Transcript, Anne Braden: Southern Patriot

Exterior of University of Louisville building and students.

SUBTITLE: University of Louisville 2006

ANNE BRADEN (in class):

You do not have to agree with me. I don't want you to agree with me. It's much more interesting if you don't and it does not affect your grade whatsoever. And if you do get involved in things and you go out and get arrested or something, I'll do everything I can to get you out of jail, but I'm not going to give you a better grade for it so [laughter] just so we're clear on that. And they're doing this documentary on me, which embarrasses me highly, but really what they're trying to do is look at the movements that I've been a part of for the last 50 years through the lens of my life. And I know enough about the way people respond now that I know that that is valid, if it just weren't me. That people are more interested in people than ideas initially, but once they get interested in the people they'll move on to what the ideas are.

BARBARA RANSBY (giving a speech):

SUBTITLE: Barbara Ransby, Historian, University of Illinois at Chicago

They were people who were labeled the rebels, the renegades, the outliers. People who weren't afraid to be called crazy or in Ella Baker's case difficult, in Anne Braden's case red. Dreamers that catapult us into a different place. She was born at a time in the Jim Crow south in which there was a very rigid script about what a middle class white woman could be and do. And pretty much Anne Braden violated every page of that script with great pride.

Pan across a newspaper

MAIN TITLE: Anne Braden: Southern Patriot (1924 – 2006)

CATHERINE FOSL

SUBTITLE: Catherine Fosl Anne Braden's biographer

It is written as a letter to Jesus and it's titled, "A Prayer on My 13th Birthday." It begins, "Dearest Lord Jesus, I have today stepped out of the first phase of my life. I have entered my teens. Childhood is behind me. Girlhood before me. I do not like this feeling of forever being banned from the beautiful glorious land of childhood. I have had such a grand time in this beautiful land, therefore I put my hand to the plow today." I think she never took her hand off of that plow.

VINCENT HARDING AND ANNE BRADEN VOH

VINCENT HARDING

SUBTITLE: Vincent Harding Historian, Veterans of Hope Project

How do you explain for yourself the pathway of this little religious girl to that place?

ANNE BRADEN

Well, okay. I'll try to answer that. I always considered Alabama home. I grew up in Anniston. I don't know whether anybody here has ever heard of Anniston, Alabama. If you have it's where they burned the freedom ride bus in 1961.

But I grew up there and all the people that I grew up with really felt that they were in this privileged position because they were the most superior.

There was a woman who would come one day a week and help mother clean the house, and she would bring her daughter sometimes. And she would sit right waiting for her in the kitchen. You know I would look at this and -- they got our hand me down clothes, right? And I'd look at her and she was fatter than I was and they never quite fit. And I'd look at her and I know something happened to me when I looked at her. You just knew something was wrong. You knew something was wrong and I am convinced that was reality in our lives. And when I look back what I compare it to is photography. If you've ever done photography you put the film in the developing fluid and it begins to come clear, but it's been there all along.

STILL PHOTO Anne in college.

My father always said his great mistake was educating me. He thought I got my radical ideas at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, which [laughter] confounded them some years later too, but by that time we were fighting the Nazis. And to a certain extent people were aware that we were fighting their ideology of racial superiority. And it was hard to think about that and not begin to think about it a little bit at home. So I think those ideas were fermenting.

We considered ourselves the new south. All through history there's somebody coming along saying there's a new south. [Laughter] But we considered ourselves the new south and we rejected our parents' ideas of segregation. Sort of -- kind of like we rejected their ideas about sex, which we did. None of us were going to get married.

I decided that, you know, I'd be a newspaper reporter. I went to Birmingham and worked on the newspaper there and I covered the courthouse. And I remember there were a number of famous cases like this and I actually saw one of them. Where this African American man got 20 years in prison because this white

woman got up and testified that he had passed her on the road -- across the road and looked at her in an insulting way. And he was charged with assault with intent to ravish.

Everything became a story. That's the occupational hazard of journalism. You're up on a mountain somewhere and there are all these Lilliputian creatures down below engaged in these Lilliputian battles that you're watching.

