

Q: Where were we , oh you were telling me about going to Jackson, Mississippi, on the Freedom Ride,

A: The long walk into the waiting room, we faced a mob, and I was trying to look at people's ~~sxxx~~ faces, in the meantime ^{two fists} trying to hold ~~my-face~~ ~~xxxx~~ up, so I wouldn't get up cigarette butts, they were flicking cigarette butts at us. And I kept thinking, you know, why, why , why. A naive question, but it's something that still comes back, because you still can't find the answer. When ~~xxx~~ you try to find the answers to questions that bother you, really a problem. Am I really, you know, irritating people, and would it be best if I didn't really become , will things really work out ~~xxx~~ , is it really my business etc. etc., all these questions went flashing ~~go-running~~ through my mind.

We got arrested, though, I got to know the jailer. Everybody in jail, preachers are very religious, I'm not. And they were praying all time, singing, I'd sing, I wouldn't pray. I'd sit and read. We spent about a week in the Jackson City jail before we moved to Parchment (?), before we were moved, the night before, we found out that ~~wex~~ we were being moved from the prisoners below who , there were Negro prisoners below us and they thought we were great, you know, heroes, etc., and they told us everything they knew.

Q: You ~~wex~~ say you were in the jail, where they moved you to Parchmon.

A: So the jailer came up and held the bars, see, we got to know each other ~~fairly~~-fairly well, I mean, us as a group, and and he as an individual.

Q: What kind of man was he?

A: An old man, about early fifties, I'd say, believed in the southern way of life, whatever connotation it brought to him, but he

was-am-jpm--was an honest man, and he thought at first that we we re just a bunch of trouble makers, agitators, and we were just coming down to cause trouble, we were ~~xxxxx~~ communists, etc. etc., and he was gonna rule with a ruthless~~m~~ hand, and that we were gonna do as he said. And he found out that we wouldn't do what he said, you know, no matter what he did to us. We'd still keep singing, when he'd say not to sing. And after a while, it ~~xxx~~ became a little petty game, you know, he'd do certain tricks to try and keep us in line, and there'd be soup for a meal one day, and ~~xxxxx~~ it would be hard for me, I ~~and-t-say~~ can't say how many, let's say there were about 30 of us in there. He would pass 30 hot bowls of soup, with about 3 spoons, you know, and ~~they-don't-have--~~ then say I ~~xxxxx~~ don't have any more, pass it around. So if you were at the end of ~~n~~ the line, ~~xxx~~ you'd just have cold soup. All these simple little things. But he found out that we wouldn't break, under those little things. Then he got so that you know, he'd even joke a little, and laugh, and he'd say, you gonna be ~~hear-fer~~ here for a long time, and then we'd say -- yeah but you gotta be here with us, don't forget ~~xxxx~~ that. I think, you know, I ~~xxxx~~ hate to use euphemisms, but I think we got to respect each other. Anyway, I got to respect him. After a while, the respect grew. And we got to ~~n~~ respect each other very well, sort of. It ~~is-true,~~ grew because I respected him as a man, you know, forget that he was a white southerner, ~~the-was---~~ that he was my jailer. Well, it came that we can really talk, you know, about issues, and he'd tell us about what we didn't understand about the southern way of life, of course, he'd say the same stereotypes of Negroes ~~n~~ we were treated well, etc., and everybody would answer, would say, well that's not true, ~~xxxx~~ you know, Negroes aren't really treated well, it's bad, etc. etc. We finally came to some understanding, I guess ~~xxx~~ a sort of unspoken understanding, that we won't mention, you know, our radical points of

to him, we'll just talk about other things. And he'd tell us, I found out a lot from him, about Mississippin and the way of life, you ~~know~~ know, that he used to go fishing with Negroes etc. etc. and he thought it was on equal footing. I didn't think it was an equal footing. I don't know, it might have been, it's something that bothe red me, but anyway, thenight we were leaving, well, the day before we were leaving, he came to the bar, and he held on to it very very tightly, you know, and all of a ~~sudden~~ sudden he started talking, about his life, and started talking about his maid, can't remember her name, let's call her X anyway. He said -- "Addie was good, she brought up and raised all my five kids, and we loved Annie dearly." A deep introspectivething, about "when Annie died the whole family cried, they went to Annie's funeral," Every year he places a wreath on Annie's grave. And he wanted us to understand that we we re all wrong, about race relations in the south. That they were really very good, andgonna be better, you know, and the Negroes really liked itthat way. Buthe was shaking, visibly seen shaking, and you know, we had our points of view ~~xxx~~ as far as he was concerned, and he had his. He didn't want us to try and change them, he was gonna keep to his way of life, he believed in God, and he believed in the way of the life of the south, he believed in human beings for whatthey were worth. He started crying. Tear dropped. And finally he said, "I ~~a~~ want you to know that whatever happened to you, you know, that you caused me a lot of trouble. He said, I can't ~~xxx~~ go along with the trouble you caused me, but you're still human beings, you have your beliefs, and I have mine. And he left. I thought aboutthat for a long time. Everybody else felt, ~~you-x-knew,-uneasy-~~you know, that he was just putting on a show.

Q: I doubt it, I doubt it.

A: I doubt it.

Q: I doubt it.

A: He didn't have to.

A: Let me tell you something, briefly, that Mr. Evers said in such a conversation as this. I asked him about the future Mississippi, and he said, "well I think we can work it out. Otherwise I wouldn't stay here." One thing these Mississippians, _____ and everywhere," but he said, "They are raised by and large ~~a-som-~~ on some notion of respect for courage. This is part of the code they are raised on. And when they see that we have courage, to stand up on a point we believe in, it gives respect for us, and this respect is the basis for something that we can build on. If they respect that, in a sense, then we can respect. And though there may be against each other to the shooting point, there's a mutual respect possible." Second, he said, "once this white segregationist crosses a line himself and starts to deal with you, he won't lie to you. He has crossed the line already. He's not like," he said, "the ~~fi~~ fellow up north, who'll slap you on the back, and say -- that's fine, that's fine, I'm with you. He won't lie. We have some basis, for hope ~~here~~. Otherwise, I wouldn't be in Mississippi." Does that make any sense to you?

A: Well, I think the courage part makes sense, because my feelings is that people in the south are entirely different, they still have the sort of wild way of life, but ~~they~~ there are certain things that are dear to them. There are certain things that are dear to them. No, I never thought about the courage part, as a challenge, but I think there's something to be said for that.

