MFDP Chapter 31

HAZEL PALMER
Interview

Mrs. Hazel Palmer
Negro woman in Jackson, Mississippi
FDP: Member of ex. comm. and head of the Jackson office.

Q: I'd like to ask first of all how you became involved in civil rights yourself? What prompted you to become active?

A: Well, I would say first my name is Hazel Palmer and I live at 2924 Vail (?) Avenue, mother of eight children, and I have two grandchildren. And I first became involved in the movement in 1961 when my oldest son Alfred Palmer joined the freedom ride (?) with CORE. And suddenly something happened to me while he was taking me to work every day; I was working in the Jackson public school; and I was out at the building finished my work ready to come home, and no Alfie. And I kept waiting and no one came to pick me up, so I thought probably he had car trouble. And I called home to see was he having car trouble, or what happened? And the kids at home told me, says Alfie's in jail. In jail? In jail for what? And no one knows my feeling at that time, but I was in that great big school building all alone. But before I left that building it sounded like to me it was a building full of voices. And I came out, got the bus and came on home, and I had to endure with that fear that...all that fear that I had, it was just gone, because I made my mind up in the building, I said well one thing about it, he's my son, there's no way that I can deny him. I said I feel like if he felt strong enough that he wanted to participate in something for the beneficiary of humanity, I'd sure should act and try to be strong enough to stand up and embrace him. He was in jail and then they sent him to for forty some days. And I will...really came to a place where I wanted to do something. So there was a civil rights movement in Jackson, Miss., at that time; it was the strongest movement in fact it was the only movement in the city, that was the NAACP. And I worked with them very hard from '61 up until 1964. But I had started thinking before 1964 that I was just hungry after something that I didn't know what it was. I would go to meetings; we were having meetings twice a week and sometimes we would have a special meeting, and that would consist of three meetings sometimes a week. But there were the regular meetings of two nights a week. And after Evers was snipered, that really turned on, because at the time, the night he was snipered, I had two children in jail, at that time, that was my second son, Will, and Hattie was my second daughter. And no one know what a feeling that is, but it started me to thinking even deeper as saying, you know, what can I do, what can we do? And I felt which we had always, Negroes in Miss. are dependent on leadership like, and I was thinking at that time that the ministers and the leaders of the NAACP and all that, but my attitude changed when I set in on the hearings,
and no one could arrest anybody, could fine anybody, until
the FBI somebody else and somebody else found a fingerprint
they say on the gun that they found they say in the bushes
somewhere; and they say the fingerprint matched Beckwith(?)
And I sat in on that hearing because I was very interested
and I wanted to see what was my leading pupils thinking and
how was they going to react to this, which I was very much
dissatisfied. And I was always you know wanted to sharing
some part of life with my children; and the children were all
loved and quite natural, I went with them as much as I could
to be like the kind of guy who went along with the kids, with
young people. And to the our leaders was saying, quiet
down, quiet down, and we were saying quiet down for what when
they've murdered a man, and it seemed like nobody's doing
anything about it; and after this court decision, they never
could come to anything other than a mistrial or something of
that kind. And I said is it me, or what happened? I was
thinking deeper than that because I was saying if that's par
for my leaders, you know I called them leaders at that time,
it was awfully disappointing, because I felt like we should
have did more. And all that we worked on, I didn't stop wor-
king, I continued working with them real hard, and I canvassed
and I tried to talk to people about registering for voting,
and that was just about as far as they were going right along
there. Quiet down, and get people to register to vote, and
we're going to vote them out. And so in 1964, in '63, we said
we would have a ten night freedom revival; it was the very
last end of December, and we said we were going to start the
year off with the freedom revival. And I thought that freedom
revival really means that we were going to revive ourselves
as Christians and draw up a . But it was the first
time that I remember there was snow, there was snow on the
ground on Christmas day, and then it snowed again and there
was white snow on New Year's Day. But nevertheless all through
that snow we continued those meetings all through those ten
nights. And after the ten nights, wanted .had to go out
of town for this and go out of town for that. And I continued
work as hard as possible and continued the meetings. And I
said to someone at a meeting one night, somebody had to go out
of town I said out of town for what? Where, what...out of town
for what? Because I really wanted to know what we were going
to do in 1964. So suddenly the young people started coming in,
and they had a little place down there they called the COFO
office. So I went by there one...just dropped in, and those
young people down there had some literature, talking about
a precinct meeting. And every time I hear that word I say,
what is it, a precinct meeting? And they'd say yes, Mrs.
Palmer you're supposed to have a say in your government, how
your government is run. So, yes, I do. I had been a regis-
tered voter, but I didn't know anything about being a registered
voter other than when they say, election day I would go down
and mark an X on the ballot what these good nice white people
had all signed up for themselves. No Negro had anything to do
with this, had any kind of say in it. And that's what really
started me and I say I was a different person because when I
heard of the precinct meeting I couldn't go to enough; I
attended as many as I could, not in my precinct but all across
town, which we was calling a precinct workshop. What I wanted
to learn, what are you doing in a precinct, what is a precinct,
then what do you do in a precinct? And why I attended as many
as I could across the state...the city, was because I wanted
to understand enough about it in all the workshops so that when
I went to my real precinct that I wouldn't go there and not know
what to do. So that's what I did and that's why I attended so
many, so I could try to learn how a precinct meeting is run.

