### SNCC 40th Anniversary Conference April 2000 Transcript Video Recording #3

Speaker 1 (00:00:00):

Sensitivity training. One of the reasons that when I get on the staff of the United church of Christ commission for justice, and we're doing all those police brutality hearings in New York city, the reason I do a 10 page chronology of police brutality cases for the PA the previous 10 years is because I knew what to do from SNCC. That training came to me for sake. It's not, cause I dreamed it up. It's not, cause I knew it, um, from, from, from knowing it myself. Um, and so what happens is that you realize the necessity for always having a factual base for the information that you're giving out. So people just don't think that you're making it up.

Speaker 2 (00:00:35):

Yeah. Okay. We, we have been, I've been told we are down to about a minute and a half at this juncture. So we'll entertain your question, sir. Go ahead. Oh, your comment.

Speaker 3 (00:00:45):

My question is we know as far male, the, see the, and take the, and bring the, and we still have a long way to go get people're at that age and made that ion so strong that you that's. I won't rambling. Okay.

Speaker 3 (00:01:25):

Answer to that question. Are you in school now? Yes, sir. College. Yes, sir. Get your degree. Okay. Today <affirmative> today let's take 40 years ago. How many of you here of students at show now in this room? Anybody? Well, 40 years ago, if you were a student at sho about to get your degree next month, you would've had to scramble to get a decent job. If you were not a teacher or going into a government agency today, that is not true. The unemployment situation here in the Raleigh area is one of the lowest in the world. All you need to do is to get your education and you step immediately into the middle class. Everything you need to do, this is one of the things that's causing so much poverty within the black community is to stay with your family and take care of your family. The major cause of poverty, the black community today, young black males leaving their families and not taking care of. So number one, get an education and you step immediately into the middle class. Would you please, You please, sir.

Speaker 2 (00:02:46):

Okay. Let him finish. Let him finish. And then we'll hear from you. Let him finish. Most young black males are already in

Speaker 1 (00:02:53): Lonza. Why don't you Speaker 2 (00:02:54): Come next already in poverty? Speaker 3 (00:02:56): Their behavior is a reaction to Speaker 4 (00:02:58): Poverty and not the other way Speaker 2 (00:03:00): Around. Okay. Let me say two things. One is, Hey Tom. Hello? Reverend S meeting

Speaker 4 (00:03:12):

And then proceed to do what George will does. And pat Robinson does say it's only a few dysfunctional black people who caused the problem with America are doing nothing but putting on a year, 2000 definition of racism of 1850.

Speaker 2 (00:03:31):

Okay. Okay. First, excuse me. I'm the moderator first Hank. But you finish your comment. Thank you. And then we'll hear from other people. We may have to take another couple of minutes to round this one out. Okay?

Speaker 3 (00:03:47):

Okay. Thank you very much. I stand by what I said. Get your degree, get your education. You step immediately into the middle class. Middle, middle class

Speaker 2 (00:04:01):

Minute. Sorry he, he hasn't finished. Reverend. We're gonna hear from you continuously. Okay. But you are out brother, brother,

Speaker 4 (00:04:16):

And they cannot

Speaker 2 (00:04:16):

Find a, okay. I agree with you or social service. I would agree with you, but this is not the way we're gonna, this is not the way we're gonna proceed. This is not the way we gonna, you are outta order. You're outta order brother. You're outta order. If I'm not gonna let you speak now, I'm the moderator. Thank you. Okay. Go,

#### Speaker 3 (00:04:45):

Just to sum it up, get your education, take care of your family. And the last thing in living legacy. As far as I'm concerned, this is one man's opinion of what the civil rights movement has done. It has expanded. And literally, if you will creating the black middle class without a middle class, no group of people without a middle class, no group of people makes progress. This country has been a magnet for those who come here hoping to get into the middle class. And that has happened in 1960s. And prior to us getting involved in knocking down these laws, we were not allowed as a people to enter the middle class. You go to college so that you can become a part of that middle class. You get an education. Now I know the word middle class unfortunately has become a pejorative term, a ative turn for some folks. But folks, when you go to college, you don't get a degree. So I can become a better poor person. You get a degree so that you can have a expanded of living that is good, that you can support your family. And basically this is what has happened today. And this is the legacy. This is the fruit of what we have done.

#### Speaker 2 (00:06:10):

I'm gonna, okay, Hank, I'm gonna cut you off and I'm gonna close this one out and I'm gonna lay something out for the group because we've been told we have to close. Let me say this to you. That's Hank's opinion. That's not all of our opinions. And I want you to be clear about that. I work in prisons every day. Okay. I work with brothers who are coming in with the college education. <laugh> right, etc. So I want you to know that while Hank is providing his viewpoint and Hank was a part of us, and that's one of the things I wanna say that we always had warm for everybody's opinion. This is a very big world. There are millions of people that you hope to move. You're not gonna channel everybody down the same highway. Every people are going on. Other highways. The point of the matter is with the way that you are going to proceed in life.

Speaker 2 (00:06:58):

Do you see the mind feels, are you in a position to make a decision that is on behalf of people, will you engage in things that are on the other side? Will you join the people who are enemies of the people? Do you understand what I'm saying? And these things are very problematic and you can tell just from this brief entree that there were differences and they continue to be differences. So I'm gonna yield to the, uh, the conference, uh, coordinator here. Who's asked us to close this session. Hopefully we can take some of this fire onto the next level and try to get some more into this discussion. Brother. Did you wanna say something? Okay, crystal. There you

Speaker 5 (00:07:38):

Go. Thank you. Thank you.

