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.

The Black Panther Party may begin a national movement in the South. "It will sweep the state, bring the word of the Black Panther convention, to the people who want us to get the vote and still use if we get the vote and still use it."

The new tactics have been very effective. "We don't depend on the Justice Department, the white liberals, the Democratic Party, the courts -- nobody. We do it ourselves."

If they move out of the county, that's all right too. They didn't lose many respect- ible people in the county and they didn't pay taxes, so it's no loss.

The Black Panther Party may begin a new direction for American Negroes. There has been only 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 world of its leaders and organizers, see page 3.
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 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. They are rooted in an attempt by Europeans who colonized Africa to humanize the descendants of Africa for economic exploitation from the oppressors to the oppressed. The history of white Americans to exploit and dehumanize black people, and white Americans to exploit and dehumanize the descendants of Africa for monetary gain.

2. The President has called this Conference at a time when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb due to our involvement in the попол. The implication of this Conference is to emphasize the struggle for human rights.

3. We believe that the Conference will accentuate this process of shifting the responsibility for the degradation position in which blacks now find themselves away from white oppressors to the oppressor. The White House Conference, especially with its exclusion of black Americans and black Family and with the main problem with which America must deal, accentuates this process of shifting the burden of the problem.

4. 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.

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 illuminate the disparity between what you have written and what the actual facts are. I am not sure about insuring constitutional rights to Black Americans. For example, the striking Black workers are being replaced by strikebreakers living on the ranch. Another placard bore a black and white picture of the Federal Court Judge and the Governor's house, with the words "This is a white house." The picket line was organized by the Industrial Workers of the World.

Pickets were attempting to speak to the pickets by means of a bullhorn, but were not allowed to do so. The pickets were told that they could not speak to the pickets by means of a bullhorn, but were not allowed to do so.

The rent strike was launched soon after the building's owners demanded a near $6 increase and $100 a month. Represented by the Metropolitan Tenants Union of which one Geetha Stettner was a member, the owners are demanding an increase of $20 a month. During the last six months, the owners have demanded over $1000 in rent increases in their bank accounts.

The National Apartment Corporation, Red Rivas and the Granite Land Corporation, have responded to these moves by attempting to evict all five families who have been there for over one year.

Actions against the owners by the AVI and the Geetha Stettner tenants included organizing a "lightning" picket line at all of Geetha's properties on Easter Sunday. 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 am not so, and have been, concerned. Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Cesar Chavez which concerns your question.

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. I was very interested in your letter because the State government will continue to enforce these laws which do exist and I will continue my efforts to move the change in this country.

Sincerely,

EDMOND G. BROWN, Governor
John Hulett, the Chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, is 33 years old. He was born in Lowndes County and has spent most of his life there. He has a wife and seven 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 #489. In 1956 he moved to Georgia, worked as a construction worker, and participated in NAACP activities. In 1958 he moved back to Lowndes County.

FRANK MILLS

Mr. Frank Mills, 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.

People today believe that the only chance they have is to join the Freedom Organization and try to come out under the fear that they have. You can't join with them without being killed. The reason we've been able to build up a treasury is we were going to build up our own fund.

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 we would 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 become victorious in our election then we would become the power structure in our country. Personally I have some reservations on an 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 get the standards and expect us to go by.

Second thing after a large number of Negroes had registered, the County Commissioners of the Democratic Party appointed the qualification fees from $50 to $100. As Negroes we felt it wasn't our job to increase their treasury. We decided at that time to do some things for ourselves. If we were going to build up a treasury we were going to build up our own fund.

The Black Panther is an animal that when you mess with it the harder you mess 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 rooster 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. We're going to take a part 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 560% 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 wear it heavy $200 and up or more. Even if it means they would have to depend on anybody except the people of Lowndes County.

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Sidney Logan, Jr.

I'm not afraid

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

He is the Black Panther candidate for Sheriff.

After Mrs. Liuzzo got killed out on the highway they had memorial services, I went down there. I went there in singing What Side Are You On, so I had to go out and show them what side I was on. It was a high point down there a number down and so the next day the white people questioned me about it — "Tell me what you was over there involved with those people". And that's when they started to ignore us. They quit giving us hard time to do.