In the mornings before I came downtown I would call the courthouse, to see if anything big happened overnight, because if there had I'd have to skip breakfast usually and go on to the courthouse and get the details and get it into the first edition of the afternoon paper. When I would get downtown I often stopped for breakfast and met a friend there. And the waitress was putting our food down on the table. And so he said anything doing? And I said no, just a colored murder. And I don't think I'd have ever thought anything about it if that black waitress hadn't been standing there. She was pouring coffee into our cups and her hand was sort of shaking, but there wasn't an expression on her face. It was like she had a mask. And my first impulse was that I wanted to get up and go put my arms around her and say, "Oh I'm sorry. I didn't mean that. It's not that I don't think the life of your people is important. It's my newspaper that says what news is." And then I just suddenly realized I had meant exactly what I'd said.

Our society -- the one that had nurtured us and been pretty good to us -- been pretty good to me. Our family, our friends, the people we loved and I never quit loving them, were just plain wrong. And that is painful. You really have to turn yourself inside out.

Gene Krupka band plays

SUBTITLE: Louisville, 1947

I came here from Birmingham, Alabama. Running away from Alabama I think because I couldn't stand the way things were there. And it really wasn't any different here, in terms of racial segregation. The whole downtown was segregated. The schools, the parks, the library, everything, plus not only segregated there were just so many places blacks couldn't go. Most of the hospitals in this town did not admit black people. And yet, even then people in the power structure here were saying that we really had very good race relations and that people got on fine and that there may be some problems, but they were certainly being solved sort of thing.

BOB CUNNINGHAM

SUBTITLE: Bob Cunningham KY Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

All of those streets had different names once they went through the black community. And that sounds crazy but it's true. Whites did not want that street to be the street they lived on.

ANNE BRADEN

I was in a prison and life builds prisons around people and I had the prison that I was born white in a racist society. I was born privileged in a classist society. The hardest thing was class. I don't know that I could have ever broken out of what I call the race prison if I hadn't dealt with class. It's that assumption that is so embedded in you that you don't realize it's there, that your crowd is supposed to be running things.

I came in touch with people who were not just feeding the hungry but asking the question of why are people poor. And not only asking but organizing.

CATHERINE FOSL

SUBTITLE: Catherine Fosl Historian, University of Louisville

Carl Braden had that class consciousness. He had grown up on the wrong side of the tracks. He was raised in a Eugene Debs socialist family, left-leaning, very radical, so they saw themselves as part of this energetic and growing post World War II, militant labor movement.

ANNE BRADEN

Somebody asked me out there, you did get married after-all. I said, yeah I met a different sort of man. We got married to work together.

CATHERINE FOSL

Anne always used to say that she was a glutton for life. She wanted it all. And she really did. And so she was trying to combine marriage and full time activism and now motherhood as of 1951.

STILL PHOTO: Anne and Carl Braden

When I was just beginning to get involved in things, the old fashioned kind of lynching was on the decline although that did happen too. But courtrooms were lynching people and one of them was a man named Willie McGee in Mississippi who had been framed on a charge of raping a white woman. The Civil Rights Congress had been carrying on a campaign and they were getting delegations of white women to go to Mississippi. I'd never done anything. I was really not dry behind the ears and had just gotten into things, never done anything like this before in my life, and I decided I wanted to go.

Jackson was a garrison state that day. There were state police. There were rumors that African Americans were coming in from all over the countryside to protest that day and there had been a lot of organization there around this case. People were coming. We were headed for the capitol and they stopped us, wanted to know where we were going and I said, we're going to see the governor. Oh no, nobody's seeing the Governor of Mississippi today. So they took us into what they called protective custody, took us to jail. There was one cop in the back seat with us, there was one driving, one in the front and there was another one back there and they were mumbling about how these outsiders coming in to Mississippi and we didn't understand about Mississippi and just muttering like people will do in a situation like that. I couldn't stand it any longer and I said I don't really think I'm an outsider. I was a child in Jackson and I'm ashamed of this state today. And he got absolutely furious. You know it's the whole traitor thing. That was a very revealing moment for me because all my life police had been on my side. They didn't bother you in the world where I grew up except maybe if you were speeding, they might stop you and if you talked to them real nice they wouldn't give you a ticket, I mean. And all of a sudden I realized that I was on the other side.

STILL PHOTO: Big Crowd Gathers at the Courthouse Where Willie McGee was Executed in Mississippi

CATHERINE FOSL

They didn't stop the execution but when she came back to Louisville, she talked about the case, wrote extensively about the case, and used that experience as a consciousness-raising tool, not just for herself but for many other people.