Speaker 5 (00:07:45):

Let me just echo what was just stated. And let me tell you something, as you take out your program pieces and take a look at them, there will be lots of wonderful opportunities for us to engage in these discussions, both formally by means of the various, um, workshop sessions that are planned. And also by means of the chat room, which we will have available. The chat room is not the computer chat room. It's a room where you can enter and there will be SNCC veterans who will be there and they may or may not have similar opinions. In fact, they may have opposing opinions. And I think that would be a wonderful opportunity for young people to hear the varying opinions. We don't want anybody to leave angry with anybody, cuz well, I won't say what my former ex-husband used to say about opinions and parts of the body, but we all have them. Uh, yes. Dr. Payne. You're trying to get my attention. <a href="#"></a>

Speaker 3 (00:08:56):

The first afternoon session, the chatroom to off specifically around

Speaker 5 (00:08:59):

These questions. Exactly. That's fine. That's good. Okay. Let me then share with you, uh, some information that you don't have. If you have this piece of paper that says Thursday, April 13th, please look down at, um, the first thing is at 1130 lunch mm-hmm <affirmative> some of you signed up to go to the peace lunch forum, which will be over at, um, NC state it's there because the, that program is one that's been in place for many, many, many years. They do lots of wonderful things and bring various speakers in being a part of this celebration. They ask that they do their traditional program there. And so we're inviting you. Those of you who've already signed up to go to go over there. What about your lunch? Well, it will be in the tally student center and you can purchase your lunch in the tally student center.

Speaker 5 (00:09:52):

Or if you happen to be on the second go round of shuttles, you can get lunch from around here, some place, but be ready to get on the shuttle. We will have shuttle provided for you to go over to NC state and we will bring you back from NC state, uh, that will take place between 1130 and 1:00 PM. Then starting at 1:00 PM. When we come back, we will come back to the Raleigh convention and civic center, which is across Wilmington street, all it's right next door to the Sheraton hotel. It's a part of that complex. That's on the Fayetteville street mall. That's where the afternoon concurrent sessions will be held. I'm going to read the sessions. I'm going to read the names of the persons who are going to be on those sessions. So somebody doesn't come up to me later and say, who's doing that, but I will tell you, I will tell you that I'm a teacher. And I only like to give instruction. I'm also a grandmother and that's what I tell my grandchildren all the time. I'm gonna tell you one time

Speaker 1 (00:10:59):

Is, is this printed anywhere for the panel

Speaker 5 (00:11:01):

Receiving? Unfortunately it isn't Uhhuh. Now let me just try and explain what happens when you try and do something like this. And you've got bits and pieces coming from all around the country. We don't all get it all when we need to have it all so that it can be concise, but we're gonna work with it. We're gonna help as much as we possibly can. We're gonna try and do something special for the panelists cuz I know they're gonna be concerned about it, but for the benefit of everyone else right now, I'm gonna read out who's who's doing what and the room numbers that you can look for when you go to the civic center. Okay. Um, starting. Yes,

Speaker 6 (00:11:41):

That's right.

Speaker 5 (00:11:44):

Uh, brother Payne let's have a meeting. There's been a proposal. We don't have enough people for a variety of sessions. When we do the concurrent sessions, um, I given the number of people who have registered, they must be somewhere

Speaker 7 (00:12:04):

<laugh>

Speaker 5 (00:12:06):

What do you wanna do? What do we wanna do?

Speaker 3 (00:12:07):

Um, I, but what is also happening is that people are sort trickling in and then by the time my clock phones inspecting dozen people, but that's only here.

Speaker 7 (00:12:22):

So we'll go forward.

Speaker 5 (00:12:24):

I hear motions to go forward. All right. 1:00 PM to 2:45 PM. Emerging scholarship on miss Ella baker and grassroots organizing the moderator is Joanne grant. The panelists are Hassan Jeffries, Abigail Lewis and Barbara Ransby. That will be held in room E two. There will be a film eyes on the prize, uh, segment of eighth, scared of your jails with discussion actually, Dr. Payne, Charles, ain't scared of your jails, the film where we're on the second panel. He doesn't

Speaker 7 (00:13:21):

Know what you're

Speaker 5 (00:13:21):

Talking about, where the film ain't, ain't scared of your jails. Where is that gonna be shown today? Or just discuss today?

Speaker 3 (00:13:28):

It was gonna be both show and

Speaker 5 (00:13:29):

Discuss today. Right? Okay. Where are we showing with Phil?

Speaker 3 (00:13:36):

The city.

Speaker 5 (00:13:37):

Okay.

Speaker 5 (00:13:39):

All right. That'll be in room E three. Um, something's a little bit different about that for me. The third one is SNCC culture. What held us together? Gosh, and it must have been a lot of talking and dialoging and arguing and getting points across. All right, we're gonna stay together. Ivanhoe Donaldson, Jim foreman, Judy Richardson and Charles Sherod are on that panel. And that will be in room E four in the civic center. The fourth session, black and white together are separate panelists are Joan Browning, Martha Norman. If she gets here, she's driving down. Mural tilling has. And Bob Zelner, that will be in room E five. Organizing the Mississippi experience. Panelists are Sam block Lawrence, is it geat or geat? Mary Lane. And WAER peacock. That will be in room D three.

