

I'd like to introduce to you Stokely Carmichael.

mine
I ah, have a tendency not to speak loudly. That's because when I was small, they used to tell me that Negroes were loud, so I do the reverse. So if I'm not speaking loudly, just raise your hand ~~in~~ in the back, OK? I have avoided coming to Boston for several reasons, and one of the reasons was because I knew if I came to Boston I would have to speak here. I wanna say something about Jon's death. I don't talk about Jon's death, probably ~~for~~ for 2 reasons. One is a very personal reason. Since 1960 there have been some 21-- 18 to 21 people who have been killed in the civil rights movement. And I have personally come in contact with at least 10 of those people, whom I knew. So that I have to build in, for my own self, some sort of psychological block, so that I can continue to function, so that I never speak of ah, people's death. The second reason is that I think that the society sits around and waits for this sort of thing, that ah, it is pathetic that of all the creative work that Jon Daniels was doing, that the only time we heard of him was when he was murdered. And I think that that has to do with some sort of-- I don't know, whatever it is-- that people get out of reading the dirty details that go on. And, well, that may be part of the American way of life, I don't have to be a part of it. And I also think that the civil rights movement finds itself in a bind because in order to raise funds, that's how they have to do it. And I'm not very good at that at all. So that I speak of Jon Daniels as I knew him, and what I do when someone die, is that I decide that I have to work harder so that I won't die. Because I do the same work they do, and I can be shot just as easily as they do, and that I, I don't mourn for them; because I know that they are concerned with the living, and that the important thing is that the work goes on. Jon's death was never tragic for us in Alabama, because I think that once someone leaves the north, to work in the south, in the civil rights movement, he's automatically psychologically accepted death. And that it's just a physical thing, once it occurs. Now, I don't care what built-in rationalizations that the person himself makes, the fact is that he is aware that he can be shot at any moment, and that is prevalent on his mind all the time. So that we have all in a sense psychologically accepted death. We hope and we pray that we won't get shot, but that's the reality of the work we do. So that Jon's death is just a physical thing, and we realize that we just had to continue working. Jon realized that too, if in fact you read his papers on for example I don't know the title, I guess you'd call it "The Martyred Saint." where he said we are ~~to~~ to be martyred saints. He realized that, too.

Now, I want to talk a little about the ideas that Jon had, because I think they can be relevant to you, and it's been almost a year now, and right after Jon died I was asked to write a paper on his thoughts, which I refused to do,

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because we were so close in our thinking, and I didn't want to project my own thinking to his his name. Jon might have been a very intelligent young man in terms of his academic standing here, he might have been an A student, I imagine he would have been an honor roll student. But the one thing that Jon had was insight. He had a profound insight, which was stripped of all his academic achievements. That Jon could see a drunkard family, and relate that, not to that person's vulgarity or, ability to be drunk, but he could relate that to the whole system, and how that person had to function in life. See, Jon went beyond civil rights. He went to man's inhumanity to man, stripped of color. Now, while it is true that he worked in the black belt, I think that had other things on his mind. We always talked about the church, for example, and what he himself thought the church should be, what it could be and what in fact it was not. That he was a rebel of the church, and that he knew that, and that his own hope was that he would not become a rebel of the church but that the type of work he did would be the type of work that the church would do. Cause it was the type of work that the church needed to do.

It's hard to recall-- I'm trying to catch his phrases, just the way he would say them. Ah, he felt very strongly about the ceremony of the church, but he felt that there had to be something more to ceremony. He felt that he could that by attesting to what he did, in his actions. Now, he could parry arguments back and forth, of ministers, for example, who in the south would say, that, well, they can't stand up for civil rights because after all they are the only thing that the congregation have and if they spoke out against civil rights they'll be run out of town and there'll be no hope. But Jon knew that that was just a rationalization, because, as he said, Jesus Christ would never have said that. And, as people who are true Christians than that in fact is what they would have done.

He loved the church. I could never understand that, I never could, but Jonathan loved the church, and he wanted the church to live. He wanted it to come alive. And, ok-- Jon was known in Lowndes County for a number of reasons. Number one, unlike many of the other ministers who came to Lowndes --to Alabama, he didn't spend his time talking to ministers. He spent his time talking to the people in Lowndes County. So that they knew him, and he knew them. He, as a matter of fact, knew very few of the ministers at all in Alabama, but he knew the people. And Jon was a dangerous fellow. Because he was living a life that would threaten the very existence of the political structure in Alabama. And he was compassionate enough to understand that he would die for that. And I wanna side track-- I know that it sounds as if I'm talking in tangents, but I hope to pull it all together-- Willie Vaughans (sic) who ah, after Jon got killed just went berserk--we had to send him to a psychiatrist--he's home

now, and we hope he'll do better-- would never stay with Jon when Jon first came in to Lowndes County; because Jon Daniels was a marked man, and that everyone on the staff knew that if you were with Jon, you could get shot, because they were after Jon Daniels. They were after other people, but Jon stood out, because he was white, and that made him, even more a marked target. And that he just sort of seemed to stand out. He-- wouldn't back down, he would just drive on and do the work that he had to do, as if all else was irrelevant.

