

Speaker 1 (00:00):

And it was four years later coming out of Atlantic city. Now, there are lots of reasons for that, that have to do with what happened with that city that had to do with our own development. It's one thing, if you have a see, in some ways the movement had a lot of, that's why it's a movement, wasn't an organization, it's a movement which meant had lots of dimensions and lots of faces. If you're sitting in, because a restaurant is setting years racial, you cannot eat at this restaurant cause you're black. If you decide to sit in, it's relatively easy for anybody who agrees with you to join with you. And it's a fairly short step from doing that for a while to forming an organization it's just SN in this instance, once you form the organization, things get more and more complex as you, you are 18, 19 or 20 years old, grow the go.

Speaker 1 (00:57):

So grow, develop, gain some experience. Now I think I'm skipping over an awful lot, but we don't have, you're gonna be enough time for a lot of this. It seems to me looking back that we inside Smith in particular, and I would argue generally, really didn't know enough to grapple with many of these questions. And I would say, well, why would we, uh, the society didn't know enough, so why should we be expected as 20 somethings to figure out how to deal with all this stuff, all the anger that's happening and alienation that's happening. Cause of Atlantic city, all the stuff we are pulling inside of ourselves as we work in these rural counties, all of this, my theory, why should we? So that's part of it now, maybe now, as we enter into the 21st century, it may be that there's enough history with this, that there is a generation of young people who can grapple with this more effectively than we could. But I made the point that we, from my a vantage point didn't know enough to, to grab. And that's not an apology. That's just a simple observation of, of what seemed to me to be the reality, to the extent that we did make some break. It was not cause we bought it through planned it or had the ideology. It almost happened by accident. I think we

Speaker 2 (02:37):

Have to grapple with it, but I am adamantly opposed

Speaker 1 (02:44):

To

Speaker 2 (02:45):

Bringing a couple white folks into my, my group to say that I'm integrated or vice versa. I don't have no problem with white folks organizing. And ain't got no blacks in there. Got no problem with black folks organizing. They got no white folks in there. My concern is whether they're engaging in truth, telling and have created a vision, a strategy, and a program of work that ultimately deals with the problems that affects all. Because I feel that if you do that, as you look at broadening your base and getting your support, you will see where your past intersects with mine. Mine intersects with yours. Now, if our past are going to intersect and we are serious, then that creates us or puts us to the position where we have to begin to deal with one another. And through that process of engaging in work and trying to solve problems, the whole coming together will come about and to throw it together up front artificially and superficial. I don't see it working.

Speaker 3 (04:05):

I wanna dis respond. Um, before we going to another, um, point, because I don't think we're talking about people being thrown together. I think in this situation of SN we're talking about people who had work together, who knew each other mm-hmm okay. And who knew each other intimately. And I, and my argument was, you know, we used to talk very straight to each other and it didn't matter whether you were black or white. I never saw that coloring my discussion with people. You either did good work while you screwed up. And if you screwed up, then I wanted to know why. I mean, and that was the nature of my engagement with people. I wanna speak very specifically to this young man's question because, um, I'll give you a couple of examples. I worked with one white woman who happened to be very well placed who had a big black book.

Speaker 3 (04:50):

Okay. And what we wanted to do in the state of Georgia was to change, um, the welfare law. Now the welfare law was really bad. This goes way back. Now this is, um, prior to 1978 too, but the average welfare payment was \$40 a month. And I know people think that there are all these welfare, um,

Queens, et cetera, but you need to look at the welfare checks to really get somebody idea what welfare is really about in any case. So \$40 a month would, would hardly take care of anything. So what we did, we worked with a group of Southern white Baptist and they said here's X amount of money. And we want you to change the shape of this welfare legislation with her little black book, we had two telephones and we literally sat back to back for months. She called her little black book and I called my little black book and we just called people.

Speaker 3 (05:37):

And all we said to them, and this was working with white people, primarily, we don't think it's right. We not gonna tell you what we think it ought to be. We just don't think it's right. And we just happened to be across the street from the state Capitol. I mean, we were at SCO in a little office and one day I was looking out the window and I said, Hey, come here, look at this bus. Those of people were coming. They had organized their parishes, their churches, their schools, their whatevers, and were just saing in to meet within leg legislator, to talk with them about something that they didn't think was right now. That's very little, but it was a statewide effort. It was very cheap. Okay. It was the cost of a lot of volunteer time and two telephones. Now that's one, one, em, these things can always escalate, but you gotta start somewhere.

Speaker 3 (06:29):

People always think you gotta start with the big picture. You know, you start with the small, the racism grows by the by increments. Okay? It's the first comment that passes, that ought to be challenged. It's the first act that passes, that ought to be challenged in a reverse situation. I worked with a young guy from South Africa. Didn't like him, anybody knows about the south African apartheid situation was a Cape color. He always thought I was beneath to sleep, but I saw him fired and I didn't like it. And so I said, no. And so I organized, only got out of possibly 30 teachers. I got six people to go down at five, the human rights charges. And I mean, I literally had to sit on people to go down and file and to make a long story short. And then I had to Jack up the South Africa to make him file.

