# SNCC 50th Anniversary Conference Shaw University, Raleigh NC, April 2010 Transcript Video Recording #20 (Raw, unedited, no annotation)

Speaker 1 (00:00:17):

Uh, I know speech, uh, this kind of is entitled black, black education. And, and one of the things that if you, the agenda for this conference,

Speaker 2 (00:00:46):

Uh, tends to reflect the path that SNCC as an organization and the organizers in SNCC took over a period of time. And one of the things that it's very clear is that we tried a number of things in order to get to where we thought we needed to be. So we thought in the early days that dealing with the issues of public accommodations was necessary, but as we dealt with it, and in fact, they allowed, they desegregated the lunch counters. We saw it was necessary, but it was not sufficient. We then engaged in voter registration and other kinds of electoral politics activities. And we saw, again that while voter registration and electoral politics was necessary, it was not sufficient. And we tried and a number of things that we have been trying in terms of trying to deal with the issue of creating an environment that allows the pursuit of life, Liberty, and pursuit of life, Liberty, and happiness, and one of the things, oh, let take this off.

Speaker 1 (00:02:18):

Is that how huh?

Speaker 2 (00:02:22):

Oh, my name is Cortland Cox

Speaker 3 (00:02:27):

<laugh>

Speaker 2 (00:02:30):

So why not? Hey, the problem is I get confused cause I know who I am and then I don't think, I don't think I, so, you know, my, my sense is that the, that black power black education and Panafricanism is part of the continuum that we engaged in, in terms of trying to deal with a number of concerns that we have so that, you know, we, we we all along the path over the last 50 years have been engaged in a number of things that try to deal with our situation and our lives. So this panel is gonna take that slice today and look at that slice and see those things that we thought were necessary. No one is gonna argue they were sufficient, but at that time, and today we still think they're necessary. So I'm gonna bring, uh, the panelists to the microphone. Now we're gonna ask, uh, Dr. Carter to begin. Uh, you can either sit there or, or come here. I'm not sure if he, someone said they gonna

Speaker 4 (00:03:37):

You in the deep south y'all, won't be able to stand. And

Speaker 2 (00:03:39):

I think, I think you better stand because people in the back can't see you.

Speaker 4 (00:03:42):

Thank you. All right. I can't see my notes, but that's all right. Okay. Shouldn't have the needle, right? That's exactly right. Class. Your hands like this, the Negro college

Speaker 2 (00:03:53):

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Niro, you
Speaker 4 (00:03:53):
Go your hands. Oh man. I went
Speaker 2 (00:03:55):
To
Speaker 4 (00:03:55):
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More island. I went to Tennessee state. Now we're gonna start our set, tripping it here. Everybody gonna have to claim, claim they space. But, uh, today, and I say that with all, uh, with all due respect, the Negro college, I work at one Howard university. In fact, the capstone of Negro education. That's exactly right. That's what they college. It may not be African education necessarily all the time, but it's definitely Negro education. So let me, let me in fact, start with that and say thank you to the organizers and, um, at Howard and thank you to the folks who are here. I'm not about to, uh, do a history of, uh, black power or pan Africanism as it relates to education. But what I am going to try to do for the next couple of minutes, and I got my time with messing with the phone out, I'm gonna be under the time limit is talk a little bit about maybe frameworks and context.

## Speaker 4 (00:04:46):

Um, the kind of guide this conversation in some ways, at least in my mind. And I don't presume that the way I look at it is the way everybody looks at it. That's one of the beautiful things about arguing about things. We all have a common purpose, how we get there is a matter of us working that out. I know that's just part of the SNCC legacy. Um, in the previous panel, one of the panels that was talking about the, uh, the evolution of SNCC, uh, there was a conversation, uh, toward the end of the panel that kind of emptied into the question to answer session, uh, that related to how SNCC, uh, continued its work, not under the umbrella of SNCC, but in terms of the thrust that SNCC kind of helped usher into existence in the late sixties, through the 1970s and eighties, as it related to education, particularly independent schools, as it related to organizing workers, as it related to basically trying to continue this internationalization, this question of the global dimension of the work that was being done locally here.

## Speaker 4 (00:05:39):

And what I wanna do is talk a little bit about that as well, except I wanna back map it a little bit, um, this idea of pan Africanism or struggle born of a sensibility that certainly has been an American experience, but the way that we kind of talk about it a little bit in, in the field of Africana studies, some of us, anyway, we talk about the American experience as a very recent moment. And the sensibilities that black folk in particular have brought to this moment are some, the, some, the things that we brought on the boat with us slavery is an important moment, but slavery is an experience where we used our sensibilities to make sense of that moment. And we've been doing it ever since. So when we talk about pan Africanism, for example, now, I guess, let me, let me put it in this context.

### Speaker 4 (00:06:19):

We talk about the long resistance, what Cedric Robinson and others called the black radical tradition, and what is the black radical tradition? It's the, uh, the idea that black folks who have made meaning for hundreds of thousands of years, first humans on the planet over this last 500 years, which is fairly recent. We've been adapting to our circumstances and trying to propose solutions, not only for ourselves, but for folks we built community with now, what does that mean in the United States? Well, we know at the beginning of the United States, we have several revolutions going on. We have the colonial elite versus the British elite. You know, the British elite basically want the colonial elite to pay for the French and Indian war. And when they say

no, no taxation without representation, a third come out for the war. A third, basically, stay there, maybe against it.

# Speaker 4 (00:07:00):

And John Adams said a third we're indifferent. Meanwhile, there's another revolution going on. The poorer folks, the folks who don't own much who are against those elites, those very self, same elites. Some of these people do the living and dying in, in, in the policy that becomes the United States. But that third revolution is the one we are really talking about. That's the one that S Robinson and other scholars have called the blacks war, black folks versus everybody. So about 5,000 sign up with George Washington's army that's after the British making an overture to say, you can come fight with us and about 5,000 sign up for them in Virginia, 30,000 ran away and just in Virginia, meaning what, what do we want, what we want now, freedom, and to be left alone. Now, once we come from that perspective, everything else starts to make a little bit better sense.

## Speaker 4 (00:07:41):

The civil war is a contestation. The American state is struggling with itself. It comes into existence almost really, but if you read, uh, WV Dubois, black reconstruction in America, he argues that that 20 year period between bleeding, Kansas and the 1850s and the end of so-called reconstruction may be the only place where Negroes had some breathing room. And then we walked back into slavery. As he writes about it in black reconstruction in America, he says the Negro stood for a moment, stood free for a moment, turned back and turned back towards slavery, 1876. And then you have the long struggle that has taken place since then. And what has that struggle? Been a struggle for African people in community with those of Goodwill and other progressives, to try to make sense of a state that was founded on something that never made sense. So when we started talking about this democratic tradition, I don't care if it was a big D or a small D really doesn't matter why?

## Speaker 4 (00:08:29):

Cause it never existed anywhere. It certainly didn't exist Inns. So we started talking about democracy. Are we talking about concepts that we have tried to make meaning and give meaning to that never had that meaning. So when we start talking about the so-called civil rights movement, when we come forward through the migrations, the great migrations, meaning what Africans coming from the urban, the rural south to the urban south and from the urban and rural south to the urban north and the south by south. Now I don't stop at Florida. I'm saying the Caribbean Marcus Garvey and many others coming out, talking about Latin America, central America, coming into what we now call the United States. We have those great migration periods, Africans coming into, uh, labor movements as a consequence of coming into these urban areas. Africans never leaving the south in many ways, never leaving Africa as Ronald Walters.

## Speaker 4 (00:09:11):

The local side once said, the question we should ask ourselves is not when in fact black people became Americans. The question is, when did we stop being Africans? The answer to that is we didn't. And so what you see in the so-called civil rights movement is less about black people learning the meaning of American democracy and changing the nation. Really what we're seeing is the Africanization. In fact of the American politic fat Lou hammer, didn't have to be taught about the idea that everybody should be treated equally, or everybody should bring their self to the conversation. What had to be reformed was the poli. So when she comes to Atlantic city in eight, in 1964, she says, I question America that she takes the subject position. She's not a visitor. In other words, I'm bringing myself to this space and I telling you, you're going to have to be reformed.