We went over to reddish built in Spring 1965. The white people had a kind of bad attitude you know. We went down and I said, "It's time for the colored people to get reddish". The sheriff gave me a ticket and he said "Many of em!" And I says "A lot of them". He said, "You all don't got any right with us. You all ain't got any right, we'll 'ave you hate. We don't want all these outside agitators in here". I said, "Well, it's time for us all to get reddished now".

They wouldn't let us register in the courthouse, we had to go on down to the old jailhouse. That 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 get nobody register until you do that. Go back home!" He's standing in the door — that's the deputy. And said 'is myself, you want to get reddished? And he's supposed to be the law and protect the citizen, We do the law and protect the citizen, We do the law and protect the citizen. 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 don't care in their hands and ain't using it properly like they should be. They put a colored deputy on there and he been saying to me, "You all competent to be a citizen?" And he been saying to me, "Better be careful, I'm going to get reddished. And I want to be the right thing and I want to run us away." That gave me courage and I decided somebody else need that job.

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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 -- you've got to work for its power.

The mistake we made was that we went to the National Democratic Party songing Democracy, and they were doing everything they could to stop us.

Whites in the county and whites in the party were in a position of exercising a party that was being denied to them, because they were disenfranchised in Lowndes County. I'm not in any bag of manipulation. We've done it without talking about "whiteness* and "getting rid of whiteness* and all that. We just want to become a part of the Martin.

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 white and it hasn't been white supremacy. Because everything was good, white was good.

Once we went into Lowndes County we boy-cotted the school to get rid of the principal. She's still in there. But next year she'll be out. We boy-cotted the school and we will determine who's principal. And we're going to integrate that school.

Now you have to understand that very clearly because that isn't anti-white.

We then prevented people from voting. We had a man mandated to 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. But you can't do it.

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

If there is one man who has never had a chance to define integration, it's always defined for us by the New York Times, by Time Magazine, by the White House. For instance, what can really happen in Lowndes County where we've taken over the schools and the education? We can spend the same amount of money on the Negro schools as they do on the white school.

The problem is that those schools are a real school. Then the problem of integration will become irrelevant. You can have integration being done by the county, integration in this country has always been initiated in one way, but there have always been problems.

What Martin is about to do is integrate the county. And Martin, what he means in Lowndes County, he told us all these Negroes that the best thing they could do was to vote for a man. People like themselves, we are going to vote for cracker like Al Lingo and Wilson Baker, and that they should not care about the county power, they were to raise in Lowndes County.

We feel in Lowndes County that they power we got we were to raise in Lowndes County. And they said we can't do it. They said we can't go down to Lowndes County. Now that was good because that meant you cut off all their votes.

That one thing else I found out from the MFDP, that if you went to the county, once you changed down the roll call out, we were all left holding the bag. But if you didn't depend on them for the roll call, 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 white people irrelevant. White people are just not a part of anything. Negroes don't fear any more of whites. Negroes don't fear the law. They get power. But, Negroes don't control the vote. They've got to get people into independent political power where they can control the law.

And when they do that, then they can say, you can cut the crumbs off the table. You can't do that. When the man says jump, we just say, 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 is going to "black nationalists*. We learned the lesson from history that we were starting the Party we kept saying to people -- "We've got to have it all blacks because that's what we really need." And they wouldn't touch it. Local people in Lowndes County say, they won't touch it. I think they think it's bad. The way we had to do it was to say -- This is a party, it's a party, it's a party.

The people in the movement never have a chance to define integration, it's always defined for us. But the Negroes have a chance to say, I want to have the right to go to a white school -- make it a real school. Because that means there's a chance for real deep change.

And there's a chance for greater change. And it will become less popular because it's going to have to say the things that I'm talking about.

How has the movement changed life in Lowndes County?

Before the movement came, Negroes were being pushed around by white people. That's why they had their meetings in the church. Negroes couldn't go to the courthouse. They couldn't even go into the courthouse. And they're in the majority and they don't control. 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 candidates they feel is the lesser of two evils.

Stokely Carmichael, Bob Moses and Courtland Cox from SNCC moved into the county in February 1963. They brought a lot of strength to the movement. At the same time, they were good workers, they had a lot of people, whatever we have done for our county, we give them whatever they want. They are, as far as we are concerned the worst enemies in the country. They're the only people that can make their own decisions. They bring ideas to the people and you can change whatever you want to accept.