Speaker 3 (07:20):

It took 12 years. I put up \$35,000 of my own money to see this case through. And we finally won. It took 12 years. I had to Jack up the lawyer. I had to Jack up everybody that I was with. But I use that as an example, if you believe in something hard enough, you will see to it that the right comes out. And that's just a point that I'm making, you know, a lot of times people keep looking for the easy things I said to you this morning, the line in the sand is always before you, whether it's in school, whether it's in your job, whether it's at the store or the parking lot every day, black people go through thousands and thousands of insults every single day by an interaction. And I'm sure because I work with white people in SNCC that white people see these interactions.

Speaker 3 (08:09):

And I'm sure that white people know what is happening. Learn to find voice, learn to say in my presence, you may not. You may not use my name. You may not function in my name to continue this crap. It's over. That's right. And when you start to speak out as individuals, there will be a new dimension set in your environment. Either they will choose to avoid you, which is maybe right. But since you white, you can go there and say, you can't avoid me. Or you can say I'm willing to work on the changes. And I'm being very upfront about this. I worked in a very high powered, all white operation. At one point I was in charge of 14 million. These white folks threw this money at me cuz they thought it was going to kill me. They said, she's not gonna do, she's not gonna be able to do this.

Speaker 3 (08:59):

I was sick for two weeks. I never handle anything over a couple of thousand. And it occurred to me. The 14 million is simply adding \$14 with a couple of more zeros behind <laugh>. And if I could handle \$14, okay. Maybe I could handle \$14 million. Okay. And that was the position that I took. One day, I found everybody, we were sitting around a huge table, as big as this room. Only six people handling a multimillion dollar operation. One by one, everybody got up. I turned around, I was the only person in the room I got up and I went and knocked on the men's bathroom door. And they were having the meeting in the men's bathroom. And I told them, I said, you know, you don't need to meet in the men's bathroom if you don't want me present. And they were all, there were five white men in me.

Speaker 3 (09:44):

I said, if you don't want me present at your decision making, it's perfectly fine. I will go back to my, um, my office. But I think it's absolutely ridiculous that you are gonna sit here in the bathroom to avoid discussion with me. Now I'm a direct person. Maybe some people need to find their directness because what I say to you is that part of what happens in this country is your silence allows people to assume your affirmation. And when they have your affirmation at one level, it doesn't take wrong for them to move it to another level. You know? And pretty soon you turn out with the big issues, but you don't have any base and you gotta learn how to establish a base. So people gotta know what you stand for. Who are you when you raise a CLA well question in class, do you raise a question in a way that people can learn from it?

Speaker 3 ([10:32](#)):

Or do you raise a question so that it is directly antagonistic? You gotta learn style. You gotta learn information. Well, I was reading the other day. I know you have us reading. So and so, but I was reading the other day such and such a thing. Why don't some of us have GroupMe. I was surprised to see how, uh, individualistically people go to school. These days, we used to have study groups. People used to get together, you know, and help each other pass. You know what I mean? Or share material. If the professor had 20 things in the library on, um, what do you call on reserve? You know, we used to share that stuff cuz our group wasn't gonna fall apart. And I'm saying, when you do that at one level, you build a loyalty factor so that people then begin to hear you a lot more clearly when you have a difference of opinion, you gotta put out to get it. You understand what I'm trying to say? So I just wanna give you some practical, practical examples of how to begin organizing.

Speaker 2 ([11:28](#)):

We got 10 more minutes. It's 12 to be exact <laugh>

Speaker 4 ([11:35](#)):

So go ahead. Oh, okay. I just wanna throw this ideal of, I work with different student groups on, at my university. I go NC state and I work with different groups in the country, on the east coast and the most, um, I'm member of Asian American student organization of American student, lot of different organizations along the way. The main thing I've seen is coming from a suburban perspective where you're working with like one aspect of a community, be Asian, African, whatever you have to make sure, you know, kind of the goals you're setting and make sure you're dividing between racial relations and racial justice or equality equity, cuz you have to build with the students you're working with on a racial understanding, not just an understanding from an aspect of a dominant group saying, well, these are, these are the issues. This is how we feel.

Speaker 4 ([12:19](#)):

These are the issues, these how these groups that are being oppressed or pushed into these situations, feel, making sure you're bringing in information from those outside sources versus putting on your impression or perspective on those groups. And then once you build a net of understanding of information to those students, you're working with be through books, readings, current time information, or bringing in people to speak to you. Then you look at setting up relationships with other dominant groups, be it society of African culture. Be it Asian student association set up things where y'all meet maybe on an issue for, or you meet on a outing or something you share that way. And once that's kind of established, you got yourself kind of fits. Then you look at the issue of racial equity or racial justice because you got understanding of the perspective, not from your own Diri your own group, but respect it from a broader sense.