Speaker 7 (00:14:47): If it Speaker 3 (00:14:47): Is it's in room above <inaudible> Speaker 7 (00:14:51): D Speaker 5 (00:14:51):

No, you said D for D is the David D for David three D three. The first one was E as in elephant time now is three to, to 4 45 telling our story women in the movement. We, the deep in our hearts book authors, we didn't get their names. So I can't tell you who all those folk are, but, um, that will be in room E two, teaching the movement. What do students learn from it? John diner, Martha Norman, Cleveland sellers. And that will be in room E three, teaching the movement through music, song leaders, Betty FIS, that booming voice Sam block was your peacock and bill Pearlman. That will be in E four group centered leadership. What did we learn in the sixties? Charlie Cobb Mac Arthur Cotton, Casey Hayden room E five. Where are we today? Issues of race, justice and peace. James Lawson, Charles Sherod room D David two, another film, freedom on my mind. And the discussion following that is Victoria Gray. That will be in room D three B like David D like David. Okay.

Speaker 7 (00:16:33):

What's the

Speaker 5 (00:16:34):

Research committee. The research committee room will be announced because it'll have to be one of the rooms that you are exiting from. Uh, so find me and we'll have that taken care of for you by that time. Uh, I, I might as well continue with the rest of what's here for Thursday, uh, so that you can just note that right now. Um, dinner break is on your own, uh, more squares right up the street and other nearby restaurants. I'm coming back at seven SD here in EE hall, the showing of Fundy with a discussion following that Ms. Ella baker, developing grassroots leadership. The moderator is Dr. Willie high and the panelists are Joanne grant Charles Sherad. That will be here in this room. I see some hands. Yes.

Speaker 3 (00:17:27):

Just, just a point of this are from North Carolina, one from chapel hill with lots of students from UNC chapel hill, one going from Europe, with students from central into, we leave on Saturday at 6:00 AM and 8:00 AM respect. So many of us will not able to participate in the big day on Saturday. So I'm really issue go to lunch now, kinda when people tend to discuss, like to say, is there a possible us to continue discussion?

Speaker 5 (00:18:09):

Sure. It is for those who want to do that. Yes. And I was going to say that story is

Speaker 3 (00:18:13):

Being told, and I think it would be great to hear some of those other stories. I I'd like to tell Matt SHA story too.

Speaker 5 (00:18:20):

I agree.

Speaker 3 (00:18:20):

1966.

Speaker 5 (00:18:22):

I, I agree with that. Totally. And that was going to be my final statement that if anybody was obliged to stay here and converse, you may continue to do so again, that's why we tried to pro provide the, the chat rooms so that these kinds of discussions could go on in those places. And the rest of the program could continue. I see another hand.

Speaker 3 (00:18:41):

Yes. You tell that chat room,

Speaker 5 (00:18:46):

The boardroom boardroom. Yes. In the civic center, please enter the civic center from the Wilmington street side. There is some major conference going on where people are entering the, the, uh, south street side and they have security. So you will not be allowed in that entrance. Please enter the civic center from the Wilmington street

Speaker 8 (00:19:11):

Side matters. And we, and I frankly, was on the old bay freedom ride because Jim foreman, he bought all the tickets. He said he had money to buy, which was nine tickets. One person had to be the observer and of the eight people who were likely who were to subject themselves to arrest. Uh, he wanted it to be for white and for black. And so we had Bob who was white and Tom Hayden, and a, a, a wonderful redheaded bearded, uh, uh, Dane, um, and a brighter from Denmark and the LA PI Larson. And my, the boy, my boyfriend at the time, bill Humphreys wanted to be the fourth white person, but he was at Georgia Institute of technology on an air force, ROTC scholarship. And he knew that life was gonna be really miserable for him if he went on a freedom ride and were arrested.

Speaker 8 (00:20:01):

So it's almost an accident history that I had the right skin color to be an Albany freedom rider. Um, I, I echo what you've heard from Charlie and, and was the observer. She was the observer. Yeah. Hollis and Charlie have talked about regional, um, issues, uh, having to do, having an influence as almost as strongly as racial issues. Um, I'm a, I was a southerner and I felt a little intimidated about 1963 when all these brilliant Northern people started coming down, much more articulate than I ever could Des aspire to be. Uh, so I, uh, I understand a little of that, uh, um, regional, um, sensitivity, um, a as a white person, I knew that I, particularly as a white woman, cuz understand now that white supremacy is based on the fact that, that the elite white men in the south wanted to be sure they passed on their property to their heirs.

Speaker 8 (00:20:59):

And the way that they could do that is they had to be sure that babies born to white women were there progeny. Uh, so white women were, uh, captured in, you know, in depth. There were a lot of ways of dealing with that, including becoming a white supremacist yourself, but in any way, white women were, um, special target of the plan from the twenties on people don't generally know it, but some white women were lynched, particularly white women who crossed the racial lines. Um, um, so I knew that being a white woman brought a lot of new Rath more Rath than, than, than might otherwise be in, in place, in, in demonstrations and in the movement. And for that reason I was, and, and others, I was really anxious to be told what to do. I never aspired to be a leader. Uh, I didn't think I had the smarts to know how to conquer the kinds of situations that my family and others in the south had created. Um, I was, uh, delighted to be a part of the, the part of SNCC and a part of part of those times. And even today as I work for the kinds of things and, and I'm a local person, I have a major case of local person artists. Uh, I can only do it interracial. I live in a place that's only 5% minority, but, um, I cannot work in a group that that's not interracial even today. And I, uh, would really hope that you, young people find it uncomfortable to do that too.

