

(audience talking) ♪ I ain't gonna make it shine ♪ ♪ Well, I'm gonna let it shine ♪ ♪ I ain't gonna make it shine
♪ ♪ I'm gonna let it shine ♪ ♪ My god, I ain't gonna make it shine, yeah ♪ ♪ I'm gonna let it shine ♪ ♪ Let it
shine ♪ ♪ Let it shine ♪ ♪ Let it shine ♪ ♪ Well, I aint gonna let nobody turn me round ♪ ♪ Oh Lord, turn me
round ♪ ♪ Turn me round ♪ ♪ Ain't gonna let nobody turn me round ♪ ♪ I'm gonna keep on walkin' ♪ ♪ And
keep on talkin' ♪ ♪ Marchin' up to freedom's land ♪ ♪ Yeah, don't you let nobody ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Turn
you round ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Ain't gonna let nobody ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Keep on walkin' ♪ ♪ Keep on
talkin' ♪ ♪ Marchin' up to freedom's land ♪ ♪ Don't you let injustice ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪
Turn you round ♪ ♪ Don't you let injustice ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ You gotta keep on walkin' ♪ ♪ Keep on
talkin' ♪ ♪ Marchin' up to freedom's land. ♪ ♪ Don't you let no thoughts ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Turn you
round ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Don't you let no thoughts ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ You gotta keep on walkin' ♪ ♪
Keep on talkin' ♪ ♪ Marchin' up to freedom's land ♪ ♪ Don't you let nobody ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Turn you
round ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ Don't you let nobody ♪ ♪ Turn you round ♪ ♪ You gotta keep on walkin' ♪ ♪
Keep on talkin' ♪ ♪ Marchin' up to freedom's land. ♪ (applause)

- Someone's walking round here with extra set of glasses and they don't know. I suppose they might be wearing it.

- I'm sure if they're wearing it they'd know it, they probably can't see out of them either.

- Are you gettin' our picture here? Hey, please you're aiming the wrong way, right here.

- Mrs Victoria Gray-Adams will--

- Shhhhh! Thank you. (laughing)

- Okay, Mrs Victoria Gray-Adams will lead us in the invocation.

Victoria: I am person who fully believes.

Audience: No.

Victoria: How 'bout that?

- Put the microphone up by your mouth.

Victoria: Well, it is by my mouth, is it not? Okay, can you hear me, now?

Audience: Yeah!

--[Victoria] As one who believes fully in participatory 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 most of us, and those that don't know it it shouldn't be too hard for you to catch in or chime in. In the meantime, let us bow. Most gracious Father, Creator, 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 thank you, O Lord, that from this food, will come strength to do those things that we are called to do, on behalf of peace and freedom everywhere, now and always, ♪ Praise God from whom all ♪ ♪ blessings flow ♪ ♪ Praise him all creatures ♪ ♪ here below ♪ ♪ Praise them above ye ♪ ♪ heavenly host ♪ ♪ Praise Father, Son ♪ ♪ and Holy ♪ ♪ Ghost ♪ ♪ Amen. ♪ (audience talking)

- Okay. Welcome to the conference on--

- You gotta get right up to it, Walter; almost kiss it.

Walter: We have a number of folk who want to welcome you to Raleigh and to this conference. Okay, thank you. I'd like to recognize a few special guests before we have some welcoming remarks. First of all, Mrs Lucile Pain, the mother of Chancellor Marye Anne Fox of North Carolina State University is visiting us and is at one of the front tables. (audience applause)

Walter: Welcome Mrs Pain. I'd also like to recognize two of the former chairs of SNCC Who are with us, Marion Barry and Chuck McDew. (audience applause)

Walter: And, you've already heard one Executive Secretaries of SNCC but we have two here with us, Jim Forman and Cleveland Sellers. (audience applause)

Walter: Okay, well our first welcoming remarks will be given by Dr James West who is the member of the Raleigh City Council from District C. Mr West represents an area of South East Raleigh which the Raleigh Citizens Association, building on the momentum of The Sit-In Movement registered 1,600 voters in the summer of 1962 with the help of John Fleming, Vivian Irving, John Witters, and SNCC Volunteer, Dorothy Dawson-Burlage, so. We would like for Mr West to please come forward. Thank you. Mr West is a retired Professor of Agricultural Extension at North Carolina State University. (audience applause)