Speaker 4 ([13:08](#)):

Those being oppressed. Cause you just walk up in there with the liberal kind, the white liberal mentality. Well, this is how weeds white liberal failure should be fixed, but this is the way we should fix it. Not thinking of how they would want it to be fixed versus implying yourself onto them. Another dominant form. Then you're setting yourself up again. And so first you understand the base, you asking people around them who are dealing with these oppressions, what they're really feeling and you understand from reasons what they're going through versus implying what you think they're going through. Then you look at the racial equity and the racial oppression from justice and apply that in more way. That's how we work with different student groups around board. Let's see if we can move around as a sisterhood here and you

Speaker 5 (13:44):

Brother name is graduate student Calgary university. Um, I have a question with the evolution of, think you talking about was talking about, um, I know what impact did, um, deliberation struggle on Africa, the rising black consciousness in the meeting of Malcolm decision to move to that exclusive, um, black organization. I think you started talking a little bit about the personal evolution of, but as an organization, how did that the,

Speaker 1 (14:19):

Well there's no short answer to this. It just suffice to say that. I mean, as we develop part of an important part of our development was exposure to this wider ever wider range of people and, and ideas. I mean, you know, we started out literally with a civil rights idea and then over time we, because of what we were doing got exposed to and in lots of ways to talk about that Oingo Dega and coming to Atlanta and what happened now, events and the young people in Alabama, uh, the African liberation movement, the emergence of independent African nations that were occurring in the same time as a lot of the sixties, civil rights movement, uh, particularly what was happening in South Africa, from Sharpville all the way through the arrest of Nelson Mandel, all of this is affecting us and films and books and ideas are all affected. We, I don't think you can speak to it organizationally in any significant way. I think you could say yes it, I could talk about people. I was close to it. I could tell you in very precise terms, how they took these ideas and what kind of impact these ideas. And I think it must not be very different with students.

Speaker 1 (15:44):

We,

Speaker 6 (15:44):

We were also having some effect on them. I think that the, uh, the African writers were what was happening here. And, um, one of the, uh, one of the ironic things is that SN moved to become exclusionist at the same time, Malcolm X was moving from a position to inclusive, more revolutionary.

Speaker 3 (16:07):

I just wanted to say that, um, we did public accommodations testing, route 40, which used to be the highway from New York to marching DC. And part of the focus on that was because African delegates could not eat at any of those restaurants or take, you know, so to that degree. Yeah. And I can remember one time when standing glass was arrested in the car and standing took on the mono of, of an African particular badge as a means of getting out of the arrest. So I'm, that was our humorous car, but that was a cross fertilization organization. I can't say you can put it on the table as something that, that we looked at.

Speaker 7 (16:48):

Thank you. Uh, I hate to have to compete with that, but, um, for all of the sort of, uh, of your concern about not linking up and not talking about, about talking about different things, it seems like there's a, a really powerful set of themes running through everything that you guys have been saying today. And I think there are elements of it that are really crucial to answering the question that you raised. What does this organization look like? And I think a big part of the answer is you don't know until you're in the middle of it and that each organization is gonna be different. Each struggle is gonna be different. Each one is gonna come out of the local circumstances and your success is going to be from being open and learning and humble as, as Joan was suggesting and willing to absorb all of the stuff that's going on and reflect back what's best in it.

Speaker 7 (17:42):

And what's most important in it. And that if you are approaching it from the local perspective and trying to do a little bit, trying to see what's moving in a direction and move it a little bit further, that's when you're going to have the opportunity to take advantage of the luck that comes your way when, when something is going on, but nobody's found it yet and you move it a little bit further, then suddenly it blossoms into this thing that nobody could have directed from the outside. Um, you know, I'm, I'm an ex student activist now and, uh, I was a student activist about 10 years ago and worried a lot about these questions. And frankly, I think I was in many ways kind of a piss for student activist, um, or student activists. Um, but, and I, but the thing was that the experiences of immersing myself in a local situation, learning how to talk to all sorts of different kinds of people, learning how to listen to all sorts of different

kinds of people wound up years later in a direction that I never could have anticipated giving me the tool to be a historian and to be the teacher in the city university of New York, so that I can go into a classroom.

Speaker 7 ([18:55](#)):

And all of the stuff that I learned that didn't really get put to great world changing effect in the movement is now the stuff that I'm able to use to make a difference as a teacher and to have a perspective on the movement and, and, and write some of the histories. So, um, and I think that that, that sense of localism and that sense of openness is something that came through beautifully in all, all five

Speaker 8 ([19:18](#)):

Of your, uh, your talks. So thank and all, and all of those organizations should be grounded in work. Right. That's right. Work work. Right. Absolutely. It's too late. It's too much. Did you have a short one? No, this is ground, so, okay. Well, I'm hoping that we will continue to dialogue with one another one on one, one on two turn. Yeah.

