will not grant UNION RECOGNITION and COLLECTIVE BARGAINING -- rights that should be taken for granted.*

*Instead it has made a fraudulent offer of elections among scab workers to see if they want a union. The strikers have already voted with their bodies, by going on strike. They have voted continuously for eight months. Those workers now working for DiGiorgio are scabs who went to work while other men starved for their rights.*

*Therefore, the NFWA is calling for a nationwide boycott of all DiGiorgio products, including S&W FINE FOODS and TREE-SWEET FRUIT JUICES, until DiGiorgio recognizes the NFWA as the sole bargaining agent for the DiGiorgio workers.*

*The DiGiorgio Corporation has a heart -- right in its pocketbook. YOU can hurt it there. Help the boycott! Help us succeed as we did against Schenley's!*

## The DiGiorgio Struggle

Members of the National Farm Workers' Association have been on strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation's 4,600 acre Sierra Ranch since September 15, 1965. They are asking for union recognition and a wage raise from \$1.25 an hour and 10¢ a box of grapes, to \$1.40 an hour and 25¢ a box. Since they have won neither union recognition nor the wage raise, they are asking for your help in a consumers' boycott of DiGiorgio products.

The striking workers were not permitted to vote for or against a union before they walked off the job. Once they had walked off, the DiGiorgio Corporation began to bring in strike-breakers from other areas to work for more than the strikers had been getting themselves. When the strikers picketed the Sierra Vista Ranch to run back the scabs they were met with police harassment, threats of arrest for trespassing if they went on the land to speak to the scabs, and physical obstructions such as noise or clouds of dust from tractors run by supervisors while the scabs were in the field.

When the NFWA, with the help of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, stopped the loading of DiGiorgio grapes at the docks in San Francisco and Oakland, the corporation asked for a court injunction against union interference with its products. The injunction was refused.

As the unpicked grapes rotted on the vines and as the scabs mishandled the grapes they did pick, the growers, DiGiorgio included, insisted that there was no strike

going on, and even if there was one, it wasn't hurting 'them'. More grapes were picked this year, they said, than ever before. Meanwhile, scabs began showing up from farther and farther away -- winos from Stockton, Mexican nationals, even Arabs -- and the corporation began changing the markings on its grape trucks and boxes to confuse the boycott workers. Pruning season came; the growers continued to deny that the picket line had any effect; and the DiGiorgio Corporation sued the National Farm Workers' Association for damages and loss.

The strike is costly to the strikers and it must be won. To dramatize their problem, as the civil rights movement has done, the striking workers set out on a 300-mile pilgrimage and organizing march up the San Joaquin Valley to Sacramento. Tremendous support developed during the 3-day march and by the end of it, Schenley's, the second largest Delano grower, had agreed to recognize NFWA and negotiate a wage raise. Unions and newspapers all over the country had come out in support of the strikers' demands. Governor Brown had seriously embarrassed himself by not showing up to meet the marchers at the Capitol Easter morning.

And then DiGiorgio offered elections. Elections to determine what union, if any, would represent the workers in the DiGiorgio fields. According to DiGiorgio, three "unions" would be parties to the elections -- the Kern-Tulare Independent Farm Workers' Association, the Agricultural Workers'



George Ballis photo

*DiGIORGIO ARMED GUARD, Herschel Nunez. On April 21, Nunez assaulted Delano striker Manuel Rosas, beating him on the side of the head with his nightstick. Rosas was hospitalized with 10 stitches. The incident broke up discussions of elections that were going on at the very same moment between the DiGiorgio Corporation and the NFWA.*

Organizing Committee and the NFWA. The Independent Farm Workers' Association, as Senator Robert Kennedy proved in the recent farm labor hearings in Visalia, is not a workers' union at all, but a company union controlled by the DiGiorgio Corporation and its labor contractors. AWOC, the second proposed party to the elections, had not been on strike against DiGiorgio. Only the NFWA can represent the workers, but the DiGiorgio Corporation has refused to recognize the NFWA.

There were more problems. Although the NFWA supports the use of elections in labor disputes before a strike, none of its members are working for DiGiorgio any more -- they are all on strike. In the "DiGiorgio elections" they won't even be able to vote!

