

Note: This rough transcription has some points where the names, places and events are difficult to hear or understand, and most of them were marked with asterisks or ellipsis.

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Location: anonymous office

Visuals: CS sitting in the office

CS: ...Really been in full, eh, eh, control of your faculties to know that the danger that you're in sometimes and the kind of situation you put yourself in. That, that might be ...side of that. But eh, people, people have said that, you know, we, we thought it was normal, that's the positive, the strength, we didn't see it to be extraordinary, and, and even during that period, when, when folk(s) were ...on kind of walking onto the stage of history, they never registered that, what was going on, it was another day's work, it was another um, object that you had to reach, and another goal you had to achieve, and that's the way people looked at it.

DM: And I look at it, it, it, is these guys. And correct me maybe if I'm wrong, I, I kind of think maybe you look at the people of Mississippi who had to live there, face that, and, and stood up. You look that, that were the bravest people in the world.

CS: That's right, absolutely, absolutely, all the time. I mean, that's well,... and, and many of the organizers who were indigenous to Mississippi, were just extremely, extraordinary people. I mean, clearly, they had to stay there, they didn't have a, an alternative. They don't have any retreatment. Um, name, identification, recognition were right there, and we knew that they weren't any residue, benefit for these kinds of activities. It was certainly, in terms of philosophical, and more, um, feeling good about oneself about contributing to the, the expansion of mankind and humanity, that would, that makes you feel real good, but, it won't be any, you know, any real, concrete, residue benefits from those kinds, one rest of porosity. (\*) It was just going be , you were taught, and it was important for you to work on, because you understood, in the long term, what was gonna happen, but, um, you were working, because it was gonna be something that was becoming to help you in any kind of way. Financially, economically, in those kinds of way. Matter of fact, there was something coming probably at that point, you felt in was going the opposite direction. This is what they were gonna use, to make the case take out to ...for ten to twelve years. Ah, something along those lines. Ah, so seems interesting experience.

DM: Yeah, and eh, you were also, you were student at Orange? In South Carolina where there's a killing of 68? Am I right on 68?

CS: Yeah. It's, refer to it as Orangeburg Massacre, ah, it predates eh, ...

DM: For my 20<sup>th</sup> century, I, I would just maybe couple questions ask for my 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is... And the rest of people, like Howard Zinn, and SNCC....I've been pic... backing like a lot of film makers do go, I ended up doing this project down at 20<sup>th</sup> century, and at the same time I ended up starting to do a project about Howard Zinn, and from the beginning I thought, oh, I'll use this. Sometimes I would use a schedule when he was speaking and then, look up and trying to find, who can I interview in this town? [Laugh] ... Wait here.

CS: Yeah, yeah. But, um, Orangeburg to, to, to me, represent a um, kind of changing tact in terms of the resistance to um, student protect, and we see a manifesto with Kent state (\*) and Jackson State and some other. Um, situation where college students or, face with confrontation with law enforcement, um, in Orangeburg there were three students killed and thirty-seven wounded. And the sto, the story was, I, I think the deliberately botched, so never got out.

DM: Never got out?

CS: And the state chose to keep it contained and so you never really, the general public never really heard about the Orangeburg ah, shooting.

DM: That's a pretiseserly (\*) Ken State and, and the escalation is.

CS: Very clearly, and, and you talking about 1968 when you talked about when you were getting ready to see the escalation in the anti-Vietnam efforts and the resistance to that is to shut down eh, students. I mean, and when I say shut them down, I'm talking about the protest, how do you, how do you put into it, and so people eh, resistance was willing to go to the even using you know, fire power. In this case, it was eh, the balling (\*)ally in Orangeburg that, precipitated the students in 1968 were saying, you know, it's full years, from 1964 the Civil Rights Bill, and there's a balling (\*)ally not far away from the campus that has the sign in the window say, ...only, and so students challenged that at the beginning the year 1968. Um, and had a serious demonstration, and the, the demonstration ended up being uh, peaceful on the part of the students, and then the police were trying to repel the demonstrations, um, use kni \* sticks and kind of beating and brutalizing that you see in Se\* another places. Um, and create the kind of tension in the city. Um, the shooting actually occurred without any purification. The students were only on campus, the state troop was head to walk onto the campus in order to fire nobody, eh, to this day has explained that, you know, like why they fire uh, they argue that, um, they thought that they were as, as I think rationale, was that they thought they were onto some kind of, of, um, pressure from the students, that, they they, ledge the students were gonna charge. Then. There was no tear gas, no um, pussels bells \* no, um, loud speakers, no dogs, no nothing to, to try to um, put down the protest, plus the campus security itself Carolina State on the same, they were never asked indevine\* and then all of a sudden, about 9:30, they opened fire for about eight seconds, um, they were using, there were nine police officers all were firing, they fired both pistols, and shot gun, and riffles. Um, the bullets that were used in the shot guns were double eye bug shot, which is the big, about each unit is about the size of thirty-two. And they just fired into the crowd, most of the, students who were wounded, were shot in the back of the head, and back of the foot. I mean, the bottom of the foot, and they were shot in this kind of position, because when the first