Mr West: Good afternoon to each of you. I guess, in terms of a little side note I would like to say that I was actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement at North Carolina ENT in the early 60s, working with Reverend Jesse Jackson at that time. We layered a march on the theater down town and desegregated the theaters, so I feel a real part of this efforts and the importance of the struggle that we have been in and the challenges that we have for the future. To our distinguished head table, as well as our distinguished guests and audience and to all of you, on behalf of the Raleigh City Council and 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. As you all know, working with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SNCC was a powerful force in the struggle for racial equality during the 60s. SNCC members fought that battle using nonviolent tactics. 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 their 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 historian. The question was; "When will justice come to Athens?" He thought deliberately and replied, "Justice will never come to Athens until all those who are not injured are just as indignant as those who are." All of us here today - 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 and today is the day." Through the grassroots efforts of this great organization, we can achieve the goals set forth 40 years ago. 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 to SNCC for what you have done in the past, so lets keep the legacy alive. Thank you and God be with ya. (audience applause)

Walter: We also have welcoming remarks from Dr Marye Anne Fox, the Chancellor of North Carolina State University. A native of Canton, Ohio, Dr Fox received her PhD from Dartmouth in 1974. She established a distinguished vocation record in Chemistry as a Professor at the University of Texas from 1976 to 1998, and served a Vice President for Research at the University of Texas. Since 1998, she has been Chancellor, the highest administrative officer, at North Carolina State University; Chancellor Fox. (audience applause)

Dr Fox: 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. In particular, the Chairman Mr Everitt Ward back here. Thank you so much, Everitt, for your leadership. (audience applause)

Dr Fox: North Carolina State University was a very different place when some of you were organizing SNCC were here in the early 60s. I'm proud to say its a very different place, now. 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, and as Langston Hughes once said, "We all want America to be America again. Let freedom and justice ring." Thank you, very much. (audience applause)

Walter: Thank you, Chancellor Fox. Before I introduce our next speaker, I should've mentioned earlier that we are very grateful to have with us Mrs Marlene Shaw, the wife of Dr Talbert O. Shaw, who is seated next to Dr Fox's mother on the first table here. Thank you. (audience applause)

Walter: 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 student, 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 freedmen. It's roll in nurturing Miss Ella Baker and so many other activists of the Civil Rights Movement. And, its proud history of the University that made possible, the first national meeting of the students from The Sit-In Movement on Easter Weekend, 1960, 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 Talbert O. Shaw earned his PhD degrees from the University of Chicago. His years as a Professor and Administrator have been spent at Howard University, Catholic University, Bowie State College, Federal City College, Princeton University, and Morgan State University. His publications include Theological and Philosophical Monographs, as well as, educational writings. During Dr Shaw's tenure, student enrollment has increased from 1,400 to 2,500. The University has expanded its physical plans and renovated two historic buildings, Estey 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 it's students in order to emphasize Shaw's commitment to high personal standards and citizenship in its graduates. Ladies and gentleman, Dr Talbert O. Shaw. (audience applause)

Dr Shaw: Thank you very much, Dr Jackson. Let me welcome all of you to this historic campus. We are very proud that you chose to have this celebration here. And, as Dr Fox said, we're delighted of the partnership that she has forged with us as we establish this celebration. I am tempted to, of course my assigned task is to introduce the speaker. But, I am tempted to introduce him the way the President of the United States is introduced. People get up and say, "Ladies and Gentleman, the President of the United States." The man that I'm about to present to you, indeed, 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're speaking about that, let me give you some ideas, that place this man in the times. I believe the conference has streams that prepare the speaker today for what he has done and what he'll continue to do. First of all, his father was a college President. And, by the way he expressed his condolences to me as President of Shaw University 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!" (audience laughing)

Dr Shaw: So, he has grown up on a college campus. He knows the nervous atmosphere on the college campuses. He's 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 very long one but I'll reduce it. He said, "Please, don't do that!" 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. (audience laughing)

Dr Shaw: Julian Bond has been an active participant in the movements 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 this young man in his late 20s had gotten on the civil rights path. I was Dean of the students at a little college in the south. And, we saw this young man, there was a refreshing contrast. A young man with much more hair at the time. (audience laughing) Standing there, speaking with such maturity. A 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 Atlanta Student Sit-In and Anti-Segregation Organization, and of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and was a SNCC Communicator/Director. He was active in registration and campaigns throughout the south. 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, of the Vietnam War. He was re-elected to his own vacancy and seated again, and seated only after a third election. But, the anonymous decision of the United States Supreme Court that said that Georgia House had violated its 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 Fulton 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 co-sponsor of more than 60 bills that became law. Today, Mr Bond is the Chairman of the NAACP. He holds 19 honorary 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. And, just before I present him, I'd like Mrs Bond, who is here, to stand and be recognized. (audience applause) So, while the dialogue continues does the time produce the man or the man the times. Let me present to you a man of the times. Dr Bond.

