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Speaker 1 (05:15):
My
Speaker 2 (05:15):
Glasses. Someone's walking around here with glasses wearing. Are you getting picture here?
Speaker 3 (05:29):
They, you aim me the wrong way right here.
Speaker 4 (05:39):
Mrs. Victoria Gray Adams
Speaker 1 (05:41):
Will leave. All right. Thank you.
Speaker 4 (05:51):
Okay. This is Victoria Gray Adams will, uh, lead us in the invocation.
Speaker 1 (06:08):
I, I am person who fully believes right up the, how about that? Put the microphone over by your
mouth. Put your microphone
Speaker 5 (06:19):
What it is by my mouth. This is not okay. Can you hear me now?
Speaker 1 (06:24):
Yeah.
Speaker 5 (06:26):
As one who believes fully in particip Pictor involvement, I'm going to invite all of us to join in
this grace. I think it's one that is probably very well known by, uh, most of us and those who
don't know it, shouldn't be too hard for you to, uh, to, um, catch in or chime in, in the meantime
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As one who believes fully in particip Pictor involvement, I'm going to invite all of us to join in this grace. I think it's one that is probably very well known by, uh, most of us and those who don't know it, shouldn't be too hard for you to, uh, to, um, catch in or chime in, in the meantime for the spot, most gracious father, creative sustainer of us all. We thank you for this opportunity to come to be in fellowship with each other. As we take this food, which has been prepared for us. And thanks you oh Lord, that you will, from this food will come the strength to do those things that we, uh, called to do on behalf of peace and freedom everywhere now. And always praise God from

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Speaker 6 (07:46):
Praise.

Speaker 1 (08:43):
Okay. Um,
Speaker 4 (08:46):
Welcome to the conference on, uh,
Speaker 1 (08:49):
I gotta get right up to the Walden. Almost kiss it.
Speaker 4 (08:52):
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We have a number of, uh, folk who want to welcome you to Raleigh and to this conference. Um, okay. Thank you. Uh, I'd like to recognize a few special guests, uh, before we have some welcoming remarks. Uh, first of all, uh, Mrs. Luci Payne, the mother of chancellor Maryanne Fox of North Carolina state university is visiting us and is at the one of the front tables. Welcome

Mrs. Payne. I'd also like to recognize, uh, two of the former chairs of SNCC who are with us, uh, Maryanne Barry and Chuck McDo. And you've already heard the executive secretaries of one executive secretary of SNCC, but we have two here with us, Jim foreman and Cleveland sellers. Okay. Well, our, our first welcoming remarks will be given by Dr. James West, who is the member of the Raleigh city council from district C. Uh, Mr. West represents an area, uh, of Southeast Raleigh, which the Raleigh citizens association building on the momentum of the sit-in movement, uh, registered 1600 voters in the summer of 1962 with the help of John Fleming, Vivian Irving, John Winters, and SNCC volunteer, Dorothy Dawson Burlage. So, um, we would, uh, like for Mr. West to please, uh, come forward. Thank you, Mr. West is a, um, retired professor of agricultural extension at North Carolina state university.

# Speaker 7 (11:01):

Good afternoon to each of you, I guess in terms of little side note, I would like to say that I was, uh, actively involved in the civil rights movement at North Carolina, a and T in the early sixties, working with reference Jesse Jackson at that time, uh, we led a March on the theater downtown in desegregated the theater. So I feel, uh, a real part of this effort and the importance of the struggle that, uh, we have been in and the challenges that we have for the future to our distinguished head table, as well as I was distinguish guests and audience. And to all of you on behalf of the Raleigh city, counciling to more than 280,000 citizens of our capital city, we are certainly proud to welcome you to our great city. We are very proud to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the student nonviolent coordinating committee.

# Speaker 7 (11:57):

As you all know, working with the Southern Christian leadership conference, SNCC was a powerful force and the struggle for racial equality during the sixties, SNCC members fought that value in nonviolent tactic. It is very fitting that we honor the legacy of miss Ella baker, John Lewis, and the young people at that time that came together to found SNCC. However, we cannot rest on the accomplishments of the past and let that legacy become just a footnote in history. We cannot leave it to others to see that these ideals continue to become a reality. We must not stand mute when justice is often denied and opportunity is deferred your efforts. Remind me of a question once posed to a great Greek historic historian. The question was when will justice come to Athens? He thought deliberately and replied justice will never come to Athens until all of those who are not injured are just as indignant as those who are all of us here today.