## Speaker 4 (00:09:51):

I'm not asking you for anything. And so what we then see emptying out of this moment in 1964 is a long steady deterioration of the lie that this was anything other than what it was. We see folks leaving the coalition when it's re, when they realized that look, you're gonna have to move off of this privileged center. And this privilege center is the foundation upon which the west has constructed itself, racist race. As we know, comes outta Europe, I can't say anything to do with it. I'm not saying black folks are blameless. No human group is blameless. However, the way we construct difference as it relates to race is not an inheritance of Africa. In other words, this whiteness thing's gonna have to be worked out by all of us, but we are not the people who need to have that conversation, which is of course you see, by the late sixties, the deterioration, in fact of the SNCC coalition, I got about three minutes.

Speaker 4 (00:10:35):

My count, you got the cl, you got the count on me record. Very good. All right, just being clear. Let me wind this up. Then what you then see is what Leah wise raised in the previous panel. Very important. The emptying out of these sensibilities into institution building, I've got a PhD in African American studies. There are, there are a woefully number. There's a woeful number of folks who have that degree. The fact that there are is even black studies. This is a consequence of this contestation folks are asking themselves different kinds of questions. Now what we, what we stand as we stand here now in a space that almost could could, if we're not careful be reconstructed as a museum space. In other words, let's tell a narrative and then reinscribe it. And reinscribe it. And then look at it like an episode, turn off the TV and then move forward.

Speaker 4 (00:11:15):

We have to recognize that this is a living tradition. One that began with the beginning of humanity. One that was encountered during an enslavement and which creative intelligence was applied to solve the problems of oppression and one that empty forth after that particular SNCC moment into that same sensibility in things like the council for independent black institutions, the freedom schools reemerged in different spaces. In fact, we used to bring students to, uh, to Shaw with Philadelphia freedom schools fill this whole chapel up 2001, 2002, the church defense funds, freedom schools. These sensibilities have continued unabated the question isn't when did the movements the question isn't when do we start a new movement? The question is when did the movement stop? The answer to that? Is it didn't and what we have to do, and what I'm gonna do is I take my seat now. And hopefully we'll have a question to answer is hear some of the particular ways in which in fact the movement did not stop. So as these cameras roll, we realize we're not doing a history. In fact, we're just catching up on what has happened since these last, over these last 50 years. Thank you.

Speaker 2 (00:12:13):

Thank thank you guys. Thank you. Um, we'll ask Sylvia. Okay. You want, okay. Ho you want to Speaker 5 (00:12:22):

Y'all wanna make

Speaker 2 (00:12:23):

One of the things, right? One of the things that we Howard should just, as they ask me to introduce myself, you should, uh, do the same.

Speaker 5 (00:12:31):

I don't do much introducing of myself. I did not come here to sell myself. I came here to talk about, just give them your name, the things that you want to ask me about.

Speaker 2 (00:12:41):

That's good. Just give your

Speaker 5 (00:12:42):

Name. My name is Howard Moore Jr. I'm been practicing a lawyer.

Speaker 2 (00:12:46):

Good. That's good enough.

Speaker 5 (00:12:47):

I'm very happy to be here today because the effort that many of you made allowed me to be here. I look forward to being here 50 years from now. However, however, I doubt that I will be here 50 years from now, but the thing that I share about 50 years from now that our situation as a country, and particularly as particularly as African Americans would be more dire than it was in 1960. We are here to discuss education, but we don't know what type of education we ought to discuss. We don't, we don't know what the content of the education should be. We don't even have a vocabulary to speak about the things that animate us and that concerned us the most as brother require to raise, to say, you have to have an ideology to get some place. We don't have any constructive ideology. You can talk about pan Africanism. You can talk about Ty and you can talk about the wonders of Africa, but that doesn't give you a construct of where you want to go as a people and any construct that takes you to where you want to go, has to have an analysis of how society is organized and how the materials of that society is distributed and managed and controlled.

Speaker 5 (00:14:49):

Because if you can't feed them, you can't lead them. And you have to have some ideology. Other than that, we are black because that leads you to a black hole. You wind up with ward Conley. He is as black as any of us in here in terms of biology, or it may lead you to CLA Thomas. So it has to be what we think about has to be something more than what our color is, even though our color is central and it's is very dicey thing to analyze and place into context. The main contradiction, in my opinion, at this particular time in history is the contradiction between the methods and mode of production and distribution and the ability of the masses of people, not only in America, but worldwide to have an effective interface with that method of production and distribution, the traditional method of interface for working people, people without education. Most often when it was a labor intensive, when education was very minimal requirement was through something called a job, a J O B, but given today's world and the means of production and the use of advanced technologies through computers and other things, things that we can't even imagine today,

Speaker 5 (00:16:51):

There's not going to be work, uh, job in the traditional sense for the masses of people. That's right, because there is no need for masses of people to be working, but at the same time, there's no need for masses. For people to be working. There is what there's a need for them to consume because unless the masses of people consume, then there's no need for the present modern day mode of production. So in terms of education, it is my submission as just a practicing lawyer. I'm not an academic that we need to educate ourselves on that line.

Speaker 5 (00:17:41):

That is a line of how do we re reorganize reshape restructure, reconfigure the present arrangements in society. We must create as our ultimate, uh, goal a means of, of living that's sustainable. The means of living that we have now are not sustainable. Think about it. I know you've thought about it, but what happens when the area is polluted? Does anyone descent from that? The water is polluted. There's almost no place in the world. You can get clear, clean water anymore. It's polluted food products are becoming polluted engineered food products that may not have any real essential value of being fed to us. How many of us have had any real food in the last 20 years go into a supermarket or any market and pick up and pick up a tomato and see if you can smell it.

Speaker 5 (00:18:59):

A tomato has a smell. Hm. And you can get a tomato that has no smell. Doesn't have life force. So you are eating products that causes what cancer, cancer, hypertension, obesity. So we have a lifestyle that's been created for the benefit of a few people who have the same diseases that we, that most of us might have, but they get better treatment. That's not a sustainable lifestyle. It's not a sustainable way to organize society. So what is my, what am I concluding remarks that worldwide? And particularly in Africa, because the Africans are some fantastic people, never forget that whether you black, white, red, or yellow, that the Africans are fantastic people. There are 1 billion Africans in Africa. There's almost another billion of Africans in the diaspora. How have these people survived? When they have been victims of every conceivable form of warfare that humankind has ever invented, how have Africans survived and survive? And they have survived because of that industry and that fundamental understanding that the order of life is collective. And the statement it takes a good to raise a child is a statement of collectivity that life to be sustained, cannot be maintained in isolation.

Speaker 5 (00:20:48):

And we have to deal with that lesson. And, but in terms of education

Speaker 6 (00:20:54):

And

Speaker 5 (00:20:54):

<inaudible>, we have to organize that in a way that is mean, which means that we have to educate ourselves, then educate others. And then we have to propagandize meaning that we have to take the message, our learning to others and get them to become involved in our learning so that we all learn.

Speaker 6 (00:21:23):

Okay. Sylvia, you wanna come?

Speaker 7 (00:21:26):

Okay. I think I, uh, can you hear me? Yes. Hold the microphone. I, I, I cannot multitask Speaker 7 (00:21:35):

Thank and all that microphone. Okay. How's that? Thank you both for your, um, presentations before us, we're gonna make a little bit transition, but it's not much of one because it's, uh, basically kind of locates, SNCC workers and those SNCC supporters to, I would tell you many to, uh, what was going on before and the kind of post, uh, work that we were doing. So my name is Sylvia hill and, um, I'm kind of best known for being one of the organizers of the six pan African Congress and the free South Africa movement, um, disobedience campaign, civil disobedience at the embassy, and then later the, uh, visit the historic visit of, uh, Nelson Mandela. So I'm going to go between 64 to 84 though, but it's kind of interesting, you know, in 94, um, <laugh> that long period that was essentially the dismantling of apartheid in one of its forms and the assumption of state power, uh, by, uh, the African national Congress in South Africa.