shot went off, they turned, so that kind of negates the notion about them charging the police officers. And the state kind of, um, distance itself from the Orangeburg massacre, never to really address that issue, for the past thirty-one years. Um, I ended up in 1993 getting a pardon, because I was the only person who was ever charged for any crime related to the Orangeburg massacre. At first they charged me with five felonies, um after year of preliminary, kinds of procedures, legal procedures, went up going to court, and when I get to court, they had me charge for three counsel ride. One conspiracy, one inside, and the other was to participate in the ride, and after two days, testimony, the judge direct the verdict on the incitement, and the eh, conspiracy, because I was the only person ever arrested, and they didn't get anybody testify that they saw me doing anything, but in the state of South Carolina the requirement for conspiracy and incitement is that it has to two more, so they didn't have any, any bases for that. And on the riot charge, what they decided to do was to do was rather charging me for the night that the shooting took place, they charged me for the ministration that took place three days earlier. And they alleged that I got on top of a fire track, and flipped the beak, and said, burn, baby burn. Ah, there was no evidence of that, except from a police officer who was the last witness who said that he saw me on top of the fire track. After full years of being involved in civil rights activities throughout the South, and being on top of a fire track in a night demonstration is just not something that, sees organized with even been inclined to do. Matter of fact you be probably trying to get anybody who decided to get up... get down. Cuz that's the, the most vulnerable place anybody can, in fact, be especial for the demonstration of some kind of confusion going on. So, uh, they tried me, found me guilty and sentenced me two years, and I ended up doing that time, based on that kind of information. Prior to that on the night that I was arrested, they, um, took me to the main penitentiary. Open it up late at night, and they placed me in the area of death row. So those were the kind of experiences that I went through, and then later, the Orangeburg case and trial were kind of hein over me as a part of the Contail program when apply for the employment, Orangeburg would always pop out. Um, all even get into schools, that would always come back up. And so I have lived with that kind of consequences on Orangeburg fall, almost entire life time. But I was able to move beyond that, so I am able to be back in South Carolina, after some 25 years of absence from the state, and Mo.. have made every effort to keep that legacy alive, and we have been able to get the eh, the Orangeburg as a part of the civil right memorial dining, and eh, Montgomery, and it is becoming a part of the civil rights history, the tragedy of Orangeburg. My intention is that we've learned from Orangeburg, we probably could have prevented the Ken State, but we didn't, we didn't, we didn't learn the lesson of allowing police and students to mix with police on students, and that's just the volatile situation. In most instances, the students were paid the ultimate price. Um, and that was very clearly evident in Orangeburg, where there's apparent to be no prevarication. I ended up in the group when the firing went off, but uh, prior to that I had not been involved in, and the students merely set up a bomb fire, Jason, to the campus, and that's what the police were trying to protect, apparently.

DM: Ok.

CS: So whenever you're ready, you can go, whener.

DM: Ok. Um, You go to Mississippi in 19?

CS: I went to Mississippi in 1964, as my first introduction in Mississippi, and I was still in the Mississippi summer project. Prior to going to Mississippi I went to Ohio for the um, 1964 summer orientation. I left Ohio early because of the ...chaining been missing. My first assignment in Mississippi was in Philadelphia to go and see if we could determine what happened, what's goodment \*and chaining, at which time, we uh, launched about a 3 day search in the area around the burn up church, and in the area still be thought the body may have been hidden or stashed. People might have been held hostage. After three days it became very evident to us that our presence was going to cause some programs for people in that community that were protecting us, feeding us, and hiding us out while we did this searching. So we have been in the search. We were in a area that was a fair distance away from where whether the body was discovered. And those were to be discovered about 3 months later in Mississippi.

DM: And when you came to describe Mississippi, what was Mississippi for, why insists that look back in history?