#### Speaker 7 (13:02):

No matter our birth, our genetic cloth, the color of our skin, we must become indignant and continue to undo racism in any form that it may come. When we are told that we must wait for tomorrow, the next tomorrow for the next generation or even the next election, we must reply as the Reverend Martin Luther king did from that old Birmingham jail that now is the time in the day is today through the grassroots efforts of this great organization, we can achieve the goals, set forth 40 years of goal. We must get everyone involved to finish the work that began here in Raleigh and never settle for anything less than the best for creating a social order where justice and equal opportunity are the Supreme ruler. Thank you for this opportunity to welcome you all to Raleigh and my salute ton for what you've done in the past, and let's keep the legacy alive. Thank you and God. Be with me.

#### Speaker 4 (14:17):

We also have, uh, welcoming remarks from Dr. Maryanne Fox, the chancellor of North Carolina state university, uh, a native of Canton Ohio, Dr. Fox received her PhD from Dartmouth in 1974. She established a distinguished publication record in chemistry as a professor at the university of Texas from 1976 to 1998, and served as vice president for research at the university of Texas since 1998. Uh, she has been chancellor the highest administrative officer at North Carolina state university, chancellor Fox.

## Speaker 8 (15:01):

Thank you for your invitation to participate today. And for your willingness to accept us into this community, we have been very pleased to participate in a partnership in helping Shaw sponsor this activity. We have believed in partnership for a long time, and I'm particularly happy to acknowledge several members of the African American citizens advisory council at North Carolina state. Who've been instrumental in making today's events happen, uh, in particular, the chairman Mr. Everett ward back here. Thank you so much, Everett for your leadership North Carolina state university was a very different place when some of you who were organizing SNCC were here in the early sixties. I'm proud to say it's a very different place now. Uh, it's one which has embraced diversity and tries to nurture our cultural differences and our similarities. I think I'm very proud to say that we would be joining with all of us in the community, in, in as Langston Hughes once said, we all want America to be America again, let freedom and justice ring. Thank you very much.

Speaker 4 (16:20):

Thank you, chancellor Fox. Um, before I introduce our next speaker, I, I should have mentioned earlier that we are very grateful to have with us, Mrs. Marlene Shaw, the wife of DRT, Alberto Shaw, who is, uh, seated next to, uh, Dr. Fox Fox mother first table here.

Speaker 9 (16:40):

Thank you.

Speaker 4 (16:47):

And on behalf of the conference, I'd like to express my deep gratitude to Shaw university for making possible this dialogue between the returning members of the student nonviolent coordinating committee and students, teachers, and scholars today during the past three days, we've learned much about the founding of Shaw in 1865 as the first university in the south for Friedman its role in nurturing, miss Ella baker and so many other, uh, activists of the civil rights movement and its proud history as the university that made possible the first national meeting of the students from the sit-in movement on Easter weekend, 19 60, 40 years ago. It's my privilege to introduce the man. Who's been president of Shaw since 1987 and who has led the university into the 21st century, Dr. Tover Shaw earned his PhD degree from the university of Chicago. Uh, his years as a professor and administrator have been spent at Howard university Catholic university, Booey state college, federal city, college, Princeton university, and Morgan state university. His publications include theological and philosophical monographs as well as, uh, educational, uh, writings. Uh, during Dr. Shaw's tenure student enrollment has increased from 1400 to 2,500. The university has expanded its physical plant and renovated to historic buildings, SD hall and Leonard hall. And in 1993, president Shaw led a reform of the curriculum, making courses in ethics and values central to the general education of all its students in order to emphasize Shaw's commitment to high personal standards and citizenship in its graduates. Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Albert O. Shaw.