Dr Bond: Thank you, thank you. (audience applause)

Dr Bond: Thank you a great deal Dr Shaw, for that kind introduction. And, unfortunately some of these people already know me too well. (audience laughing)

Dr Bond: And, like many of my colleagues here, I am older than I was when I came to this campus in April of 1960. But, we're all reminded that just because there's snow on the roof doesn't mean the fire is out below. (audience laughing)

Dr Bond: Ella Baker said strong people don't need strong leaders. I'm gonna 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-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 have to say one word; SNCC!" (audience laughing) The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was founded in 1960 by southern student protesters engaged in sit-in demonstrations against lunch-counter segregations. Within a year, the organization had evolved from a

coordinating to a hands-on agency helping local leadership and rural and small-town communities. Participated in a variety of protest and political and organizing campaigns. All of which set 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 America. And, it broadened the focus of the Civil Rights Movement. Unlike mainstream Civil Rights groups, which merely sought the integration of Blacks into the existing order, SNCC sought structural changes in American society itself. In 1960, the dominant organization fighting for Civil Rights was the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. Its preferred method was litigation. It achieved its greatest victory in 1954 with *Brown versus Board of Education*. The NAACP lobbies 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 Morris 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. 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, Marion 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 to end the racial discrimination in housing and education and employment. And, the goal were similarly broadly described by James Forman in 1961 as "working full time against the whole value system of this country, and working towards revolution." And, in 1963 as a program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership. And, by the third SNCC Chair, John Lewis set the marge 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 it broadened the acceptable limits of political discourse. SNCC was on 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. SNCC's development of political parties mirrored the philosophy that political form must follow function and the non-hierarchal organizations are demanded to counter the growth of personality cults and of self-reinforcing leadership. While organizing grassroots voter registration drives, stick workers offered themselves as a protective barrier between private and state-sponsored terror in 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 had regional staff headquartered in Atlanta. Of SCLC, one historian writes, "The organization had to adopt the strategy of hit and run. Their willingness to run as well as hit provoked consistent criticism. (audience laughing)

Dr Bond: SCLC mobilized, someone said. SNCC organized. By spring of 1963, SNCC had 11 staff members in Southwest Georgia, 20 staff in six offices in Mississippi. By August, SNCC had projects and had permanent staff in a dozen Mississippi communities. In Selma, in Danville, in Pinebluff Arkansas. 12 workers in the Atlanta headquarters. 60 field secretaries. And, 121 full time volunteers. Typically, SNCC began a campaign by researching the economical and political history of a community. Field workers would be supplied with detailed information on a community's economic and power structure, tracing corporate relationships from local bankers and business leadership in a local white citizens council to the largest American banks and corporations. And, in one instance, to the Queen of England herself. Remember, Jack Minnis drew this chart from the Delta of Mississippi, to the Queens Palace in London. The Queen a shareholder in one of those devil places in Mississippi. What was it?

- Delta Pinelands

Dr Bond: Delta Pinelands, the Queen of England. 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 pain-staking house-to-house canvassing and regular mass meetings. And, the organization's broader definitions of the Civil Rights Movement 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 preoccupation in early 1960s. It said civil defense and economic power alone will not ensure the 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. 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, SNCC's Nashville affiliate had continued the freedom rise. When Alabama violence threatened to bring them to an end. After they were released from Parchman Penitentiary, many of the jailed rioters joined the McComb Movement. Several became part of the organizing cadres 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 a 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 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 perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives and ultimately new direction for action. Over the next several years, candidates back by SNCC, ran for Congress in Albany, Georgia, in Selma, Alabama, in Danville, Virginia, and in Enfield, North Carolina. SNCC helped candidates for FSCS 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 organizing the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and the Poor People's Cooperation. But, among other contributions to electro politics, with the formation of two political parties and the conception and implementation of my successful campaign for the Georgia State Legislator. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenges 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 Lyndon 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 coz all of us is tired." (audience laughing) (audience applause) Both of these challenges served as an object lesson for strengthening black political independence. And, the organizing and lobbying efforts for each laid the ground work for the Congressional passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Then in 1965, the McComb branch of the MFDP became the first black political organization to express opposition to the war in Vietnam. State MFDP officials not only refused to repudiate the statement, they reprinted it in the State newsletter giving it wider circulation and laying the groundwork for future black opponents of the war in Vietnam. The MFDP's efforts against white resistance to political equality proved important to black political efforts throughout the south. An MFDP-directed court suit resulted in the Supreme Court's landmark 1969 decision, *Allen 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. 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 it work oughta be expanded to larger cities of the south and outside the region. Executive committee minutes from December '63 quote Forman 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 technique SNCC had learned in the rural south into an urban setting, and to carry forward SNCC's belief that grassroots politics could provide answers to problems faced by America's urban blacks. In keeping with SNCC's 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. With the legislator twice rejected me, objecting to my support of SNCC's 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 MFDP, enabled SNCC to provide a political voice for the politically impudent and inarticulate black poor. In 1966 in Alabama, SNCC helped create a black political party called the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. An independent political party which would prove to be a factor in Alabama politics for years to come. It was