CS: Ok. For Mississippi, eh, for African-Americans in particular, Mississippi was considered to be the most hostile community toward civil right of African-Americans and minorities of any state in the nation. When we look into Mississippi, one of the things we might have seen would be the launching of Imtil. The 13 year-old youngster from, from uh, Chicago to come to visit his relatives during the summer. And for legibly saying buy baby a hustling, he was ledged, and then later in the late 1950s there was another linging of a gentleman named Lax Parker, and so that's the framework we saw in Mississippi. With also many of us who has been involved in civil right at taking a look at Silver's book, I think it was the Closed Society, which talked about how Mississippi was so closed and rigid in the eh, racial prejudice and segregation's beliefs that went into room for anybody, including whites who might have opposed, had a different point of view. Um, we were, won by many of the local Mississippians who owned the sneak stualf, the kind of situations to look forward, the kind of situation to expect. We were also made aware the fact that the government had done the alert, emergency, reediness, almost as if he was expecting some invasion from an outside force, and he had beefed up the police department, all the tanks, additional shot guns, and motorcycles, and other kinds of weapons, pretty much weapons of destruction, and so we anticipate going in that it was going to be a pretty dramatic experience. The possibility of violence was very much real and outminds, and certainly even before we got there. The missing of S..and Chaining, even crystalize that even more so, as, as a real possibility for each everyone of us.

DM: Howard talks about how the F, Kenny administration and then later the Johnson ministration, what's the, and now, it's almost ten years old now that movie.

CS: The City Burning? Yes. And it gave us a very, eh, the static view of the role of the FBI in Mississippi. When I was a student, how university, one of the first major demonstration said, we went on to the just department was to request protection of civil rights workers in the South. And Hoover was very animate about the fact that he couldn't do that. That went up proactive FBI and the just department, and there was no way that that was gonna happen. So it's ironic that then there's a feature film that comes out that exonerates the FBI, makes them seem if it was they who were the major movers and shakers and Mississippi doing its particular period of time. Um,

in many instances, the FBI would not only uncooperative, but probably worked on the side of law enforcement in Mississippi to help arrest and shelter and shield information and data that might have been perinate and remain to some kind of cases to judicate it. So the FBI would never be friend of the civil rights movement in Mississippi, and probably never friended the civil rights movement at any point in any will.

DM: And the um, throw back to when we just talked before a little bit, and I said that you guys are, you looked at the people that were there. As really courageous. Could you explain a little, just the courageous nature of everyday people in the movement that made the name?

CS: Well, that was a resilience. And there was a kind of genuine, eh, concern, and compassion that was exemplified in many of the people in Mississippi. While they understood the hot ships they worked, faced with, and the kind of violence that was always ride around, and readily um, available to turn loose on them, for any kind of activity that seem like it was defined, seem like it was gonna challenge the status quo. Um, many of these individuals were kind of the solid of the earth. The kind of people what vies were in. Their commitment, vies was placed on the handshake, and vies was placed on who they were as individuals. And so it made us begin to reassess the quality of individual and what's important in life, and how you begin to create the kinds of bonds of friendship and how you begin to look people for what they have and who they are as opposed to what they have. And we were always amazed and we always marveled at the strength and the vitality in the vigor and the willingness to sacrifice, in spite all of these, um, odds, that were not in their favor. And that kind of determination was kind of determination that kind of grabbed our imagination and our interest when we're going in the Mississippi. We thought that it was the Mississippians themselves that was extraordinary people in Mississippi. They were the ones that bringing about change. One of the things we do hopeful, we had the opportunity to share that experience with them, and I think that still last in the legacy we bring out to Mississippi. It was always, um, they welcome you, they always make you feel like you were home, and many of us were very young. And so we need that kind of support and encouragement. We needed the mothering and fathering and encouragement, and kind of a pat on the back, encouraging word, reaching out, and letting us know that we're still ok. And we add that, we got that and plus from the many of the local Mississippians.

DM: Those people just really were taking risks, weren't they?

CS: Absolutely, I mean, there was, any activity that appear to be a defined activity, just in terms of, of how you courage yourself, what you were to go. Could be responded to, by in claustration, shootings, fire bombs, any kind of things, in certainly if you talk about organizing any activity that define the status quo of segregation, was clearly, you were at risk to that, and there were cases across Mississippi where there were young, specially African-American man that ended up dead, in very suspicious circumstances. And we bleed in some instances. It might have had to do with some kind of activities that they might have been involved in some kind of act of defiance. So, um, that was the landscape. Things were rigidly segregated. Anybody spoke out against segregation was a target. Be they black, be they white, and Mississippi was gonna fight to the bit end, to maintain the kind of racial prejudice and segregation. That they thought was important forever.

DM: Your family.. was really a person that was been severely, wasn't she?

CS: She was beaten severely, but Fande Ham., the kind of atrocities over committed against FH\* just was so numerous that we can't even count, but what she was able to do was rise above that, and still have a home, still have a kind of purity, still have a sense of humanity, still have the pride, vigor, and determination to continue the struggle, and the fight against all the odds that were obviously against her. She was beaten, her family's home was fired upon, she's had burnings and bombings and the whole array of atrocities were committed against FH, but nevertheless she still rose above that. And that's important differences between many of us. Just the mere way of acts of violence that perpetrated upon you, just take gender, but she was able to rise above that, she was not depressed about those things, she was not disappointed by those kind of things, she was not distracted by those kind of things. She wanted to walk with dignity and pride. And she wanted to go forward, and she wanted to do something to bring about the kind of changes that would allow this kind of inhumanity to vanish from the face of the earth.