Q: For what it's worth, this is what he put on the tape. Let's go back to your narrating, we've left the jail now,

I wanted to speak to him, he left. I wanted to ask him what is he trying to say, because I knew he was trying to say something. I knew that he knew that we were leaving. And I wondered if he wanted to say we were leaving, he did say it, because he said -- no matter ~~he-t-h---what~~ what happens to you, you know, I want you to know that you know, you have your way of life, and I have mine. And before he left, he turned around and eh said, " I don't know what's gonna happen," he ~~sad~~ said, "but I want you to know I ~~want~~ want my children to have happiness and ~~Ixx~~ my grandchildren to have happiness, " he ~~six~~ said. "And I'm sure you all want the same for your ~~kix~~ ^{own} kids." And he left. And next night we were moved ~~ix~~ out. And I didn't see him after that, at all. We went to Parchment, and we had ~~very-few--~~ ~~tefirst--~~ at first, good, you know, they told us we had big drill sessions early in the morning, we were _____, you know, you're gonna do as we say, same thing. ~~The-s-~~ After the same sort of breakdown, with the little fellow we used to call ~~ix~~ Sarge, and a fellow called Sheriff Tyson.

Sheriff Tyson once took our mattress away, and I thought it was unfair, so I told him, I protested, and he said that ~~hexx~~ he'd start with taking me first. But when he got out to drag me out the cell, the mattress and evrything else. So he said he would do it, he said he would do it by himself, he wouldn't need anybody to help him. So he opened up the door and started dragging me out. Well, he dragged me out in the hall, and took the mattress away, and said, now get back in the cell, I told him I couldn't do that, you know, I'd have to resist him, nonviolently, he'd have to get me back in the cell. Well, he said he's not going even drag me, he'd got something that would take care of ~~ix~~ ^{me.} So he got some wet _____, on my arm, those things ~~reallh-hyrt-~~ really hurt, man. And he started ~~twising,~~ twisting, and I just kept looking him straight in the

face, ~~and~~ he kept twisting and twisting, and twisting, and ~~and~~ then he said, "if you ~~ain't~~ aint the damned doggonest hardest nigger I ever met," he said, "you gonna get in that cell?" I said no, I can't do that, ~~xxxx~~ Sherriff Tyosn, I said, "I think ^{you're unfair.} ~~you-understand.~~" And ~~and~~ all of a sudden he stopped, he said, "unfair ^{unfair} ~~understand!~~" he said, "you mean to tell me you think I'm unfair!" And he started an incitement against me, of saying, now how could you say you unfair? You ~~say-what-I--~~ sing what I ask you not to sin g. You pray when I asked you not to pray. You make noise when I asked you not to make noise. You justthink you gonna run my ~~xx~~ jail, and I can't let you do that, no who's unfair? "

So I forced the man, you know, he believed in fairness. You know, from his point of view, I was being unfair. From my point of view, he was being unfair. So he said, "now you say I'm unfair!" He said, "now you won't get back in the cell, cause I say to him, you're a prisoner, you're prisoner!"

So I said, "yeah, but I want to be treated fairly because I'm a prisoner." See I was finding myself for once on the defensive. And I thought, "g damn, I'm letting a stupid southern sheriff, put me on the defensive," and so ~~finally~~ finally, he called the _____, he ~~said~~ said, "put that boy in the cell."

And after he put me in the cell, ^{he} ~~I~~ came back, an hour later. He was also visibly shaken. And he said, "now I ~~don't~~ dont' think you're right to call me unfair." And for once, you know, I forgot that he was a southern sheriff, ~~and-I---~~ like we were discussing in philsoophy class the concept of fairness and justice. And he made an indictment against ~~xxxx~~ me, because he asked us not to do what we'd done, and I answered him by saying -- yeah, well, I think you are unfair in taking our mattress, because, you know, we have the right to pray, you don't let us have any ministers, ~~xxxxxx~~ we don't

see our lawyers, you take away our clothes, you take this away without giving us reasons, and he said, "well, nobody asked you to come down here," I said, "well, that's right, I come down here, you know, I'm gonna accept the consequences. But ~~xxxx~~ I'm not gonna accept them ~~without-~~without putting up some resistance.":

And he said, "well, tht's always the trouble, people always ~~get reasons,~~ got to resist. Well you go on, cause I have to resist too." And I wanted to ask him why, I've always wanted to ask him, but he _____, and before I could ask him, he walked away, and then I thought, well why did I have to. And he walked away. We got to be sort of good friends, too, in a funny way. I spent about 49 days up there, every time trouble started, he'd automatically come to me, and ~~xxx~~ he'd say -- "now this is what we gonna give you," this, this and this. And this is what we want from you."

I t got to the point where we really, like it became intriguing, you know, he's gonna give you this, we'll give you that, and you give us this and you give us that. Hed always resort to his last tactics, when he thought that we were being, you know, we wouldn't listen to him. And once tactice he was gonna do, was throwing people ~~xxxx~~ in the hole. He did this once.

Q: Solitary?

A: ~~xxxx~~ Solitary confinement, yeah. And he ~~xxx~~ threw Hank ~~Thomas~~ Thomas in the ~~who~~ hole who was in the cell next to me, and I started shaking the bars, because Hank, can't remember what it was, it was some protestor something, and I called him back, and I said, "now, what you want?" "I said, "Sheriff, now you threw Hank in the cell, in the hole?"

And he said, "Yeah, and he gonna stay there." I said, "Well, sheriff, you got to put me in the hole too," He couldn't understand. "Now what's wrong with you, I haven't done

anything to you. Now that's between me and that boy, down there."

I said, " ~~YEHY~~ Yeah, ~~but~~ but I thi-~~nk~~ nk ~~you~~ you weren't fair, Sherriff, "

He said, "well, if I'm unfair, it's between me and him," I said, "No, Sherrif, as long as that's between you and me. I t's between you and everybody else in the world." And he said, "you really mean you want to go to the hole?" I said, "Yeah."

He said, "open up the door." When he opened up the door, everybody ~~ixx~~ else banged on the door, and said we all got to go to the hole. He couldn't believe this, so he packed everybody in the hole, you know. A good thing he let us out, because I don'ttthink that we could have taken it, you know, ~~ixx~~ we could hardly breathe, not enough water, when we came out, you know, everybody was back in the cell, he said, you know , I think you crazy! And I looked through and smiled, and I said, "No, no, Sheriff, you don't think I'm crazy, you think I'm too smart for you." He said, "no, you're not smart, you're not smart, you're ignorant." And then we ~~had~~went onto have a couple of conversations, thatdidn'tamount to very much. Except that one time, when I was leaving, he took thepleasure of getting me out. And he called~~xxxx~~ my name last, and opened up thecell door, and he said, "I'm glad to seeyou go. " He said, "ARE you glad to be going?" I said, "No, I'm gonna miss you Sher iff, " He said, "I'm gonna miss you too, all the trouble you caused me. "