Willie started working with Jon, oh, I guess about two weeks after Jon was in the county, and he started to get strength from Jon. He started to develop his own internal strength. That's something that Jon Daniels had. That I think everybody strives for. But he had an abundance of strength that came from the inside, that he could give to people, and that he did give to people; and he gave that to Willie, and Willie started moving with Jon, and Willie was getting ready to move on his own, when Jon died, was killed, was murdered, was shot down. And ah, Willie didn't have the strength to go on, because that strength was taken from him. Now the people in Lowndes County realize (sic) that what strength they got from Jon Daniels they had to take and carry on. They had to take and carry on. And that the programs that Jon Daniels started to develop were the programs that they had to work on. Not because they loved Jon, but because they believed in the programs. Because those programs were not Jon's programs, but they were programs that were developed when he spoke to the people that he typed up and said, "This is what you've said." And I'd like to talk a little about the society in which we live, and I want this now to be me, not Jon. But I want to say one thing, and I want to make it a white-black issue. I meet a lot of white people who come down south every day. I meet very few who have the insight that Jon Daniels have. And I met only one that I liked very very much. Because he really understood, and because he wanted to share his understanding with other people. His ultimate goal was to return to the college and to tell people what he had learned; to tell them what he had learned. And to see if they could use him as a vicarious experience to understand what was going on in the society. That's what Jon Daniels wanted to do. And that takes an awful lot of internal strength. It takes an awful lot of internal strength. It's the strength that Gloria Larry couldn't do, as strong as she is, it's the strength that I can't develop yet. That I keep striving to do every day. And it's a strength all of the white volunteers that returned from the south did not have. And Jon believed that he could do it. And he was willing to give it a try.

So that I want to now go on and say what I view some of the problems are. Now Jon agreed with a lot of things I said--we had some disagreements but I'm sure that he would

have come around sooner or later (audience laughter). And one of the things that we talked about was how you have to go deep. I mean, deep, into the society. And that the answers that people throw at you as panacea for the problems, are not always panacea. We often talked about school integration and what it meant. That its good to see more people in the country talking about it. My own feeling was that the emphasis on-- of the Supreme Court decision, 1954, should have been that the amount of money per capita spent on white students should be spent on Negro students. And then make integration secondary. Now, the reason why you had to do that was because in this day and age, white kids are still receiving more money per capita than are Negro kids in the south. All right, so that you haven't even solved the problem of bad education. But let's just take that school integration thing and look at it.

You had nine students in Little Rock, Arkansas, who fought through mobs, who howled and scream and spat on them, who were accompanied by guards, who sat isolated in classrooms, to further white supremacy. Because they were going to a good school, which was white. And they were leaving a Negro school, which was bad. And the rest of the country applauded. And few people really wanted to go deep. Why didn't we take nine white kids and send them to the Negro schools? Seems to me that's integration. Now what you did was that you picked, you hand-picked nine top students, I mean you picked the top students, they had to be A students or else they couldn't go to this good school. And at this good school you had white people who were making A, B, C, D, and F, and they could make an F and go there if their skin was white. But if your skin was black you had to be a Superman to get in. Again, you furthered white supremacy. Now in the North-- I was out in San Francisco last month-- and they had one-way busing--they were busing Negro kids out of the ghetto, into the white suburbs, and everyone was applauding it, except some Negro families. No one ever thought what they were doing to those Negroes. They took those Negro kids out of the dumps, out of the slums, and took them to a fine suburb school, with nice garden and fresh air and country club (laughs)--and then every afternoon they'd bring them back to their dumps so they could sit and look at their fathers and hate their parents, and hate themselves. And no one ever talked about-- having white kids go to the Negro schools. Because if you talked about that you'd have to talk about developing the Negro schools the way they should be developed. See? And so Negroes couldn't get their own strength. And again, they were running to white people. And again they were hating themselves. For once you took those nine top students out of the Negro school, you had justified the problem. You did absolutely nothing for the remaining students in that school. That Negro school remained the way it was. And the other hundred students who were there, that was tough luck.

They would have to hope that they could go to a white school, too. Now it's obvious to me that if you want to talk about true integration in this country, you have to talk about building up those Negro schools and then having integration. Or knocking down the schools and building one school where everyone goes. That's clear to me. That's the way you solve the problem. People didn't really want to go deep.