DM: When did you eh, first meet Howard Zinn? What do you remember of first?

CS: I think the first time I met Howard Zinn was probably at the state conference, and uh, in 1962, 63, at Howard University. And Howard Zinn was a kind of progressive, faculty person at the Spellman College, and there were a number of, a number means a few of those kind of person among ranks of supporters of SNCC. And I think that might have led us to some degree to have intellectually about us. Certainly, the writing of the book, the New Abolitionists set a tone and probably was one of the developments that led me to do my own biography when I did. Because I thought it was important for us to chronicle, what was going on in the SNCC, and what was going on in the South at that particular time, and I thought it did a brilliant job of chronicling the beginning of the SNCC

. The kind of first, probably the phase into development of SNCC, and the fact that he was able to get it down, and get it in perspectives and get the dates and places of the people, it's really important for the historians to come and historians now to go back and begin to look at the legacy of SNCC and look at the kind of experiences of SNCC and the challenges of SNCC and begin to point out how significant and important the work was of trying to bring upon on social change in America. When the...you talk about young people, as young as 14, 15 years old when I go to Mississippi between 18 to 19, I made a lot of people who were in the same age group that I'm in, and I see people who, begin to take responsibilities of life and to take on the challenges of much older adults, and we took on those challenges and we tried to have the best we could, with the kind of honesty, integrity, and the kind of passion that we thought that was necessary to bring about that kind of change. So Howard Zinn kind of represents the kind of kneeling and the kind of intellectual injection into the young people of the movement. Certainly, you have the Albakers, but you also have the Howard Zinns, and that's what they gave us, they gave us the struggle to understand how to analyze what is going on around you, the phenomenon. Understanding how this fits into the historical context of prior black protest tradition, um, and the relationship between what we were doing and what other people were doing across the South in terms of other organizations, and other movements that taken place prior to, the connection between us and Mississippians and Roads of Box and E.D.Nixon and Joan Robinson, and Mon Gomery. And

so, I think that was important quality to, to SNCC became almost like a college without walls, and there is ideological and philosophical discussions and questions go on during my whole experience of being in SNCC. That was always new concepts, new ideals, new philosophies and new ideologies that one had to study and be able to understand the changing times that we were witnessing. We certainly were going in a much quicker pace, intellectually, and all of you to be relevant, you would have to do the kind of homework, you'd have to read France Fonon, you'd have to Poli Saton, Burg Rossels, you'd have to read all of the new books were coming out, the red book, the black book, the green book, um, and whatever was, was the discussion for that particular day, because we want to be alert, and we want to be grounded, and in a real kind of assessment what was going on, because we have to live our own lives, but also lives of many innocent people, kind of in our hands.

DM: It seems like, his, after got to know him, first he's always so relentlessly funny.

CS: Yes. I think that's a characteristic which we developed, and he might just had it as a natural part of him, but after a while, you know, um, being in Mississippi, your life can become too serious, and you can tighten up so much, that I mean, it's not even fun in the mode to live. And I think that we had to learn how to have a certain amount of humor to break that monotones everyday the tension is around you, everyday um, it's a life and death struggle. It might not be in your immediate area, but it's down in nudges over the comb, in base somewhere else, and you had to find a way. To kind of create a certain levity in terms of discussion and exchange. At least eternally in the inter circle, and I think that we have learned that from our experiences, and from the lesson we learned from the people of Alabama, Mississippi and other areas, North Carolina, South Carolina, wherever else you work, was that every night you have to be able to stand in front of the mirror and kind of laugh, and that find that so serious, you know, this is who we are, and you have to have that kind of humor in order for you to make yourself hold and healthy.

DM: So that kind of humor that I see now and talking about that was pretty much the way?

CS: Oh yeah, I remember the time when even Dr. King used to, the example I can think of is when we went to Philadelphia, Mississippi doing the Mississippi merit of march, we were all, we were all, we, we took some calls and took people over, because we want to commemorate eh, chaining\* and we got over there, and we walked up to the court house, and at the front of the court house was the sheriff and other police officers kind of standing around, and so it was Ref\* it was to speak to the group, and he goes up and he turns his back on his law enforcement officers, cuz he's talking to the group, and he begins to pray, and in his prayer, he made some reference to those sinners who had lost their humanity and took the lives of innocent young people who were just fighting for freedom, justice, equality, and by the time he got that out, talking about how he wanted to even pray for these sinners, that somebody in the back said, and we're standing behind you, I mean, you could hear it, I mean this quiet, and he is, and what happened is that Raven Ab\*, his eyes open. And he became somewhat startled by that, and we, he, kinda very quickly wraps up the prayers and we all got up and we very cautiously leave, you know, with a quickie step, and we got in the cars and it's like, we have to accelerate, you know, 78 miles/hour, to get out of that particular area, and on the way back when we got back, Dr. King was making a comment about Baptist tradition, he said, you know, back to ministers, you should