I said, "I'llp robably be back, Sheriff, " He said, "Well, I'm not goin anywhere, I'll still be here. And besides, " he said, in a very sad voice, I wish you all would just leave everythingalone." And Sheriff _____justsort ofnodded. And I wanted to say, "Well I ~~can't-de-~~can't do that, " but I didn't. I just walked out. But thatwas the only ~~com-plication-xxxx~~ confrontation I had with white

sou therners. And I really got to see that outside of a mob, alone, they were ~~jet-like~~--just like, you know, we were, outside the mob. I can go on freedom rides, with people around me, and I can say -- oh yes, nothing is gonna happen to us, when you get alone, and you're sitting in that stool by yourself, and somebody's behind you, and you hear knife clicking, hot coffee being poured down--~~your-back,~~ people's back, in one minute you're isolated, and you're alone, you ~~rxix~~ really begin to feel, why am I here, when is it gonna end, but just before that first punch, just before you get hit, you know, that little period there, just before, when tensions are built, and you can't control your stomach, and it's jumping, and you start ~~hink~~--thinking over and over again, I think, you know, maybe that's the way it is, when you're really alone. When you really want to sit down and talk to people, when you really got to say, let's just sit down and talk this out, Sheriff Tyson, just me and you, and let's see, you know, where are we going from here. And ~~axx~~ ^{you} he say, well you can't do it, you always wonder why, why can't I sit down and talk with Sheriff Tyson. Why can't Charlie Evers, ~~M~~ sit down and talk, Medgar Evers sit down and talk to him, you ~~w~~ always wonder why, why. Well, after I got out of jail, I wen to New York City for about two weeks, and my father and mother told me, this is it, you know, you're finished, you've done your part, end it, forget it, a week later I found myself in Nashville, Tennessee, started voter registration at the end of the summer, and went into mississippi, with _____, liberty, voter registration. From then on, its just been.

Q: That's just where Allen was just lately killed.

A: From then on, it's just been. There are other developments, since just a summer apart. There are a lot of developments, in that I you know, began to find out that a lot of people who were

just talking about civil rights, are jumping on the bandwagon.

Q: Who had been just talking about it.

A: Who were now talking about it, you know,

Q ; But not acting, you mean?

A: No, even if they're reacting, ~~xxxxxxx~~ one of the things that ~~xxxxxxx~~ bothers me, is that I'm all for demonstrations, but I think that people are beginning to have radical demonstrations, or radical actions without radical thoughts, like you question the proposal of bussing people back and forth to Harlem.

Q: Yes.

a; And you say, well, if I speak out against that, you know, Negroes will think that I'm betraying them. I don't honestly believe this. You know.

Q: In the bussing system.

a; Yes. For some ~~person, a white~~ white person, a white person will say to you, well, what's your opinion, what would you say? you know, so you say to him, well, you can't say yes - cause you know.

Q: I was going to ask you about it.

A: That's just the question that's been bothering me, you can't say well, you know, it's nonsensical, and are you gonna say to them, you know, these Negroes don't know what they're talking about. You know, cause so many Negroes _____. Well, I'll tell you. I'm against it. I think it's silly, I think it doesn't solve the problem, because in about 10, 15 years, most of New York City will be all-Negro, so what you gonna do, bus kids in from Pughkeepsie? That's not gonna solve the problem.

Q: Washington, D.C. has to go to West Virginia, now.
For balancing.

A: That's right, that's nonsense.

Q: Some ~~xxxx~~ Negroes, of course, say it's merely a matter of

a tactical device, to dramatize the situation.

a; Yeah, but it's not solving any issues. It's not solving the issues. I'm all for dramatizing issues, but you're gonna dramatize them, you hope they will be solved. I don't think you dramatize issues to dramatize issues.

Q: Are there two separate issues in this matter of New York, one being the quality of the schools,

a; Now that would be a good issue.

Q: So that's clear that there are inferior schools, there's no question about it.

a; I agree with that, because I've worked in Harlem, and I know the schools, I would agree, if they would say, now the schools are you know, we send the poorest teachers, the schools are run down, etc. etc. Now, I'll agree to all that. If you were to dramatize that and ask for those issues. But now when you bring in the question of bussing kids, it seems to me you're being unfair, because I think, you know, let's face it, Harlem is no picnic ground, you know, I don't think that Harlem is a place for race rioting. But one thing that Dick Gregory ~~says-it-does~~ does say, it's very funny but very true, is that you don't have a race riot, you don't have a bad neighborhood, or a neighborhood that's, because a black people are living there, when white folks come in there, they get beat up. It's not a bad neighborhood just because white folks get beat up, because Negroes get beat up in the neighborhood too. The Negroes get beat up in Harlem all the time, so just because you're white and get beat up, it doesn't mean that all the Negroes are beating up white people. It's a bad neighborhood, let's face it, you know, whatever conditions there are, ~~that~~---w---whatever produces it, it is. And you can't really and truly ask anybody to send their kid in there.

Q: There's another argument, on this side, on the side of the

bussing, given by Negroes. Allright, we suffer, we want the whites then to suffer some too, and if he ~~WERE~~ would send his children to our school, the white children should share the suffering, spread the suffering around. Even at the expense of a 10 year old child, getting bussed two hours a day out of his life.

A: That's nonsense. Plain nonsense. You can't, I don't go for through suffering, comes redemption. I don't go ~~xxx~~ along with that.

Q: This vengful suffering too, this saying, let's pass something to the white man, make his children suffered too, by being hauled around.

A: That's a problem when people ~~xxx~~ jump on the bandwagon. And the funniest thing is to watch the ~~xxxx~~ rise of the Muslims in America. Now the ~~Muslims~~ Muslims, when I used to go to Harlem, used to stand on the corner on the street, and yell and scream and ~~say-nonsense~~,--the same nonsense they're yelling and screaming now. C. Erick Lincoln, whom I don't think is a very intelligent man, or even competent research, that other book Black Nationalism by _____, is a way better book,

Q: Much more thoughtful.

A: Yeah, it's a competent book, I read his book in 1960, he came to _____ to speak to us, the man is ignorant.

Q: ~~XAX~~ You mean Lincoln?