Speaker 8 (00:22:31):

We're going this way.

Speaker 2 (00:22:33):

Oh, I was just getting ready to give a Zel.

Speaker 8 (00:22:36):

Well, you know, I'm not

Speaker 2 (00:22:38):

A leader. Oh, that's okay. Well, okay. Um, with regard to what I thought we were going to talk about, um, <laugh> I thought that, um, we were in fact going to not just talk about what happened then, but that we would also try to reject into the current, uh, situation and perhaps you spend enough time visiting the past. So I will speak, um, to what I think, um, young people ought to be, uh, thinking about doing and how I work with. Um, and I've tried to continue to work with young people. First of all, cuz as an aging, uh, I'd like to say revolutionary, but sort of an aging angry, progressive <laugh>. I like to keep in with, um, young people for several reasons. One because they keep you young, their ideas are fresh, they are new. Um, they have a higher level of energy.

Speaker 2 (00:23:36):

So an 18 to 20 hour a day is not an impossible day for them. Um, and in that regard, I, uh, work with a group in Boston, that's called center for campers organizers. And I'd like to encourage you to be a part of that group of people heard of it before. And I'll glad to talk to you later. Um, and I also work in prisons where I see a lot of young people and um, one of the things that occurred to me and I've often thought about SNCC because it was a life transforming process, is that in some cases we did not recognize or appreciate our place in history while this morning, I in indicated that we did see ourselves moving to earth, um, that's a lonely spot to be in, you know, and you have quite a bit of weight on you and it's singular.

#### Speaker 2 (00:24:24):

I mean, when I say that most of us, uh, in SNCC use SNCC as the family base because those other people had now divorced themselves for one reason or another either they thought we had lost our minds or that we would engage in something for which they may ultimately have to answer. So we clung to each other pretty tightly. Um, the point, however, is that we did not trans what's the word we did not transition. Well, the next forces to come in, there were efforts in the project snake to reach out laterally to the Panthers. And that's a whole nother story. There was an effort to develop white organizing, but that went off half cock my viewpoint because of what happened within SNCC. I don't think that it had a good transition. And then we also issued people on Palestine, which alienated most of the Jewish people.

#### Speaker 2 (00:25:16):

So there we were financially strapped, uh, being basically, um, uh, right in a lot of ways and, and advanced in a lot of ways, but never having really sort of laid the groundwork. Uh, of course at

the same time, COINTELPRO was reeking hav with us. So, you know, but you can't have it both ways. COINTELPRO oh, COINTELPRO was the government intelligence program, uh, which, uh, was an infiltration. It was really the equivalent of a buy and bust. Uh, only this time, intellectually infiltrate, killing, if you have to do it physically. Okay. But you just confused them. All right, we'll go with that. If you can. Uh, what's the word? Um, disinformation, there's a high, yeah, there's a high level disinformation issue. And I worked in the finance office. I have to tell you how I heard this story. I was in the finance office of SNCC and we used to hear a lot of stuff.

## Speaker 2 (00:26:10):

And one time foreman got a phone call from somebody because you know, when you do good things, there's always a little birdy. It may not be a big birdy. It may not be the Eagle you want, but you can find a Canary every so often we got a call from Washington or from a source, uh, that was well placed that essentially says that the joint chiefs of staff have now had a meeting and they have made a decision and you don't have to go. And part of that was in terms of that internationalism that I began to talk to you briefly about this morning, that you just getting too big for your bridges. We can't, we can't fathom you. We can't control you. We don't know which way you're going. And you're asking some pretty fundamental questions along the way. Um, a lot of what, um, we were about was, you know, people talk about blacks and whites.

## Speaker 2 (00:26:57):

We had Asians, we had all kinds of people were a ethnic, you know, uh, we had gays, non gays. Um, we had a few heroin ass, you know, we had a few people from every walk of life. And one of the things that we were was a place where whatever your past was, we tried to be able to transform you into something else that we worked together as sort of a catalyst in that process. Having said all that. One of the things that I've spent some time thinking about is what happens when the intellectual head of a movement dies, you know, because that's what happened to SNCC. In many ways, we spend a lot of time reading and a lot of time trying to plow the land in front of us. But as I said, we had no back troops, you know, our own physical situation was one of exhaustion.

## Speaker 2 (00:27:45):

I gave you an idea of like maybe once a week, that kind of, you know, extreme strain. Um, uh, I didn't tell you about people who could not stay in the same place for more than 12 hours because they were being looked for by dogs and anything else walking that was open season on shooting them. Uh, and this was not always the case, but it was enough of a case for people to understand that you could not really get settled wherever you were. If you were not in the middle of, um, either a major, you know, cultural redefinition, I'll use that to say for the white citizens council and all other kinds of things, then you were gonna be the recipient of somebody who was coming out of that. And you had to be ready to move, to be of assistance. SNCC, in many ways, to me was the intellectual leadership of the movement.