Speaker 7 (00:22:56):

Now, um, I should also say I was not a part of SNCC in the sense of being a member and going south, but I was very much a part on Howard's campus of a friendship with, uh, ed brown. And of course, Charlie cog in Courtland Cox and, um, their organizing capabilities always had you working in some form of another, uh, in support of the movement. So I did feel close in that sense, the, in about 1969, actually the notion of having a six pan African Congress following in the tradition of the Dubois congresses before, uh, Burge actually from, uh, Roosevelt brown, who was from Bermuda, who was later known in the movement as Paul and the seed of that

ocean was planted at the center for black education. And those of you who are North Carolina of course know the Malcolm X liberation university, but a part of the black power movement.

## Speaker 7 (00:24:10):

And that kind of transition of trying to find a way to be self-reliant in our communities, a way to kind of shape our educational approach and educational experiences really came out of these two institutions. And of course there was another set that went on in the west coast and New York, but I'll just highlight, uh, the CBE, because I didn't know that one, uh, at the time I actually was in taught in Mac Alice to college in St. Paul, Minnesota, but I very much was attached to the center for black education and very quickly the center for black education held classes, they encouraged community work. Uh, they had a bookstore, uh, they encourage economic self-reliance. And so in some sense, they were like a little national liberation movement in the United States form as the state from the national liberation movements that I studied in Southern Africa.

## Speaker 7 (00:25:17):

And that model led us to want to bring together worldwide black people to kind of essentially ask the question, where do we go from here? We had several objectives. For example, we wanted, uh, black scientists and technologists to begin to look at how they could use their skills to forward the development of African people. Hence African nation states. That's another debate. Um, we also, so we wanted some, the science and technology to them, and I must say we really did mobilize some 3,500 scientists and Fletcher Robinson who isn't here, but was a very central person person for that among others like Neville Parker. And, um, Donald Cohen was another one. So in any case, um, we had the conference and there was a lot of debate around that conference that in a wonderful history, but, uh, the central debate, okay. The, the central debate was that the subtext of all of the conference debate that we had, people talked about a race and class difference, which was more primary in analysis, race or class, but what the national liberation struggle was concerned about, particularly for limo MPL, a both in Mozambique and Angola, as well as African national Congress in South Africa, was that when black people leave this Congress, they need to return to their prospective countries and they need to work on helping us in solidarity, liberate South Africa, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia, um, Zimbabwe, and so forth.

## Speaker 7 (00:27:23):

So, but the issue was, you know, how do we do that? People don't know necessarily about these countries. They don't know about their struggle and a number of us return to the United States with that commitment and <affirmative>, and, um, that could, and the commitment was to kind of locally grassroot organize. But I wanna say that there was the African liberation support committee that many of you were a part of that was a very important historical force as well. Uh, and the African liberation support committee had one, a very important aspect to their organizing. And that was that at the local level, you should try to link the struggle internationally to the local ongoing struggle. And so, as Cox would always say, we may have differences in the part list, but the general nature of the problem is as causes are the same. And to that extent, we try to, um, use that as part of our methodology and Florence state is here.

## Speaker 7 (00:28:33):

She was one of the key people in organizing in 72 that national liberation day that energized people. And of course we remember Congressman digs and the role he played, but out of all of those experiences, um, trans Africa was born in this transition, uh, because Randall Robinson was working for Congressman deeds and he got a chance to see the nature of the political theater of Congress, right. And the Senate. And so that brought in a new level of possibilities and he proposed trans Africa as a black advocacy organization that would attempt to influence you as foreign policy. When people like Sandra Hill, we returned from the six pan African, uh, Congress. Many of us moved to Washington DC in order to start organizing it, as we would say

in our meetings to struggle in the belly of the beast <laugh>. And so, um, true the form in terms of the organizing from SNCC, we did a lot of study of our communities.

Speaker 7 (00:29:46):

Uh, you know, for example, one time we went to church, different churches to study, which church would had the greatest possibility of taking on a us anti-US foreign policy agenda. We studied different schools, different neighborhoods. And of course the labor union was very central, uh, to our organizing and to our strength as well. So I'll just fast forward, um, because, um, the Southern Africa support project, the Southern African news collective made up of women. They were all very important organizing units. And, um, it didn't just happen. We met every week for almost 10 years. Um, we held public forums, well, radio THS. And I'll just tell you one organizing point. One of the things we found is that while you may have a political content or ideology that you think is very important analytically, that's not often the way people come to struggle. They come Toru out of a human interest and out of their own reality.

Speaker 7 (00:30:59):

And so as an organizer, you really have to work to find out their reality and how you can shape the content of this human suffering or this political injustice in order to get them involved and mobilize. And so it was the year of 1984. You remember that, um, South Africa was in turmoil, the regime was being pushed up against the wall by its internal strife led by young people in South Africa, and that they had a policy of slash and burn and kill. And it was very clear to us that if we didn't try to focus the world on that inhumanity, uh, that we would use a generation of political leadership in South Africa. And, um, that was the birth of act of civil disobedience at the south African embassy. Um, many of you probably participated at some level of disobedience in, in solidarity with the people of South Africa, but I do want to give some political context to what we also are thinking with our moving to two areas of political struggle.

Speaker 7 (00:32:31):

One was the national political theater of Congress and the Senate, and the second one was international solidarity. And we felt very strongly that in order for change to move forward in the United States, we had to be in support of the liberation of countries in Africa, the Americas, and around the world, Asian so forth, because as long as the United States could act without, without fear in third world countries, first world countries, then it would continue to, it continued to have a momentum that was destined for injustice, and we would be a part of that injustice. So that was a, we had a theory that to strengthen the external in order to influence the internal and the internal to influence the external. And finally, um, I would say about that movement is that

Speaker 7 (00:33:45):

The strength Ronald Reagan suffered his first and only foreign policy defeat from the anti parte movement. And we can never forget that because though it was a momentary victory. What it gave us was a, a methodology and B the reality that it could happen, that we could influence you as foreign policy. Now it's a constant struggle, you know, time you take one step, they do try to knock you back two or three, four, but it can be done. And we now find ourselves with a trans Africa of one of the oldest, not just it's 25 years old now, uh, struggling to stay alive, uh, but to focus on women, children, and families, uh, around the globe and particularly link in that struggle to here so that when you speak in public to communities, they begin to understand how capitalism doesn't work here, and it doesn't work anywhere else in the world, except for us an elite group. And you use culture to empower people that this can happen again in history is most important for that. Uh, because history reminds us that it's been a long struggle, but we have been, might to be successful and we have overcome great odds. And therefore we can do it again. Thank you.

Speaker 7 (00:35:31):

Speak up, speak up. Can you hear me? No, you got, you have to, I have to

## Speaker 8 (00:35:36):

Hold the mic. This is gonna involve multitasking, like you said, right. Okay. I wanna just speak from here so I could see my notes if I had get too far from them. I can't see. And I wanted to stay on time. Uh, I want to thank all the panelists who went before me, because what I will say in the end will build upon and you'll see how closely, uh, what I have to say is linked to what they have to say. I wanna say to younger people here, I don't do prescription, and I can't even do the answer of what should I be doing now. So the only thing that I can do that I hope will be useful is to describe, and to kind of talk about principles, underlying the experience that I have, and if there's anything useful from it, then you'll take that and you'll ask me and others later, or we'll discuss it.

## Speaker 8 (00:36:22):

I also wanna say that I'm gonna describe something. That's kind of a personal trajectory, but it is everything I say is to be taken as a multiple trajectory that my eye is actually a we all the time. There's never an eye. That's just me. It's a, we. So even if I say I I'm talking about other people as well, I wanted to start quickly with an anecdote, which is an anecdote from where I just came from. I just came from, uh, can you hear me? I thought you, oh, I'm so sorry. I thought we, we agreed not to do introduction. Ju Al Gusto, my mother and father are sitting there. So I do like hiphop generation shout out to Florence and Charles state.