Speaker 10 (18:50):

Thank you very much Dr. Jackson, and let me welcome all of you to this historic campus. We are very proud that you chose to have the celebration here. And as Dr. Fox said, we are delighted of the partnership that she has forged with us as we establish this, um, celebration. I am tempted to, of course my assigned task is to introduce the speaker, what I, but I'm tempted to introduce him the way the president of the United States is introduced people get up and say, legend gentlemen, the president of United States, the man of them have Alta about to present to you indeed has earned that type of profile. Very few people here don't know the honorable Julian bond. You know, the dialogue continues regarding the times and the leaders does the time provide the leader or the leader produce the time dialogue continues? Well, while you are speaking about that, let me give you some ideas that place, that place this man in the times, I

believe there are there conferences, dreams that prepared the speaker today for what he has done and what he continue to do. First of all, his father was a college president. And by the way, he, he expressed his condolences to me as president of Shawn univers, since he lived on two college campuses, Fort valley, state, and Lincoln university. And when I asked him if it were the Lincoln in Missouri, he said, no, the real Lincoln

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Speaker 1 (20:55): <laugh>.
Speaker 10 (20:58):
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So he has grown up on a college campus. He knows the nervous atmosphere on college campuses. He sat at the feet of Dr. Martin Luther king. It was a time when the acidity of racism was so corroding that there were movements across the country to change American history. So the times, and the preparations produced the man today, I have a few things here I could bring with me the biography, and it's a long, very long one, but I'll reduce it. He said, please don't do that.

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Speaker 1 (21:44): <laugh>
Speaker 10 (21:45):
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And by the way, those of you who are meeting me for the first time, each time I stand before an audience that doesn't know me fully, I have to throw in a disclaimer. And that is although the university and I have the same name, I don't own the place. <laugh> Julian bond has been an active participant in a movement for civil rights, economic justice, and peace for more than three decades, as an activist who has faced jail for his convictions as a veteran of more than 20 years service in the Georgia general assembly as a university professor and a writer who raises hard questions and proposes difficult solutions, he has been on the cutting edge of social change since 1960. I recall very vividly when he, this young man in his late twenties had gotten on the civil rights path. I was Dean of the, of the students at a little college in the south, and we saw this young man, there was a refreshing contrast young man with much more hair at the time

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Speaker 1 (23:00): <laugh>
Speaker 10 (23:02):
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Standing there speaking with such maturity, beautiful voice, refreshing contrast youth and maturity. I still remember those days. He was a founder in 1960 while a student of Morehouse college of the Atlantis student sitin and anti segregation organization and of the student nonviolent coordinating committee slick and was a slick communicator director. He was active in registration and campaigns throughout the south

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Speaker 10 (23:40):
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Elected in 1965 to the Georgia house of representatives. Mr. Bond was prevented from taking a seat by members who objected to his expression or opposition, the Vietnam war. He was reelected to his own vacancy and UN seated again and seated only after third election at the anonymous decision of the United States Supreme court, that said that Georgia house had violated the civil rights. He was co-chair of a challenge delegation from Georgia to the 1968 democratic convention. The challengers were successful in unseating Georgia's regular Democrats and bond was nominated for vice president, but had to decline because he was so young in the Georgia Senate bond became the first black chair of the foot and county delegation, the largest and most diverse in the upper house and chair of the customer affairs committee during his legislative tenure, he was a sponsor or co-sponsor of more than 60, uh, bills, which became law today. The bond is chairman of the NAACP of ACP. He holds 19 under degrees.

He's a distinguished professor at the American university and also teaches in the university of Virginia. So today we have an activist, an academician, a father, a husband, and a man for the times, just before I present him. I'd like Mrs. Bondo is here to stand and be recognized.

Speaker 10 (25:45):

So while the dialogue continues that the time produce the manner of the man, the times, let me present to your man off the times Dr. Barn.

Speaker 11 (25:55):

Thank you.

Speaker 12 (26:18):

Thank you. Thank you. Um, thank you. A great deal, Dr. Showoff for that kind introduction. Unfortunately, some of these people already know me too well.

Speaker 12 (26:31):

And like many of my colleagues here, I'm older than I was when I came to this campus in April of 1960, but we are all reminded that just because there's snow on the roof doesn't mean the fire is out below <laugh> Ella baker, Ella baker said strong people don't need strong leaders. Right? I wanna talk about some of the things the strong people did, you know, in early 1960s freedom song, which has probably been sung this weekend before I arrived described the student movement of the early 1960s. In this way, the time was 1960. The place the USA February 1st became a history making day from Greensboro across the land. The news spread far and wide as quietly and bravely youth took a giant stride, heed the call Americans all side by equal side. You know, I'm not gonna sing this. Betty sisters sit in dignity and brothers sit in prime, but this organization was described another way by former president Jimmy Carter, who told Mary King, if you wanna scare white people in Southwest Georgia, Martin Luther king and the Southern Christian leadership conference, wouldn't do it. You only had to say one word snitch.

