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 sheriff, with his members “not to start any trouble.” The sheriff refused to give them protection. “If we said -- that’s okay baby, we’re going to blanket the county.” The LCFO leadership agreed that 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 idea that whites will take over their power peacefully. Already a $100,000 loan has been offered for the person who kills the first Negro sheriff.

“We intend to change the power structure of our county,” says John Hulett. “If any fair election, we will win, and we will hold onto power. The Naples plan is to have 10,000 Negroes do it.”

The LCFO adopted the Naples plan for the May 3 nominating convention. Several hundred more attended but were unable to vote because they had not attended the Las Vegas Primary. The choice that SNCC and the LCFO asked Negroes to “boycott” the Democratic primary is in fact a crisis. By law, one can vote in two primaries. The LCFO asked Negroes to boycott the Democratic primary instead of the Black Panther convention (which was the only one in the county)."
We’re calling this the June issue, this 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. But, through an organization 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 in other ways. Could you perhaps wind up serving as a field 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 to 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 on Civil Rights was absolutely unnecessary and rejects its invitation to participate in this useless entanglement for the following reasons:

1. The foundation and consequences of racism are not rooted in the behavior of black Americans yesterday or today. They humanize the descendants of Africa from the oppressors to the oppressed. The main problem with which America must continue today by the power elite of this country, in the process of exploiting black America and black families is not to desegregate but to dehumanize the descendants of Africa for monetary gain. This process of universal exploitation of Africa and her people continues today by the power elite of this country.

2. We believe that the President has called this conference in times when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb due to our involvement in the Algerian, Cuban, Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa and other parts of the Third World. We believe that this Conference is taking place before the White House to use Black Americans to recoup a lost prestige internationally.

3. Our organization is opposed to the expansion of the Vietnam war to discuss Human Rights in this country where we flagrantly violate the human rights. We have therefore boycotted this conference.

4. We affirm our belief that people who suffer must make the decisions about who will suffer. The people of Vietnam must decide if they want to be with the little people, with the Mexican citizens of California when they needed us. And we are not afraid anymore of anything, we are fed up with promises that do not produce. We are fed up with the head being talked to little children and your enthusiastic appeals to "motherhood and family life," and the "conference on civil rights" has changed a lot of things. We found out who our friends and who we are not.

5. Once more the "gringo" has treated us like "poor Mexicans," has ignored our sensibilities, and that which summaries my record.

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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 the local Negro "panthers" here is their view of the independent political party that carries the symbol of the leaping black panther.

JOHN RUETT. "The Black Panther is an animal that comes out fighting for life or death"

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.

THE PANTHER is interested in securing property at its fair and reasonable market value.

The tax assessor may have to work at the same rate as hours, but specially.

The panther can assure you of 60% of property value.

The panther assessor may have 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.

SIDNEY LOGAN, JR. "I'm not afraid"

Mr. Sidney Logan, 42, is a widower. He lives with his children on an 0-acre truck farm.

After Mrs. Liuzzo got killed out on the highway they had memorial services, I got to be thinking a lot about what Side Are You On, so I had to go out and see them what side I was on. I'm a Panther. I'm a Black Panther and I want to win. The The Democratic Party is of the worst school systems in the state. We want the best education for our children. We had the idea of going over to attempt to register then blood would run in the streets.

Lowndes County school children have one of the worst school systems in the state. They put the 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 50% of their evaluation.

The Negroes had registered, the County Commissioner of the Democratic Party stopped 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. We were going to build up a treasury so we could do our work. One day somebody's gonna get tired of killing, or else we're gonna start killing. We know that's a lot of stuff we needed. SNCC mentioned the ASCS election, we found out how we was tricked by the ASCS election the white people had control over that. We had a lot of them. But now Negroes ain't scared of the white. It's come time for the colored people to get somebody register until you do that. Go back home, Mr. Sidney Logan, Jr., said "You don't got nothing at all right with you. You all saying we'll all be together. You all want to get reddished! and he's supposed to be doing the same thing. And they want to run us away." Then that gave me courage and I decided somebody else need that job.

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 they been saying to me, "Better be careful, Joe. You might get hurt if you want to get reddished! and he's supposed to be doing the same thing. And they want to run us away." Then that gave me courage and I decided somebody else need that job.

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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.