## Speaker 8 (00:37:02):

So I wanna give this quick anecdote from, uh, a place called Peter sunga in south Paulo, Brazil, which is where I came from, like 48 hours ago, which is part of the reason why I have to stick to notes, jet lag. But I was there at what was called, what is the first national symposium on blacks, in science and technology in Brazil. And they deliberately held in Sao Paulo, cuz it's the, where the university is, is the elitist of the elite whitest of the white of Brazilian universities. Brazil's population, as you know, is anywhere from 60% black to 80% black, depending on who asks. So they had outside in the hallway of the symposium, a picture of ABD, DEAC mental, one of the fathers of the black movement there, movie mental Negro. And my hosts were coming up, you know, beside me and showing me things.

## Speaker 8 (00:37:52):

And they said, do you know Abia Jan Nascimento? And I said, you know, it was one of those moments. I said, yes, I do know him. Cortland Cox assigned me to help him translate his piece for the six pan African Congress in 1974. I do know him. So I gave my talk and afterwards the, the, uh, the sisters who had been outside in the hall with me came over and they said, we knew you were one of us. You had this white cloth wrapped around your head. You had on your shoulder, they call it pan de Costa. But it's, you know, it's just an African habit of a thing like that you gave thanks to the ancestors. And then you went on to talk about science and technology and black people and environmental justice. How did you get to be like that? And it's a question that I hear often, and this is where I want you to think I'm talking not how did I get to be like that, but more like, how did a lot of us get to be like that?

## Speaker 8 (00:38:43):

And it's actually a vector, a vector from my math class. I remember is both a direction. And then there's a weight and a substance to it. So what I'm gonna run through quickly is kind of the vector that I was on and on the drawing of the vector, I wanna focus on just a few ideas and practices. They always go together ideas and, and practice. So it starts with a set of organizations and people which led me like so many others of us to notions of independent black education, not just black education, but independent black education and Panafricanism and the litany of organizations. You've probably been hearing over the next two days and you'll hear more. There was the date and Alliance for racial equality. Maybe you haven't heard that my mother and father started it and they were lied to SNCC and core. And when I was an adolescent, that's all that flowed through our house.

## Speaker 8 (00:39:33):

People from SNCC, people from core, it was before black Panthers. But if you go of me along on the vector, you then get to the center for black education, which Sylvia talked about and I'll, I'll come back to for a minute, African liberation day drum and spear bookstore and press. I don't know if Judy Richardson and others are here, uh, the six pan African Congress. And then this is where my vector kind of breaks a little bit away. When people came back from the six pan African Congress, I didn't come back. I stayed 18 years in Africa. So my vector continues with the MPLA for limo black consciousness, a and C SWAPO ZZA. And just recently, like in the last two years, movie men black movement in Brazil. So if you can see that vector, I wanna talk a little bit about the weight of it, the, the principles and the, and the, um, the ideas.

## Speaker 8 (00:40:23):

So for that, I have to go back to the center for black education. The center for black education was built around notions of black education, which were rooted very clearly in the freedom schools that you've heard about this morning, very clearly. And in the black Panthers, uh, both of them, the black Panthers, California 10 point program, and the black Panthers lounge county, and a longer deeper tradition behind that of black pedagogy, those one room school houses that maybe your mother or your grandmother grandfather told you about. Whereas my mother says it was a Negro history month with those black teachers in those segregated schools. It was Negro history every day. And so the center for black education builds on that long tradition. It was the late sixties and the early seventies. A lot of us were from black universities like Howard and whatever. But the important thing is that it was a site of ideas and practice thinking and doing, not just thinking and theorizing and analyzing, but also doing.

### Speaker 8 (00:41:19):

And so we had a set of things that, again, you can see, it comes out of the practices of SNCC that you heard about, um, this morning and yesterday we had a publication, you must have a publication. We had a radio show or two, you must have them. We had classes in black history, literature, politics. We had a garden, we had a nursery, we had a public health clinic for the neighborhood. So in other words, there's a whole set of concepts and practices that I came to understand, or I should also say we had a set of correspondence who were international, the so-called third world. We had the people in the new jewel movement. We had BOGO literature over in England. We had, you know, a set of people around the world with whom we corresponded and shared ideas. And these concepts and practices I came to understand a few years later were actually the basis for a black internationalism.

## Speaker 8 (00:42:02):

Nowadays, they talk about transnationalism what we call it, black internationalism. It was a foreign policy and a serious foreign policy for a P set of people who weren't even in charge of the nation. But we had a foreign policy and it was always a linking of the local and the global. It was never one or the other, shall we be concerned about local things? Shall we be concerned about global things? It was always both. What did we inherit from SNCC and other movement organizations? I like to think of 'em as thought act because it's always together thinking and acting. We learned a way in when you go into a community or into a society, and it starts if Bob Moses were here, something like you go and you sit at the center where everybody gathers you, you be quiet and eventually somebody will come in and ask you who you are or, or why you here.

### Speaker 8 (00:42:46):

But we learn to think of it as the way in you learned to go wherever you were invited, all the people had to say is, would you like to see a and the answer is, yes, you go, wherever it is that they're going to take you to. There's a kind of a listening and learning posture that we learned to adopt. There's a kind of a readiness to be the one who writes things up. This carried me very far

in South Africa. When I went there, cuz they had this, uh, history of the white left in South Africa would be the one that theorized and would write things up in the meetings. And because I had learned from SNCC center for black education, you volunteer immediately. You're the one who's gonna write up the plan. You're the one who's gonna write up the notes of the discussion and in a society or community new to you read the books that they read, read the newspapers that they read, listen to the music that they listen to watch the games that their children play.

## Speaker 8 (00:43:34):

And if you can, this is my adaptation. Now living in Africa learn the language that they speak. But all of these things are a set of practices and concepts that come SNCC through center for black education. What were the two key ideas? The two key ideas are always freedom and movement. It sounds like an oxymoron was that freedom movement. But if you dissect those two terms, those were the two guiding things for us. Freedom for us was an ever enlarging circle of freedom. It's it's, freedom's actually plural. And if you look at the movement and how it developed the kind of circle of what gets defined as freedom is always enlarging. It's a set of critiques about exploitative practices, wherever you find exploitation, it's a notion of allies and coalitions and how to work in them, including that allies can be found among the enemy.

## Speaker 8 (00:44:21):

And that you almost have a role in developing the mentality of the enemy's children. It's one of the most important things that you you can do. And it's a set of objectives about something to be for and not just something to be against. And there's always this motion that I, I learned to call it in Brazil. Gengar, that's what they do in caper, but you're always kind of weaving and bobbing between the local and the global movement also is a set of ideas in multiple senses. It's about, uh, shifting geopolitical zones. So if it starts in one part of the country, it moves to another, it was always going south, but going south, I think I took to exaggeration, not just going south, but all the way south to, you know, to Brazil and, and to South Africa. Um, and it was also moving in the sense of getting people to move and moving in the sense of social change, being possible through direct social political action with the oppressed, always being the people who are in charge of thinking about the oppression and changing the impression.

## Speaker 8 (00:45:20):

And the final sense of movement was a sense of movement of ideas. Sometimes we get caught up in the idea started here or did it start in Africa somewhere? Did they get it from us? Did we get it from them? Did the music start in Jamaica or did it start in New York? Actually, this is a constant motion of black people, everywhere of ideas that are flowing concepts, ideas, images sounds music. And they flow despite our history across linguistic borders, across geopolitical borders, across different cultures. So these ideas of movement in motion and freedom ever enlarging were a bridge for us, starting from sixties onward to the world beyond is a motion of, um, the late Rex net for who was the vice chancellor of university of west in past, about two months ago had this thing, he always talked about inward stretch, inward stretch, outward reach.

## Speaker 8 (00:46:12):

He was a dancer among other things. And so that's it inward stretch, outward reach. So I wanna say, yes, I feel at home wherever there are black people in there are struggling. I mean, I really feel at home wherever there are black people and wherever they're struggling, and this is one of the legacies of SNCC for me. And for many others, it's a black internationalism or a black transnationalism, if you will, in thinking and in practice. And I have the feeling that perhaps there's a need now more than ever for a black internationalism, but it has to be in 21st century style. It's not us who tell you what questions to ask or how to find the solutions, but I just hope that sharing some of the vector and the practices and the ideas might be useful to you. And if so, then we can talk about it. Thank you.

## Speaker 2 (00:47:07):

All right. Time, time for questions, not for comments. Okay. Can we'll start with you.