A: Yeah, Lincoln. Yes, and the white press read the book, somebody got scared, and they said, wow, we're not even aware of this. And they started writing in the white press, ~~xxxx~~. Dick Gregory said something else ~~xxx~~ that's very funny. Malcolm X never knew that he had 200,000 followers until the New York ~~Times~~ Times told him so. The Muslims got respectable, they got off to Staten Island, they put ~~n-ties-xxx~~ on ties and jackets, and they became famous. Everybody is

is afraid to say the Muslims are full of beans. Nobody says this. The Muslims are full of beans, they're never gonna get a separate state. That's nonsense. They are switching one god to the other god, they talking about Allah, and everything they're talking, ~~xxxxxx~~ has no solution to the problem. All of a sudden, Malcolm X started, began to be invited to speak on all issues, on the, see, I went to hear Malcolm X, I knew Malcolm personally, and I told him, you know, You talk, you keep your talk, and you can say what you want, I don't even think that you put me in a better bargaining position at all, You know, because you don't say ~~anything~~. anything. Doesn't say anything. Everybody is afraid to attack him. The funniest thing I read was an article by _____ Miller on the west coast, fellow, vice president of the N.A.A.C.P., wrote an article in THE NATION, about two years ago, called a Farewell to White ~~Liberal~~ Liberals. Which was a ridiculous article. He got peopled ^{xxx} up with this black nationalism, and said ^{goodbye} ~~you-could-buy-~~ white liberals, we ~~don't~~ don't need you, you don't do anything for us. _____ ~~shows~~ shows the article is ridiculous, and everybody started, the N.A.A.C.P. put out prints, reprinted it, and passed it all over the country, ridiculous. When they were attacked by Malcolm X, instead of standing on ground, they told him, absolved, and said -- we're friends. You know, people just jump on band wagons. That's one of the things you have to worry about. See, the ones that move in, become ~~successful~~, accepted, then you've got to worry about it, because people don't really look for real solutions any more.

Q: Well there are a variety of types of leadership clearly in this, and ~~x~~ different competing ~~groups~~, -you-groups, you know, that's ~~nix~~ only natural, I suppose. But what is your diagnosis, as to this division of leadership and division of ~~power~~ policy. How ~~serious~~ serious is this as a danger to the movement?

A: I think it will become more serious, I ~~think~~ was in Cambridge and Princess Anne this weekend, and Gloria just got the food surplus things to come in, and while I was at the house, about five white people called, anonymously, and they said, you know, I don't play your racial stuff, I'm not for it, but I'm real glad that you got ~~yourself-some~~-the surplus food, because see, surplus food is gonna be distributed on an integrated basis, they said we've been needing this for a long time.

And ~~gl~~ Gloria would, and after they said that, "well, ~~could-you~~ would you speak out?" And they said, "well, I can't you know," But it proved one ~~thing~~ thing, it does prove that people are beginning to see ~~xxxx~~ beyond all of this. Beyond. Really getting, what I consider, at the real issues. you know, ~~xxxx~~ the Eastern shore is dastardly poor. The eastern shore is dastardly poor. And if white ~~xxxx~~ people can really come out and say to Gloria, yeah, we're with you ~~n-the~~--on this issue, it may mean ~~xxxx~~ the breaking ground for more issues. And all the people who are splitting, for instance, what's that ~~guy~~ guy, _____ Moore, in Philadelphia, what is all this clan nonsense about. What is it gonna solve, and you wonder, you know, if ~~xxx~~ people are really opportunistic, you know, and that's something that bothers, I think, a lot of people that are honest about the movement, you know, makes you wonder, you know.

Q: Do you know the Reverend Galamison

A: Galamison from @ Brooklyn?

Q: Yes

A: Yeah, I know him.

Q: You know him personally?

a; I've met him once. I don't think he's a very intelligent leader. See, if you're really serious about it, it seems to me you've

got to think about whether or not you're opportunistic. It bothers me a lot. If I see my name in the paper, I'm not sorry it's there. You know, When Robert Penn Warren writes me and says he wants to interview/he wants to interview me, I sort of feel good. I mean, you got ~~xxxx~~ to wonder, well, which comes first, you know, the seeing, or that, You've got to take that seriously, because if I'm saying a ~~xxxxxxx~~ lot of things, that maybe you ^{wonder,} ~~want-to-know~~, you know, that isn't really true, you're just saying that because people want to hear it, and you ~~xxxx~~ don't want to do that, if you're really looking ~~for---~~ ~~ye-dele-id---ye-del---~~ to solve issues. One of the reasons why we respect ^{Bob} X/ is because he doesn't do ~~xxxx~~ that. He doesn't do that, he says what he believes. You know, right or wrong, accept or not accept it, not right or wrong. Accept it or not accept. He's gonna say what he believes. ~~-He-doesn't--~~

Q: He doesn't close up the official fund, as it were, he will state it to his own position. Without worrying about tactics of it, or the consequences of it.

A: That's one of the things that we have to be worried about. And the trouble is, that you get an opportunist, and he becomes a rhetorician, he says things that are gonna appease people, he's not gonna really look for solutions. Now, ~~xxx~~ everybody is all hepped about this busing thing, in New York, and they never solve anything. What is it gonna solve? I want to know.

Q: You think it is just a test of ~~xxxx~~ power on an issue as immediate as an issue?

A: I wonder if it's not just that some ~~xxx~~ people are really beginning to feel, you know, Negroes are really nice, let's get on there, you know, You wonder what are the ~~xxx~~ political connections, beyond everything. I always wondered about that, I no longer.

Q: Now, are you talking about Negroes joining up, or are whites joining up.

a; I'm talking about Negroes. Talking about Negroes.

Q: The questions of whites too, joining up, in the civil rights movement, because it has a kind of fashion, or a kind of winning team,

a; It certainly does, there's no doubt about it, you mean, you're very suspicious about white people, in the movement, you always wonder why. / But it really bothers you when you start getting

~~xxx~~ suspicious about Negroes, that's been developing more and more.

You know, I get very afraid if I read the name of one person over and over again, who's saying nothing, essentially nothing, he's got the press following him around, and he's saying actually nothing. You worry whether or not they ever read anything, you know, I've heard people get ~~p-and-ta~~ up and talk about the civil rights bill, and they've never read the civil rights bill. Now how can you do that? How can you do that?

Or they get up and they give ~~a~~ their opinion about what's going on in Mississippi and they've never been there. And it all ~~runs-back-to--~~ runs back to the same thing, it's those dirty old white people, you know. I know white people. If they just give us equality ~~and our~~ and our freedom, you know, it's a funny thing, if you ask somebody what they mean by freedom now.

q; Well, that's one of the questions one is asked always, what is meant by freedom now?

A: Ask them, what is freedom now, you want it now, what do you ~~ask~~ want? The other nonsense, most nonsensical thing, I've ever heard in my life is preferential treatment for Negroes.

Q: In what sense ~~ix~~ would you argue that?

A: Number one, it doesn't solve any problem, because you're ~~not~~ not gonna get the government, to give you preferential treatment,

number two, that the Negroes ~~x~~ who are getting preferential treatment, are Negroes who don't need it. Who? IBM is gonna give Negroes preferential treatment? They're not gonna hire Negroes ~~who~~ ^{gonna hire} / ~~competent~~ --- Negroes who are competent. They have to. Who's gonna get preferential treatment. Is the labor industry gonna get preferential treatment, does the person on welfare get preferential treatment, how are you gonna do it. Can ~~you~~ you get the government, to put through a mass preferential treatment, the answer is clearly no.