close and hide, when they pray, and he said, did you lose your faith, brother? Because you were praying with the jazz open, you know when the man said, um, we are behind you, you know your eyes came open, and that's the first time I've ever seen with your eyes open, and it was just everybody was kind of laughing about the fact that you know, that was the way, you know, obviously we were in a very intense situation. It is true that the person who were convicted of killing um, Goodman Chchaining\* was a share of deputy, and the sheriff was applicated, and they were standing behind him. He understood those thing while he was going through this process, but rather than, than going back and making it so serious, what, what Dr. King would do is to sometimes make, have a levity to it, kind of humor to it. And so he was, he would find him in those kind of moves quite often, and for many of us that was the way to kind of release some of the tension.

DM: One of the things I like about Howard is a lot of things I like, what I really like is the capacity to listen.

CS: Yes, I think that was, again, when I talk about that interjection of the kind of intellectual development in the organization, that's one of the things that you learned, that is you learned how to listen to people, and all of you to analyze a phenomenon, you have to understand what it is, and you have to hear a read what it is that you're observing, and I think that's a quality that goes along with that, and we all have to learn that going in and work with local, indigenous people. We had to be able to listen, because they had a story to tell, and in many instances what they were telling you have some levitate some instances, if you heard all what they were saying, it also help you to protect yourself, I mean, they would tell you about the kind of nuances and things that you need to know about relationships between people, and the Ku Klux Klan, and when they usually strike and how they get themselves together, and who they are, and all those kinds of things, and you have to pay particular tension to, to people. And I think that, being able to listen sometimes give others confidence and security and so I think that works in some extinct too, and those were the kind of issues that, that, were obviously operating with Howard, and still operate with Howard, and many, these characteristics you talking about, they probably unique to Howard, but I think they probably crossed the line and you need to the set of organizes who learn these skills and these techniques, and again, you know, you have to think of being involved in civil rights with this point as, at a very young person, a kind of dramatic experience, um, we're talking about almost like being in a war zone, and the trauma that goes along with that you see, your friends dies and get killed, and you see churches and places burned and bombed and schools burned and bombed and you see others memes, you see people who, eh, just genuine, ordinary kind of people punished for trying to register the vote and then punished, they lose their jobs, they have low enough thing, so a lot of that you, you, you take in, and you have to be able to, to catalogue and, and put it in, and segments and deal with it, and you also have to deal with the issue of fear and anger, so it's, it's a maturing, but it's also learning how to deal with all the challenges that out before you, as unorganized, so it becomes, it's uh, and I said that, because I have to, I think set the context of the kind of environment that we were living in, and so, um, we began to develop these techniques and these skills that helped us, eh, make it through the day, and some of that is listening to people, because a lot of times if you listen to the Mississippians, they were telling you things that you need to know. Things about who you were, they would be



concerning about your parents back home, and they would be concerning about, are you eating right, they would be concerning about how you feeling, are you still, you know, were you still here, are you still here, do you still have the same level of enthusiasm? Um, what's going on in your life? And you need to learn to listen to those things when they come through, and understand what it is that you're listening to, so that, there were a number of techniques and skills that we share. And incorporated and so many people continue with those things even today.

DM: What were the discussions like? En, that's ok. You know war in Vietnam starts SNCC one of the first groups to come out against the war, maybe the first?

CS: Yes, civil rights organization first black group that first black group that comes out against the war in Vietnam, absolutely.

DM: What are kind of discussion you're having to when arrive that?