Speaker 12 (27:55):

The student nonviolent coordinating committee was founded in 1960 by Southern student protestors engaged in sit-in demonstrations against lunch counter segregation. Within a year, the organization evolved from a coordinating to a hands on agency, helping local leadership in rural and small town communities participate in a variety of protests and political and organizing campaigns. All of which sets SNCC apart from the civil rights mainstream of the 1960s, by 1965, SNCC fielded the largest staff of any civil rights organization operating in the south. It had organized nonviolent direct action against segregated facilities and voter registration campaigns in Alabama, Arkansas, Maryland, Missouri, Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, north and South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi. It had built two independent political parties. It had organized labor unions and agricultural cooperatives. It gave the movement for women's liberation, new energy. It helped expand the limits of political debate within black American. And it broadened the focus of the civil rights movement.

Speaker 12 (29:09):

Unlike mainstream civil rights groups, which merely sought the integration of blacks into the existing order. SNCC STR sought structural changes in American society itself in 1960, the dominant organization fighting for civil rights was the national association for the advancement of colored people. Its preferred method was litigation. It achieved its greatest victory in 1954 with brown versus board of education, the NAACP lobbied Congress and presidents to adopt anti segregation measures its local branches were often the main civil rights outpost in many communities and the NAACP and multiple similar local groups and individuals fought against what Alden. Mars calls a tripartite system of racial domination, a system which protected the privileges of white society, which generated tremendous human suffering for blacks. One consequence of this segregation system was the development of institutions of close knit

communities, churches, schools, organizations, which nurtured and encouraged the fight against white supremacy.

Speaker 12 (30:21):

The young people who began the 1960 sit-in movement lived and learned among such institutions. The goals of the young student movement were described to the democratic conventions platform committee by its first chair, Mary and Barry, as seeking a community in which man can realize the full meaning of self, which demands open relationships with others, Barry and others declared Southern students, wanted an end to racial discrimination and housing and education and employment. And the goals were similarly broadly described by James Foreman in 1961 as working full time against the whole value system of this country and working toward revolution. And in 1963, as a program of developing building and strengthening indigenous leadership. And by the third SNCC chair, John Lewis at the margin on Washington as building a serious social revolution, well SNCC pioneered first time races by blacks in the 1960s, deep south, it added foreign policy demands to the black political agenda and did broaden the acceptable limits of political discourse.

Speaker 12 (31:33):

SNCC was in the Vanguard in demonstrating that independent black politics could be successful its early attempts to use black candidates to raise issues in races where victory was unlikely, expanded the political horizon cc's development of independent political parties, mirrored the philosophy that political form must follow function and that non-hierarchical organizations are demanded to counter the growth of personality cults and of self-reinforcing leadership while organizing grassroots voter registration drives SNCC workers offered themselves as a protected barrier between private and state sponsored terror and the local communities where SNCC staffers lived and worked. SNCC workers were often more numerous and less transient than those from other civil rights organizations and their method of operation was very different as well. The NAACP was outlawed in Alabama in 1956 and didn't begin operating there again until 1964. Although NAACP activists continued under other sponsorship in 1962, the NAACP had one field secretary each in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, and the regional staff headquartered in Atlanta of S SCLC.

Speaker 12 (32:48):

One historian rights. The organization had to adopt a strategy of hit and run their willingness to run as well as hit provoke, consistent criticism. <a href="#laugh"><a href="l

Speaker 3 (34:06):

Pine lands,

Speaker 12 (34:07):

All right, Delta, what was it? Delta pine land Delta pine lands the queen of English. Other research provided the economic and political status of a state's black population. SNCC organizers would spend their first weeks in a new community meeting with local leadership

formulating with them an action plan for more aggressive registration efforts, recruiting new activists through informal conversation through pains, taking house to house canvasing and regular mass meetings. And the organization's broader definitions of the civil rights movements purposes was obvious from its very beginnings here on this campus here in April, 1960, Charles Jones declared this movement will affect other areas beyond lunch counter services, such as politics and economics. A report from the conference concluded with a warning about America's false preoccupations in early 1960s, it said civil defense and economic power alone will not ensure that continuation of our democracy democracy itself demands the great intangible strength of the people able to unite in a common endeavor because they are granted human dignity.