The Black Panther is an animal that comes out fighting for life or death.
Stokely Carmichael, newly elected Chairman of SNCC, his work in Alabama led to the organization 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 to be dominated by Negroes who are in control. We’re going to have to stop working until they get it. Having the equipment back into its place, hire the people to do it, and the real thing is we don’t want them to be warring. We just don’t want to become a part of the man.

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

We moved into Lowndes County where we boycotted the school to get rid of the principal. She’s still in there, but next year she’s going to be in the County. We control the school and we will determine who is principal. And that’s what I mean by controlling the education system.

Now you have to understand that very clearly because that ain’t anti-white. It’s impossible for a man making $20 a day to vote for a man making $10,000 a year. It’s impossible for both of them to be in the same political party, because clearly in Lowndes County, you just can’t go to do it.

When you talk about going for power, moral force and non-violence become completely irrelevant. When you get a man that he’s got to go for the way everyone in the country goes for it.

People don’t have a chance to define integration. It’s always defined for you by the New York Times, by Time magazine, by the Washington Post. What can really happen in Lowndes County? Once we take the board of education, we can spend the same amount of money on the Negro schools as they do on the white school. Then you have to go to the school board to protest integration in this country has always been initiated in one way or another. We have always had integration in our own communities.

What King is about to do is integrate the county. He really is doing what he says he is doing in Alabama. We told all those negroes that the best thing they could do was to vote for someone who was Sin-ייה = kish. 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. Indepen dent parties that those people control, and eventually we can hook up with. That means there’s a chance for real change. Not that we’re going to be able to become less popular because it’s going to have to say the things that I’m talking about.

John Hulett - Continued

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

If we had our own Sheriff and if we were to picket Dan River Mills like the Sheriffs 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 the Sheriffs for taxes. If they part of what they 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 do it, and the real thing is we don’t want them to be working. We just don’t want to become a part of the man.

We also organized community meetings. Even though they knew we were there to look at SNCC for a penny and that all the money we got we were to raise in Lowndes County.

Bob Massie went to Detroit. Everybody in the country gave him a name a name of sons or daughters or grandchildren. Bob got all those people together and we will determine who is principal. And that’s what I mean by controlling the education system.

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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 candidates they feel is the lesser of two evils.

Stokely Carmichael, Bob Massie and Courttland Cox from SNCC moved into the county in February 1965. They brought a lot of strength to the community. At that age, they were good workers, I think today all people, whatever we have done for our country, we give those people credit for. They are, as far as we are concerned the best organized in the country. They have enabled the people make their own decisions. They bring ideas to the people and you can’t do that whenever you want to accept.

I think once we take over the county government, instead of having two com munist parties, I think we need a lot of community, where people could sit down and talk across the table with one another. That 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.
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 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. 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 here. Help the boycott! Help us succeed as we did against Schenley’s!

George Ballis photo

The DiGiorgio Struggle

Members of the National Farm Workers’ Association have been on strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation’s 4,600 acre Sierra Vista Ranch since September 15, 1965. They are seeking union recognition and collective bargaining, and an increase in wages from $1.25 an hour and 10¢ a box of grapes, to $1.40 an hour and 25¢ a box. Since they have not achieved union recognition or a 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 workers picketed the Sierra Vista Ranch to run back the scabs, the corporation asked the growers to denounce them as “scab” workers.

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 sat out a 300-mile pilgrimage and organizing march up the San Joaquin Valley to Sacramento. Tremendous support developed during the 7-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 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’ Organizing Committee and the NFWA. The Independent Farm Workers’ Association, as Senator Robert Kennedy proved in the recent farm labor hearings in Vicksburg, 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 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 saw, they would have to submit to compulsory arbitration of any future disagreement by an arbitration board of one company and two union representatives, and a court-appointed union. 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 to organize in 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. Treating ordinances have always kept union organizers off the DiGiorgio land and away from the unions 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 candies 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 on the ground and hit another picketer 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.
Boycott Instructions

1. Call an emergency meeting of your group to form an ad hoc committee to aid the farm workers' strike. Delegate 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 magic, officially advises a large chain-store use to buy DiGiorgio products. This union could also collect all canned foods returned by the chains and send them to the NFCA office for Delano for families of strikers.