Speaker 4 ([21:09](#)):

All right. Let's hear the next, what you want to see out of this workshop. I'd like to hear, uh, your, uh, personal, um, beliefs about, um, the long in the long run. Um, what did desegregation of schools and public facilities? What did, what were the gains? What were the bosses from desegregated school was quite specific? Well schools in public facilities, but I think probably schools, uh, the issues that from public facilities are even more heightened in schools. Yes.

Speaker 9 ([21:52](#)):

I'd like to hear you talk about, um, how, uh, organizing today. Is it more, uh, inclusive to organize around race and race issues or class in those issues? And, and if one has become more or less important since,

Speaker 4 ([22:07](#)):

Uh,

Speaker 9 ([22:08](#)):

The time spent in the sixties.

Speaker 4 ([22:13](#)):

Okay. Yes.

Speaker 10 ([22:14](#)):

Since you're

Speaker 11 ([22:15](#)):

Both clergy, I was wondering if you can talk briefly about, um, the role of, um, the clergy and religion in general in SNCC, um, in 1961. And what is the role of, of religion and, and clergy today? That means for social justice.

Speaker 4 ([22:36](#)):

Okay.

Speaker 12 ([22:37](#)):

Uh, Reverend strategy, you brought up, uh, wanting to see new leaders in the, uh, SNCC society right now. I wanted to know, uh, how could SNCC be useful right now? And what's its purpose and where is it going? What, what's the,

Speaker 4 ([22:58](#)):

Okay. Yes.

Speaker 13 ([22:59](#)):

Um, what do we do about the resurgence of a segregationist politics at the electoral

Speaker 10 ([23:04](#)):

Level?

Speaker 4 ([23:19](#)):

He's 70 years old. You may have it all wrong picture. You got all right. Who,

Speaker 14 (23:30):

I know how these maybe, um, some of these issues of these are still last day and how they expand past black, white, how they, to like other

Speaker 4 (23:44):

Images of the,

Speaker 10 (23:46):

The same issues. Say it again,

Speaker 14 (23:48):

How the same issues, um, like how they're more than black, white, how they affect like racial, ethnic groups.

Speaker 10 (24:00):

You wanna restate it?

Speaker 15 (24:02):

I think you're asking, you know, that the issues are more than just issues of race. There, there are larger issues here that have all groups of people at other ethnic groups, whites too. And, and what's going on? How can, can they talk about what's? How does race fit into this? But what's the larger picture.

Speaker 14 (24:23):

Right. And, and also how do this, the same issue, um, touch different groups besides black and white issues.

Speaker 10 (24:39):

Yes.

Speaker 16 (24:40):

I like the, um, the parent's opinion on how to inspire or motivate today's youth to, to tackle these issues because

Speaker 10 (24:48):

That's a very good problem.

Speaker 1 (24:52):

Today's youth,

Speaker 10 (25:12):

We'll give you another set.

Speaker 1 (25:19):

Well, one, one assumption I'd like you to make at the very beginning is that, is that we, um, we did not dismantle racism in the United States in the sixties. Be sure you understand that. I understood it. King understood it a lot. Most

Speaker 10 (25:43):

Child Shava understood

Speaker 1 (25:46):

That while we wanted to desegregate, we did not complete that task in the sixties. It's still an unfinished

Speaker 10 (25:54):

Tax.

Speaker 1 (25:57):

Um, 80% of children of color in our country are in desegregated schools. North Southeast west,

Speaker 10 (26:08):

Uh,

Speaker 1 (26:09):

80, 80 plus percent in Mississippi is one illustration. Private academies are white because that's where

Speaker 1 (26:20):

Trent lot and his company in the sixties, decreed as these as, uh, lawsuits were coming down, the PI and pressures were change. So Trent lot and the Mississippi sovereign commission and the white citizens council moved to put white children into white academies. And in some counties, the, uh, public schools were all black and the private academies and private schools were all white. That's why tread waters were school house suits. Cause we destroy the public school system period. Lot, same time in Georgia, Georgia, same all across the south. That's the case. So we did not dismantle racism. That is a task still to be done. And I do not care what president, I mean, former president Reagan says, or, or bill Clinton, racism is epidemic pathological and securely in place. And I want why to make the second assumption. The racism is not a peripheral issue in the United States, thereby the concern primarily of what, of, of black people, racism as it comes out of slavery was an economic institution.