Q; I have talked with the president of an insurance company, a white insurance company, in the south, who volunteered this to me, he said, -- I'm swinging to the policy of preferential treatment for Negroes. I think we have to do this, to take up the slack, give special training and as a choice, take the Negro, and as a matter of social tactiss, he said, to take up the slack, we have to do this. He's a man of very high position in the business.

X ~~XXXX~~ A: And is he afraid that his business might be boucotted.

Q: No~~x~~, he is not, he's , says this is a policy, he's not advertising the policy, he says this is a policy I believe in, as a matter of social good. he says it's a matter of general social good. To give preferential treatment .

A: ~~On-axhse~~ -- I feel on a braod basis tht can ~~x~~ never work. Because what you'd be doing on a broad basis, is putting white people out of jobs.

Q; Yes. sure, sure, and it becomes another problem.

A: ~~Thaxkxxx~~ Dr. _____ believe that too, now ~~axx~~ how do you get out of the hole?

Q: As I was ~~sxxxkxx~~ sittikng in a cafe in Cambridge, the day before Yesterday, three or four white men, two of them unemployed, came in at the counter, and one said -- I haven't worked in six weeks, and the other said -- I know why, your face is not black.

A: See, now what's it's doing.

Q: Whether it's true or not, there, I'm sure it's not true, but the point, this is the talk at the lunch counter.

A: And when they are backed up into that corner, it seems to me, the only thing left for them to say, what they have been saying, which I don't agree with, is that --- well, the reason why we need it is because we've been so long oppressed, you know.

Q: Back pay.

a; Yeah, back pay, you know. You owe us this.

It's a drip right ~~xxx~~ now from the Muslims, you know, ~~xxx~~ you owe us dues, I don't know that anybody owes me anything. You know, I can't ~~xxxx~~ hold you guilty. And I don't want you to hold me guilty. For what my father did. I don't believe in the bible, ~~xxx~~ ^{that the} guilt of ~~the~~ the father is involved in the children.

Q: Consequences do follow the children

A: They certainly do.

Q: Not guilt, consequences.

a; I agree with the consequences, but I don't think that you should be made to pay the consequences of the act, of someone else. The other problem is there are a lot of white people who just don't give a damn, one way or the other, about civil rights.

Q: Yeah, I'm sure.

a; And they're gonna be paying for it. In other words, do you want to make people pay, I'll go along with you if you can get me the right people. You know. If you say this, so and so shot your friend, well, then you say -- let's go kill him, well, I might think, well that's okay, we'll go ~~x~~ kill him, you know. But if you say to me, so and so got killed ~~xxxx~~, and one of those people did it, let's go ~~xxx~~ kill them. It's kind of _____ for me to go ~~xxx~~ should go kill just anybody.

q; This really is a very very k important question ~~of~~ in my mind, and one that's really worrying me, I'll tell you about it. In my long session with Mr. Evers, he said over and over again, and I played the tape back a few days ago, to be sure it's exactly what he said, he said -- violence and bloodshed solve nothing. We must think of the future, build a society that we can all live in. White and black. Birmingham was _____ -- that's a direct quote. ~~These~~ These ~~ix~~ lines like them, with the notion of nonviolence, all sorts of pressures, short of arbitrary reprisals,

Now a week later, that was the 17th of February~~x~~, he made a ~~speech~~ ^{reported} speech in ~~Nash~~ Nashville. Now, ~~this~~ this was ~~of-course~~ on the front page of the Nashville paper, and I've got, I was there on the 17th, had to leave town, before his speech. I didn't hear his speech. But, this advocates nonselective reprisals, reporters write this down, see, according to the reporters, _____ Now I don't trust any paper. ~~Having~~ Having been the victim of it myself. So I, unless I was there, I won't ~~a~~ take it. He says -- if a Negro is shot in Mississippi, we will shoot a white man, not one that's guilty, or not one ~~k~~ who has a symbolic role, any white man.

Next, if church is bombed with children, we will bomb a white church with children. Direct quote.

Now I wrote him a letter, after we'd had our tape, I played it back, myself, and I'm ~~concerned~~ ^{disturbed} by this shift of view. He's not the kind of man who says something to me, and then says something else you know, doesn't play to an audience. Some change of thinking taking place, some change in _____. I haven't heard from him, but I can't print, just an interview with me, without reference to this, it would look stupid on my part. I want something side and make this out to be -- an explanation. I hope that he will will give me a letter,

so I ~~am~~ can explain, account for the shift of view. I haven't heard from him yet, I've been away. But I ~~was~~ deeply disturbed by this. This shift, and I don't quite, I don't understand it. If this man ~~sa-i--~~ is a ~~xxx~~ responsible man in a responsible position. What he advocated then, in his Nashville speech, quite clearly, not by implication but quite clearly, nonselective reprisal. And I was really troubled by this, on many counts.

A: I might agree with them, if violence and bloodshed itself, as a act per se may not solve anything. But I think the consequences involved in some bloodshed, ~~would--~~ may wake people up. I think that in many cases it is inevitable.

q; Well, I think there is grave danger of its happening, I think there is no question about that. ~~xxxx~~ But that is different from nonselective reprisals.

~~xxxx~~ A: I'm not sure that I agree fully with him on the fact that bloodshed and violence solve nothing. It's true, that Birmingham, Alabama, was disastrous, etc. etc. ~~xxx~~ but it's also because of Birmingham, Alabama, there's a civil rights bill in Congress. So we're not ~~quite-sure~~ quite sure that it was just you know nothing else. Unfortunate that 4 children had to die. But it would have been more unfortunate if some Negro had bombed another church with other four children, I would think. I would have to think that, because you would be getting ~~x~~ the right four children,

Q: There are no right four children.

A: Right. ~~There's--~~ That's true. True.

Q: Of any shade, complexion in the world.

a; You ~~nd~~ wouldn't be getting the people who committed the act, ~~xxxx~~ anyway, and I'm not sure that I believe in capital punishment. So my whole thinking is very shaky on the bombing of those four kids. Because I thought, you know, John Donne says that the death of any man

diminishes me because I'm involved in that _____. I read that ~~hen-I~~ when I was a sophomore in high school, and ~~simple-that-simply---~~ it took me until I was about a sophomore in college, ~~to~~ to really understand what he meant, to really believe it, I do believe it, but I thought ~~xxx~~ when those ~~xxx~~ kids in Birmingham, bombed, that -- yeah I'm diminished, but they died for one reason, that's because they were black. You know what it means, we're black, and that means I can die too just because I'm black, you know, and that ~~diminish-~~ diminishes me even more. Because that lays the threat very very close. See, and the fact that 6 million Jews died in Germany is a horrible thing, both intellectually and emotionally, but it's more horrible if you were a Jew, and it's even more horrible if you're living in Germany at the time, ~~xxx~~ the Jews are being killed. So it becomes more horrible for me. Because I am black.