# Speaker 12 (35:18):

Within four months of these declarations SNCC volunteer, Robert Moses was planning a student staff voter registration project in all black mound Bayou in the Mississippi Delta for the summer of 1961. The work actually began in Southwestern, Mississippi, but when its workers were driven from the area by violence, by state suppression and by federal indifference, the organization regrouped in Jackson and the Delta counties in early 1962 earlier in 61 sticks, Nashville affiliate had continued the freedom rides when Alabama violence threatened to bring them to an end after they were released from Parchman penitentiary. Many of the jailed riders joined the Macomb movement. Several became part of the organizing cadre for the Mississippi movement, which quickly followed unencumbered by allegiances to the national democratic party, which frequently constrained older other organizations, SNCC encouraged two black candidates to run for Congress. Robert Moses served as the official campaign manager and then to demonstrate that disenfranchised Mississippi blacks really did want to vote SNCC mounted a freedom vote campaign in November 63, over 80,000 cast votes in a mock election for governor and Lieutenant governor a hundred Northern white students worked in the campaign attracting attention from the department of justice and the national media as black registration workers had never done paving the way for the freedom.

#### Speaker 12 (36:47):

Summer of 1964, freedom summer bought nearly a thousand, mostly white volunteers to Mississippi. They helped build the new political party, the Mississippi freedom democratic party. They registered voters and they staffed 28 freedom schools intended by their designer, Charles Cobb to provide an education which will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to proceed more clearly its realities and to find alternatives and ultimately new directions for action over the next several years, candidates backed by SNCC, ran for Congress in Albany, Georgia in Selma, Alabama and Danville, Virginia. And in infield, North Carolina SNCC helped candidates for ASCs boards in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Mississippi SNCC aided school board candidates in Arkansas in 1965, worked towards solving the economic problems of the Mississippi Negro by art organizing the Mississippi freedom labor union and the poor people's corporation. But among other contributions to elector politics were the formation of two political parties and the conception and implementation of my successful campaign for the Georgia state legislature, the Mississippi freedom democratic party challenged the seating of the regular, all white delegation from Mississippi at the 64 convention. And in 1965, Mrs. Gray and others challenged the seating of Mississippi's congressional delegation in Washington. The convention challenge ended when pressures from president Lindon Johnson erased promised support from party liberals, an offer was made and then rejected of two convention seats to be filled, not by the freedom Democrats, but by the national party. We remember Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer's declaration. We didn't come for no two seats cuz all of us is tired. <a href="elaugh"></a> both,

#### Speaker 12 (38:47):

Both of these challenges served as an object lesson for strengthening black political independence and the organizing and lobbying efforts for each laid the groundwork for the congressional passage of the voting rights act of 1965. Then in 1965, the McComb branch of the

MFD P became the first black political organization to express opposition to the Warren in Vietnam state MFD fee. Officials not only refused to repudiate the statement, they reprint it in the state newsletter, giving it wider circulation and laying the groundwork for future black opponents of the Warren Vietnam. The MFD P's efforts against white resistance to politically equality proved important to black political efforts throughout the south. An MFD P directed court suit resulted in the Supreme court's landmark, 1969, decision Alan versus the state board of elections for the very first time, the Supreme court recognized and applied the principle of minority vote dilution that the black vote can be affected as much by dilution as by an absolute prohibition on casting a ballot.

### Speaker 12 (39:56):

The middle 1960s became a turning point in the Southern human rights struggle. Federal legislation passed in 64 and 65 accomplished the goals of many in the civil rights movement. Cleveland sellers wrote when the federal government passed bills that supposedly supported black voting and outlawed public segregation, SNCC lost the initiative in these areas. Northern urban riots in the late 1960s made the nation and Southern civil rights workers aware that victories at lunch counters and ballot boxes meant little to black people locked into Northern ghettos. SNCC had long believed that at work ought be expanded to larger cities in the south and outside the region. Executive committee minutes from December 63 foreman asserting SNCC is going to have to go into the poorer sections of large cities to work. My campaign for the Georgia house of representatives in 65 was in part an attempt to take the techniques.

### Speaker 12 (40:54):

SNCC had learned in the rural south into an urban setting and to carry forward SNS belief that grassroots politics could provide answers to problems faced by America's urban blacks. In keeping with SNS style, a platform was developed in consultation with the voters, the campaign supported a \$2 minimum wage repeal of the right to work law abolition of the death penalty. When the legislature twice rejected me objecting to my support of SCCs anti-war position, the resulting two campaigns gave SNCC a chance to successfully test its critique of American imperialism at the ballot box. That campaign like the MFD P enables SNCC to provide a political voice for the politically impotent and inarticulate black poor in 1966 in Alabama, SNCC helped create a black political party called the lows county freedom organization, an independent political party, which would prove to be a factor in Alabama politics for years to come.