I think we once we take over the county government, instead of having two com­

Stokely Carmichael, John Hulett & Continued

What do you organize?

We go from house to house. We go into the worst areas where people are still afraid and afraid of the people who live around them. So far have been at least 65 or 70 families who have been engaged in creating their right to vote. We go and talk with these people and let them know we're coming. We also go to white voters. And we tell them the law comes need people to take care of their land. They need us to be living off them. They need us. They don't make a living off us. Once you start telling people they can start thinking about their land. You can let them know that you can go to the county and get the right to vote. And they will do it. We've told people.

Our biggest fight now is among our own people, like the professional people, school teachers and everybody who prides themselves on wanting part in it because it is important now move up be equal with the white people.

Once we win I think the Sheriff couldn't beat enough people to keep low and order in the county. I also think that people have made up their minds that they are going to be their own protector. The white people aren't going to go out and start trouble because they might end up on the worst of it. We don't bother people and we don't intend to be evil for evil, but we definitely don't intend to be pushed around in Lowndes County.

JOHN HULET - CONTINUED
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 workers on 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. These 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 nation-wide 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!

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The DiGiorgio Struggle

Members of the National Farm Workers’ Association have been on strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation’s 4,000 acre Sierra Vista Ranch since September 15, 1965. They are asking for union recognition and a wage raise, they are asking for your help in a consumers’ boycott of DiGiorgio products.

The striking workers were not permitted to vote or speak on 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 workers picketed the Sierra Vista Ranch to run both the scabs and the unpicked grapes rotted on the land to speak to the scabs, and physical obstructions such as noise or clouds of dust from tractors ran 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. Some grapes were picked this year, they said, but none before. Meanwhile, scabs began showing up in the fields in ever larger numbers 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 costs.

The strike is costly to the strikers and to the corporation. To dramatize their problem, as the civil rights movement has done; as Senator Robert Kennedy proved in the recent farm labor hearings in Van Nuys, it 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 the members are working for DiGiorgio no 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 dispute by an arbitration board of one company and one union representative, and a court-appointed. 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. Treand-pitting ordinances have always kept union organizers off the DiGiorgio land and away from the home of farm workers living there. 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 3, a DiGiorgio guard drew a gun on a woman striker who was trying to speak to the scabs, threw her on the side and hit another picket on the side of the head, requiring 10 stitches (see photo above). Is this free union 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.

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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.
Boycott Instructions

1. Call an emergency meeting of your group to form an ad hoc committee to aid the farm workers' strike. Delegates from interested and sympathetic groups: civil rights, church, union, should also be invited.

2. Send a delegation to the Retail Clerks Union, inform them of the boycott, and ask their cooperation. They might profitably advise a large chain-store not to buy DiGiorgio products. This union could also collect all canned foods returned by the chains and send them to the NFWA office for distribution to families of strikers.

3. Send a delegation to the management of some DiGiorgio plants and ask them officially not to buy DiGiorgio products. You may tell the management that you want to use a consumer informational boycott, not that you're forcing them to do something unethical or that you have the power to pressurize their school conference to force DiGiorgio products out. In order to keep up as long as possible, an informational consumer picket in front of selected chains. That this kind of informational picket means you hand out leaflets to all customers entering the store and ask them to respect the boycott.

4. Set up and keep the boycott information center open. It should be located near some line of signs and placards urging customers not to buy these products.

5. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT--in order to create the kind of persuasive tension that is needed in Delano--to make every effort to publicize this boycott through the newspapers, radio and TV in your area.

6. This intensive and short-term effort to inform the consumer-public can be the best way to build future support for California farm workers who are fighting for their right of collective bargaining. IT IS UP TO YOU.

7. We are forbidden by law to boycott stores merely because they handle DiGiorgio products. This union could also collect all canned foods returned by the chains, and send them to the NFWA office for distribution to families of strikers.

- From the Los Angeles Times, August 15, 1937, which appeared under the title "I Work, You Don't Love Work, We're Going to Do Anything Here They Don't Want Us to Do," the interview of Mr. J. S. DiGiorgio, the director of the NFWA, says, "THE MOVEMENT is published monthly by the staff of the National Farm Workers Association, Box 894, Delano, California. $2.00 per year.