Okay, we didn't have too long and we had to work hard and fast
because the first election that was coming up was going to be
the challenge in Atlantic City. And I was trying to learn how
to hold...learn how to act, learn how to attend a precinct
meeting. So it was very hard work because I was still working
at that time. But nevertheless, my working as hard as I did,
I feel like I accomplished something because I was elected the
delegate to Atlantic City. And nobody knows when we got to
Atlantic City, they said that the law says that any time a
decision went to the national convention the delegation that
pledged to support the platform of the Democratic Party would
have the seat. And we knew that we had done what we could,
not no legal matter at that time, because the white people in
Mississippi had done a good job all these...well, I say 100
years, keeping every political issue away from the black man's
hands. And for the first time in history that I've heard people
talking about attending precinct meetings. And quite natural
a precinct meeting is the lowest level of the political issue,
that's the community where you live, and you go cast your vote.
And then the next was the county meeting and then the district
and then the state meeting. And we had did this because we did
this through all the workshops, and by me being a registered
voter, I went up to my precinct, 23, and I said, you know, I
was determined to take part. So okay, I did, and we particip-
atized in the precinct meeting. And until we finished with
the election delegates for the county, we elected alternates
for the county meeting, and then the chairman said the house
is open for resolutions, and I jumped up and said we have a
little resolution for the Freedom Democratic Party. And it
only read that the precinct 23 would adopt this resolution as
to support the national Democratic party in Atlantic City.
And that's when I really found out just where the white people
in Jackson in precinct 23 were standing, because a white fellow
stood up and he went all talking a lot of stuff, and I didn't
even care about it, I wasn't even interested in what he was
talking about. And I asked Mr. Chairman if we could have a
vote on this resolution, and he did, opened the house for a
vote and 28 whites voted no, and of course we 3 Negroes voted
yes, because we thought that...knew that was the thing to do,
because if they say they's a Democrat and then not...vote no
in supporting the national Democratic Party, I knew something was wrong, and I was determined to learn more about it. So when we got to Atlantic City, then they didn't know what to do with us. Here we was lot of poor black and white, mostly Negroes, standing there in Atlantic City, telling them that we want to come in and have seats because we had pledged on our platform to support the Democratic Party. And just to think about it, a whole country of the United States, and right then is when I began to question the United States. How long the 49 states going to let one state, Mississippi, do just like they want to do? They even went to Atlantic City with Goldwater stickers on their cars, and we knew they was going to vote Republican. For the first time that I remember, you know, Mississippi's always had Democrats, and they wouldn't let the Republicans organize enough to say was a two party, but right in 1964 was when they brought up this Republican so strong. So we said we knew they was going to vote for Goldwater, so we was pledging to cast our vote for Johnson. And when we got there, here we are, couldn't get in the door, we stood in silence, we talked, we became and testified we carried approx. something like ____ thousand of freedom registration forms with us. Where we had...some of the people with us was too afraid to fill out a freedom registration form, and we went home and collected a lot of them. And Mrs. Hamer told her life in Miss. and people were just afraid of the whole situation. They were afraid of the Citizens' Council and the Ku Klux Klan, and all of these people who was involved, who had misused the Negro so much all these years to keep them afraid of going and even trying to vote. So they decided that they would form a credential committee is two delegates from each state to vote on and decide and vote on who should have a seat. And we was around thinking that they really was going to do this, and we heard, I heard that Pres. Johnson said stop the vote, so that made me look at it another way and say even as much as we know we're right, what is democracy in the United States? Some said we were illegal, some said we didn't have any legal action. So we blamed that on the MFDP because why I blame it on the white people is because they had kept all of this political issue away from us and had never allowed us to participate, so how can you know, how can you have legal action when they just won't let you? So we went to canvass some delegates at the convention from different states, and I pressured the delegates that I canvassed that if they were going to amend the MFDP political strength and if they were going to get strong enough to stand on our own, then I would come back to Miss. and work harder and harder to get more people involved. And this is what I've been doing ever since. Hold as many precinct meetings as possible, attending any county meetings, state workshops, is what we call it, trying to get more and more people to understand just what the FDP is. It's not much difference what organizations or any specific group talk about, it's this political issue that I'm interested in. And in attending precinct workshops I find out that I don't
care what... how much political issue... and that little X that you make in your box when you go to your polling is what runs Jackson and the United States. And I don't feel like we have any other organization to turn to. Now I call myself a civil rights worker up until 1964, and after I started this precinct stuff then I say well I'm not a civil rights worker any more because it goes farther than that, because to me I would say anybody, anyone from across the states can come into Mississippi and be a civil rights worker, but only the people that's living in Miss. can be MFDP members. And this is what I'm trying to do, and this is what I hope to see regards to what come up more and more peoples in Miss. get involved because we said that we saw fit to brace the MFDP when we tried to get into the regular Democratic Party which is all white. And they refused. And I said we just must keep going because if they have tried this many years to keep us out, it must be worthwhile trying. And one other thing that I made up my mind, I said after I got into the movement and started to going about to other states and talking to so many different people and me living in Jackson, Miss., all my life and plan to live here, I had to help encourage people to forget about being afraid because I say a lot of time you can't hide from a sniper and you can't hide from anything like a rogue, so when they get ready to sniper you they going to do it anyway. So I just made up my mind that if just was to work hard enough so that if they did do it to me I would have did enough to make them do something. I say well if they kill me they can't eat me. Hopefully by some of my children talking, some energy, some of my neighbors, or some of my next state neighbors or some of my out of state friends will remember some of the things that the MFDP wanted to try to mean. And right up to today we said that we were going to challenge every election that come up, be it on a national, on a state, or on a local level. And so the next election come up was Congressman, and a lot of people thought that you know we're not legal, and it's just a waste of time and money, but we never felt like that because we said three things that the Constitution of the United States promised was life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And I don't see how we can say, anyone in the state of Mississippi can say that they've had the opportunity for these three things. And so that's what got us fighting and we will continue because we feel like we're on the right road, and sing that song about how we're not going to let anyone turn us around. Because I have to sing a lot as to keep my freedom morale up, because it's real hard here.