#### Speaker 12 (41:54):

It was formed in reaction to the racism of the local and state democratic parties like the MF DP, the black Panther party, the so-called black Panther party was open to whites, but no whites and lows county would participate in a black dominated political effort concurrently with these organizing efforts. SNCC was reassessing its concentration on the zone at a retreat in may of 66 Ivanhoe Donaldson argued in favor that so odd to think about Ivanhoe and arguing in the same sentence. Ivanhoe Donaldson, Ivanhoe Donaldson argued in favor of SNS replicating its successful Southern political organizing efforts in the north and the staff agreed Donaldson and Robert Moses suggested that techniques learned in Southern campaigns could be employed to ease SNS passage into Northern cities. Organizing for political power and community control could mobilize Northern urban dwellers. They contended and Michael Falwell proposed in 1966 that the organization should move to the ghetto and organize those communities to control themselves.

#### Speaker 12 (43:02):

The organization must be attempted in Northern and Southern areas as well as in the rural black belt of the south though. Well said, so projects were established in Washington DC to fight for home rule in Columbus, Ohio, where community foundation was organized in New York. City's Harlem where SNCC workers organized early efforts at community control of public schools in Los Angeles where SNCC helped monitor local police and joined an effort at creating a freedom

city in black neighborhoods and in Chicago where SNCC workers began to build an independent political party and demonstrated against segregated schools. In each of these cities, the Southern experience of the SNCC organizers helped to inform their Northern and Western work as chair Marion, Barry had written to members of Congress in 1960 to urge immediate action to provide self-government for the vote list residents of our nation's capital, the district of Columbia.

# Speaker 12 (43:59):

Were you thinking about it then in February in, in, in February, 1966, Barry then director of SNS Washington office announced the formation of the free DC movement he wrote. Then the premise is that we want organize black people for black power. He and the free DC movement conducted a successful boycot of Washington merchants who did not support home rule in New York SNCC worker, William Hall helped a Harlem group working for community control of intermediate school, 2 0 1 in the fall of 1966, his work laid the groundwork for later successful protest for community control of schools throughout the city in Los Angeles, SNCC worker, Clifford Voz described his work as a manifestation of self-help self-determination and power for poor people. So as the focus of the Southern movement had changed. So would the aim of the Northern organizer, desegregation had proven both elusive and insufficient to the problems of American blacks north or so their ability to control their own communities and to direct the communities elected officials had become paramount both in rural Mississippi and in urban New York, just as concern for social change had never been limited to the Southern states alone.

### Speaker 12 (45:24):

SNS concern for human rights had long extended beyond the borders of the United States from its first public statements. It had linked the fight plight of American blacks with the struggle for African independence at its founding conference here at Raleigh. It first announced its identification with the African liberation struggle. We identify ourselves with the African struggle as a concern for all mankind and at SNS fall 1960 conference in Atlanta, a featured speaker was the brother of Kenya labor leader. Tom Ibuya SNCC chairman. John Lewis told the March on Washington in 19 63, 1 man won vote is the African cry. It must be ours. And in December 63 SNCC workers in Atlanta conferred with Kenya leader, Oginga Odinga and in September, 1964 and 11 members, SNCC delegation went to Guinea as guest of that. Country's president Saur two members of the group toured Africa for a month. Following the Guinea trip in October two, SNCC workers represented SNCC at the annual meeting of the organization of African unity in Ghana SNS, January, 1966 anti-war statement claimed the United States was deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in other countries, such as the Congo, South Africa and the United States itself, singer Harry Belafonte organized a supportive reception at the UN with 15 applicant diplomats for SNCC personnel and on March 22nd, 1966, seven SNCC workers were arrested at the south African consulate in New York proceeding by 20 years by 20 years, the free South Africa movement that later saw hundreds arrested at the south African embassy in Washington, DC at a June 67 staff meeting SNCC declared itself a human rights organization dedicated to the liberation, not only a black people in the, but of all oppressed people, especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America, SNCC chair, Stokley Carmichael visited Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea and Tanzania in mid 67 in November 67.