Speaker 9 (00:47:16):

Um,

Speaker 10 (00:47:21):

Hey, hello. My name is Aiden Tela. I'm from Swarthmore college, which is, um, in Phil or outside of Philadelphia. Um, I am both a premed student and an econ student. Um, I'm particularly interested in, uh, our, the environmental issue and sustainability and re and redesigning our living system. Um, because as a premed student, I realize that I would be treating a lot of symptoms as a doctor rather than like getting to the root issue of like why people are getting sick. So I'm really happy Mr. Uh, Mr. Moore, I think it is, um, for bringing up the issue of environmentalism and like, and, and making that, that connection because you're the first person at this, at this entire conference who I have run into, who has talked about it as an issue. I was at a meeting with students yesterday, where we all talked about the different issues that were, um, that are plaguing our, our communities and that one person brought that up and that, and I went home like really disturbed by that and horrified because scientist scientists for one are telling us that this is a hu.

Speaker 10 (00:48:24):

We are at dire levels right now. And there is like, we are here and we should have been down here 20 years ago. And at the same time, we don't even need these scientists to be telling us this, to, to see how our economic system, how much we consume is affecting our lives in ways that are irreparable. And we needed to start thinking about the ways we interact with our environment and not thinking of nature as being something that like, I go to the park too. Like as, as though it's separate, like it's our food, it's our water. And we're gonna be fighting over this sooner than we think. And we already are in a lot of places and particularly low income communities of color are going to be affected the first and the hardest hits. Do we need another new Orleans to see this?

Speaker 10 (00:49:14):

So I don't wanna wait for another catastrophe to be talking about this for people to like be gal galvanizing around this and at the same time solutions, um, for this, for this problem can, um, bring us all together when we're talking about incarceration issues like reincorporating prisoners, green jobs, for, for example, they could be given green jobs. So my question for all of you and for everyone else, sorry, <a href="solver: laugh">sorry about that. Um, is that, why, why is it that I'm not hearing, um, students of color, activists of color, like bringing this up? Cuz I mean, I hear plenty of white students like wealthy white students talking about this, but they're not the ones who are going to be affected necessarily.

Speaker 11 (00:50:01):

I have a similar question, but first I wanna apologize to Koland I've been hearing about you most of my life. <laugh> okay. Um, I appreciate, uh, the comment the young sister made here, but the question is more than ecology, although it is also a very urgent situation. It is also a question of justice of, uh, disproportionate targeting of people of color, both in the us and across the world for most of the world's, uh, uh, polluting industries, which has caused, uh, major, uh, impact on not only our health, but also our cognitive, um, um, uh, functioning functioning. So I noticed that what's your name again? Sister. Okay. Jerry, you, you mentioned environmental justice. So that lets me know, you know, what it is. Would you make comments on that? And uh, we really, really appreciate all of you

Speaker 3 (00:51:07):

JICA.

Speaker 8 (00:51:10):

Um, can you tell me your name, the young lady who who's a student raise Speaker 8 (00:51:15):

ADA. Okay. ADA, I'm very, very glad that you brought up the question of environmental justice. It's probably not true that nobody has mentioned it while you're here. We have all these concurrent panels going on. Um, sometimes when I'm trying to think, and I just try to think, I don't think it's my job to dictate or prescribe. What are the, what are the issues that animate, uh, activists and young people in the 21st century ours has, has passed. We haven't passed, but we were, we did most of what we did in the 20th century that what are the issues in the 21st century? And because I teach at a university and have children and grandchildren, you know, I see that what animates, what really, you know, motivates and gets a lot of younger people. Passionate is questions of the environment. I think probably, and here I'm gonna, I say I don't prescribe, but let me just try to gently say a few things.

Speaker 8 (00:52:08):

Uh, you probably need to do a lot more work around the issue and I'll tell you why people in the, I mean, you actually, you and other people that you can mobilize and you can educate. And this is why I started talking about principles and tactics rather than giving a prescription. You can say, are these principles and tactics of any use to me, but this is our issue or one of our pressing issues of the 21st century. And what's interesting is I meet lots of young people who don't know that the very term environmental justice comes from some black organizations in the Southern parts of the United States. And in urban areas, if you do the research to know the history, we created the word environmental justice, which has since been taken up, you know, around the world. And one of the problems for people in the United States who are interested in it is you gotta do that with an international consciousness because while you're all not you, but while I find lots of my students are worried about the Amazon and saving the Amazon so that, you know, the, the lungs of the earth, I talk to black Brazilians and indigenous Brazilians, they say, why are you worried about the Amazon?

Speaker 8 (00:53:10):

We're dying in the cities here. We're dying from the types of industries that are exported and set up in our cities. So I think it, it, for the 21st century activists, you need to expand your consciousness about what constitutes environmental justice know more about where the history of environmental justice comes from. And I am absolutely certain that you will, you will be the ones to take the tactics, take a history of struggle, take a legacy of struggle and do something with that. You're right. It's absolutely important. Okay,

Speaker 12 (00:53:39):

Go ahead. I am Perry Crutchfield. I'm a student here at short vanity. My question is for the panel at large, um, some of the things that have been said have been extremely interesting, particularly as it relates to black entrepreneurship or black international ship, uh, take into account who the author is in Friedman's. Uh, the world is flat. He talks about the onset of the internet as it relates to modern culture. Now we typically approach the internet as a social media. And I think we missed the point when SNCC became what it was, the internet was not around per se. And we talk about what tenants and what tactics are necessary today to grow. We talk about joblessness rape. When we know that in industry, a certain degree of unemployment is always gonna be necessary and going to be there. Why? Why is why I don't, I don't know that it is per se, but it has always been there should ask that question. Why is it necessary? Yeah. Why is it gonna be always gonna be my, my guess is that it's necessary in order for capitalism to exist and be what it is. Yes. And, and that's my take on it. And I'm, I'm no economist, I'm just a country walking north. Now, once you,

Speaker 4 (00:54:46):

Once you,

## Speaker 12 (00:54:47):

Once you get that answer, then what do you, do? You either affect the answer or you change the equation of the answer now you're talking to yourself. <laugh> yes, yes, yes I am yet. Yet my question to the panel is when we overlay the internet on the current circumstances, how do we develop tactics and principles in which to move forward, that we can best effectuate principles of move and incorporate our youth at the same time. Okay.

## Speaker 4 (00:55:17):

Very quickly. Thank you. Thank you, brother. Uh, I think interestingly enough, um, almost 20 years ago at the, uh, national black United front had its meeting in Detroit. And I just read an article by Charlie Cobb called notes on returning home mm-hmm <affirmative> and of course, you know, young I'm better. Wow. This, this is so fascinating. I'm talking about this, this I was on a panel. I'll give a paper and a number of people in the audience. Not only knew the work, but had been in east Africa. I've met one of those people at the same time. This is, uh, and then they start talking about six packs, seven pack discussion. And my point is this, it started with reading an article now, black world, you can Google and get every black world that's ever been. They're all on the internet now. Yeah, John Churchville who started the freedom day school.

### Speaker 4 (00:56:02):

Exactly. John Churchville who I guess y'all tricked into riding a bus down to Atlanta. And then he came back to Philadelphia ultimately, and started the freedom day school, which was one of the grandparents in Philadelphia freedom school. They did a curriculum in Atlanta, the, the black child development Institute. They published a book curriculum approaches from a black perspective. This is a copy of that. This can be scanned and put and digitized and put on the internet. Now, the point I'm gonna raise make is this is 60 more seconds at every moment. Communities have been convened around the technology of that moment, whether it be David Walker, showing copies of the appeal and the, uh, black folks clothes. And then they go, and if they find you with one in places like North Carolina, they put you to death, even nor only one person can read Julia Scott's book.