Q: You said you don't consider yourself to be a civil rights worker any more. What do you consider yourself to be now?

A: Well, like I said I consider myself to be a wholehearted member of the MFDP which is a political party.

Q: You're a member of the state executive committee of the FDP?
A: Yes. Yes.

Q: How did the idea of the challenge come up? Were you involved in that?

A: Well, the idea of the challenge came up when we went to Atlantic City, see. And Atlantic City the credential committee offered us two votes-at-large and said that was the best they could do. And I was very much dissatisfied and I said that I wouldn't accept two votes-at-large, first because I felt like my peoples and my friends in Miss, knows that we have been accepting compromises all our lives, and I didn't feel like if I had elected a delegation and they went up there to accept the first little thing that came out which was a little handout you know, shut your mouth and go on back to Mississippi. Because I couldn't understand this two votes-at-large because to me I thought it meant like on a national level, and I knew I had to live in Miss. And so I said, no, I wouldn't accept the votes-at-large. And what I was thinking of then, I was thinking now if we have learned this much, in these few months, as to hold precinct meetings, county meetings, and on up, to the national convention in Atlantic City, I was thinking how much more can we learn in the next four years, in the next eight years? And that's why I voted no. And so that makes the next election come up for Congress, you see. And this was all about the challenge, because we went to Washington on the 4th of January and we came up the same way standing in a silent vigil and the and then going up and marching in the front of the White House, singing freedom songs, telling those people we want our freedom. And I just wasn't satisfied with that kind of freedom. I felt like that myself and other MFDP people could learn more and more in 4 years or the next 8 years. You see I don't know, this voting out, you know, I don't say anything wrong with it, but I really believe that if we have enough people to understand, you know, precinct, county, how politics is run in the country that no one will have to say on election day which way to cast votes, which way to vote, and it's fine, because you automatically know, because we are learning now how to steady people's platforms when they running for an office; we are learning now to read over his platform and what he represents, and every time we have a precinct meeting where we can discuss this sort of situation, who is he running, and what he mean, and what do his platform stand for? And this is the kind of thing that I'm really interested in, and that's why I say political worker instead of civil rights.