And even more problems. Before the elections, all parties entering would have to agree to certain conditions. If they won, they would have to submit to compulsory arbitration of any future disagreement by an arbitration board of one company and one union representative, and a court appointee. The union would have to stick to the decision of this group -- a rule rejected by all labor unions. Whether they won or not, none of the unions would be allowed to

strike or bring economic pressure such as a boycott either before, during or AFTER negotiations, even if the negotiations broke down.

In short, DiGiorgio demanded that the union accept ahead of time certain things that no union would agree to once it had sat down to the bargaining table.

Holding a free election, even among scabs, would be a problem in itself. Trespassing ordinances have always kept union organizers off the DiGiorgio land and away from the homes of farm workers living there. How could the union campaign? The day after DiGiorgio called for elections he held a meeting of all the scabs working for him. Anti-union speeches were made and the men were served free candy and soda pop. Was a union represented freely at this meeting? On Thursday, April 21, a DiGiorgio guard drew a gun on a woman striker who was trying to speak to the scabs, threw her to the ground and hit another picket on the side of the head, requiring ten stitches (see photo above). Is this free speech?

Our only alternative is to keep the pressure on the DiGiorgio Corporation with a boycott and strike until it makes an honest offer of union recognition and negotiations.







# WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MISSISSIPPI CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP?

## Part 3: Playing With The Politicians

*This is the last part of a three-part article by Dr. Gerald Rosenfield of Berkeley, California, examining the poverty-program Child Development Group of Mississippi. We think that the reasons for its success and failure are important. They tell us a lot about what has happened in Mississippi, about our government, and about the civil rights movement.*

In the days following the revolt, the picture of what happened in Washington that had led to the order from OEO grew more clear and more objectionable. CDGM staff who visited Washington the week after the revolt came back with the story that President Johnson or Sargent Shriver, it wasn't clear which, had promised Senator Stennis to move CDGM out of Mt. Beulah. The quid-pro-quo was that Stennis, a powerful man in the Senate and on the Senate Appropriations Committee, would take a less hostile attitude toward the 1.9 billion dollar appropriation for the second year of the poverty program.

Worse: It was reported, through sources at OEO, that the national security was indeed involved in the order for CDGM to move from Mt. Beulah. According to this report, which was said to be common knowledge at OEO, President Johnson had reassured Stennis that he would do something about the trouble with the poverty program down in Mississippi in order to placate him and influence him on another matter which was far more important to the President.

During the time Stennis was attacking CDGM he had also been attacking the Administration's policy of military expenditure for the war in Vietnam. He claimed that the Administration was drastically underestimating the future cost of the war in Vietnam, that even without further escalation it would take an increase of \$12 billion dollars to finance it during the coming fiscal year, and that the current expenditures were being kept artificially low by assigning equipment and supplies to Vietnam at the expense of American military forces elsewhere in the world. House Republicans had been making the same charges, claiming the defense budget was kept artificially low for political purposes. (Subsequent events seem to have confirmed these charges. What seems to have been involved is that the Administration last summer was attempting to minimize the economic impact of the escalating war in Vietnam to the public in order to ease public acceptance of the massive increase in our military commitment which President Johnson announced at the end of July.)

There is no real proof of Presidential intervention in the CDGM issue, except for Heller's statement about the order coming from "the White House itself" and the rumors around OEO. Stennis did meet with Johnson during the week before the OEO order, though, and one might conjecture that at some point during the meeting Stennis dropped an angry word about CDGM and the President agreed to look into it. It is a matter of public record, however, that Sargent Shriver made a promise to Senator Stennis to move CDGM out of Mt. Beulah.

According to the records of the hearings of the Subcommittee on Deficiencies and Supplementals of the Senate Appropriations Committee on October 14, 1965, Stennis, interrogating Shriver about CDGM, claimed that Shriver had personally promised him "about the first of August" that "We are going to move that group out of Mt. Beulah." Stennis said that Shriver had made a point of reassuring him about this, that Shriver had called him out of the Senate restaurant while he was eating lunch "to tell me that one minor fact." At the hearing Shriver admitted that he probably had made such a statement to Stennis, and he then went on to promise Stennis, this time publicly, that any future CDGM program would not be headquartered at Mt. Beulah.