Speaker 1 (27:37):

And it was a national economic institution. It was an economic institution which wall street and the financial pages today still preach and teach namely that it's important for there be a lot of people who work, but who are kept poor so that their work, the results of their workers go into bad end of a few. That was what slavery slavery was. An economic theory understand that nearly 4 million people would release from slavery and by the emancipation proclamation, those 4 million people working for 250 years produced massive wealth for a few people and provided the development of capital for the industrialization of the United States. I did not say for the industrialization of Birmingham, for the industrialization of the United States and the banks of the north and the industrialists of the north greatly benefited from slavery. We talk about slavery. You are talk. When we talk about racism, you talking about a problem that has affected the body, politic the spiritual politics, the pop, the political politics, the social politics, the cultural politics of this nation for over two 50 years and still does exactly. Uh, it, it is an issue for all people. Now, both the church and the democratic and Republican parties in wall street wants you to think that racism is a peripheral issue.

Speaker 1 (29:29):

But speaking as a pastor, the critical law of the spiritual life, according to the scriptures, Moses and Jesus is the primary figures of the Christian. You, your principle law is you shall love the Lord, your God of all your and mind and soul strength, your neighbor as yourself. This does not represent four or five different laws for a single human being cannot be a human being without their neighbor, race, racism, and prejudice and bias and violence and sexism are. So those are two assumptions I want to put on the table.

Speaker 17 (30:37):

The first was the first.

Speaker 10 (30:38):

Okay. I didn't catch his question. Your question. The one that that came with home started list have everything after that

Speaker 17 (30:47):

He wanted the beloved community.

Speaker 1 (30:49):

Is that community, does it have a role for white people

Speaker 10 (30:54):

When you, well, particularly like suburban wealthy kind of white people, right? Privilege they're

Speaker 17 (31:05):

Out commut in our, in our country is made of, um, all kinds of people. We got people from every, just about every country in the world. So whatever the solution to the problem of race in our country is going to be solved by the people of our country. So I, I could, I cannot see how each one of us cannot be a part of the solution. He applied with a solution. And that was the reason why in, in the sixties, I was, I was, uh, I was kicked out OFN I, uh, made a proposal and acted on the proposal that white students before the Mississippi program,

Speaker 10 (32:19):

64,

Speaker 17 (32:21):

About two, three years before,
Speaker 17 ([32:25](#)):

Before the Mississippi project, I had 16, 30 large numbers of white students on the project. And it was based on the fact that I believe in, I believe in this, that whatever solution we come up is got to be a multifaceted solution. And we all must participate in this, no matter how unsettling it makes me, I gotta deal with, I gotta deal with your problems, your culture, and you gotta deal with mine. And by working together, uh, being close together, um, there's no better chance to observe those differences and, and, and makes make adjustments in our working together. So what I found out, I found what slick found out. That's why they didn't miss a project. I figured that would happen was that anywhere we wanted action to happen and we wanted action to happen. We could put some white students there in action would have some kind of action, maybe action. You want somebody would get hurt or whatever, but there, there wouldn't be a quiet moment from the time that white students appeared on our project, there wasn't quiet. One. There wasn't a quiet moment. But white students from these universities brought with them, the media and protection of the United States, governments at all levels, way back then, little old, long haired boy here was thinking like that.

Speaker 17 ([34:36](#)):

And I knew that if one of 'em got hurt down there, we would get some resources, hold our cousins and aunties. Now I don't have no aunties that owns a big company, no cousins, no brothers, no sisters that own nothing, but they did. And they do. Y'all do see. And all those resources that you have that you don't even think about because you just go without a thought. I knew that they would be at our alternatives at some point. And that was a logic among other things and bringing and bringing whites into our confines and trying my best to prepare my, my, my people for it.

Speaker 17 ([35:45](#)):

They were some of the black guys and run every now driving. We going to talk to the, to the people and they be looking at the white for, and as the white folks, nasty white folk. I am sick of time. Well, tell 'em to shut up, bro. Tell them, just tell 'em to shut up. They'll shut up. If you tell 'em to shut up, just tell 'em before you go to the house. When the ladies start, keep looking at the white, can you just, you, you talk and let and, and, uh, adjust. We had to adjust what I'm saying is, and I understood it would be hard for, uh, we all were young and getting used to authority, getting used to power cause it's power. We had a little power. We could pull a thousand people in a thousand people. There that's power. You're getting used to that.

Speaker 17 ([36:43](#)):

But, but then when you gotta share that power with somebody who represent what you're fighting against, you getting two things, you gotta Unix those things. But see those, that mixture is internalized. The hostility is internalized. If we were to be free from this hostility that was in us because of our history that we had to deal to get ourselves free. So it's a whole process. And so we saw some young people becoming free in the short time that we had whites, whites working with us and, and all those things happened that didn't have to happen. If the whites weren't there, we wouldn't have had a, we thought our, a church surrounding we wouldn't had, we wouldn't get, we wouldn't have gotten that church burned down and SA that church burned down in, uh, one of the other counties. So, but they were bringing churches before they came. I'm I'm telling you what my response would be. Can you remind me
Speaker 15 ([37:58](#)):

Why, why these accusations were made? I mean, what was, what was the reality there?