3. Send a delegation to the management selected plants and ask them officially not to buy DiGiorgio products. You may tell the management that you want to use a consumer informational picket line, but you're forbidden by law to use threats of coercion or a general boycott of the store. Students should try to get their school newspapers to serve DiGiorgio products.

4. Set up a budget as soon as possible — an informational consumer picket in front of selected plants. This kind of informational picket means you hand out leaflets to all customers entering the store and ask them to respect the boycott.

5. It is very important to order the kind of persuasive action that is necessary to be successful. Delano — to make every effort to publicize the boycott through the newspaper, 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 fanaticized to how to boycott stores merely because they handle DiGiorgio products. Brick lines cannot encourage general boycotts by consumers of a store or by employees of stores carrying DiGiorgio products.

Vive la causa!
National Farm Workers Association, Box 894, Delano

Another "DiGiorgio Election"

In an interesting interview in the Los Angeles Times, p. 17, July 28, 1937, as appeared under the title "I Work, You Work; the Land Works," Mr. (Joseph) DiGiorgio set forth his views on labor organization. "It seems some organizers assume the attitude," he said, "Mr. DiGiorgio, we're going to eliminate your farm. "You're going to what?" he inquired. "You're going to do anything here they don't want done!" So commented Mr. DiGiorgio about the "freedom" of his employees that he personally called a meeting and addressed his men on the subject of unionization. "You know that one day the fruit is green," he assured them, "and the next it's ready,

and the third and it's rotten. We're in the shipping business and it's got 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." Thusly the employer, "How and after the vote was taken, announced the result. "Mr. DiGiorgio, we have voted. "That's a good American way," DiGiorgio replied. Do you see your pickets to day those fellow in the city, or not?" To quote from the interview, "A smile flashed across the man's sunburned face. 'The men say nothin' doing, they don't want me. We much appreciate your continued loyalty, and we will continue to do all that we can to make your living and working conditions as pleasant as possible."

Jolly Farmer
DiGiorgio Corporation Today

The corporation's assets are $65,049,000. The corporation's sales were $121,369,000 in 1964. Its net income in that year was $2,536,000. Its net income doubled between 1960 and 1964.

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THE MOVEMENT

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 I know, the news of the upheavals among low income and minority people in this country. I urge those who support us to subscribe to THE MOVEMENT."

"Subscription $3 per year. Write SNCC, 449 14th St., San Francisco, California, 41997.

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

Supplement $1.00 per hundred MOVEMENT $2.20 per year .20 single copy 3.00 per hundred

449 14TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

WHAT DIGIORGIO TELLS ITS EMPLOYEES

Cesar's Evil Plan

Dear DiGiorgio Employees,

Cesar Chavez and his ill-equipped followers have commenced a second boycott of DiGiorgio products. We are confident that this boycott will not be successful for it is being conducted by individuals that no self-respecting person would associate with.

In the meantime Cesar refuses to meet with our representatives. He will not talk over the situation. He will not tell us what he wants. He will not explain his evil plan.

Instead, he tries to incite picketing. You have all heard them shout obscenities and threats. What manner of man is this who would permit this kind of conduct? What manner of man is this who refuses to have an election, but allows his lieutenants to try to force you into joining his association by胁门agery of you?

Cesar is on the way out. He cannot live without newspaper publicity. He will probably try to start more fights, and try to keep things in a turmoil.

We do not worry about him. As we have said before, DiGiorgio has been here for nearly half a century, and DiGiorgio will be here long after Cesar Chavez and his NFWA "Fair Working, Associations" are nothing but an unpleasant memory.

We much appreciate your continued loyalty, and we will continue to do all that we can to make your living and working conditions as pleasant as possible.

Sincerely yours,

J. S. DiGiorgio, Dir.

DiGiorgio and His Cronies:

Factories in the Field, by Carey McWilliams, 1939.
This is the last part of a three-part article by Dr. Gerald Rosenfield of Berkeley, California, examining the poverty program in Mississippi. The article discusses the reasons for the success and failures in the program, and the role of the politicians.

In the days following the revolt, the picture of what happened in Washington was clearer and more objectionable. CDGM staff called for the Administration to move the poverty program to Mississippi in order to placate the Mississippi delegation.