## Speaker 4 (00:56:42):

The rising wind talks about the fact Negroes knew about the Haitian revolution, the testimony of den mark Vizi, the trial gave you a pro saying, look, if we can just get to the shore, there's gonna be a boat come from San Dominique. How do y'all know about that? The technology of transport, black people on boats. Mm-hmm, <affirmative> my point, is that what you're raising is what has always gone on the SNCC newspaper. In other words, I mean, when you look at the freedom school, uh, paper, in fact, I guess it was, was it the teenagers in Mississippi, at the convention in Jackson when they came out against the Vietnam war and published that. And I mean, you see, and it was talked about earlier of a statement that then goes around the world. In some, the internet is only the latest iteration in technology community building is really about the deep engagement with that tradition, which means we have to study as sister ju said, by studying, we'll find out that this environmentalism is not only a movement that emerged out of certain black spaces, but also the sensibilities of black folk have been environmentalists.

#### Speaker 4 (00:57:36):

But so when you go and look at black farmers, and when you go at black folks who preserve in Chicago, reusing CRI grease, or do, I mean recycling, I guess they would call it. Now, write that up, take the picture, put it on the internet, build communities, and then have people convene those spaces. But the technology of the internet is really just the latest iteration in a series of technologies that have allowed us to make community there.

## Speaker 7 (00:57:58):

I just wanna make one little comment on, um, the economy question that you raise and, um, without going into a lot of this, I, you know, structurally the economy has changed just

profoundly and, and, you know, a symptom of that is investment can be, you know, the dollar can be rising and people can be making a lot of money on wall street, but yet there's a high level of unemployment because, you know, it's driven by finances that really have no mode of production other than, you know, people kind of gambling <a href="sambling">laugh</a> as such that's what's going on. Uh, so at the same time, we have this problem of state and local governments, which during their expansion, during Johnson period and thereafter, the great, you know, quote unquote, warm poverty, we hate to say, um, that expanded jobs for people of color and black people right through this state.

Speaker 7 (00:59:00):

And that's now constricting. And it's very clear that it's not gonna be able to grow, right. Uh, so there is a need for a rethinking of the order of the economy, just like socialism quote unquote failed in 20th century, according to some historians Catholicism's death is in the 21st century. Now having said that, I think that one of the things that we have to do in our community is to really think that there are multiple models that we have to try to. And one of those models would be cooperatives that we have to try to develop, because there are just large numbers of people who will not be able to get into the traditional mode of capitalism. There will be some still who may inch on in there, but it's not going to be. Uh, and so we have to figure out a way that cooperatives become a positive strategy, uh, as opposed to being viewed, uh, negatively. So I'll stop there.

Speaker 13 (01:00:12):

Good afternoon. My name is Asan Toru and again, throughout this conference, I wanna say thank you to all of you, cuz you made it possible for me to be here today. So my eternal thanks. Um, Dr. Cars mentioned earlier the black radical tradition. So my question to anyone here on the panel, can you speak about the inter relationship between the civil rights movement? I E SNCC and other socialists and communist parties of that time? Uh, particularly I look at my, my big brother here, MECASA Ricks and Kwame Terre, who went on to become members of the all African people's revolutionary party, which was a socialist party. But what is that relationship? And also did any of you and SNCC ever meet Claudia Jones, Shirley gramsy, boys and Norma Abdula who was out New York. Thank you. All of these was all of these were socialist sisters.

Speaker 7 (01:01:08):

There were a lot of other ones too.

Speaker 5 (01:01:09):

<a href="<"><laugh</a>> you wanna, you know, in 1963, when, uh, John Lewis spoke at the, uh, March on Washington, that was an important element that had been included in his original speech. And there were words to can you hear me</a>

Speaker 7 (01:01:37):

Just put

Speaker 5 (01:01:38):

It close and in the speech, the original draft of the speech are drafts of the speech

Speaker 7 (01:01:45):

On,

Speaker 5 (01:01:50):

Okay. Mm-hmm <affirmative> all right. That, um, the question was where is our party? And as a condition of John being permitted to speak at the March on Washington in 1963, that reference was deleted. There is still the question in the United today for black people and for working people and for poor people, where is our party, uh, who makes the connection between oppress racial minorities and workers and, and the government, the democratic party certainly doesn't

speak for us. Most trade unions. Don't speak for us in the cont contemporary world, but in the environment of 1960 in the 19 early 1960s, that as a tactical move, people did not openly identify themselves with socialist parties, always a communist party, for many reasons. It meant almost the immediate death now of, uh, of your organization. For example, in Atlanta, in 1963, I wasn't, it may have been 64.

Speaker 5 (01:03:24):

We had a sit-in demonstration, uh, sned at labs, and it turned out that after we had gone through one case that the next case they were gonna call up, would've been the case of a red diaper baby. Now the interview in here know what that means. All that means that it's a child of a communist family. Okay. Mm-hmm <affirmative> we got worried that there was going to be a, uh, trial and they were going, that's what they were gonna bring out. Cause they wanted to connect our effort with the communist party because that would've created for them. Uh, what would've supported the resistance to the changes that SNCC was about to bring about. So what we did immediately was to remove the case to federal court, so that that particular person didn't get prosecuted. Uh, the case didn't the case eventually was thrown out. It went all the way to the United States Supreme court, but even in Dr.

Speaker 5 (01:04:31):

King's organization, Southern Christian leadership, uh, by Ruskin Jack OELL mm-hmm, they all were kept out of, uh, pushed away and had distance from Dr. King because of the anti communism mm-hmm. And one of the things that's flagging us today is the fact that we have, we live in this environment of anti communist environment. Mm-hmm <affirmative> you cannot speak openly about communism. You cannot speak openly about Marxist Lem. You can't speak openly about class analysis or none of that you are immediately taught and feather and demonize as a communist. It look like even trying to demonize, uh, uh, centuries president <laugh> right. I know, as, as a communist. So I hope that some of my comments, uh, help you to understand what was happening during the sixties. And, uh,

Speaker 7 (01:05:22):

And the important point that you made, that it was a tactical decision.

Speaker 5 (01:05:27):

Let me just, that couldn't one, one of the other things is that when Julian, uh, when SN made its, uh, declaration in 1965, end of 1965 against the war in Vietnam, mm-hmm <affirmative> no, I know when it was, I was a lawyer in the case. All right. I don't stand correctly on that. Okay.

Speaker 7 (01:05:46):

Alright. But that was the declaration.

Speaker 5 (01:05:50):

Uh.

Speaker 5 (01:05:53):

Julian was excluded from the Georgia house in representing mm-hmm <affirmative> because his, uh, support or his response to a newspaper reporters question that he supported the SNCC statement against the war. Vietnam meant that one, he was UN patriotic and that he was more likely than not a communist supporter or sympathize mm-hmm <affirmative>. And he was excluded from his, his, his, from the position to which he had been, uh, elected, uh, on the basis of that type of sentiment. So the anti communist sentiment in the country was, uh, was great. Even when black power came out, uh, they, they tried to paint that as being expression of communism. Mm-hmm, <affirmative>, it wasn't an expression of communism. What had arisen out of the black community they experienced and where people were going. But the most profound statement that was made at that period was made by the man sitting to my left here

mm-hmm <affirmative>. And I think we should always remember that statement. Mm-hmm <affirmative> and, and, and bring it back to life. Uh, Courtland said that black power is necessary, but not sufficient. That's

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Speaker 3 (01:07:02):
Right.
Speaker 5 (01:07:03):
Good.
Speaker 3 (01:07:04):
Mm-hmm <affirmative>
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And many ways we, you know, uh, we forgot that statement and we, sometimes we just came so black that, uh, we wind up in a, in a black hole.

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Speaker 3 (01:07:17): <laugh>
Speaker 8 (01:07:22):
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Speaker 5 (01:07:05):

I just wanted to tell a quick anecdote, because one of the women that the, uh, the sister who now gotten outta line mentioned was Shirley Dubois mm-hmm <affirmative>. And before the first time I went to Tanzania quickly with the drum and spirit bookstore center for black education kind of mission, and then came back after two months. And then the next time was for six packs. So I was going in 73. And in between that time, uh, Cortland and CLR James, and I don't know if you remember this and Shirley Dubois, uh, met with us to talk about six grand African comics. And we, you know, long meeting what to do, why to think about it, et cetera. And then she took me aside. We were in some apartment, I don't know where in DC. And she said two things, young lady, and you, I'm gonna tell you this as a paradox, you draw your own conclusions, but political things are often not as simple as you, you know, not as simple, not as red or black or black or white, as you think she said, when you go find the liberation movements, find them, they have socialist objectives.