# Speaker 2 (00:28:33):

It spawned a lot of thought and people were willing to go out and develop those ideas and make them happen. Having, um, the intellectual leadership, uh, of this operation walk itself down in what I consider internal racialism was a real step to the rear. As far as I was concerned, wasn't a part of it. I always spoke against it. Anybody who cared, um, and there were times where our leadership was really not under a collectivity. If I could just say it that way, that it was more singular. So people set up a singular style and they went in kind of that as far as I was concerned, a direction that did not have everybody on board with it, but be that as it made that's history. And that is what has happened. I believe too, that the world has to be, you have to live in the, you live in the present and for the organization that you work with, or to look like the group of people that you want to live with.

Speaker 2 (00:29:30):

You know, there's no such thing as moving and I'm going to do it down the line. You may not have down the line. All you have is today, you know? And so the people that you work with, the people you respect, the people that you go habit with, the people that you swap lies with, et cetera, are all the people around which you should surround yourself in your current situation. I encourage people to not just look at what we did historically, but to look at where you are in your classes to make your classroom work serious, to make, you know, to start doing research where it counts. I mean, those silly little research projects or whatever, you can turn it, you can make it politically, right. You know, you can raise the questions in class. You should be everything in the bibliography, ACE out the professor and turn to turn the class around on him or her and say, and what about so and so, and what about Soandso so that you have dealt with the class?

### Speaker 2 (00:30:29):

That's a basic, you know, the 20, the leadership in the 21st century has got to be technologically AP. You know, you just can't be angry and you just can't be cross side. I mean, you've gotta have technology. You've gotta be able to Finese and work with people. You've gotta be able to negotiate and you need to be able to walk from a prison cell, to a corporate boardroom in the same breath and be able to move both of those parallels together and come out with something that's common. I mean, you're constantly synthesizing, you're constantly raising the correct questions, not the questions that get pushed necessarily because you will find special interests is very apt at changing and massaging what you said, you know, and when you responsibility, I find that northerners, for example, when they organize, try to organize on a union kind of model, you know, you have a particular interest with me. I'm trying to work this with you. The nature of human rights is much more than that. Everybody white people ought to recognize that racial and racism has worked to their detriment. And that's hard to explain to white people who feel that at this juncture, the world is their oyster expensive analysis in terms of reversing what is considered and normative so that you can have in fact have new information, new perspectives to bring. That's kind of it for

Speaker 9 (00:31:50):

Me. Oh, that, uh, it's wonderful to hear such good sense. Uh, such good sense. And so clear to me it's clear now, maybe I know, I think we all know enough to know that what you're talking about is, is very good. Um, I, a little puzzled also about, uh, what was the slogan for today's. We all have different, Jenny are black and white, white. Okay, good. Well, they're all relevant, but uh,

Speaker 2 (00:32:26):

Every seminar, every session is the same.

Speaker 9 (00:32:29):

## Speaker 9 (00:33:28):

They gave up, uh, basically men join us. We are discussing today, uh, white and black together are separate. I don't know that now <laugh> um, but, uh, he, uh, Clayburn Carson in the introduction to his book, uh, posed the question and, uh, first the problem, and then a question, he said that around the middle sixties, the SNCC and the, and the movement gave up three

tremendously potent weapons that had gotten them a long distance grassroots community organizing because basically we, uh, we did a pull out of Mississippi and, uh, part of the, uh, rationale for that was we produced local leadership. We work ourselves out of the job. So we had, we had a rationale for that, but basically it was a pullout and, uh, a secession for at least a long time on a, on a nationally organized level of doing grassroots community work, where you bur into the community developed ties that Muriel was talking about.

## Speaker 9 (00:34:37):

The other, uh, was that they gave up in a large measure, nonviolent direct action. Nonviolent direct action was still used in some cases and so forth, but basically it was not the, the third, uh, one of the three strong errors in the quiver anymore. And thirdly basically gave up interracial work, which in terms of SNCC had been, uh, part of the Keystone of what we had always talked about, uh, because we realized, I think very early on, maybe under the leadership develop baker and others, that you're never gonna reach a time when everything is, is the way you want it, and it's gonna stay that way from then on. We learned that struggle is a constant struggle and therefore whatever society that you want in general, you should have that society for yourself. And part of that beloved community wise, that it would be interracial.

## Speaker 9 (00:35:34):

One of the things that's happened in the history and the telling of the story in the last 25 or 30 years is that a lot of times that has, uh, been overlooked or underplayed underplayed to SU to such an extent, let me stand up here. It's been underplayed to such an extent that many people don't realize that the early movement was quite well integrated and that, uh, some people are aware of a few of us who did certain things, but a lot of, lot of ways, the movement was very integrated. Now, the question that, uh, Clayman Carson pass after saying, you put the, gave up those three weapons, he said, what took the place of those weapons in the movement? And that is a question that I've heard him pose. I've never heard of a thorough question, a thorough investigation of that question. If we're going into nationalism, if we're going into all of those, um, elements that had, if you're AIAN, you believe that they have positive and negative aspects.

## Speaker 9 (00:36:42):

You know, the, and part of the reason for giving up grassroots community work and the nonviolent direct action and the interracial work together was the move toward the nationalist point of view. Now that to me is the period that we're still in. We, we have not yet answered those questions. We have not yet really had a third going, um, examination of it and say, okay, if in fact we've given up those weapons, how do we, and, and do we need to take them up along with what other weapons number one is, we always talk about biracial black and white. And now it's not a question of biracial black and white. It's multiracial racial it's multicultural. And the kind of organizing that many of us are doing today. For instance, last night, I conducted a nonviolent workshop in south Hampton, New York, and this was after five people had been arrested and injured.