Q: Do you think that politics is the whole answer to the question, the problems that now exist?

A: Well, I think politics is affecting everybody's lives, everyday lives, wholeheartedly, because this is the fight that
we're fighting, you see. What these white people in Miss. call politics to me is just a bunch of lies, and dirt piled up on top, you know; they don't want it uncovered. And I myself in speaking for the FDP, all we ask is that people tell the truth of their lives, and how they have lived and the effect of their life in Miss. And that's all. What I think counts. From the bottom up sometimes. You see, people who aren't poor and haven't lived down here, they really don't know how we've really suffered here, and they can't tell our lives like we can, because they just don't know it. But you see if you get people from down here like myself and Mrs. Hamer and others who has lived under this atmosphere all our lives, that you gotta have education to do this, you gotta qualify, and all this kind of stuff, and they have branded in us so long, that you can hardly get people to realize, you know. I don't care how poor you are, you know, you can say it for yourself, you're a man or you're a woman just like anyone else. You're a human being and you got a right to participate. So in like manner as they say it's about registering to vote, I think if a person can't write a scratch he got as much right to have a vote as anybody else. Because in Miss. the people not responsible because we don't have education because it was always denied from us through the white system, and they just never did allow to the Negro to have education. And then, what few Negroes have education it's on the same basis as this white man system, and they have to teach what this white man says, and if they try to teach anything other, they're just the same as anyone else, and they got their education without even really getting what the free education is like, you know, freedom of speech, you know; they can't get that.

Q: Mrs. Waller (?) when we were talking to her was talking about the new image of the FDP. Do you think it's got a new image just in the last year?

A: I think the FDP is really growing, from last year. More people are becoming more involved. And more people just want information about the MFDP. And I really think that we've just got a lot of hard work to do; there's never been an organization before, I mean a political organization, that would allow poor people to organize them own selves. That had never benn.

Q: The FDP is supposed to be a poor people's party, not a Negro party. It seems right now that it's mostly a Negro party. Do you see it changing into a poorpeople's party? A combination of whites and blacks, poor whites and blacks in the near future?

A: Well, there's one thing I want to say right here. The MFDP doesn't have color, and I haven't seen that color mattered
a difference. But while we are predominant Negro is that because this is the first time in history that the poor Negroes has had a chance to organize, you see, from the bottom level up some of these peoples have been suffering, you know, because we have here they call Negro leaders and all this kind of stuff. But you see I don't agree with this, I don't agree. I don't agree with this. But more and more poor Negroes are participating in the MFDP since 1964, because they began to realize and think what we are trying to do. Now for the whites the MFDP has always been open, but these white people here in Miss. isn't more free than I don't know what, because they don't have a life of their own, they can't say what they want to say, so they're getting a life is worse than the poor Negro, because they say this white man has got his upper class home, and his family, his individual, and then his club and this and another. But what a white man of this state, the structure of this state, has played a good part in, they've always somehow made the white man see, especially the poor white, that they were more than the Negro, doesn't matter if he's or what, if he's white he's always more than the Negro.

Q: You know, it seems like the white is disenfranchised on everything but the color question. He votes only on the question of race, and therefore all the other things he could vote on are covered up.

A: That's true because they don't even no more let them know what's going on.

Q: I was thinking about Hattiesburg (?), where there are poor white people coming to you know asking questions about the FDP, or when they started distributing food to people out there first a few white people would come up and they would just take the food and clothes and leave, you know, and that after a while they started asking questions, and about the FDP and why they were giving out this food and why they would give it to white people as well as to Negroes; has there been anything like that around here?