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Speaker 8 (01:08:22):
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And the other thing she said was don't ever give up your us passport, <laugh> dead serious. This is what she said.

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Speaker 14 (01:08:31):
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Thank you so much for the work that you've done and for coming and sharing this all with us. I really appreciate it. Um, I live in new Orleans and I'm trying to draw up an Afrocentric curriculum as a part of an after school organization, serving black children. And my question is completely selfish in that I wanna pick the expertise of the people sitting at the panel. I know that you mentioned the curriculum, but I wasn't able to get it all down before you finished and moved on to another subject. But if you had your druthers and you could, um, educate our children, um, specifically talking about middle schoolers, um, how would you, how would you go about the task of that? What are some of the stories that you think need to be told to this next generation? Because I, I agree with you. I think that we have dropped the ball and that we have so many wonderful people in the academy, but we haven't figured out exactly how we wanna bring our children up so that they can reach those Heights to begin with. So if you wouldn't mind just speaking on that, I really appreciate it. Thank you so much.

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Speaker 7 (01:09:38):
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Well, it was a work. Um, thank you for that question. Because when I lived in Minnesota that year, before I, uh, started six pack working in six pack, I actually had a, a friend and I had an

afterschool program and Saturday program called the Institute for African education. And it was really through struggling through that curriculum that I began to see how important international struggle is. But I would say this, that, um, one important aspect, this picks up on the point that you re made is that you have to create experiences for young people, uh, that are organic and help them problem solve, and, um, promote a sense of belonging, a sense of their con competence and a sense of their contribution. And if you can create those kind of experiences using history, science, math, you know, politics, um, the environment, then you will find young people coming together.

# Speaker 7 (01:10:47):

And that sense of belonging comes through group work. You will find them beginning to show that sense of empowerment, uh, and that sense of mission. And it's the thing to avoid is lecturing. <a href="laugh"><a href="laugh"

## Speaker 5 (01:11:29):

One of the things I think that you have to do, and I certainly agree with that, that you can disempower people by your own experience. Mm-hmm, <affirmative>, uh, is encourage them and suggest maybe there's something they could do. Mm-hmm <affirmative> for example, in 1967, uh, James Foreman, and I went to, uh, uh, ZZA to attend United nations, uh, seminar that year on racialism of apart, racialism apart, colonialism and, uh, Southern Africa. And at that particular seminar, uh, snake had the status of a non-governmental organization. And it was the first occasion on which a, an American civil rights organization had given a statement as a non-governmental organization in an international body before the United nation. But how many people in the United States heard about the event or heard about SNCC being represented or heard about, uh, the paper or read the paper that was presented, uh, the invisible struggle linking the struggle of, of Southern Africa and African with the struggle of people here in the United States virtually no one.

## Speaker 5 (01:12:52):

So one of the ways to present that if you're trying to teach is not to tell people about the statement or the content of the statement to say, suggest they go look it up and see if they can find it on the internet elsewhere and let them read it. And then they get the power for themselves. And they learned that someone did this at that time, for example, uh, I began to develop an international outlook from something that I discovered, and that was a paper that was presented, uh, prepared by the communist part of the United States, uh, called we charge genocide. Oh, right, right. And saying that the treatment of, uh, of, of Negros and we were known as Negros at that time, uh, was in the United States was tantamount to genocide. But I discovered that on my, on my own, and I began to think of international bodies

## Speaker 4 (01:13:48):

Can say something very quick. Wanna ask what's where the sister go. What's your name? This what's your name, Rhonda. Okay. All right. Very quickly. I was gonna say, um, there are folks in new Orleans who are doing work, um, and there are probably some folks in this, in this community, in this space right here can help you with their names and connect. Um, I was gonna say also very quickly, the SNCC curriculum is online from when you idea freedom school, you can actually look that up on the internet. I think the process, there are three authorities in any learning space, the text, the student and the teacher at any moment, one of those authorities could shift to either, or the SNCC approach is an African approach. It's that one room schoolhouse. In fact, some from, for some historical background, James Anderson's book, I think is excellent.

Speaker 4 (01:14:32):

The education of blacks in the south, it's very, I mean, you know, you get people in a space and you engage them around a critical text and you don't let them go until they put their critical intelligence into that process. And so it, that doesn't matter in terms of age. The last thing I would say is that, um, there are any number of curriculum available, and since we're gonna be around for a while and all the young people are here, we can talk about that at length, whenever y'all want to. And then there's a lot of people in this room, pick everybody's brain. There are more lesson plans in this room, probably <laugh> than anywhere in the, in the south, tried and true test it and work. Trust me. Cause what we do with Philadelphia, freedom schools comes out of a direct bloodline with, with how we fullest work in Milwaukee. We come down the line, the stuff was going in DC. It's here. Oh, on university there's, there's a cop. There's an issue of black world. There three issues, three consecutive years called the black university. Mm-hmm <affirmative> I think in the second of those three, there was a profile of these four major learning spaces. One of which was Malcolm X liberation. The other was the university in Chicago. I mean, there here's a wealth of stuff. You don't have to reinvent

Speaker 8 (01:15:33):

It with, I, I wanna link your question back up to the question on the internet that came. Yes, A couple of questionnaires questionnaires before. When you think about how black people create knowledge, you think the internet should actually be our space. We use morality, we use visuality. Our system is call in our cultural system is call in response in other words, interactivity. And so it might be a challenge that you set for yourselves, finding all these tried and true and tested curricula, finding all the material that's out there and more and more it's digitized mm-hmm <affirmative> and you know, it's on the net anyway, but then making it yours by figuring out with the school, the schools and the students and the communities that you're concerned about, how do you tailor that, recreate it, reap it and make it, you know, interactive. I, I almost wanna cry sometimes because the best resourced schools in the United States, the wealthy ones where themed got shall get and continue to get use these things. Mm-hmm <affirmative>, but the internet relatively cost speaking, you know, is, is cheap and is ours. It doesn't substitute for making the lesson plan and for sitting with the students, but we should make that ours. It's I mean, think about what it is, it's morality, visuality, interactivity, that's us. So I would suggest that besides incorporating the legacy, you might wanna think again, 21st century, how do we make that the tool? Because it turns out to be cheaper than a lot of other stuff like trying to print books or, you know, stuff like that.

Speaker 15 (01:17:06):

And para and Parar that the internet is necessary.

Speaker 5 (01:17:13):

I think paraphrase Courtland Cox, that the internet is necessary, but not sufficient.

Speaker 15 (01:17:20):

<laugh>

Speaker 16 (01:17:27):

My name is Solomon Burnett. I'm from Durham. Uh, I'm currently incubating a nonprofit called Ayah, African American, Latino, and immigrant youth agenda. And it's geared towards former political action committees across linguistic class and cultural and ethnic lines. Excuse me. Um, in doing this work, I've had to apply a skill set, a language set that I've ha been blessed to acquire by virtual women in Durham with all its educational institutions,

Speaker 15 (01:18:01):

Languages.

Speaker 16 (01:18:02):

Sorry. <a href="#"><a href="#">laugh</a>> um, I guess my question is, and so I've been, um, having to interact with different people, um, in Arabic and English and Spanish and in Haitian Creole and little bit of French too. Um, uh, in current educational system, there's a, um, privilege and linguistic capital placed upon European languages as pan African educators. Um, what languages specifically do you think should be taught in order to bring about, uh, ization of international issues and an internationalization of domestic issues?

Speaker 15 (01:18:41):

Jury < laugh> I know that's record that's right now.

Speaker 16 (01:18:46):

Just, you know, I'm asking for your, um, your little

Speaker 5 (01:18:48):

Pet pee right now. Yeah. Right now the language that you need to master is English. And the reason for that is because most technology science and technology mm-hmm <affirmative> is in English. When I was in, when I was in college, everyone who was a pre-med major had to study German because at that time, German was the most advanced in, in science technology in medicine, but that's no longer than true, true. Uh, the truth at this particular time, that English is, uh, what the language Fran of the world, uh, almost all, all commercial transactions, uh, conducted basically in English. If you have another choice, it would be in Mandarin Chinese. Okay. And, and, and in, in, in, in east Africa, uh, at the present time, the Chinese across training, their, their people and Swahili and the languages of the region and the east Africans are training their people in Mandarin Chinese.