## Speaker 9 (00:37:42):

Some of 'em quite severely. I was beaten up by the, uh, state troopers, my right arm. And I I've been, I made a, a pledge to myself that I'm gonna do this as hokey as it is because the report from the New York state police and everybody is that no injuries, five people were, were arrested. And if you'll look at my, my two arms, this arm right here is so severely dislocated. It'll never, it'll never actually be the same again. This is after the arm is basically healed, ripped, open with tendons and everything. They've trained these cops by the way, to, to concentrate now on soft tissue and on joints, they don't break the major bones. That's gonna show up in an x-ray. They broke my, my left leg in the knee. They broke my, my elbow, uh, my arm in the elbow. They also knocked my jaw out of place, which had been knocked outta place before a number of times. And now I have some kind of PMs,

Speaker 10 (00:38:44): TMJ, TM. We can have all that. Speaker 9 (00:38:58): I can have both of 'em. I got 38 of my Speaker 10 (00:39:01): Perks. <laugh> Speaker 9 (00:39:05):

But anyway, what we're talking about basically is something that is still happening today. I mean, this is the Schock reservation. We have so many situations. And when those cops started beating me, first of all, they dragged me over behind cars. Four, five of those cops beating me working on my joints. They broke this arm twice. And then when they put me in the Patty wagon, they slammed the door on that arm. I mean, I have never, ever had such excruciating. And if you're not Val, you're supposed to be cool. Right. The kid was screaming. Right. Hear, you know, I said, I am 60. I was 60 years old since then. I've had a birthday I'm 61 years old. My bones are not that resilient anymore. Okay. But what I'm saying is we're still doing the same thing. Um, we, we are so trained that, you know, the situation developed, we just go there and do it, but y'all, don't have to do it now. Cause we just, we getting too old. We should be with spring, back right away. And now going around. I, I, I debated that whether or not to bring my walking stick. Cause I remember Danny Lys had something temporarily wrong with him. He brought his walk stick. And I ever since then, I've been thinking about Paul, Danny land, walking around with his walking stick. And I remember I said, Bob is really getting old, you know,

#### Speaker 9 (00:40:21):

Got walking stick. But anyway, what I'm talking about is what is gonna take, how are we gonna get back together? And are we gonna say, can we get that back together without really dealing with the time? And a lot of times we approach it. We don't really deal with maybe there were some mistakes made, obviously, uh, SNCC went out of existence in terms of an organization SN never died in terms of a spirit. In fact, they might have done us a, a favor and that we were going to be like, uh, who was it that, uh, that shot big bill and everything. And uh, yeah, big bill Haywood, whatever. Yeah. That he was always gonna be around wherever they was struggling. So at least that's what we're doing, but I, what I want to tell you is that we need to, we need to tighten it up.

#### Speaker 9 (00:41:09):

We need, we've got a lot of things right there in south Hampton. Now they're more, they're less embarrassed about being racist and beaten up people in Southampton now than there would be in south Hampton, Virginia, you know, Southampton, Virginia, that would be all over the news, but they can beat up, uh, Indian activists and Indian community people and uh, poor aging activists up in Southampton. And you know what they do, they do put it into New York times, the long island edition. They put it in news day into the long island edition. If it gets in anything else other than the long island edition, it gets the Metro section of the New York times. They don't even put it so that the Indian activists in the Northern part of the states can, can do it. But Danny Lys, you, you know that Danny's working on a book now on American Indian activism.

#### Speaker 9 (00:41:59):

And he says that around the reservations and all the places they're looking at what's happening in Schock. And I'm wondering, how is the information getting out? You know, we do have a movement, grape fun and everything, but, uh, so I'm just telling you that what happened then is really basically the same things that we're faced with now. And so we're having to go through a whole new process of organizing people, getting them together and talking about that situation of, of jail and also the situation of allies, or because in this, in the situation with the shin Cox

there's restriction of being very close, very dignified, very secretive and everything. And now they're, they're reaching out for allies, not only among other, uh, native activists and everything, but also in the, uh, in the white command in I'm I've been, uh, appointed the, what is it?

Speaker 9 (00:42:49):

Um, co-chair of the ABI task force in south. And they made a mistake. I know they didn't know that this was gonna happen, but never appoint an old activist to take, you know, sometime kind of town position because they expect that you're gonna be respectable in deferential and everything like that. But we have a habit of calling things like they are. So we begin to, first of all, that we, we did something that was symbolic and the town has a seal and it's a big, uh, white Pilgrim. You know, it's a big white M with a rock over one shoulder and a big three mess and schooner over the other shoulder. And that we, we don't even have, uh, Plymouth rock and the Mayflower in south Hampton, but they're using all this imagery, right? So we, we made a modest proposal that we would change that.