CS: Well, you have to understand the genesis of this whole discussion. The history that tells that it's not probably Malcolm in Mississippi. It was some mothers who involved in the Mississippi frame of democratic party. Sitting around and having discussion about having their son and daughter go to Vietnam to fight for democracy, when there was still being denied to right the vote in Mississippi. There's something illogical, there's something contradictory about that. And mothers began to say, we do not need our children to go around the world to fight for democracy when in fact, there's a struggle going on here in Mississippi, and I'm a part of it! And I would, I could use the help here organized in Mississippi. So that discussion is going on not only in Malcolm but in other groups as organizes we're listening. And we hear that coming. And then, the, kind of major event, the catalytic event was Sammy Younge, who had been a student at Tuskegee Institute, but Sammy Younge was a debae pigs, and he received a Purple Heart sacrifice for getting injured on one of the ships, during that particular period of time. And he had come out of the service, come back to Tuskegee, joined SNCC, and began to go around, organizing voter registration campaigns, and on one night, he went into a, a gas station, bus station, kind of operation in Tuskegee, and he asked to use the restroom, and all of the station refused, and then what he does, because he thinks that in 1966 beyond the voters rights, I mean, beyond the Voters Rights Act would be beyond the Civil Rights Acts in 1964, if he goes and report it, that is gonna get the, owner a little bit of hot water, and owner would be forced to allow him to use this particular facility, and I think what he does is he makes a mistake of going back to the service station, assuming that somebody was going to come along and actually charge this man with some kind of crime, um, and the result was that the man pull the gun on him. And he is able to get out of the area, but the man is standing there with the gun, and the history says that he, that was a bus there, Greyhound bus, and he actually gets on the bus, and when he gets on the bus, he asks the driver to intervene, and the driver says he has a schedule, you know, the man's not gonna hurt you, I get to go down to the road, I getta go to Atlanta, and he gets off the bus, and when he gets off the bus, uh, he shot in here, and killed. And for many of us, this is the first time, that we have actually had a person that was a member, member, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinator Committee that is killed. Now, understand Chaining\*, uh, a member of the civil rights movement, I'm not saying that, but at this point, there were foliated with cords, those kinds of things, but inside of SNCC, this is, this is very dramatic, because what Sammy Younge

represents is all of this, and we began to look at Sammy Younge's death, fighting for democracy in Alabama, having a Purple Heart, doing bae pigs\*, raises the sort of contradiction about going around the world to fight in the law, in Vietnam, and so we began to look at that, and began to look at what we considered to be alternatives, because now it became overt obvious that America was contradictory in his commitments to the principles of democracy. Outside of America, and its lack of enthusiasm and lack of efforts on the part of democracy in Alabama, Mississippi and all kinds of places. We also had some concerns about the motive in the war, and we also began to draw parallels between the struggle of America-Americans for justice and peace and equality in the South and the Vietnamese without self-determination and justice and peace in Vietnam, and we began to see those kind of parallels and so we began to sit down and compose a statement which raise that, and then we posed, that if in fact, America was serious, then we could in fact, have an alternative to the draft, which would allow come more for SNCC, and that we propose that any person who want to fight for democracy, African-American along fight for democracy, come work with us, that we were prepared that point, not to go ahead and be inducted for the home service. The other thing that became very clear and evident to us, was that the selective services have begun to target males in SNCC, out of any kind of sequential order, out of any kind of lottery, anything, they just decided that SNCC people needed to be inducted, an they just began to try to do that, so we understood that it became an issue of fuss to deal with the war in Vietnam. And so we released our statement in January, I forgot what it was, Little Pond, January 1966, and that was Anti-War Statement.

DM: Bob Moses is targeted, isn't he?

DS: Bob Moses is targeted, I'm targeted, um, there are a number of us, a couple of people in Tuskegee, some of the students Samuel Shoots is targeted, oh, we have about 18, 19 people that are on the list to be drafted during that particular time. And we decided that we were going to resist that, and we also, um, my case in particular, was that um, I, I had the opportunity to discuss the anti-draft position with Dr. King, and Dr. King was a bit believed in unconscious rejection, and we began to raise that full, many of us go beyond conscious, uh, it goes to certain political realities, and so that would be a little bit of difference between, but eh, I saw him out for some advisement on the position of um, refusing induction of unconscious rejection, because I understood the consequence were, and we're looking at possible maximum of five years in a penitentiary, and so idea that refuse induction was charged, and was found guilty of refusing induction into the home services, but by that time I had also follow selective service system, so they just bared up their attack on me. I raise questions of discrimination, and the fact was African-American students were selected to be drafted in Vietnam, while any others, and that the selective service system in most of the selective offices in South Carolina were all white, and so we were trying to draw a correlation between the stuffing and the selection.

DM: In the, I say quick, when I talk about, told the, the, the story that, can you talk a little bit about how in 21th project, how ostecious he was? I mean, I remember, I'll tell you another anecdote, I remember that one of the things really moved me as a kid, when I was 15, was when I saw, the march, and saw people on pedestrian before that, and I decided young that this isn't the land that free of the home brave, I mean, I'm sorry, but well, like black power that committed

militancy the later 60s there was always a feeling that it had, even the people where I grew up in the Northwest side of Chicago, very, very white, that there was something about, so charismatic about crumbing, that, um, boy, it changed my affinity with saying things that go, yeah, that's right, talk to me about, how?