A: Not that I know of. I hadn't heard of this happening right around in Hears County. I've been working to and fro out of the office since about May, and that poured me off from the community activities. But not that I've heard of as such as this. But there has been whites come into the office and you know question how they could become members of the FDP.

Q: What does the term movement mean to you? Do you include issues like Viet Nam or the Peace movement, or do you use it specifically for civil rights? There's been a great effort recently to try to tie in all these other issues with the civil rights issue.
A: Well, I would say this. You see, where I come to thinking about Viet Nam and all that it makes me think about the level of I say the role of the president and on right down in this way, because I think about the years that I've been living in Miss., and I question myself as saying right here in Jackson at Central High School, I've passed there many days, and I see those high school students out there practising just what you do in the army, and they'd have on their army suits and they looked like soldiers; they looked like they were marching you know right on the front line. And I thought about my children was born the same day that child was born, and the school that my kids would go to, and the schools that other Negro teachers can teach, you know, and you say they say it, separate but equal; I don't know how to fit that one. And that pulls my mind to the school administrations, you know, what they mean to me, and if you don't call that political life, I don't know what you'd call it. Because I see political workings in every issues, from the time a child is born on up. Because I can't believe in my mind that I birthed a child this day and a person birthed a child the same day and time, see I can't understand how that same white child that was born the same day my child was born, and how is his education so far in front? See I can't understand that. And I can't hold myself responsible for the children because this system of Mississippi is got the white man's salary so much higher than the Negro's salary. So how could I continue my child in school if he was born the same day mine was born?

Q: How do you feel about something like Viet Nam?

A: Well, I'll tell you how I feel about it, just personally speaking as myself. You see, I think that's political too, whatever you call it, and secondly I have to say this; you see I remember World War II, and the Negro men, the black men, that went into service, they weren't asked about their qualification, their education, whether he could read or write or whether he could do anything like this. They wanted him to go; he was supposed to go to fight for our country. Our country is supposed to be a democracy. And I couldn't see that when the black man was released from the army and I saw with my eyes policemen beat those black men just like they was little children, and they beat the black men in Mississippi until they beat him back to a little boy. When he was in the army, he was a soldier, and when he got out of his suit, in so many hours that he had to get back to a little boy. Now you don't call that democracy. I don't know.

Q: How do you think about non-violence? Do you consider non-violence to be a tactic for yourself or a philosophy or what?
A. I have believed in non-violence real strong. In fact, I think if we hadn't have believed in non-violence, we wouldn't have made it this far. Because one thing I feel like short order. This white man in Mississippi, when we started to think about this exit we make, see he starts getting scared, and starts to walk around with this happy gun on his side. And he would be just too glad to say that he was resisting the rats (violence??) and if we were violent, that would give them more excuses for saying that they were just resisting the rats, killing people, that they resist arrest. That's why I say that I'm glad, that I've been less violent, instead of being so much violent like before, this white man in 1964, there would have been all the more excuse for what they had, and what made me determined to hold onto non-violence before even more, in 1964 when the workers started to come in even before I realized what a precinct was, they saw, they only saw, all this literature about these three workers they murdered and put into this hole. You see, we hadn't even started to set up precinct workshops at this time. But you see, I figured the white people saw what was going on, were interested in what was going on, to see what we had planned in 1964 so they kill those three people right away. What I was thinking of is, the best way to handle them now is to hold more workshops in the precincts, in the county district, and state.

Q. What do you think of a group like the deacons who spoke to you yesterday?

A. Well, I'll tell you what. I forgot, when I listened, I didn't have too much feeling between myself and the deacons. I still hold on to organizing along a political plane because what the deacons represent yesterday, represents the same thing, so I agree there. I feel we were represented in Mississippi. Did you notice he went back in the Bible, you know, he brought out the point, you know, how they began to riling her. So I really hadn't heard, you know too much, I really hadn't been in too much. Before I speak about a thing, I like to hear about it and think about it, have a chance to think about it.