Speaker 17 ([38:06](#)):

The reality was that we had college students, college students who talked better than we do express things better than we do. Uh, and our people are used to salute white folks. So Luton white folk, that's where I talk <laugh> and we couldn't stand. They are looking, they respect this white man in more than they respect me. And there's some anger involved. So these folk coming around, they gonna leave. I'm still gonna be here. All kind of excuses. Not, yeah.

Speaker 1 ([38:55](#)):

If the stick break, why, why the stick break? Why did, uh, kick in the mid sixties, the, uh, white members OFN outs to encouraged the,

Speaker 17 ([39:16](#)):

And in a word we were feeling our Cheerios. We could tell thousand students all over the country to bear their ass at four o'clock, October the 15th in front of every college in the country. And we would have a representative number. Now, <affirmative> now I'm, I'm again, sort of exaggerate, but cause on the other hand there were movies going on during that time. <laugh> we didn't, we didn't, we never promoted in those kind of demonstrations, but I'm saying that's the kind of power that we had. And uh, we had 15, we had a fleet of cars. We had walk talks. We had, we had numbers of people coming to mass meeting to listen to what we had to say. Uh, we had support, we had money coming in. We had, yeah, we had about, at one point we had about \$300,000 a month, almost 300 a he bigger dad.

Speaker 17 (40:51):

He bigger. Yes, please, please. I think there's another slant on this and I want to certainly support and congratulate y'all's <inaudible> openly running biracial projects. 20 went else steel. Yeah, but I, I think that other pack on this is SNCC was then faced with, we were suffering a couple of attacks, one internally, a lot of the leadership in SNCC decided to write off the democratic party after running city. And they led, they were followed by a lot of people. Two, the money was cutting down and three in this period, we had just followed the aftermath of taking a position on Vietnam and we have to work all of those factors in, and we had some people who were tired, Val weary. And I think that when any group who has been after all, we're talk only talking about the most sophisticated political group in American history when we talk about state, but it had reached a point where it was no longer externalizing its creativity, it turned inward and it stopped being creative. It got became rigid. It became the rigid. Once the rigidity set in the question was who get excluded, not whether or not it would be exclusion. So we have to be very fair on that. Cause I think, I don't think you can study American Southern politics without studying SN by show law and show laws on others. And, and I, I just think it is so important because I think that as, uh, the south was, and the sixties America is now.

Speaker 17 (42:22):

Yes. I think, I think, I think we have a country in America that is, is racially polarized. Exactly.

Speaker 1 (42:28):

Oh, I

Speaker 17 (42:28):

Agree. And, and as it relates to income disparity, and as it relates to the social acceptance of racism, that's what gets me.

Speaker 1 (42:35):

Yeah. So it's socially acceptable,

Speaker 17 (42:38):

Absolutely.

Speaker 1 (42:41):

In, in all sorts of area. And it's also, there are, there are signs of, of racism that no one deals with. And of course you've had the, uh, uh, the racist, right. Religious and political pretend that we solved the problems of racists Reagan said doing his presidency and that, that we had put those behind us. But what, the only thing that's really happened is that with the push of the conservative elements of the racist elements, like Trent LA, our name names quite, um, with the, with their ascent, that their drive and push, uh, George will, um, William Buckley, pat Robinson, James Doon, a whole host of guys that's the well, well documented in the literature. What they pushed for then was, uh, racism being firmed up in the institutions of America.

Speaker 1 (43:48):

Um, so that, um, as an illustration, one of the signs of racism in the United States is clearly the criminal justice system and prisons and law enforcement, uh, capital punishment. It, I linked those all together, but it is, it is a, an atrocious, um, um, part of racism in the United States that is probably as destructive and risk spacious as any time of Lynch or as any time of, um, of, of slavery, 2 million people in jail, over 3,500 people on death row. Um, I, from time to time said, and continue to say 50% of those in prison would not be in prison if the constitution had been obeyed, if they had had proper, uh, defense in their courtrooms, uh, if police departments could not frame lie and DAS could not insist that their task is to put people in jail, not justice. Um, the, uh, executions that have taken place since 1976, when the

Supreme court a, um, a, uh, Supreme court basically appointed by the attacks from the right on activist judges that therefore permitted the likes of a William RIS to get it to the court and a number of others that nine today, most of them are the, that ilk, um, reinstated it, uh, the death penalty in 1976 after it had been, it had been, uh, pretty much engaged in a national moratorium.