CS: Well, I think the first thing and this is probably the softest side most people won't talk about and don't talk about, and Carmichael was a very compassionate, very kind of loving kind of individual, very sensitive, uh, but during the period of evolution, especially during black power, the kind of mantle was passed to him. And with that, he began to exercise his charisma. He was tremendously charismatic, he was an intellectual scholar, and he was often times enjoyed the ideas of challenging people's ideas and raising contradictions in one's believes. And he began to perfect that. He was a philosophy major in Howard University, eh, he was kind of pushed along by some of the Dean Snowden and other philosophers there at Howard University, and he always enjoyed having debates and discussions. He comes out of that intellectual mode, and speaking became something that was really easy for him, but he always in his speeches, made efforts to challenge something, in the person who was listening to the presentation. He would find a hook, he would find some kind of way to make you think, because that was the important with, with, his, his, kind of delivery. I have to get you to think, and if I get to you thinking, then I can make you understand what it is what I'm trying to tell you, and so he was often times challenge by that. What am I gonna tell these individual, this is a group of unemployed, um, young people, this is a group of workers, this is a group of church people, this is a group. How do I find those things which challenge them, make them begin to think, and think outside of the box, see because one of the things that happened to us is we always think inside the box, I'm talking about we think in terms of the status quo, and what, what you have to do when you're talking about social change, you talking about new ideas, you have to get people to just use a little bit more muscle, and get outside of the box, and so I think that's one of the things he often times tried to do. He tried to be correct, he tried to be truthful, he tried to be genuine, uh, and he tried to challenge you to think, if he said something that, that, you thought was incorrect, put it on there, I mean, challenge him on it, and then he will love to engage and dialogue, exchange, because he thought that one that helped him grow and develop, and also that would be the hook for that particular individual. And that often came about. Now, if one has to ask where does that come from, I mean, how do people get that, I think it has to do with Malcolm, and we might remember that Malcolm was in the nation of Islam in one point, and he had certain views that he put out, and these were the views in which the principles by which he lived, then Malcolm left the nation of Islam, had to move away from all those views and principles, and then adopt some new ones, now in our lifetime, first time we had the opportunity to change, 360 degrees, our being, I mean we are in the constant transformation but usually it's one kind of stage that we end up achieving in our lifetime. Malcolm had been in two different places, well, three different places, because even he avoided the nation of Islam, that was another side of Malcolm, and so I think that one of the things that happened was that Malcolm changing positions, and actually adopting a new set of principles and new set of believes, was able to take on and challenge people. Even though people say, well, what about \*\* that was, that was another kind, and another set of principles. These were the principles in which I operate from now, these are the ones I believe in, and these were the ones I am prepared to defend, and I think the that Dequami\* kind of um, ameliorate that kind of ability

to be on good solid ground, to have the ability to justify, had the ability to support the positions that you in fact hold, and to be challenged, and then still manage to hold on to those new positions, and I think that that's where that holds, the genesis of that hold, kind of debate comes from, and probably even back to Frederic Douglass and the protest tradition that comes through the African-American community, but it is something that was unique about Carmi. Carmi ends up being the kind of revolutionary that you talk about, and the vein of, um, shake of era and others, I mean, that's what ended up being, that's what he wanted to be. And I think he was true himself, and true to his calls, and stay true blue until he left.

DM: We used the clip in the FBI archive, it's just a nice example what you're talking about, the execution, these guys probably talked about, he should have victor the relationships, and the victims start to imitate the executioner, and at the end of the thing is like turn that scroll around so we who we are violent the United States.

CS: Absolutely, and those are the discussions I'm talking about would go on, I don't want us to see it as, when I say university, in terms of, SNCC, I don't want to see it as going into classes, but the issue of the victimization, the whole thing of self-determination, those were the discussions that you had to have, and those were the debates and discussions that went on eternally in SNCC, and eternally in the civil rights movement, and that's the way we were able to move the struggle forward. When you talk about move from civil rights and human rights, what is that you're talking about? Malcolm he talks about it, I think SNCC made the lead, but it had to make the case, you just don't decide that tomorrow I want to be for human rights, because you're all over the place, and you're not going anywhere. I think we see consistence, progression as we go along, that's based on the solid foundation, and if you read the materials, especially the statement of support of a position, it all has a foundation, it has a bases, it's not a gut reaction, is not kind of a response to, it's been thoroughly analyzed and there's a bases for where the organization was in fact trying to get to.

DM: Why do you think you guys came at the time you did?

CS: Why do we come at the time?

DM: I mean, just, it's not like there have been long struggles in the movement.

CS: I don't know the real answer to that. Even the question of who came? I mean, that's an interesting phenomenon, now one of the phenomenon that I talked about in the kind of cerates one's imagination, and that is, if you look at SNCC, as an organization I'm talking about people who had membership. We were probably talking about, in this total existence, in probably three or four different stages, no more than about 350 people. That's, that's an amazing number, and that might be on the head side.

DM: So to young people in classes now that you teach, is it, you don't, you don't have to be a lot of us, I was thinking, lecture of Howard, going to a demonstration, and, and there are seven of you, who they follow?