Q. How do you feel about the group of white people in the movement, working in the South?

A. Who you mean, the volunteers?

Q. Yes, the volunteers.

A. Hopefully, what I would like to see done, speaking for myself and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, I would like to see volunteers coming to Mississippi to get this feeling of what we're trying to do. Now I know there's a lot of kids have already went to school and got their education, but to me, self experience is the best education you can get, and I would like for each volunteer, when he leaves
Mississippi be able to go back to his own home and talk about precincts. Because each state and each place I been I find they need the same thing we're trying to do here. They needs it there in their state. Now I say, the other states don't have to, well, they haven't been had to get most of the beatin', most of the killin' from the officials of the state. But I find they don't know about a precinct, they don't know nothin' about even how their state is run. And I would like to see every volunteer that come into the state, when you go back home can start to talk about precinct and get your people out and hit some of them little holes andhollows too. That's why I say so many Negroes have left Mississippi. You see, because they hadn't heard about no Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and money's so low to the black folk in Mississippi and so many people that left to go to other states to try to help their families back here, to carry on and try to keep the younger children in school.

Q. So you feel it's actually what the volunteers get in the way of understanding to take back home with them, is actually more important than what they do when they're down here?

A. Well, you see, when they here, while they were here, you see, when they come, they didn't know anything about precincts either. And you see, we all just learned by doing, and I feel like that, you know, I hope they learned about what the Freedom Democratic Party stands for, and what it means.

Q. Do you think their learning is more important than what they teach or what they do while they're here?

A. Well, you know, we learn by sharing ideas. You share your ideas with me and I share my ideas with you. Now maybe I can say this a little clearer by saying such as, if you volunteer, you pretty much have your high school and your college, right? And then, you see, I'm just a Negro, living in Mississippi all my life. Now I didn't get a chance to get schooling. But if the material and the literature's here, and we read this together, you mean to tell me, I can understand it as well as, you know,..... See that's what the country go on and that's what they base on and I charge the white man for this too, this education, and I know that education isn't necessarily... but to me, he brought that in to block more balck peoples from the voting polls.

Q. Most of the volunteers are agnostic or atheistic when they come down. Do you feel this is at all, that it hurts what they do at all, or has a bad effect on what they do?

A. Bad effect on the work? I don't....
Q. Not their work so much, but their relationship with the very religious people in the community.

A. You know I wouldn't say that. I say we all help together. And I want to feel like we share, you know. I don't say, I don't want to say that... well, anyway, we work together, we exchanging ideas.

Q. Would you feel they should exchange their views on atheism and agnosticism with the very religious people?

A. You know I wouldn't say that. I say we all help together. And I want to feel like we share, you know. I don't say, I don't want to say that... well, anyway, we work together, we exchanging ideas.

Q. Would you feel they should exchange their views on atheism and agnosticism with the very religious people?

A. One thing about it, you can't work with people if you hold them back, not in this freedom movement in Mississippi. Cause one thing I want to say, if you work real hard in the movement, you got one thing in common or else you wouldn't be together. That's just my short saying of it. Because the movement in Mississippi is too dangerous and too hard you know, to say you can put so much in the movement and you can hold something back. Now this be the case of the peoples com' down. I would say right quick, you know, they'd ahve been better if they'd stayed away. You know, if they come and they feel they're gonna teach somebody something and they're gonna hold this back when I feel I put everything I have into the movement because, you know, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is me.

Q. They should share all their views with the people then?

A. I feel like that's the only way you can tell the truth, you see. And to me I say this is what the fight is, the truth and not a bunch of lies, you know. And if you tell lies, then you got to civer it up with something. If you tell the truth, there may not be but a few of you, but it's there. And this is how I'm bringing the challenge, you see. We just asking the United States, since they made these laws, why not enforce them?

Q. Do you think the people are dissatisfied at all with the laws, or say with the original form of government, the Constitution, the U.S. constitution?

A. I don't find too much fault with the Constitution of the United States, but I would like to see some of the fifty states enforcing laws, not jus'makin' laws and writing them down on paper or in books. But this is what the fight's on. We're saying they're not enforcing the laws that they make. And why the forty-nine states won't make the state that won't obey the laws obey them, enforce them. See we ain't never had a chance to have nobody represent the poor peple. Now the people on the white side here, they say, everytime they was on the T.V. or anything, "Peoples in Mississippi are satisfied."
You see, we had no means or other way of tellin' the world we're not satisfied.

Q. Is there anything else you'd like to say?

A. I don't think so.