On July 35, moderate whites and Negroes, with the blessing of the Democratic National Committee, held a meeting to formulate a new position on the poverty program. A delegation representing Senator Johnson or Sargent Shriver, it wasn't clear 'which had presented Senate staff with an alternative proposal that would have been more acceptable. CDGM staff was convinced that Sargent Shriver should be involved in the program to placate the Mississippi delegation.

During the time Senator Stennis was attacking CDGM, the administration was concerned about the political and military expenses associated with the war in Vietnam. President Johnson had reassured the administration that the national security was indeed to be sponsored by the OEO, that the national security was indeed to be sponsored by the OEO. He claimed that the war in Vietnam would be the major expense of American military forces elsewhere. The administration was concerned about the economic impact of the war and the potential for a third world conflict.

The Siphon

The budget proposal for the Anti-Poverty Program in Mississippi was submitted by the OEO in late November. The proposal included a $25 million grant to CDGM, which was to be used to build a nationwide network of poverty centers. The administration was concerned that the proposal was not adequately funded and that the program would not have sufficient resources to meet the needs of the poor.

The Solution-Too Late

Copies of the CDGM grant proposal approved by the administration were distributed among the councilors of Mississippi. The administration was concerned about the political and military expenses associated with the war in Vietnam. President Johnson had reassured the administration that the national security was indeed to be sponsored by the OEO, that the national security was indeed to be sponsored by the OEO. He claimed that the war in Vietnam would be the major expense of American military forces elsewhere.

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Although only representatives from the poverty centers of Mississippi were present at the council meeting, it was clear that the councilors were concerned about the political and military expenses associated with the war in Vietnam. President Johnson had reassured the administration that the national security was indeed to be sponsored by the OEO, that the national security was indeed to be sponsored by the OEO. He claimed that the war in Vietnam would be the major expense of American military forces elsewhere.

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John Hulett - ContiUED

Stokely Carmichael, newly elected Chairman of SNCC, High Point, North Carolina, for 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. I gradually made up my mind that we needed the National Democratic Party and I was going to get the county and we were going to get that body to organize. I met with them every Sunday night. What we were able to come to a mass meeting and you got to be dominated by Negroes who's organization. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was that the county was going to control the county. I do believe they are going to control the county. We could take over the Democratic Party in Mississippi and that's a fact, those crackers aren't going to let us in. We go to build something of our own. The Negroes who voted Democratic in Alabama are Negroes all over the country who pulled the Democratic vote in Watts - they voted Democratic and they don't have a damn thing to show for it. Because they couldn't get people to independent political power where they can control the county level. They can control the money that comes into it, they control the law, the sheriff, the tax collector, the courthouse, the jail, they can do anything. When they can do that, then they can meet a white man with power, Right now we're just up against the man says jump we got to ask him how high.

"Black Nationalism"

I want to talk about a little this "Black Nationalism". Not a lot of people are talking about this organization has to be brought to this country, SNCC has to be brought to this country. SNCC has to become more popular because it's going to have to pay the things that it's necessary to do.

Poor Whites

There are also a lot of poor whites and they're in the majority and they don't really know who to vote for. I mean it, the poor white people control the party, control the candidates, the control the people they are white. It is impossible for both of them to be in the same party, I've seen that many parties that those people control, and eventually we can back up with that. When they can do that, then they can meet a white man with power, Right now we're just up against the man says jump we got to ask him how high.

How do you organize?

We go from house to house. We go into the communities, we convince people to stay informed, to be a man now, I don't think no other way. We can spend the same amount of money as the county has always been initiated on one side, side black people have always insisted on integration. We are about to do the same thing in this country. What's hard about "Black Nationalism" and all that. We got to build something of our own, the Man says jump we got to ask him how high.

We were organizing community meetings. Every community has a meeting once a week where they discuss all the things that are related to the community. Also found that the role of the organizer had to be minimized, but I got out of that bag of manipulation. We went in there with certain ideas. One idea was to organize poor people to get power, and if that's manipulation so be it.

No Strings

When I went into Lowndes County I had to be real careful in what I did. We decided that we weren't going to go to SNCC for a penny and that all the money we got were to raise in Lowndes County. "Integration is completely irrelevant to us: integration is completely irrelevant to us. When you go for power, the vote and people still being poor won't do. We could take over the Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would have to move. We could take over the Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would have to move. We could take over the Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would have to move. We could take over the Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would have to move. We could take over the Dan River Mills then the Sheriff would have to move.