CS: Absolutely, and that's the point that you make. And I'm talking about from its beginning, for a long period of time, up until 1964, it was a very small group, maybe 40 people, maybe 50

people. And then in 1964, it expands, and takes in about, close to 120 of the volunteers from Mississippi, and it gets much larger as it ever been in its entire existence. And then there's some turn over, that comes between that time and 1968 that might have brought in additional maybe, 100 people. But that's pretty much it, and it does speak to a determined people, it does speak to uh, to have tenacity and commitment and dedication and courage. That's what it speaks to, that clearly speak to that. But eh, we're not talking about lots of people, I mean, that includes even the Southern Christian leadership Conference never had large numbers, now I don't mean that, not including those people that you mobilized, and the people on the edges that support these kinds of efforts, what I'm talking about the main person who might have received a pay check. We're talking about very small number of people, and what you have to do was to learn how to be creative in terms of getting the ideas over, and in a lot of stages of the existence of SNCC we had an even impact on popular culture. We had the kind of music, that was beginning to take on Joan Bies\*, and what's the woman's name, Bafi St. Mary and you had Peter Pot \* , you had James Brown on Black and Proud, you had Marvin Gain, what's going on, and that's sometimes how you able to determine what you're not reaching people into what degree you're reaching people, and a lot of times we forget that. The music was part of the movement. And it was the part of, the kind of element that kind of glue and hold some people together sometimes. When you're in jail, and you've done with the consequence of going be songs, sang songs, and kind of stay together with those kind of things. But when you get to the point where you can impact in a positive way on popular culture, uh, some people say, well, at that point, are you coppertied or have you cooperated, and I think to some extinct you have cooperated that element. You see a lot of other music beginning to turn, begin to talk about the kind of issues that being raised. Uh, in the civil rights movement.

DM: What do you say that people, right now I have an idea what the answer is, what do you say to people now that, two things, first we, you know, it's impossible, you can't change things like maybe you're students, and what do you say to maybe the same students that say, it's no better?

CS: Well, first, I have to qualify I'll take the no better first, I say that if you go back and you examine, the impact that SNCC, the students and young people had, and then you look at Berkley and Mario Savio and the free speech movement that for college students today when they look at the board of trustee and found that there's a student on the board trustees and when you found many colleges and universities more concern now about the entrance of students and try to fact that end to decision that are made in many college campuses prior to Mario Savio and the free speech movement at Barkley. That didn't exist. And then we look even closer at what was achieved the 64 Civil Rights Act, we look at opening up society, the inclusion of people who would under no circumstances being included prior to the civil rights movement. We look at the model that was developed that also gay, and gay rights, and native Americans, and Hispanics and all the other groups that were outside of the main stream, use the civil rights model to assist that, coming together, pulling themselves together into a community, and developing agenda. Women, all of those groups use the civil rights model. Um, we, we changed the landscape of America, and that's what, if you go back to what were the goals originally of civil rights movement, we were able to achieve those goals. Anytime you achieve those goals, you might end up discovering that there are other things that need to be changed, but you don't make the mistake

of going through that process where you never really accomplish anything. I think we were able to accomplish a large number of things. One of the most important things is to those person who were involved. That was a transformation that went on in each of our lives that transform us forever. It made us more concern about humanity, it made us more concern about bringing about the kind of changes that were important in the lives of people and in powered us. And those things are tremendously important for anybody's life that they had those kinds of features going on in their lives, so when the person says that it doesn't matter, the changes were minimum, there was no change, we went right back where we are, you have to take through that, so they will understand that. The other is, when they get to talk about me as an individual, I, I point to cases like, if we have to point to tragedies, Emmett Till. Emmett Till galvanized many of the youth of the 60s movement, black and white, when people found out that he's a 13 year-boy, innocent boy, who is defined, he goes and he talks about the positives of, of, relationships between blacks and white in a closed society, and ends up executed. We had to rally around that. Not to, to get back in the pay back, but rally to create the kind of environment, the kind of system where this kind of thing cannot happen, where you cannot have a jury that goes with clear evidence, pointing out that an atrocity has been committed, and then let all the people go free. You have to change the system that allow that kind of thing to happen. And so it's about, what are we gonna do, individual. What are we gonna do, to commit ourselves, to ensuring humanity and mankind in the distant future, that we have the kind of things and place that we learned to live with one another, we learned how to have justice and peace and equality for all. Eh, those of the marline imperatives, and those of the things each individual has to come to grips with. And then we, as individual, we become part of the collective. We can't do it by ourselves, we become part of the collectives. We have to be squared about ourselves before we can become part of that particular collectives. And once we become a part of that collective, might not be, but 100, but then with that kind of commitment, that kind of dedication, those kind of ideals, we can change those obstacles that we confront with at that particular time.

DM: And social movements, always start with like a small group of people.

CS: Small group.