### We Were Part of a Plan

Nevertheless, when we stood our ground, OEO had given in to us. We were not really expendable. OEO's capitulation on the move to West Point was partly due to the fact that some people in OEO were sincere partisans of CDGM and it took the revolt to make the issues clear to them. But there were other reasons why Washington was reluctant to let CDGM be physically destroyed, when that became the alternative. CDGM, we were informed, was part of the Administration's plan to build a moderate, loyal Democratic party in Mississippi.

On July 18, moderate whites and Negroes, with the blessing of the Democratic National Committee, held a meeting to form a statewide middle-of-the-road political force in Mississippi. They called themselves the "Mississippi Democratic Congress." The Democratic National Committee sent one of its staff, Don Ellinger, to the meeting to promise the group support and assistance from the national Democratic Party. Among those attending the meeting were moderate regular Mississippi Democratic Party electors and NAACP leaders Aaron Henry and Charles Evers. The Congress elected a wealthy Negro businessman, Charles Young, and the white chairman of the State AFL-CIO, Claude Ramsay, to be co-chairman. The Jackson Daily News noted that "no bids (to attend the meeting) went to 'never-never' segregationists or to hard-line integrationist organizations -- FDP, SNCC, and COFO." In Mississippi, the Administration was attempting to build a "third force" between two "unacceptable" alternatives.

### The Siphon

The Anti-Poverty Program in Mississippi we were informed, is to be part of the attempt to build this "third force" and to integrate Mississippi into the "mainstream of American life." The role of the War on Poverty in this plan is to give at least token relief from their economic plight and the hope of eventual real improvement to the impoverished Negroes, to give jobs to the leaders and siphon them off into a more acceptable politics than that of the Freedom Democratic Party, and to provide a meeting ground where moderate whites can work with moderate Negroes to their mutual advantage, thus building the base for a moderate Democratic electorate, including the newly-enfranchised Negro voters. Future poverty programs, and a say in the control of millions of dollars of federal grants would go to those white groups willing to work with moderate Negroes within this framework.

The destruction of CDGM would have made it difficult to sell the politics of coalition to the Negro communities. To destroy the one federally sponsored program which, whatever its shortcomings, had some real roots in the Negro communities would have betrayed to them the limits of the federal government's interest in their welfare, given the FDP a talking point, and thus helped to keep the FDP alive as a political alternative for the Negro. It was necessary to keep a place within the poverty program for the more militant Negroes and a place to drain off the energies of the young self-operating community groups that the civil rights movement had begun to develop. If these people were frozen out of a share of the federal money they would react with hostility and disillusionment about their chances of benefitting by casting their lot with Washington.

### Money to Moderates

Specifically, we were told, OEO planned to spend nearly twenty million dollars in Mississippi during the coming year, that some five million would go to a project to be controlled by white moderates via the Catholic Archdiocese of Mississippi, that another five million would go to a group around Aaron Henry and the NAACP for a project in the Delta, that other projects would be granted to moderate forces in the state as they developed, and that a four or five million dollar grant to CDGM would balance the program on the Left.

In August the grant to the Catholic Archdiocese "Project Star", was announced, in the amount of seven million dollars for two years, the largest program sponsored by the OEO in Mississippi to date. The orientation of Project Star is quite different from that of CDGM. The core of the project is a job-training program to be administered largely through existing agencies, which will provide incomes to 25,000 poor people while teaching them literacy, arithmetic and simple business skills and then will attempt to place

them in jobs. Another function of Project Star is "to assist Mississippi in attracting new business and industry."

The Program Policy and Advisory Committee, as originally planned, was to include representatives from the Mississippi State government, the state Chamber of Commerce, the Mississippi Manufacturers Commission, the Mississippi Economic Commission, the Mississippi state Department of Education, "and other authorities," as well as six representatives of the poverty community. This is the new "broadly representative" coalition against poverty; it is also, it begins to seem, the new broadly-based coalition that is going to bring Mississippi into the fold of the national Democratic Party and into the "mainstream of American life."

### Milksop to Militants

It was clear the CDGM could only play a "positive" role in the Administration's plans if it continued to be run by the poor in some fashion and to have a place within it for former civil rights workers and for those who would otherwise become workers for the FDP, while not serving as a vehicle for radical agitation by these people. Therefore the demand of OEO that "there must be increased Board control of the program" assumed greater importance.