Speaker 1 ([45:41](#)):

Um, since 1976, um, 625 people have been executed across our country. Um, and, um, and, uh, any number of these people committed their crimes when they were children or, or teenagers, any number of them were mentally retarded. Any number are, um, any number were rather mentally ill. Uh, sizable number of them have been black or, uh, native American or Latino. Um, and, um, killing goes on surely racist. Then in the meantime, since that 19 76, 87 people who were convicted and UN death row have been exonerated by independent investigations, not by the DAS, not by the police, but by independent investigations. One such group has been Northwestern university, school of law, where they have gotten off of the death row in Illinois, five people, I think a couple of those cases, uh, they found they solved the murderers. They found the murderer, but the person on death row had already been convicted and there faced execution. So that's in the state of Illinois, 12 out of 13, out of 25 on death row were found innocent. And that's why the Republican governor called for a moratorium in Illinois. Now I'm saying I was, that's only one, but that's one huge symptom of racism that is highly destructive of families in this country.

Speaker 18 ([47:29](#)):

I I'm from Chicago. So I mean, the other part of that is that a number of those people were, had been defended by lawyers who had been disbarred. And, and this was found that later by, but, um, I, I actually wanted to ask, uh, both of you and, uh, Jim Lawson in particular to link what you're raising now about the state of, um, affairs with, with something I think you were getting at earlier in the earlier session, you took objection to, um, to the comments about one needs to become a part of the middle class and all this kind stuff. And I think that comment, I appreciated your inter I supported the sister trying to chair the meeting, but I appreciated the importance of your intervention. Uh, because I think that that outlook is directly linked to perpetuating, um, some of the problems because it offers a kind of counter explanation. That is the reason that people are in jail, the reason people in poverty, et cetera. So, and, and that's coming from within the African American community. I actually also think it's very much linked to a kind of romanticization of patriarchy and the idea that what we need is strong nuclear, male, headed families, and that's gonna cure all. Um, and it becomes a very conservative message, very much linked to, uh, indicting people who don't fit that model to so-called underclass. So, you know, if you wanna address that yeah.

Speaker 1 ([48:47](#)):

What's that Larry, I hope you feel free to step in because you know, one of our outstanding warriors, thank you. People still in the struggle from the sixties and still today

Speaker 17 ([49:00](#)):

From you. I, I consider that the ultimate cause, but lemme, lemme, lemme say this. I was glad to witness that because I believe I do a lot of talking on speaking and talking and analyzing on the question of race. And for someone to say that in the name of SM is treasonous, uh, to say, to say that the, the, the ideal today was become a member of the middle class.

Speaker 15 ([49:26](#)):

Did you all hear that? I'm just wondering, maybe you need to tell the story of

Speaker 17 ([49:29](#)):

What happened, uh, why don't someone who heard all of it and tell the story. Cause I walked in

Speaker 19 ([49:35](#)):

One of, one of the, uh, students

Speaker 1 ([49:37](#)):

Asked and Thomas who was in the, uh, Easter conference in 1960.

Speaker 19 ([49:42](#)):

Right. Um, but one of the students asked a question, what can I do, right. As a young black man to help struggle. And Mr. Thomas stood up and said, join the middle class and be a, uh, be a good father, stay with your

Speaker 18 ([49:58](#)):

Pastor, get an education. And,

Speaker 19 ([50:00](#)):

And that's it. That's all. And that, that was his whole answer to

Speaker 17 ([50:03](#)):

Problem. Now what that does not deal. He also said cause of poverty.

Speaker 18 ([50:07](#)):

Yes, yes. Which is not true

Speaker 17 ([50:09](#)):

To the fact that an education would automatically put you into the,

Speaker 15 ([50:14](#)):

He said, get your college degree and you will automatically

Speaker 1 ([50:16](#)):

Be step out.

Speaker 15 ([50:18](#)):

And this is what, and Jim,

Speaker 18 ([50:20](#)):

You should probably say what you said, reenact, let's

Speaker 1 ([50:24](#)):

Say reenact. Well, I simply said, I would test.

Speaker 17 ([50:34](#)):

I protest Larry, go on. Let me be, not as gentle as he was

Speaker 17 ([50:42](#)):

And say, very clearly, if snake had been designed to extend and perpetuate the middle class, it would've never have done anything that it did. Exactly. We have to it. Would've never decided to go into the least and the most impoverished, the most controlled communities and say, we are about facilitating your empowerment. I think also we have to be very careful when we look at the black middle class, we look at people that we facilitate their pragmatic, psychological, and financial escape and responsibility. And I, I do that in contradiction to the Jewish community, in the Jewish community. The more money you make, the more you have to answer to the community in the black community, the more money you make, the less you have to answer. Now. Some people may not like that, but I, I, I think this conference is about forcing us to think, and we should use honesty and raw credibility to have this kind of dialogue.