Q; It's bound to be more horrible, no way for it to be different.

A: ~~xxx~~ I can't see, I've heard Charlies say a number of ridiculous things, I _____ get criticizing. ~~xxx~~ But I don't know, I can't see someone saying something like that.

Q:

But I was disturbed, in many ways, because of the inconsistency here, between the two things. Things are fluid. People do change their views because situations change. And I don't know what the line of events between the 12th of ~~February~~ February and the 17th.

~~xx~~A: Let's see, when did that girl get hit by the car in

Q: That was earlier. That was earlier. I got there on the 9th, 8th or 9th, it was ~~x~~ I think on the 7th that the riot occurred in Jackson Colledge, and he was ~~galking~~ then getting the students off the street.

A: Yeah, I remember that.

Q: And he was under criticism among some of the younger people, because he had not let them demonstrate.

A: I disagreed with his position at that time.

Q: Several times, some people say, we want a big blowup, real riot, and then get the guard out _____. This would be a _____ with a big _____. And therefore we would have let it run its ~~course~~ course, whenever the blood _____. Some said, I'm guarding this, Mrs. Richardson said - if it had been taken off the streets, they should have had a nonviolent session right away, with the song, and prayers and explanation of the purpose and go right back out nonviolently. ^{so there could be} There would be no bottling up of _____ and confusion of motion.

But send them off the street, and nothing more, There are several lines of criticism on his policies, you know, his behavior. Now, I asked him, I said, in relating, is it ~~related~~ related to the pressure that you're under, or because of that event. Now this is ~~an~~ an impertinent question, but ~~it~~ it is because the other questions were asked.

a; See, there are all sorts of problems with Negro leaders. See. A lot of them don't really seriously think about the problem.

Q: ~~Ask~~: Beg pardon?

a; They don't really seriously think about the problem, the whole problem of segregation, see. ~~That's~~ That's something you've ~~got~~ got to watch. Merely because someone goes to jail, 17 million times, or merely because someone's brother is shot, there's no reason why he should be selected to be a leader, it seems to me. Should select leaders because they have good programs, because they show you some way that is likely to solve the solution. Just because

~~xxx~~ they've been to ~~xxxx~~ jail, and the've got good hard, you know, believe it. I've been very disturbed about that, because a lot of people are coming into bloom as leaders, because they're saying a lot of things. I was very worried about that speech at

Q: NASHVILLE?

a; No, the one I did at the Nonviolent Seminar.

Q: Oh, yes, at Howard University.

The one I heard.

A: Yes, right, I have a tape of that, and it seems like I was really getting the point of trying to convey that ~~xxxxxxx~~ Negroes don't really all love white people. I decided, I was saying that, to counteract a lot of things that Nelson and King was gonna say that night, you know, that ~~ix~~ nonviolence is the way -- that's not true. You know, that we have to show white people the love, it seems to me that that's not true. I think the issue of nonviolence is very important in the question of solving certain things, It's not true that it's bring us closer together and make us love each other, so that if it does in certain cases, I'm not going to deny this.

Eddie ~~ix~~ Dickerson, ~~xxx~~ from Cambridge, Maryland, a white fellow, two years ago, dragged me off a stool, and kicked me in the stomach ~~xx~~ about 7, 8, 9 times. Really gave me a good roughing up, one of the roughest times I've ever spent, was at the mercy of his hand. The same night he came back to church, apologized, said he was sorry, and started working in the movement. About the last summer, he was the fellow who a white owner was smashing the eggs over his head, the white restaurant owner, ~~xxxxxx~~ and kicking, he was the same fellow.

Q: What's his background. Is he an intelligent man, of education

A: No. he's not.

Q: No education. But intelligent.

A: Well, I think ~~xxx~~ he's , I worry about people who can switch just ~~xxxx~~ like that.

Q: Well, Paul _____ and Paul, you know, Luther.

A: He doesn't have formal education, he's , he decided that you know, he was wrong, he didn't have any ~~xxx~~ right to beat us up, and he apologized ~~xxxx~~ to me personally, and stretched out his hand, and I wouldn't take it, you know. I was sore. Somebody doesn't come over and stamp on you and then offer the hand to shake. Well, finally I took, and he started out and he said, you know, I'm not here to join you. He said, but I just want to tell ~~xxx~~ you, that the next time you're out there, you know, I won't be ~~xxx~~ leading the mob. Because I don't think this was ~~w~~ right. Now this happened personally to me twice. It happened once in Nashville, when a white fellow did the same ~~xxxxxx~~ thing, and we all went to jail, and the fellow did go to jail too. And he said, you know, I was wrong, and he said, "I don't believe in what you say, and you can't change my mind, I'm gonna be a segregationist till I die. But I ~~xxxx~~ don't think I should have been out there doing what I was doing." ~~xxx~~ Okay, that's agreed, I agree, okay, that's okay with me, that's fair grounds, he said, "now, don't expect me to talk to you if you come out there next week and I'm in the crowd. I'll try not to be there, but if I'm there, don't expect me to say ~~xxxx~~ hello ~~xxx~~ to you, or don't expect me to try and stop them, cause I'm not gonna do it. That's their business what they do." And I, the next week, he came back to the church, he didn't show up for the demonstration, he came back, and he said, he was pretty disturbed about it, he thought there must be a better way. And he joined. We got him out of Cambridge and sent him to New York, to CORE, and CORE gave him some sort of nonviolent training.

Q: This was a Nashville man, or the man from Cambridge:

A: From Cambridge, _____ Dickerson, right. And I saw him early this fall, and spoke to him for a while, he was working, still working with CORE, I haven't seen him since. But he's become a strong person in the movement, but those are only exceptional cases, I don't think it's gonna teach people through nonviolence. AS a tactic it's very useful.

Q: Well you ~~xxx~~ are planning to talk to people through nonviolence.

A: But a lot more people we've got to face.

Q: Yes, but how ~~xxx~~ much, how much do these two cases mean, there-'s no telling what ~~they-me-~~they mean, is there really? Behind

A: You see, it seems to me ~~xxxx~~ that nonviolence, is worth while for about 4 or 5 reasons. The first one, was that you know, the south didn't ~~x~~ know how to deal with this, there was always publicity, and white people heard about it. The second thing, was that we didn't have to justify our acts, you know, the white liberal element will justify all our acts for us. We're just students sitting and reading a book. The white liberal element, and even the _____ I can't think of his name, I was trying to refer to it in the beginning, who spoke, I think he's on the Richmond Times, he wrote an article, he saw a sit-in, you know, and he said, this is exactly what I saw, and then he said, these Negroes came into the store, he is a segregationist, he believes in ~~xxx~~ separation of the races, and he said, but the very end, he said, you know, there's one thing that ~~xxxx~~ bothered me, he said, I saw those students sitting very very still, very very quiet, not doing anybody any danger, except they had no right to be there, and ~~xxxx~~ they're the inferior race, he said.