Most of us on central staff who had tried to maintain the radical ends of the program and who had led the revolt against the OEO directive would be leaving at the end of the summer. We realized that although we had won the initial battle against the total subservience of CDGM to the ends of the politicians in Washington, the later battles would be lost unless some way were found to institutionalize control of the program somewhere other than in the present Board of Directors.

We made an attempt, in a stormy meeting with the Board, to convince them that majority representation on the Board should reside with the representatives of the local CDGM centers. We made no headway. During the course of this meeting, however, we discovered that one of the policy-making bodies of CDGM was supposed to be a "Council of Neighborhood Centers", a body that most of us had never heard of.

### The Solution-Too Late

Copies of the CDGM grant proposal approved by OEO had been impossible to find at central office all summer. But Art Thomas brought a copy to this meeting and read from it: "The Council of Neighborhood Child Development Centers: The Council will have the responsibility of participating in the shaping of the overall program, allocation of financial and staff resources, and sharing of problems and techniques developed."

Also, "... each center will participate in the Council of Neighborhood Child Development Centers." Somehow, apparently, in the rush of getting CDGM organized and getting all those things done that were absolutely necessary so the program could physically function, the Council of Neighborhood Centers had been forgotten and never constituted.

The Council of Neighborhood Centers would be our answer. In the few weeks remaining we made an all-out effort to educate the communities about what was really at stake in our dispute with OEO and with the Board of Directors, and we sent out a call for each center to choose two representatives to attend the founding meeting of the Council of Neighborhood Centers.

The meeting took place the second to last weekend of the summer. It was a debacle. Although only representatives from the local centers were allowed to vote, anyone was allowed to attend and speak to the meeting. Tom Levin and members of the central staff urged the delegates to take upon themselves the responsibility for overseeing the future course of the program, so that CDGM could continue to be a people's program. People from the FDP and SNCC came and expressed their misgivings about the purposes of the federal government and urged the people not to sell out their political involvement for a few pennies from OEO; the conservative members of the Board of Directors, mainly D.I. Horn and Joe Edmonson, warned the people against allowing their centers to be used for the political purposes of the central staff which had bungled the program all summer. Horn and Edmonson warned them that the federal

government would not long tolerate inefficiency and misuse of its funds and that they had better watch to the proper management of their centers and not allow the good work, the great benefits the program was providing for the children, to be destroyed by bickering and political interference.

The arguments of Horn and Edmonson carried the day. Speaker after speaker from the centers got up to testify to the good that had been done for their children and to plead that whatever necessary be done to insure that the program continue. As Quintell Gibson of Holly Springs put it, "Don't let this ray of sunshine be snuffed out from the lives of little children." The meeting broke up with no specific plans made, and confusion on the part of the people about just what it was supposed to have accomplished.

### Political Realities

CDGM has just been re-funded with a grant of 5.6 million dollars for a year-round program. Its central headquarters is in a Jackson office building. There will be 150 centers rather than 84. The Board of Directors will be the sponsoring agent of the project and the Board "in cooperation with the Council of Neighborhood Centers, will be the effective policy instrument of the overall project." I don't know in what way this cooperation will be effected, but I am not optimistic about the future political direction of CDGM. The children will continue to benefit, the year will be the best year of schooling that most of them will ever have, and perhaps the spark it plants in them will enable to do something about their lives when they come of age. But if the spirit that the civil rights movement gave to their parents and their teachers dies out and the program adjusts itself to the political "realities," the enthusiasm for the program will also gradually die; a teaching position in a CDGM school will become like any other civil-service teaching job, and the schools will become ordinary custodial day-care centers or perfunctory kindergartens within a few years.

The obvious lesson to the central staff was that you can't run a radical program on government money; you can't develop grass roots democracy on a timetable set in Washington or structure freedom by the same regulations that organize a bureaucracy. This lesson was lost on the people. If the decision to work within the government's framework really constituted a major decision about the direction of their lives, the people made it unawares, because central staff never made a serious effort, until too late, to educate the people as to what was at stake or to bring them into the decision-making process.