Speaker 9 (00:43:38):

And the vitriol that came out in the papers and everything, who is this guy can, where you come from, how, where is this Jew? Zelner, he's only been here. I bet he's only been in this country 20 years, you know, uh, and all this, but messing with our seal and everything like that. So then we said, okay, we'll make a deal with you. You keep the white man, but let's have some hiring in the town because now we have about one third of this town of south Hampton is minority people of color, Asian Hispanics, uh, native Americans in the 338 people hired by our town in south Hampton. 19 are people of color. One is an American Indian and in the school, which gets eight to \$12 million a year. There is one native American hired in the school

Speaker 10 (00:44:34):

That

Speaker 9 (00:44:34):

Is incorrect. And they have a, they have a, a primitive action plan in place that's 1979. So when we began to find out those things, we had to tell the truth. And then pretty soon we had people marching on, on town hall. We had people standing behind the town board with sign saying shame on the board and people taking pictures of the board and people, and, and there's that, uh, that white Pilgrim up there. But we started joking about the Pilgrim. We thought, well, maybe we can de you know, why Pilgrim's pants always fall down or as he has a buckle on his hat.

Speaker 10 (00:45:12):

<laugh> but my point is that this is the last thing I'm saying, right?

Speaker 9 (00:45:22):

My point is that if we try to do the organizing that we are doing now at Southampton college in the town and everything on the reservation, if we try to do that without having all races of people together and black and white working together, boy, we'd be ridiculous. We could not do it. So, especially getting ready for the world that we are in now with the global globalization and everything, the mechanization learning, all this stuff about computers and everything. We are all to learn that that's so natural to you guys. So, uh, you know, we can't, we can't even talk about being, we can talk about nationalism. We can talk about those feelings. We can talk about the positive aspects of that, but in terms of working together and, uh, and making a movement, we have to constantly change our ideas about doing it multiculturally, multi, racially, multi, nationally, and all those ways. That means black and white. I have to work together. Thank you.

Speaker 10 (00:46:22):

We don't actually have a moderator. So I, unless you're in the center one,

Speaker 9 (00:46:28):

Did everybody see the movie by the way,

Speaker 10 (00:46:31):

Freedoms freedom zone

Speaker 9 (00:46:36):

Ho is the main, one of the main characters

Speaker 10 (00:46:38):

In the movie down calms down all freedom. So we don't wanna do, um,

Speaker 11 (00:46:46):

I wanna raise another aspect of it. Um, I'm Theresa Del Paso, and I worked with SNCC in, uh, first in Wisconsin as a support person, uh, spreading the word in Wisconsin and in the student community. And then through a larger community about the summer project, about what was happening in the south. At that time, when I first started doing that, I was stunned to find out that most white people didn't know that black people couldn't vote in the south. Um, there was a lot of educat to be done. Then there was the, uh, someone project came along and I wanna raise the question about, uh, we talk about a lot about the community organizing of SNCC, but there was also another side of SNCC, which was sometimes in conflict with this idea and sometimes not. And that was reaching the larger national community. I mean, the debate then, and had that has always gone on, was that the recognition was that unless white people were also targeted the way black people were being targeted, there was not going to be any concern about what was happening to black people in Mississippi.

Speaker 11 (00:48:20):

And that the, it was this, I would call this the approach that was targeted at the national politics of the country, as opposed to the community organizing. And, um, in fact it was true because when the summer project happens and all those people came from all over the country and, um, their parents became interested, their churches became interested in what happened in Mississippi, the local television stations, where they were, were interested in what happened in Mississippi. Um, no, um, for the first time the community organizing that had been going on in the south was now getting a support from the national political scene. And I've one don't think that the gains that were made by the movement would've ever been possible, if it had not been for that pulling together of both the grassroots organizing and the national attention and the spread out of that, uh, that then had influence on the anti-war movement, the women's movement and all the kinds of things that followed from that.

## Speaker 11 (00:49:53):

And I, you know, this is a subject that I, I, you know, when, when the stuff started to happen in SNCC where the nationalism became a reality to me, it was just something I kind of expected to happen. I knew about it as a historical phenomenon, and I had seen it in Northern situations and I kind of expected it. And I think that we have seen the results of it. We've seen 30 years of results of it, which is very splintered. Uh, um, and we have people constantly duplicating their efforts. Um, you know, you've got the groups that are lobbying for conditions, situations in prison. You've got people lobbying about the, um, environment. You've got people lobbying about, uh, um, local political. You've got people arguing about the distribution of income for schooling and education, all those kinds of things. And what we've all been doing, what I feel for years is like, we're all spinning our wheels the same wheel, you know, where everybody's out there working over the same issue rather than working in a coordinated effort, because somehow we lost that track at that point in the sixties.

Speaker 11 (00:51:20):

And I, you know, I'm one who just accepts that that had to happen because somehow that is like the history that this country is, is, uh, is saddled with that's the outcome of slavery that ISS impact was so deep and so divisive that people could would in fact, um, just as you say, give up the most successful weapons they had and go off in another track. I think also that we've seen from the FBI files that have been released and the COINTEL stuff and all of that, that, um, there was a tremendous effort to, uh, direct it at SNCC to foster this kind of divisiveness and to kind of set people against each other. Cetera. And I think that what Bob says is absolutely right, as we walk, as we go into the, in, into, you know, this next century for the people who are coming up now, um, I just don't see that there can be, to me, it almost seems ludicrous that we're still discussing the subject, um, that, uh, it's so self apparent that unless people with the same interests, whether they're native Americans, whether they're African Americans, whether they're Italian Americans or whatever, um, can be unified and work together in coalitions.

Speaker 11 (00:53:04):

I just don't see how there could be any, um, success on for anybody

Speaker 10 (00:53:11):

We got.