"Then I saw the ~~xxxxxxx~~ superior race," he said, "my fellow whites, yelling and taunting, and spitting and acting like animals. " And he ended the ~~xxxxx~~ editorial.

So they had to justify our acts, because they had to admit, that even though we were wrong, the officer should arrest us and let it go at that. But see, the south is getting smart now, it's not doing it any more, in many cases, it's not gonna be so, they're getting smart, they're maneuvering ~~xxxx~~ through more courts, they're putting ~~xxx~~ you in ~~xxxxx~~ jail for long periods of time, and charging tremendous bonds, money we won't be able to get out, and will make all sorts of legal procedures now, so they're beginning to deal and manipulate ~~it~~ with you. On your grounds. The other reason I think why nonviolence works, is because you had small core of students, you had small core of students through Congress of Racial Equality, from N.A.A.C.P., and were all well disciplined, well trained students. Now you're not having that any more. You didn't have it in Albany, you didn't have it in Cambridge, you didn't have it in Birmingham, you didn't have it in Jackson.

Q; Ill trained, or not trained

A: Not at all trained, you're having a mass movement, see, and _____ talking about, this is gonna be a mass movement. But it wasn't, you had about the same students ~~xxxxxxx~~ that I saw in New York on a picket line, were the same students I saw in Mississippi behind bars, see, and the same people I saw in Cambridge, but now there's a whole town of Cambridge involved, and you can tell that whole town of Cambridge to be nonviolent. In Mississippi it's not just three or four students on a bus ride, you're getting thousands of people ~~students~~ to go down and register and vote, and you can't tell them when somebody shoots into their house, not to shoot back. See.

Q: Shooting back is very different from assassination
in reprisal.

A: Yeah, well I don't hold out for assassination as reprisals.
I don't know, I haven't

Q: It's a very different act.

a; It is certainly is.

Q: Dr. _____ and I were sitting there every night, with
the rifle through the window, I stuck there with him, I mean,
through a long session, at the window, so I know what's happening.

A: I know that, I know that. But it seems to me,
that when you have a whole town like Cambridge, how can you discipline
them? to be nonviolent, you know. What are you gonna say to the
people? You don't have the right to demonstrate, and you feed them
because you're not nonviolent, you're not disciplined? This is one
of the hardest arguments, we used to ~~fight~~ fight with us in the
movement, when it first started, was the people demanded that you
wear a shirt and tie, ~~xxxx~~ and a suit, to go in a city, and I
refused to do it, and the ultimate question was, are you gonna tell
me that I can't demonstrate for my freedom? So those decisions
you're gonna have to make. Background certainly.

q; Organization and discipline required in just any movement,
whatsoever.

a; Certainly. So the problem, is this movement so developed
that it can discipline people. I don't think it is. I

Q: What's the next move, then?

A: Well, then, I don't know.

Q: The next move, organizationally speaking. As leadership.

A: Well, see, it's a problem. I thought about that quite
a bit, you know, how do you get ~~xxx~~ leaders of a movement, how did you

a John Lewis. A couple of people sat down and voted for him.

A couple sat down and voted for James Farmer, and a couple of people sat down and voted ~~■~~ for Roy Wilkins. Now when these people voted for them, they said, now this is your leader. The kids in Atlanta heard John Lewis, speak, and they liked him, and they said, well, I'll follow him. They didn't say it verbally, as a matter of fact, they had a silent vote. They didn't say I oppose him, ^{so} ~~nor did~~ they accept him. And that was all there was to it. Same thing with Roy Wilkins. Now conflict / arises because John Lewis says to Roy Wilkins, well we don't think the courts are gonna do it. We think we have to get ~~xxx~~ out on the streets. And we think we have got to push hard. And conflict arises when Roy Wilkins says -- no. The people have to say, well who you gonna listen to. And problem arises, what are the people in ~~De~~ Detroit gonna do, they're gonna listen to Roy Wilkins about what to do in Atlanta, or are they gonna listen to John Lewis about what to do in Atlantaz. We got all sorts of problems ~~k~~ creep-~~ng~~ in, as to what is to be done.

Q: That's part of the history of ~~xxxxxx~~ every movement.

A: Yes. And the other things that you've got to ~~waxxy~~ worry about is something that has been bothering me, is that you're gonna start getting politics inside of the movement, and that's bad,

Q: Don't you have it already?

A: But it's developing, it's really heightening, now, and it becomes ~~ve~~ very very bad, because once you have politicking here, you begin to lose focus, from ~~whiteu~~--without, And that's bad, see. The real way, I think, to become a leader, is to develop a good program, and present it to the people. I think if you got a good program, people follow you. If you make sense. Cause that means you've ~~gxxx~~ got to start attacking all the ~~xxx~~ rhetoricians, you know.

Q: Now some people, I think it's the ~~secret~~ gary of the N.A.A.C.P.

~~inx~~ in Boston, with whom I have not talked, ~~Mxxx~~ this, I read it, said, I think I'm not sure ~~it's~~ he, said, that the trouble in demonstrations ~~now~~ now, is that the element of overreading, each one must be more dramatic than the one before. It's like American advertising. That the rational pressure is not the problem now, of maintaining the rational pressure, or the goals, but making each one stupendous, more stupendous, and superstupendous. ~~ix~~ You are ~~caught~~---caught in an advertising ~~w~~ escalator, which is an irrational force operating within the movement.

a; I think it's not only within the movement, I ~~ix~~ think it has to do a lot without the movement, too. For instance, four years ago, if three little students pulled a sit-in, every paper in the ~~country~~---country would be there. Now, if about 500 students pulled a sit-in, nobody comes.

Q: This is a part of the general quality of American civilization and America in general.

A: It certainly is.

Q: To get the attention, you have to put on a ~~big~~ bigger and bigger show. The movement is a victim then of the whole American psychology of colossal.

a; Tell them one person got killed, that doesn't make a difference, you know. If three other people get killed, again, won't make a difference, cause 6 have already been killed, gonna have to get 10. See. You have to ~~get~~ get 10.

Q: This then raises the question of coldblooded Machiavelian, manipulation, of risks and drama and violation. Doesn't it.

A: The question is, who makes the final decision.

Q: It raises that question, the logic of violence begins to emerge in ~~ix~~ terms of this process, doesn't it. The danger of violence.

A: The question still boils down, who makesthefinal decision.

Q: Yeah.

a; And if you do make it, how will you know tht the people will follow you. ~~-Dhat-is-~~That is a problem.