The fact that Levin and the rest of us knew in our hearts that we were for the Negro people was not enough to make them accept our program as their own. The people who organized and ran CDGM didn't really bother to consult with the people before acting on their behalf. Our hand-picked Board of Directors, although it included community people, was hardly a representative body of the CDGM constituency. But the most damning mistake was that Levin and the Delta Ministry, found it unnecessary -- for whatever practical reasons -- to organize the Council of Neighborhood Centers, the one part of the program that was to give the communities of the poor a formal voice in the policy decisions of CDGM.

At the time CDGM was being organized, Tom Levin spoke to a SNCC convention at Waveland, Mississippi and urged SNCC to take an active role in the program. Some SNCC people joined as individuals, but by and large SNCC rejected the overture as a sell-out. I understand that since last summer a SNCC conference has decided that they should have become more involved in the program. Perhaps it wouldn't have made any difference, perhaps the simple and real, if limited, immediate benefits of the program were all the people would have wanted from it in any event.

It may be that the concerns of middle-class radicals for such concepts as "participatory democracy" have no place in Mississippi -- it may be that the Negroes of Mississippi are just one revolution behind, and all they really want is a decent income and an equal access to the American Mainstream. We didn't really present them with a choice last summer.





*Stokely Carmichael, newly elected Chairman of SNCC. His work in Alabama led to the organizing of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization.*

The one thing I learned from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was that you don't work for integration in this country -- what you've got to work for is power. The mistake we made was that we went to the National Democratic Party begging them to come into their party. If we're to do anything, we have to stop begging.

### Organizing Techniques

One of the first things we decided when we moved into Lowndes County was that we wouldn't hold mass meetings at the same church. We held them at different areas of the county every Sunday night. What that meant was that everyone in the county was able to come to a mass meeting and you wouldn't get just the same people. Only two or three times did we have less than 200 people.

We also organized community meetings. Every community has a meeting once a week where they discuss all the things that are relevant to that community.

I also found that the role of the organizer had to be minimized, but I got out of that bag of manipulation. I went in there with certain ideas. One idea was to organize people to get power. And if that is manipulation so be it.

### No Strings

When I went into Lowndes County I had a big argument with the Alabama staff. We decided that we weren't going to a SNCC for a penny and that all the money we got we were to raise in Lowndes County. Now we've done that.

Bob Mants went to Detroit. Everybody in the county gave him a name of their sons or daughters or their grandmothers or their kinfolk. Bob got all those people together

## STOKELY CARMICHAEL - "Integration is completely irrelevant to us: what we want is power for people who don't have it"

and had a meeting with them. And they made a commitment to send \$100 a month down to Lowndes County. Now that was good because that meant you cut off all your white liberal support. That's something else I found out from the MFDP; when the chips were down the white liberals cut out and we were left holding the bag. But if you didn't depend on them for anything you could do anything you wanted to do.

### It Isn't Integration

Now what happened in Alabama is that we started building something, and we made whites irrelevant to everything we did. Whites in the county and whites in the North. We were building a party for black people, because they were disenfranchised in Lowndes County. I'm not in any bag about "Black Nationalism" and all that. We've done it without talking about "Whitey" and "getting rid of Whitey" and that shit. We just don't want to become a part of the Man.

What I've learned about integration is that this country always defines it. But it was always a one-sided thing: Negroes were always going to whites and it was in fact white supremacy. Because everything good was white.

For example: in Lowndes County we boycotted the school to get rid of the principal. She's still in there. But next year she won't be. We will control the school board and we will determine who is principal. And we won't need to protest anymore. Now you have to understand that very clearly because that ain't anti-white.

It's impossible for a man making \$3 a day to vote for a man making \$10,000 a year. It's impossible for both of them to be in the same party. I've seen that clearly in Lowndes County. You just can't do it.

When you talk about going for power, moral force and non-violence become completely irrelevant. When you go for power you go for it the way everyone in the country goes for it.

Black people never have a chance to define integration. It's always defined for us by the New York Times, by Time magazine, by OEO and the Headstart program. What can really happen in Lowndes County: Once we take over the Board of Education, we can spend the same amount of money on the Negro schools as they do on the white school -- make it a real school -- then the problem of integration will become irrelevant. You can have integration being initiated on both sides. Integration in this country has always been initiated on one side; black people have always initiated integration.