#### Speaker 12 (47:34):

Foreman testified for SNIC before the United nations fourth committee against American investments in South Africa for many on the staff at the close of the decade of the 1960s, nearly a decade's worth of hard work at irregular subsistence level pay under an atmosphere of constant tensions interrupted by jailings beatings official and private terror prove too much when measured by the legislative accomplishments of the 64 civil rights act. And the 1965 voting rights act SNS efforts were successful, but the failure of the MF DP to gain recognition at Atlantic city predicted the coming collapse of support from liberals, the murder murders of four school girls in Birmingham and Medgar Evers in Jackson in 63 of civil rights workers and others in Mississippi in 64 of Martin Luther king and others in 1968, argued that nonviolence was no

antidote in a violence society. The outbreak of urban violence at the decades in further produced a sense of frustration and alienation in many SN veterans throughout its brief history, SNCC insisted on group centered leadership and community based politics.

Speaker 12 (48:48):

It made clear the connection between economic power and racial oppression. It refused to define racism as solely Southern to describe racial inequality as caused by racial prejudice alone or to limited struggles solely to guaranteeing legal equality. It challenged American imperialism while mainstream civil rights organizations were quiet or cured favor with president Lindon Johnson, they condemned SNS linkage of domestic poverty and racism with overseas adventurism SNCC refused to apply political tests to its membership or its supporters opposing the red baiting, which other organizations, leaders endorsed and condoned. It created an atmosphere of expectation and anticipation among the people with whom it worked, trusting them to make decisions about their lives. SNCC widened the definition of politics beyond campaigns and elections for SNCC politics encompass not only electoral races, but also organizing political parties, organizing labor unions, producer cooperatives, and alternative schools. It initially sought to liberalize Southern politics by organizing and enfranchising Southern blacks.

Speaker 12 (49:59):

One proof of its success is the increase in black elected officials in the Southern states from 72 in 1965 to 388 in 1968. But SNCC also sought to liberalize the ends of political participation by enlarging the issues of political debate to include the economic and foreign policy concerns of American blacks, SNS, articulation, and advocacy of black power redefined the relationship between black Americans and white power no longer would political equity be considered a privilege. It had become a right part of cc's legacy is the, the destruction of the psychological shackles, which it kept black southerners in physical and middle phage. The student nonviolent coordinating committee helped to break those chains forever. But SNCC also demonstrated that a band of brothers and sisters young and unskilled could create social change and they demonstrated for all time, something that is generally an objectionable features of these kinds of associations.

Speaker 12 (51:06):

And that's when the old gray-haired stoop shouldered generation that's me passes a symbolic torch to these young, bright eyed children. That's them. This happened at the 30th anniversary of the March on Washington, where there were more people on the podium than there were in the audience. <laugh> and I was nauseated by it because I thought back to the early days when you were with the NAACP in Memphis, and Lemoine when the rest of us were struggling, nobody handed us a torch. We had to reach out and grab that torch and peel those fingers. One by one, the people who had the torch, the people who had the torch didn't wanna let it go. If we hadn't taken it, they'd be holding it. Now. Now I'm saying to these young people, if you want these torches, you got to come get, em is not a relay.

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Speaker 1 (52:26):
Jimmy's good.
Speaker 4 (52:30):
I believe Martha Norman has a few announcements to make. Where is Martha? Uh, Martha Norman has a few announcements to make.
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Speaker 1 (52:43):

I'm gonna go get

Speaker 4 (52:43):

Them. Okay. Okay.

Speaker 1 (52:47):

Well

Speaker 4 (52:48):

Let me, uh, thank Julian bond. I, uh, sat through his lectures at Harvard and they're all just that inspiring. He had the glass and the Palm of his hand the whole time. Um, yes. Okay, Mr. Fine

Speaker 1 (53:14):

Conference.

Speaker 12 (53:16):

Is there a record of the conference

Speaker 1 (53:18):

<laugh> seeing, as some of us are gonna make sure that there are some records of this conference? Yeah. I'm making a request. Is that part of there's?

Speaker 12 (53:32):

I'm sure it'll be. And it's, uh, it's been videotaped as other sessions here have been videotaped and I don't know what's going to come of the videotapes, but uh, no, I on

Speaker 1 (54:00):

The, you recognition done the recognition yet is Bob Moses here we need Bob Moses and, uh, Diane Nash.