Another "DiGiorgio Election"

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Boycott Check List

S&W Fine Foods
Tree-Sweet Fruit Juices
Indian River Blue Flag
Blue Parrot
C&T Premium
Doctherly
Golden Peak
Hi-Color

MacGills
Verteba
Redi-Tree
Plume
Premier
Sun Vista Foods
Sunnyland
Jolly Farmer

THE MOVEMENT

is published monthly by the staff of the Student Movement Coordinating Committee of California. Cesar Chavez, general director of the NFWA, says, "THE MOVEMENT publishes, more than any other paper in the central San Joaquin Valley, the latest news as to what the federated farm workers are trying to do, and the kind and its success. We're in the shipping business and we'll get to move. How can you have a union? If you think you can go ahead and try it. If this farm goes to hell your job is gone, too. These employers they "voted" and, after the vote, you take the result. We, DiGiorgio, we have voted." "That's a good American way," DiGiorgio replied. "Do you give your kids to those fellows in the city, or not?" To quote from the interview, "A smile flashed across the man's face. "The man say 'coolie off,'" said Mr. DiGiorgio, "on the DiGiorgio acres we grow crops -- and money." -- from Factory in the Sun by Carey McWilliams, 1959.

Please send me
copies of the Boycott Supplement, subscriptions to THE MOVEMENT.

Supplement $1.00 per hundred
MOVEMENT $2.50 per year
20 single copies 3.00 per hundred
per month

WHAT DIGIORGIO TELLS ITS EMPLOYEES

Cesar's Evil Plan

DiGiorgio Corporation Today

DiGiorgio and His cronies:

The DiGiorgio Corporation's sales were $122,389,000 in 1964. Its net income in that year was $2,036,000. Its net income doubled between 1963 and 1964.

The corporation's assets are $89,049,000. They include about 24,000 acres of land in grapes, citrus fruits, plums, peaches, apricots, peaches, prunes, plums, and other crops.

Sincerely,

R. L. Meri

Signature

Personnel Director
WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MISSISSIPPI CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROJECT? 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 in Mississippi. It is a fascinating look at the reasons for its success and failures 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 complex. The investigation that President John F. Kennedy ordered into the events of August 1965 in Mississippi was complicated and involved in the order for CDGM to flow from Stennis. Johnson or Sargent Shriver, it wasn't enough that Senator Stennis had been visiting Washington the week after the revolt. It was revealed that Stennis said he was no longer going to be very important to the President. The obvious lesson to the central staff was that, in spite of all the mistakes, we were not really "unacceptable." Shriver and Sargent had been asking for the President to do something about the war in Vietnam. The obvious lesson to the central staff was that the President was moving to do something about the war in Vietnam. The obvious lesson to the central staff was that the President was moving to do something about the war in Vietnam.

...Continued from the first part... We Were Part of a Plan

Money to Moderates

Specifically, we were told, OEO planned to give a $10 million grant to the Mississippi Campaign in the Delta, that other projects would be increased Board control of the program. Its central headquarters in Jackson office building. There will be 150 project in the Delta, that other projects would be increased Board control of the program. Its central headquarters in Jackson office building. There will be 150 people from the FOP and SNCC, and COFO:

The Solution-Too Late

"The Council of Neighborhood Centers was supposed to be a new broadly representative body of the Negro communities. To destroy theProgram Policy and Advisory Committee, sent one of its staff, Don Ellinger, to interview people from the FOP and SNCC. His report to Stennis concentrated on the FOP's role in the revolt. According to Ellinger, the FOP had conducted a "positive" role in the Administration's interest in the program. Its central headquarters in Jackson office building. There will be 150 people from the FOP and SNCC, and COFO:

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STOKELY CARMIChEAL - Integration is completely irrelevant to us: what we want is power for people who don’t have it

I think once we take over the county, we give those people credit for. They are, as far as we are concerned the best thing they could do was instead of going into some places, but now it’s all black. It’s impossible for a man making 15 dollars a day to vote for a man making 10,000 dollars a year. It’s impossible for both of them to be in the same party, I’ve seen that party in Lowndes County. You just can’t do it.