Now I think, my own personal feeling on Mississippi, is that you got to keep pushing people to register to vote, got to pushing now, you can't back out. But the whites are gonna start pushing back too. And then what's gonna happen. Now, if you reallly being honest with yourself, you'll say -- well, the strong very very strong ~~xxxxxxx~~ possibility of violence, and you know it. Especially if you went to you know, we've been shot at, and you~~x~~ can say you know it could happen. You say well, should we stop. If you are ~~enna-----g~~ gonna avoid violence, then the way to avoid violence, is for you to stop. Since nobody else is going to enforce this.

Q: Yes. Yes. The question of violence doesn't mean the surrender of the issue, does it.

A: No it ~~xxxxx~~ doesn't mean it. But the other question is now, if we stop this tactic, what other ~~a~~ tactic can we use, that will be as effective. Now you can't deny the fact that publicity is a great help in ~~max~~ the movement. You can't deny that fact.

Q: Sure.

A: It certainly is.
these are the facts

Q: Yet ~~the-fact~~ that we have a climate of opinionamong the white people of the country, the movement can succeed.

A: And that is why it becomes essential thatyou don't start t alking preferential treatment, because that little fellow in Cambridge, Maryland, says -- well, that's cause your face isn't black -- means what he says, and in the long run, he's gonna not even hate Negroes because he hated them before, ~~max~~ for one of the

traditional reasons, ~~h~~ yeah but now he has something real to hate them for, they're putting him out of his job. Now it becomes an issue. See. Now they're gonna be fighting in the streets. And they're gonna be fighting over jobs.

Q: Yes, that's, this comes at a time of unemployment. Becomes really another picture entirely.

A: The other thing, the poverty is becoming popular, everybody's talking about poverty. So evrybody talks about it, nobody sits and introduces a program, to solve the issues.

Q: How much is this matter a class matter and an economic matter, ~~x~~ ~~xxxx~~ behind the screen of race. The race issue.

A: Well, when I was in high school, I thought everything was economics. I was a freshman in college, ~~o~~ I was convinced everything was economics. When I found I was a sophomore, in college, sociology ~~x~~ dept., G. Franklin Edwards, Dr. Edwards, had a ~~xxxx~~ ^{long} talk with me. And we used to talk quite a bit, not only economics, other reasons, ~~xxx~~ you know. If someone isn't realizing they're manipulating, they don't know that their actions are motivated because someone on top is motivating them and this one someone on top, that article ~~x~~ that what's her name wrote in ~~xxxxxx~~ THE NATION, about _____ intervention, power structure, and what they're talking about,

Q: Power structure has become a cliché now. Everybody uses it.

A: Power structure, revolution, demonstrations, freedom now, equality, indignity, are words that people just throw around without giving serious thought. Now, you talked about power structure, let's isolate, let's Washington D.C. ,...we. We decided to have a rent strike in Washington, we want to work on it. A decision was made,

number-one

number one, because we think that there is need for emergency housing in the district. _____ gave a report to the Commission on Housing, said there is no need. Now we feel that he's wrong. We documented. People have gone out and made surveys. We're convinced among ourselves, that there is a need. We need to have rent controls in the district, because there are none.

Q: What do you pay for rent in this apartment, may I ask?

A: \$77.50.

Q: Two rooms?

A: One little bedroom in back.

Q: That include your utilities.

A: Yes. This is a good apartment, and it's a good price in Washington, D.C. The lady up the block, named _____, pays \$90. , lives on the top floor, and you can walk to the door and look right at the _____.

Q: Through the ceiling.

A: Right through the ceiling. It rains and it leaks all the way down. She pays ~~\$90~~ \$90. Everybody else pays about \$125. in the building, and it's clearly too much money. Miss Uler is on a Welfare. The Welfare cases in the district, are handled very very badly. Because Congress handles everything. You start saying -- well, the way to solve this problem is to get ~~ix~~ the rules and all that, but you ~~xxxx~~ need home rule in the district, ~~ixix~~ because ~~xxxx~~ where economists cannot handle the problem of a going metropolis, as Washington, D.C. Now you got to decide how you get it. You say -- well, you can't get it through the courts, because ~~ixix~~ they've been trying that since 19 some odd years. So then you decide, well, the other alternative, ~~ixx~~ as we see it, is have mass demonstrations, mobilizing people, dramatize the issues,

now ~~they-may~~-there may be other alternatives, I'm not saying there are not. But we see this one as the best. So you decide to go out and have a strike. We talk about the ~~power-structure~~-power structure, talk about the real estate board. Because ~~the~~ the real estate board, clearly came out against home rule. Do you realize what it means if you have home rule? /When we're against we'll-get the power structure in Washington, D.C., we're against the real estate board.

* On that issue. You say you're against other things, you're against, you know, low wages in the District, for laundry workers, and you are against the owners of the laundries, clearly. I don't think ~~she's~~ she's fair when she says we don't know what we're talking about when we talk about the power structure. I think that we ought to you know, stop using those words, I agree with you. ~~We-in-the-movement~~ ^{Within the} ~~are-concerned-with-the-development-in~~ ^{itself -its-time-for-the}

start the development ~~and~~ and defining of issues in terms clearly, because you're not getting away with what you got away with before. You've got to justify your own acts now, see. We've got to justify a rent strike. If it was the sit-ins, liberal white elements justified it, we wouldn't be even asked, they'd just ^{say we} understand why you were doing it. Isn't it terrible. And you'd just have to tell about the horrible treatment you got. You no longer can do that. You've got to tell the people in Cambridge, why they shouldn't vote for an issue when you get into a thing, I agree with ^{Gloria} ~~you~~ on this. I thought that was a correct position. But you got to justify that. That's not being done. Because, I think it's being demanded that it be done. And that's why civil rights groups are gonna be ^{under} ~~on-the~~ attack more and more. That's why preferential treatment will be under attack. You'd've got to justify ~~the~~ preferential treatment.

Q: Then it's more and more their responsibility, was not present even two years ago.

A: Absolutely right.

Q: Another kind of leadership ~~is~~ is in order.

A: Right.

Q: With a ~~more~~ more closely reasoned philosophy.

A: Yes, and someone who's really taking his homework seriously. You can't just get your name in the papers any more. Because ~~you~~ the papers aren't gonna say you're a good guy, cause you ~~are~~ a Negro. You know. ~~They~~ They used to say that once. Now they don't say it - you're not a good guy any more, as a matter of fact, you're idiots.

Q: Of course, the argument ~~is~~ is now, in some circles, in which I move, a white man criticizes any Negro's policy, someone turns on him, some other white person, and says, you are another, you know,

A: Bigot

Q: SOUTHERN bigot. This is another whole world of cliches. You see. And social pressures arund ~~is~~.

A: in a mix.

Q: _____ mix.

A: _____ fix and a mix.

Q: Well, should ~~we~~ we have some lunch?

THIS IS THE END OF TAPE TWO, OF CONVERSATION
WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL, MARCH 4th.