You have in Alabama, today, a political situation. There is a dominant party in Alabama. It is the Democratic Party. It is the most corrupt party in the country. It is the most corrupt party in the country. That party existed for one reason and one reason alone: to suppress Negroes. By any means whatsoever! You have at the head of that party, George Wallace. That's correct. Democratic party. Who says, very clearly, what he wants to do with Negroes. The man who represents the Alabama State Party at the National Party in WASHINGTON, D. C. is a man called Eugene Connors. You may remember him better if I say "Bull" Connor-- Chief of Police in Birmingham. And you have across the country people who say that Negroes have to get into this party and make it something better. Why Negroes have to do that? Why do they have to get into that? And do something about it. Now let us make it very specific: in Lowndes County the most influential man in the Democratic Party is Tom Coleman. It's the man who killed Jon Daniels. No Negro wants to sit at a table with him. They don't want to have anything that he has anything to do with. They don't want to be a part of anything that Coleman works with. And they don't even feel that they have to destroy him. They want to build something new. That's all they want to do. And they want to build it from scratch because they don't feel that they can learn anything from Coleman except how to keep Negroes down because that's all he's done. That's all he's done. The only thing Negroes can learn from white politicians in the South today is how to be a segregationist. How to, as Mr. Wallace says, "out-nigger your candidate." Because that's how you are going to win. And that's all the Democratic Party in the state of Alabama can show Negroes. That is correct. That is correct. Not an other thing else. And people say across the country, "Negroes should get into that party." It'd be like asking the Jews to get into the Nazi party to clean up Hitler. (laughter) That is a precise analogy. That is a precise analogy. And when Negroes form something of their own, there's all sorts of talk about Black Nationalism. Black Nationalism is only relevant in terms of White Nationalism. And White Nationalism is only relevant in this country when you have the force to back it up. And Negroes do not have that force. In Lowndes County, a Negro is afraid to walk to the courthouse! Because Tom Coleman is deputy sheriff. And he carries a gun. Because Lux Jackson is deputy sheriff and he beats them every Friday and Saturday night. And they represent the Democratic Party in

Lowndes County. They represent the Democratic Party in Lowndes County. Not Lyndon Baine Johnson. But Tom Coleman and Lux Jackson. They are the Democratic Party. Cause they are the men with the guns. And so when Negroes say that we do not want to imitate this, we want to build something of our own, people are shocked. That's because they don't want to go deep. But it's something much deeper than that, it's something that I learned from Jon.

We used to talk about Justice and Injustice. And one thing I liked about Jon was that, unlike everybody else, he never saw justice as something that was meted out in a courtroom. That's how most Americans think of justice. What's meted out in the courtroom-- if the courts says its the law its the law, period, end of discussion. Doesn't make a difference how that law is formed, who forms it or what, its the law, you obey it. They never knew that justice was a thing, or they don't know even today that justice is a thing that goes on from day to day. It is impossible for a white man in the south to get up on a hot summer day and walk out of his palatial manor, air-conditioned, get into his air-conditioned car, drive on a black-top road, cross the railroad tracks, into the dustbin, and look at those shacks, that's justice, that is justice, and that is what I talk about when I talk about justice. I don't talk about court room justice. I talk about the fact that Negroes work from sun-up to sun-down for two dollars a day. That's justice on a day-to-day basis for me. And that whites ride up and down up and down the road in air-conditioned cars; that Negroes' mothers get up at five o'clock and cook their breakfast, for their children, then go across town and cook breakfast for a white family. Clean up that house, cook lunch, prepare dinner, and then come back home and cook dinner for her family, and clean up her house. Yes, that's justice, that's what I'm talking about. Don't tell me about your courtrooms. I want to talk about justice on a day-to-day basis. That's what we have to talk about in this country. Now, I'm very concerned about some of the southern writers, southern white writers, because they are involved in something that I think about all the time., which is self-condemnation. See, I don't think that people can self-condemn themselves. So that-- when in fact, Tom Coleman was released, everybody jumped up, and all the southern writers said, "What a shame, that the South would have done this; the just South, the beautiful South." OH, hes, and Mr. Katzenbach issued a statement saying, "That's the price that you pay for a jury system." And everyone is upset. Does everyone think about justice on a day to day basis? The fact that Tom Coleman went away scot-free wasn't important to Negroes. The mere fact that Tom Coleman had to come to trial was what was important to Negroes because he had murdered four Negroes prior to that and never came to trial. And every Negro in Lowndes County and every white person in Lowndes County knows it. And the people in the

country yell about the fact that he goes scot-free. Because we never want to go deep, into the society. We never really want to face the problems. Because we may have to bring it home. We may have to do what Jon Daniels was going to do.