When you talk about going for power, it’s not just the fear of powerlessness, it’s indescribably irrelevant. When you go for power you go for it the way everyone in the country, the world, go for it.

We never had a chance to define integration. It’s always defined for us by the New York Times, by Time magazine, by OEO and the Head Start program, by the White House. We have not had a chance to take a real control over what it means.

For example: in Lowndes County we boycotted the school to get rid of the white principal. We didn’t get it. We will control the school board and the teachers in Lowndes County. We will not have to protest anymore. Now you have to understand that very simple fact that the Negro's anti-white segregation. It’s impossible for a man making 15 dollars a day to vote for a man making 10,000 dollars a year. It’s impossible for both of them to be in the same party, I’ve seen that party in Lowndes County. You just can’t do it.

No Strings

When I went into Lowndes County I had a thousand dollars in my pocket. We decided that we weren’t going to go to SNCC for a penny and that all the money we generated was going to be written in Lowndes County. Now we’ve done that.

Bob Moses went to Detroit. Everybody in the country gave him a name of their own. Bob Moses got all those people together and we took all those people and we put them together in the county.

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 pick the picketers and if officially 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 the people to get power. The mistake we made was that we had to turn the county to the county. I do believe they’re going to be turned out of their homes and moved into some better 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 being paying a small amount of the (0%) 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 families, we convince people who are afraid and shaky, people who live on plantations. So far there have been at least 55 or 70 families because they’ve exercised their right to vote. We go in and talk with these people and let them know that we are going to stand with them and defend ourselves.

That’s where we lose them. We talk to our friends. They say they want to make a living off of us and we don’t make a living off of them. When you talk to these people they are afraid that they are going to lose their jobs. We have a right to our own jobs. If you have the right to make a living off of the county, why do you want any part in it because once the common man moves up he will become equal with him.

Once we win I think the Sheriff could acquire enough power to keep law and order in the county. I think that people have made up their minds that they are going to keep their own production. The white people aren’t going to go out and start terrorize because they might end up on the wrong side.

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

How has the movement changed in Lowndes County?

Before the movement came, Negroes were being pushed around by white people. We gave them a chance to talk about their problems. Negroes weren’t afraid of the white man anymore.

Our biggest fight now is among our own people. I mean between the Negroes, the white people, the Negroes that have been left out of the movement. The Negroes that have been arrested are gone, but the rest of the Negroes have to talk to each other and learn to understand.

BLACk PANTHeR PANtHiRy PRIMARY at First Baptist Church in Hayneville, 900 voted.

a gambler who carried his cards around in his pocket got to let someone else win now and then and keep his game going. This is what the Democratic party is doing for Negro people. They have the power 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 groups and try to educate the candidate so he feels the weight of the voters.

Jesse Jackson: There are also a lot of poor whites and they’re in the majority and they don’t want to see their own people change. They don’t want to see the people of their community, who are poor, get things. They don’t want to see black and white together. You have to think about what’s going to happen unless we begin to move, and start controlling those things that keep the important forces independent.

Poor Whites

We thought we could take over the Demo­cratic Party in Mississippi and that’s a farce. These crackers aren’t 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 vote for Nixon in ‘68 — what they voted Democratic and they don’t have a damn thing to show for it. Because they let the white people control the laws and when they try to control the law, we are against it, we’re against it.

When they can do that, then they can meet a white man with power. Right now we have the same thing as the man says jump we got to ask him how high. "Black Nationalism"

I want to talk a little about this "black nationalism." Negroes are saying about this organization has to become all-black. What I learned when I went into Mississippi was it 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 some who is less of a racist just because that’s what they’re doing. If they’re to do anything, we have to stop begging them to come into their party.

We could take Dan River Mills and put a lot of these land owners are going to want the equipment back into its place, hire the vote and people still being poor won’t do anything, we have to stop begging them to come into their party. If we’re ever going 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 of people. We held them at different areas of the county every Sunday night. What that meant was that everywhere in the county was able to come to a mass meeting and you wouldn’t have to bring in two or three times did we have less than 700 people.

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

I also found that the role of the organizer had to be maximized, but I got out of that bag of manipulation. I went in with certain ideas. One idea was to organize people in their own power, and if that manipulation to do it.

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