Speaker 15 (01:20:00):

Okay. Um, mm-hmm <affirmative> okay. My, my approach

Speaker 8 (01:20:06):

On language question is the purpose is communication. Not about how good your grammar is not about, you know, and although English is the dominant language in the world, what I found is you can't have a conversation with everybody. You'd like to have a conversation with about political and social and cultural things, just speaking English, because it means you'll be speaking only to the elites in that country. Now, no question, no argument working in the United States. Yes. Perfect. Your English, please, you know, in many ways, and we speak many different Englishes, all of which are valid depending on the context. But if you wanna talk to people outside of the United States who are not just the elite of the other countries, so let's say your theme is environmental justice, and you're thinking of it both locally and globally, then you really, you know, your question then takes on an extra salience.

Speaker 8 (01:20:55):

And I would agree the reason why I would suggest key Swahili is because I learned it and it has carried me up and down a large part of Africa, cuz it belongs to a family ban two languages. And what I find is that's enough to let me have a basic conversation with a woman standing by a well or a set of young people, standing in the marketplace in the city, even if they're speaking Zulu or Chichewa or I'm just running up languages, you know, the up and down central east and Southern Africa, mm-hmm, <affirmative> also ki SW is a political language in that most of the liberation movements were headquartered in Dar Salam at some point in time. So it's kind of like a, a SI a sign that you can, if you can say a few words, people know, and you open yourself to that, you know, kind of that, that political language. And then the third would be Mandarin Chinese, because think about it. And most people in the world don't speak English. Most people in the world speak Chinese. So if we think of future 21st century, I don't put myself to learning

Chinese like too much for me, but for younger generate for you now, I would suggest those ki Swahili, but

Speaker 17 (01:21:59):

She speaks

Speaker 8 (01:22:00):

Serb. That's another one among Keith Swahili, Mandarin Chinese. And then one of the romance languages, why not Spanish or Portuguese or French Portuguese pick one and then stretch yourself. The purpose is not to have perfect grammar or perfect accent, but for you to be able to read what they write and to carry on a political or cultural conversation. Mm-hmm <affirmative>,

Speaker 17 (01:22:22):

Uh, my question is about Haiti in July of 2009, uh, a leader in the Haitian labor movement came to North Carolina. They only stopped in the south and told us about the massive unemployment, um, and tragedy, uh, among Haitian workers there. I remember just a few years ago as an activist in the labor movement that very expensive French Laur known as grand bonnet hired thousands of workers and employed thousands of workers and the labor movement fought them for a few more pennies. They pulled out the sweat shops have all pulled out. So the Haitian workers are overwhelmingly unemployed, two centuries of brutal imperialism and that nightmare image of bill Clinton and, and, and George Bush coming together to help Haiti is just maddening. So I wonder my question is what do you see African internationalism, uh, doing for the country of Haiti, a country with a distinction of being the poorest nation in the Western hemisphere and probably even poor out of all that they have and all that they've done and how resilient they have been surviving is not enough. We need more, they are resilient and they will survive that devastating I take, but they need more. Mm-hmm <a fracted they are we gonna do as African people on the question of Haiti?

Speaker 4 (01:23:49):

He, let me give you just a big, thank you. Thank you. Style El mean, um, lemme give you an example. And this ties education in the internationalism concept and pan AISM, uh, three years ago in freedom schools in Philadelphia, we pick a book for our young people to read several couple hundred high school students who then teach elementary and middle school students in the freedom school process. The book we picked was Randall Robinson's book, an unbroken agony on Haiti. And the theme that summer was haat Philly, libe, Creole for freedom, we're gonna be free. And what they did was acted locally, meaning what, what are the labor conditions of working class and poor people in Philadelphia, in the textile industry? Then they went to the malls and looked for t-shirts or any shirt that had a tag in the back. That was, that was manufactured in Haiti and, and clipped the tags out as they were reading the book, trying to figure out cause they were look, they were reading about Andy paid and the sweat shops in Haiti.

Speaker 4 (01:24:42):

So what they were saying is we have to act locally to talk about labor and the exploitation of labor, educate ourselves as to what that looks like in Haiti saying that we are not gonna go to banana Republic anymore. And it does places. We identify the stores that get their shirts from Haiti said, we're gonna act internationally, but locally, we want to know what's gonna take to raise conditions for workers here in the city. And by the way, why Puerto Rican's gonna be in the first place or they were rolling cigars in the factory. Okay. Oh, so, so what is the textile industry anyway? And the Irish came here and the Italians came in, they started to pull apart. In other words, the relationship between labor capital movement, but they did it in Philadelphia, but the internationalist hook was Haiti. And what it also revealed in terms of Panafricanism was we are all Haitian, but not just in terms of political struggle in terms of culture, in terms of history, in

terms of memory. So that's, that's one example in terms of how to address that we have to act locally, but also within that international,

Speaker 18 (01:25:30):

My name's Chris Gilbert, I'm a organizer with a Baltimore algebra project and I at movie state. And it's a two part question. Hopefully it could be answered, but, um, one big one is when you are, uh, organizers, young organizers, um, what, how is your housing situated in, in your food? Um, cuz that's a big thing we're dealing with as if you were like full time organizers, you know, how was that arranged? And um, the other one is, uh, why are black people afraid to talk about revolution then? And now? So those are my two,

Speaker 7 (01:26:03):

Well I'll, I'll take that last part. <laugh> you can talk about the housing, but I'll tell you what the issue is with the concept of revolution. Cuz it's a couple of, um, one is it's very unclear what the image is, right? Um, you know, it's very unclear what it means, cuz you know, you can have a revolution in kind candy bars, the revolution in the internet. I mean it's just, the word has become, right. Uh, and, and so that's part of the difficulty, but when we are in a political context and we are trying to grapple with the question of revolutionary change is a very complex, uh, proposition in the United States. I don't think it's impossible. I think that some of what we've been doing, you know, has been in that long process. But I do think that one of the things I've learned in all these years of struggle in this gray hair is it's not instant. It doesn't come in one shape or form and it's not done by one person. <laugh> you know, so I that's best I can answer one question, one, answer two minutes. I tried to make bow brief.

Speaker 19 (01:27:21):

Oh thank you. Um, I'm from St. Paul, Minnesota. So I had to come up here and I'm going to Howard next year. So I was, I had to get up here. We'll look at my name is Cameron Clarkson, Paul. And my question isn't as, as complicated or as uh, um, politically charged or any of that, I just wanna know how I can trace my ancestry because when people ask where I'm from, I have to say I was born in LA and my, my grandma grew up in Chicago, but that's it. That's all I know. So how can I, what was that from Mississippi? What was

Speaker 4 (01:27:54):

That? You got people in

Speaker 19 (01:27:55):

Mississippi. No.

Speaker 4 (01:27:56):

How she get to Chicago? DNA,

Speaker 19 (01:27:59):

DNA, DNA test.

Speaker 4 (01:28:01):

Oh no, no. Oh, let me no, no, no, no, no, no. Let's stop on that. That DNA thing. Let's be very, in fact, there's a sister here in the state. Fatma Jackson. I don't know if you all know her. She's at UNC. Now. She used to be for many years, university of Maryland. She's a biological anthropologist. She'll tell you, you go, you work through the science, that DNA thing. That can be a, that can be a kind of a, a distraction. I mean, ultimately we're all Africans, but in terms of tracing, they'll tell you, you gotta have to go do, do the primary research. You have to look at manifest and you gonna have to look at census records. You're gonna have to look at, you know, in other words you say your grandmother's shipping records, Chicago why'd they come to Chicago. You

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Speaker 7 (01:28:38):
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Your grandma.

Speaker 4 (01:28:39):

That's right. There you go,

Speaker 2 (01:28:41):

Grandma. Okay. Okay. Let's just hold it there. That's it. We wanna thank the panel. That's right. You want, thank the panel.

Speaker 7 (01:28:54):

Talk to your grandma.