What King is about to do is integrate this county. That's what he tried to do in Alabama. He told all those Negroes that the best thing they could do was instead of voting for black people like themselves was to vote for crackers like Al Lingo

and Wilson Baker, and that they should ignore the county level where their power really was. What you have in this county is that Negroes are always told to vote for someone who is less of a racist instead of more for Negroes.

We thought we could take over the Democratic Party in Mississippi and that's a farce. Them crackers ain't never going to let us in. We got to build something of our own. The Negroes who voted Democratic in Alabama are like Negroes all over the country who pulled the Democratic lever: like Negroes in Watts -- they voted Democratic and they don't have a damn thing to show for it. Because they can't control the vote. You've got to get people into independent political power where they can control on the county level. They can control the money that comes into it, they control the law, the taxes.

When they can do that, then they can meet a white man with power. Right now we can't do that. When the Man says jump we got to ask him how high.

### "Black Nationalism"

I want to talk a little about this "black nationalism". Now a lot of people are talking about how this organization has to become all-black. What I learned was when we were starting the Party we kept saying to people -- "We got to have it all black, cause that's what we really need." And they wouldn't touch it. Local people would not touch something all black because they think it's bad. The way we had to do it was to say -- This is a party, it's just

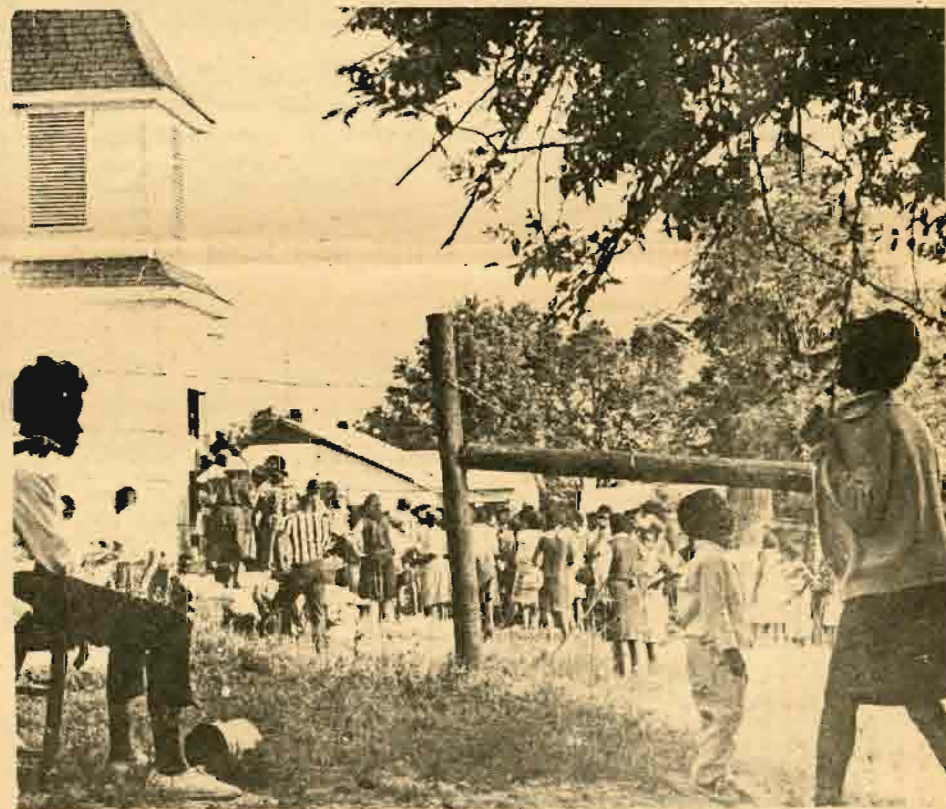
like the Democratic party and the Republican party. We want power, that's all we want. After we get power we can talk about whether we want all black or not.

The thing we get beat over the head with by Martin Luther King and people like that is that anything all black is as bad as anything all white. But that's not true. All white is only bad when you use force to keep it all white. And something all black isn't bad if you don't use force to keep it that way. But these arguments didn't make any difference to local people: they want to see black and white together. You have to leave some spaces open for white people.