formed in reaction to the racism of the local and state Democratic Party. Like the MFDP, the so-called Black Panther party, was open to whites but no whites in Lowndes County would participate in a black-dominated political effort. Concurrently with these organizing efforts, SNCC was reassessing its concentration on the south. At a retreat in May of '66, Ivanhoe Donaldson argued in favor - it's not so odd to think about Ivanhoe and arguing in the same sentence - (audience laughing) Ivanhoe Donaldson argued in favor of SNCC's 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 SNCC's passage into northern cities. "Organizing for political power and community control could mobilize northern urban dwellers", they contended. And, Michael Thelwell proposed in 1966 that the organization should move "to the ghetto and organize those communities to control themselves. The organization must be attempted in northern and southern areas, as well as in the rural black-belt of the south." So, projects were established in Washington D.C. to fight for home rule in Columbus, Ohio, where a 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 manage the 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 the Congress in 1960 to urge immediate action to provide self-government for the voteless residents of our nations capital, the District of Columbia. Were you thinking about it then? (audience laughing)

Dr Bond: In February 1966, Barry, then Director of SNCC's Washington office, announced the formation of the Free DC Movement. He wrote then, "The premise is that we wanna organize black people for black power." He and the Free DC Movement conducted a successful boycott 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 201 in the fall of 1966. His work laid the groundwork for later successful protests for community control of schools throughout the city. In Los Angeles, SNCC worker Clifford Vaughns 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 change, so would the aim of the northern organizer. Desegregation had proven both illusive and insufficient to the problems of American blacks, north or south. Their ability to control their own communities and to direct the community's 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, SNCC's concern for human rights had long extended beyond the borders of the United States. From its first public statement, 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 SNCC's Fall 1960 conference in Atlanta, a featured speaker was the brother of Kenya Labor Leader, Tom Mboya. SNCC Chairman, John Lewis, told the march on Washington in 1963, "One man, one 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, an 11-member SNCC delegation went to Guinea as guests of that country's President, Sekou Toure. 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. SNCC's 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 Bellafonte, organized a supportive reception at the UN with 15 applicant diplomats for SNCC personnel. And, on March 22 1966, seven SNCC workers were arrested at the South African Consulate in New York, preceding 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 of black people in the United States, but of all oppressed people, especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America. SNCC Chair, Stokeley Carmichael, visited Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea, and Tanzania in mid '67. In November '67, Forman testified for SNCC 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 decades worth of of hard work at a regular subsistence level pay, under an atmosphere of constant tension, interrupted by jailings, beatings, official and private terror, proved too much. When measured by the legislature of accomplishments of the '64 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, SNCC's efforts were successful. But, the failure of the MFDP to gain recognition in Atlantic City, predicted the coming collapse of support from liberals. The murders of four schoolgirls 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 violent society. The outbreak of urban violence at the decade's end further produced a sense of frustration and alienation in many SNCC veterans. Throughout its brief history, NSCC insisted on group-centered leadership and community-based politics. 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 irrational prejudice alone, or to limit its struggle solely to guaranteeing legal equality. It challenged American imperialism while mainstream civil rights organizations were quiet or carried favor with President Lyndon Johnson. They condemned SNCC's linkage of domestic poverty and racism with overseas adventurism. SNCC refused to apply political test to its membership or its supporters, opposing the red baiting which other organizations and leaders endorsed and condoned. It created an atmosphere of expectation and anticipation among the people with whom it worked, trusting them to make decision about their lives. SNCC widened the definition of politics beyond campaigns and elections. For SNCC, politics encompassed not only electoral races but also organizing political parties, organizing labor unions, producing cooperatives and alternative schools. It initially thought to liberalize southern politics by organizing and franchising southern blacks. 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. SNCC's 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 SNCC's legacy is the destruction of the psychological shackles which had kept black southerners in physical and middle peonage. 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 kind of associations, and that's when the old, grey-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. (audience laughing)

Dr Bond: And, I was nauseated by it because I thought back to the early days when you were with the NAACP in Memphis. 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 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. This is not a relay race. We're not handing you any torches. Thank you all, very much. (audience applause)

Walter: I believe Martha Norman has a few announcements to make. Where is Martha? Martha Norman has a few announcements to make. Okay. Well, let me thank you Julian Bond. I sat through his lectures at Harvard and they're all just that inspiring. He had the class in the palm of his hand the whole time. Yes, okay. Mr Bond.

Dr Bond: Is there a record of the conference? (audience laughing)

Dr Bond: I'm sure it'll be and it's been video-taped. There's other sessions here been video-taped but I don't know what's going to come of the video tapes.

- Don't throw away the tapes. [Dr Bond] Yeah. No, I have it on disc. (audience laughing)

- Julian, have you made the award of recognition, yet? Have you don the recognition, yet? Oh, lets do that. No, you first. Yes. Is Bob Moses here? We need Bob Moses and Diane Nash.