Speaker 17 ([51:51](#)):

And I think that unless, see, cuz we fall into the trap of simply becoming a member of the middle class, then we don't have to deal with national health insurance. We don't have to deal with housing. We don't have to deal with the fact that in internationally, we are 18 in educating people and we don't have to deal with the solution now to urban America. And that's put encapsulated in one book. The future happened here by Fred SI. You looked at New York, Francis, San Francisco and Washington DC said, it's a very simple subway system, subway black people into work in the suburbs. Don't build any housing schools and subway. 'em back into the that's. That's the way to protect our interest. Now that's where we are. Fred SI gave a conference that book at institution and every federal agency you can imagine was there. So we're not talking about, I'm simply saying that if we fall into the, I, I, I, I hesitate and, and try to restrain myself from slapping people when they raise the question to class, because Marty Saer was interviewing me for piece to be shown about Anthony Williams.

Speaker 17 ([52:58](#)):

He said, what do you think of Anthony Williams? I said, well, Anthony Williams is racial, a racial illiterate in a city that all of the decisions are made in Washington DC on the questions race. And he said, well, look, that's good. Not, that's not right. He said, Anthony Williams was concerned about picking up trash and snow. I said, yeah, who's trash, who's snow. And he, we get down to the question of, he said, well look, maybe the middle class passed you by. I said, I said to him, look, remember what Malcolm X said, what do you call a black millionaire? And the answer is Nier. And I said, okay, okay, okay. BLE on the facts <laugh> but my point is this. And, and I went on to say, that's strict. I went on to say, there is no class to get into to make yourself insulated from the question of racism I finish.

Speaker 1 ([53:47](#)):

Good. Um, while the difficulty with that response this morning, of course, is that racism is a form of the depriving people of humanity and opportunity. And that's, what's gone on in our society. Uh, the poverty did not produce the dysfunctionality. I mean, no I'm saying it right. Dysfunctionality did not produce poverty. Poverty is present. It's been here. Now, if you wanna, if you want to see of the effect of IPO, of, of economic impoverishment in, in the United States, go and read some of the case studies of communities in the United States. And in some instances, all white communities where the company factories, the factories closed down, the, the workers, people who had been in those factories 10, 20, 30 years, and who followed their fathers into those companies, they, those companies stopped. They maybe they shipped out, they closed down gold, read the case studies of what happened to those families.

Speaker 1 ([55:01](#)):

Uh, and those communities. They found an escalation of drug, um, addictions of all kinds, escalation of suicide, escalation of all kinds of crime, including family abuse and wife, battery, uh, uh, escalation of diseases of depression, uh, and, uh, and especially alcoholism. Um, I was, um, one morning early, I opened up the Los Angeles time about two years ago, and it had a front page story on Sewickley, Pennsylvania. And my brother Phil was born in Sewickley, Pennsylvania. And, uh, I was astonished Sewickley as a steel town, just short this south of Pittsburgh, the steel mills closed Hills closed down period, and the churches and the schools then discovered this radical escalation of dysfunctionality, breakup of families and the juvenile juvenile delinquency and the whole bit. And you can study this into ACE, Wisconsin, Youngstown, Ohio, a whole slew of cities all across this country where the factories and therefore the economy has shut down.

Speaker 1 ([56:29](#)):

Now that's what slavery was all the time. And that's what racism has been all the time, uh, occasionally, but all the time. And none of that has been dismantled task of dismantling racism and education in the economy in law enforcement, in the courts, in Congress, in the white house, in the governor, governor's mansions the legisla, the task of dismantling the racism, the economics of racism, the color prejudice, the white male domination of racism, the sexism of racism, the patriarchal standards of racism that is the unfinished task. And, and that's why in the sixties, William Buckley called Reno called a meeting of some of their friends and said, we must organize now to not only reverse what the sixties are saying, but to put our agendas back on the front burner of the American people. And if you read the New York times of the LA times of the Washington post of the Atlantic journal, you'll find that those, their language is on the front page, reverse discrimination. Mm-hmm <affirmative> welfare reform. Mm-hmm, <affirmative>, can't remember some of them, the heritage foundation coin, but they're on the front pages. They're in the commentary.

Speaker 17 ([58:03](#)):

Let me just, and that's why you misorganized and you, and you and you, and you, those are the issues of today's same issues. They haven't changed. They've just been lost over and they're not just black, white, right? They're not just black, white. This affects everybody. Yeah. People are hurting, whatever, whatever people are hurting is where you can organize how you do it. You find the people who are hurting, you can't manufacture an issue and expect people to come to a meeting and talk about an issue. People will come to a meeting and

Speaker 18 ([58:49](#)):

Well, I wanna take issue that the issues are the same, because I think that the issues are, are different and they're different because of globalization and, uh, the IMF and the fact that that, uh, capital has

consolidated its, uh, it it's, uh, power mm-hmm <affirmative>. So therefore I think that that, uh, because they have consolidated their power, uh, the oppression is greater, uh, and that at least in our country, uh, we have been educated to think that the, uh, that we have this good life and this is across the board, both black and white. Yeah. You get a couple of pennies and you think you're hot.