Now I have said, and I mean it, that the Democratic Party is the most treacherous enemy of the Negro people on a national basis. They step on us, they take our vote for granted and we're completely irrelevant. Johnson passed that Voting Rights bill because he knew we were going to vote Democratic. He knew he was going to have all those votes in 1968. And that's what's going to happen unless we begin to move, and start controlling those things with independent forces.

### Poor Whites

There are also a lot of poor whites and they're in the majority and they don't control. That can start growing too: independent parties that those people control, and eventually we can hook up with. That means there's a chance for real deep change to be wrought in this country. SNCC has to become less popular because it's going to have to say the things that I'm talking about.



BLACK PANTHER PARTY PRIMARY at First Baptist Church in Hayneville. 900 voted.

## JOHN HULETT - CONTINUED

to stop working until they get it. Having the vote and people still being poor won't solve our problem.

If we had our own Sheriff and if we were to picket Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would come out and protect the picketers and if anybody tried to interfere, he would arrest them.

Also I think we could get a larger sum out of them for taxes. If they refused to pay the taxes they would have to move. We could take Dan River Mills and put the equipment back into its place, hire our own people to operate it and the county would get all the profits from it and we wouldn't have to be worried about taxes and our children not going to school. We'd have a county-run plant. It would provide more jobs for our people.

I know one thing -- if Negroes become strong enough in the county then a lot of people are going to move out. I don't think a lot of these land owners are going to want to be dominated by Negroes who's controlling the county. I do believe they're going to sell their land and move into some other area. And with the taxes that are going to be put on them, they aren't going to pay it. Most of them have only been paying a small amount of the 60% they owe. I really don't think they are going to go along with it.

### How do you organize?

We go from house to house. We go into the worst areas where people are still afraid and shaky, people who live on plantations. So far there have been at least 65 or 70 families who've been evicted because they exercised their right to vote. We go in and talk with these people and let them know that they can live without these land owners. That the land owners need them to take care of their land. They need us worst; they make a living off of us and we don't make a living off of them. Once you start telling people this they start thinking about it. You may have to leave them for a day or two, but you keep going back to them and finally you're able to pull most of those people in. Our biggest fight now is among our own people, like the professional people, school teachers and preachers who don't want any part in it because once the common Negro moves up he will become equal with him.

Once we win I think the Sheriff could deputize enough people to keep law and order in the county. I also think that people have made up their minds that they are going to be their own protection. The white people aren't going to go out and start trouble because they might end up on the worst end of it. We don't bother people

and we don't intend to do evil for evil, but we definitely don't intend to be pushed around in Lowndes County.

### How has the movement changed life in Lowndes County?

Before the movement came, Negroes were being pushed around by white people. The law would come into houses and break in, push their doors in and make searches without anybody saying anything, without a search warrant.

Today it's different.

Then you could hardly ride the highway on Sunday evening. State Troopers would block the highway and give just about everybody who comes along a ticket. Now, through the suits we've filed, hardly a person is getting arrested in the County.

Real changes have been made. A Negro couldn't even go into the courthouse at one time, without the whites speaking rough to them. Now it's different -- when Negroes walk in, the whites get together and stand whispering to one another and never say anything. Negroes don't fear any more of going to places they was afraid of going to.

Personally, I used to have a little fear of going into some places, but now it's altogether different. A man just happen to be a man now. I don't think no other way.

A gambler who carried his cards around in his pocket got to let someone else win now and then to keep his game going. This is what the Democratic party is doing for Negro people. They have fixed it where one person can win every now and then and they are picking their people. That's why I think every county, even if they don't have enough to take over, should organize their own political group and they should endorse the candidate they feel is the lesser of two evils.

Stokely Carmichael, Bob Mants and Courtland Cox from SNCC moved into the county in February 1965. They brought a lot of strength to our people, a lot of courage, they were good workers. I think today all our people, whatever we have done for our county, we give those people credit for. They are, as far as we are concerned the best organizers in the country. They always let the people make their own decisions. They bring ideas to the people and you accept whatever you want to accept.

I think once we take over the county government, instead of having two communities white and black, we will have one community, where people could sit down and talk across the table with one another. This is what we're working for. They'll deal with us when we're in power.

We feel in Lowndes County that the power does not lie in the person who runs for office but in the organization around the person.