Don't want to scare you. When I started working in the Movement, I used to say to people, "If you go and vote, you'll get a decent house, you'll get a decent school, you'll get decent roads fixed, you'll get this, you'll get that, you'll get more money." And I believed that. I did. And I believed it because it wastold tome when I was in school. Oh, yes, if anybody argued with I'd say, "Here's my textbook. My Political Science teacher says if you vote you'll get better schools, you'll get better house, you'll get better---" And we have to stop being apathetic. I believe Negroes are apathetic. But we define that--we redefine apathy, incidentally. It means, that you won't work on my program and I've told you that it's gonna help you. (laughter in audience, APPLAUSE.) That's how we--that's how we define apathy. So that, in the morning when I get up, and I walk around Lowndes County, I see Mrs. Glover, she says, "Stokely!" and I say, "Yes, ma'am." She said, "Now you came down here and you told me that if I voted, I'd get a better house." And I said, "Yes, ma'am, sure enough." And she said, "You told me if I voted my children would go to better schools," and I said "Yes, ma'am, sure enough." And she says, "You tell me if I voted, that I'd get better roads in front of my house." And I said, "Yes, ma'am, sure enough." "And that my children would get better jobs." "Yes, ma'am." "And that we would have some justice in the South." And I say, "Yes, ma'am." She said, "Well, my boss-man just told me, cause I voted, now you find me a house and a job." (laughter) *TO LEAVE*

That's the problem I have to face every day. And so when we raise the question IS IT A FACT THAT THE VOTE — IS IT A FACT THAT THE VOTE MAKES PROPERTYLESS PEOPLE AS EQUAL AS PROPERTY OWNERS, people shrink. People shrink. Is it a fact? 50 families have been displaced in Lowndes County. They are doubled up with other families. Some of them live in tents. It's cold. It's muddy. I have to go there every day. I'm not reading out of a political science textbook any more. I have to face Miss Mandy Glover when I look out my tent in the morning. And she says to me, "Where is this house and this road?" I have to see people who tell me that "My bossman says come June first I have to leave his land and find me a place to live. Where am I gonna go?" Those are questions that I have to face.

Now we--oh, sometimes it seems so dull!--We have ah, decision to make. All of us. We have to decide whether or not this society at this time can include everyone. Because while the society has a philosophy of being inclusive, it is very exclusive! It is very exclusive! Oh, but I'm told all

the time, "Son, if you work hard, you sho enough gonna make it!" Yessuh! My father believed that if he work, everyday, he was gonna be a Rockefeller. That poor fella, he died of hard work. At an early age. And he worked 3 jobs at one time. Yes, sir. Mrs. Mandy Glover used to pick cotton from sun up to sun down and come home with two dollars in her pocket! And people kept saying to her: "If you work hard, you gonna make it; don't be apathetic." How very liberal of us. How very liberal of us. We never question the facts, and we never go deep, and we never admit to ourselves, that if in fact you have nothing, you get nothing. Oh, and the poverty program came down, and the man said to me, "Well, now, we've gotta program here that will help you,:" and I said, "Good, what is it?" He said, "We're gonna build all these Negroes houses!" I said, "Very good, they need them." He said, "Yes, the government will give you fifteen hundred dollars, we'll draw up the plans, the people can build the houses, and while they're building, they'll get paid." And I said, "Goody, goody." He said, "Now, bring all the Negroes who have land so we can start to work." That's what he said! And I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Before the government give you this program you have to have land, we can't just give you a house if you've no land." Where do they get the land from? Where do they get the land from? And nobody in the country is willing to address themselves to that problem. Oh, I remember when the Negroes on the Air Force base in Greenville. Oh, people said they were rowdy, yelling, and screaming, and savages, and look at what they did. Where were they to live? A reporter told me

when he was visiting tent city that he thought it was romantic that we lived in tents. (Laughter from crowd) He thought it was romantic. I asked him if he wanted to share some romance with me. (laughter) That he could live in my tent and I'd go live in his house. It didn't become so romantic.

And I want to just end saying one thing about controlling resources in this country. I want to tie in with the poverty program. In Lowndes County we have a program that's a Vista program. You have college students from Tuskegee who get paid by the government a dollar and a quarter an hour and they come into the community every afternoon and they teach Negro children from 4:00 until 8:00 and then they go home, and they come back and they teach them in the summer. And people all across the country got up and applauded and said "Look, you see? The government is finally doing something." And I asked them again to look deeper. Negro kids get up in the morning at 7:00. They go to school from seven until three. The bus takes them to another school, which they go from four, until eight. And in the hot summer, they have to go to school again.