Speaker 11 (00:53:12):

Could

Speaker 10 (00:53:14):

You, would I, would you rather, I would rather not because, okay. I'm sure you've learned from this. Never bring a bunch of us together, but we do all the talking only one or two. If you want ask some question, you have a

Speaker 12 (00:53:28):

Question. Okay. Um, wow. So, Hey, I'm Billy and, uh, I'm a white kid and gay folks are wondering <laugh> and, uh,

Speaker 10 (00:53:40):

White kid, some people are wonder,

Speaker 12 (00:53:42):

Just start from there. Um, so I, oh man, I'm having a hard time trying to frame really what I'm trying to say, but, um, just throw it out. Yeah. Okay. Uh, <laugh> I, you know, I'm understanding the stuff about, yeah, we gotta build multiracial coalitions and things like this. Right. That makes sense to me. But, um, I'm really struggling with this. Cuz another thing is, you know, like for example, I work with a youth organization and defining young people as 18 and under, right. And so we're trying to build this organization where people 18 and under run their own organization. So from that perspective, I understand this whole deal of, of uh, racial separation as far as the work that we do on some level, not to say that those young people shouldn't collaborate in coalition with other people. Right. But they gotta run their own organization.

Speaker 12 (00:54:34):

I understand that. And um, and also I'm really, really curious, right. Cuz I haven't, haven't lived in the suburbs that I grew up in, in some ti in a, in a number of years. And um, I'm not particularly excited to go back there, but I understand that that who's gonna organize white suburb folks, you know, but white suburban kids. Um, and so I'm really, really, really curious to see what that really looks like. You know what I mean? Like yeah, it's ideal. If we can figure out a way to bring this all together. Right. That most of the world's people are not benefiting from this system, so we should work together to overthrow it. Right. But, but what does white organizing look like? Speaker 13 (00:55:18): Overgrow Speaker 10 (00:55:20): <laugh> Speaker 12 (00:55:21):

No, but really so I'm like, I'm uh, I guess that's my main question. Like what does white organizing really look like? And, and how does that work? Cuz this is an important question because I do realize that like a lot of this stuff of Disman racism, like you folks are coming from a really unique position, right? You're working, you're coming from a history of where the white folks that were involved were involved in a black led organization. Right. That's not the reality of most of the white organizations that exist today. Most of the organizations with white folks in it, at this point were started by white people with a vision by white people, dominated by white racist culture. You know what I mean? And all this kind of thing. And, and that's just very different, you know? So I don't know, Jimmy

Speaker 13 (00:56:12):

First, Jimmy, and then you then say, uh, my name is, uh, Jimmy Rogers and I work Smith in LA lounge and Macon county, Alabama. I've worked principally in Alabama. Um, I started working SNCC in 1965 and the thing that most people don't realize, or they don't talk about the only civil rights work is in man county, they got killed the white, at least during the time that I was in the first one was Viola Louisa, who, um, was a wife of a union official from Detroit who came down to the Selma to Montgomery March. And she was transporting people back and forth from Montgomery to Salman. What, and in the middle of the night she was riding with a black man and Thelan just happened to be careful by and China. Okay. The next one was Jonathan Daniels who worked with, uh, Smith in my county.

#### Speaker 13 (00:57:17):

And um, one Saturday we decided that we would go to a town called, uh, for, this was me and Johnathan, a number of other people. And some of the local people was their idea. They were very because when black people went to this one restaurant, they had to go to the back window to get served. You couldn't go inside. You know, they hid stop out of the window. Weren't allowed in the restaurant. So, um, that Saturday we got arrested. I think there was something like 15 of us or so 13 blacks and two whites. Well, two weeks before that time, I happened to be in, in Hayville, um, city hall and this man walked up Jonathan Daniels and he said, I can understand why he's here, but I don't understand why you caught this bag Yankees and coming down here stir up out black folks. So we gonna get you and sure enough, two weeks later, um, we had the demonstration, we were arrested.

#### Speaker 13 (00:58:33):

We put in jail, we stayed in jail for a week. We got out the next week. He walked to this store that we were all used to going to the people in there were always very nice to us. But on this day there was guy standing inside the store with a shotgun. And when he walked up, he just blew him away. And I don't have any idea. I mean, I don't have any doubt that the reason why he got shot was because he was white. And to sum it up, what I'm trying to say is during that time, I think that a black, I mean a white person working in lounge county or Macon county and not to Smith had much more of an impact than, you know, black people going around registering people.

#### Speaker 8 (00:59:26):

I wanted to speak to this young man's, uh, question to tell you how I'm using, uh, some of the best that SNCC developed. Not that I did, but best SNCC ideas to, to do, to work with white, young people. I'm part of a project called education for liberation. And my assignment is to take Charlie Cobb's concept with freedom schools and see if there's something there, a model there to

use to teach white young people that in, in giving up what they perceive as white privilege, they will actually be much enriched and, and gained from, from that. And that's the top assignment. Charlie, if you have any ideas I'm ready for them, but it is, it is. I think it's my job to talk to. I thought it was always my job to talk to white people. I never thought that black people had anything to learn from me, except perhaps that there's not that all white people are not unifying, but my job is to explain, try to figure out a way to explain to, to white people that, um, that there, that white society, white culture, European cultures played its hand, it's done its thing it's been dominant for a long time.

Speaker 8 (01:00:29):

There's nothing new or.