She says, "I believe that no white woman reared in the South or perhaps anywhere else in this racist country can find freedom as a woman until she deals in her own consciousness with the question of race. We grow up little girls – absorbing a hundred stereotypes about ourselves and our role in life, our secondary position, our destiny to be a helpmate to a man or men. But we also grow up white – absorbing the stereotypes of race, the picture of ourselves as somehow privileged because of the color of our skin. The two mythologies become intertwined, and there is no way to free ourselves from one without dealing with the other." Well that's a pretty powerful statement of intersectionality right there.

ANGELA DAVIS

SUBTITLE: Angela Davis Scholar and political activist

What she argued basically was that if white southern women allowed themselves to become the occasion for these racist assaults on black communities and specifically black men, that they were no less guilty of the production of racism than any other institution and while there weren't a lot of people that agreed with her at the time, she was principled.

CATHERINE FOSL

This was 1951. She wrote about it in the black newspaper here in town. She spoke about it in black churches. And William Patterson who was head of the Civil Rights Congress said to Anne, you don't need to tell black people about this problem. You don't need to speak to blacks about this. You need to talk to other white people because they're the problem.

ANNE BRADEN

He said, you know you do have a choice. You don't have to be a part of the world of the lynchers. You can join the other America – the people who struggled against slavery, the people who railed against slavery, the white people who supported them, the people who all through Reconstruction struggled. He came on down through history of the people who have struggled against injustice -- the Other America. And you know sometimes people will say just what you need to hear at that point. I was very young. And that's what I needed to hear. And that's what I felt like I joined.

MATTIE JONES

SUBTITLE: Mattie Jones Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

The Other America was the America that was saying white folks join in and clearly understand that they have a responsibility too. We're all human beings.

TITLE: In 1954, Anne and Carl Braden bought a house in an all-white neighborhood for a black couple, Charlotte and Andrew Wade.

ANNE BRADEN

Andrew Wade lived in the West End. And he had a little child, three years old, just about the same age as our son, and his wife was expecting another baby, and so they wanted to move outside the city, which was what was sort of in the air. That's what people were doing, whites were anyway, the big thing was moving to the suburbs, get out of the city. So they started looking for a house and figured they'd be able to find one. But every time the real estate agent saw Andrew and realized that he was black, the deal was off.

ANDREW WADE

SUBTITLE: Andrew Wade WWII Veteran and electrical contractor

I talked to a white realtor and he advised me point blank. He said, Wade let's be realistic. If you see a house, you like the house, regardless of where it is, get a white person if necessary if it's in a white neighborhood to buy the house for you and transfer it to you. He said, it's that simple.

ANNE BRADEN

It was a little ranch type stone house, looked just like a thousand houses people were putting up with great speed in the suburbs in those days. Andrew gave us the money for the down payment. And Jimmy, our son, was with us. He wasn't quite three then. When Roan looked at him he said, I'll bet he's going to get a pony when he gets out there. Well we came on home and met Andrew and gave him the keys to the house.

Andrew began going out there and sort of moving some stuff in. Roan came over and said, are you working on this house for the Bradens. And he said, no, I'm moving into it. He said, you're what? He said, yeah, I bought it. So then Roan just exploded.

It was their first night out there. The front window had been broken out with rocks. There was a rock with a threatening note on it. And then, in a little while, somebody fired shots into the house.

ANDREW WADE

I saw five men formed around a cross. Then I saw one of the men throw a match and it looked like little Mississippi to me.

ANNE BRADEN

And then that Monday, at noon, it came on the radio that the Supreme Court had ruled school segregation illegal. It was May 17th, 1954.

CATHERINE FOSL

White southerners called it Black Monday because they saw the most profound challenge yet to their segregated way of life.

KKK RALLY

They want to throw white children and colored children into the melting pot of integration, through out of which will come a conglomerated mulatto mongrel class of people. Both races will be destroyed in such a movement. I, for one, under God will die before I'll yield one inch to that kind of a movement.

ANNE BRADEN

Andrew and Charlotte kept going out there every night which took a huge amount of courage.

LEW LUBKA

SUBTITLE: Lew Lubka Wade Defense Committee

Somebody called and said, can you handle a gun? You know I'm not a violent man, I'm a peaceful man And they said come out and I came out. They gave me a gun and then explained that they were being harassed. Then I saw the brick through the window. Then I was in a house under siege.

ANNE BRADEN

We thought things were dying down. And the phone rang and it was Andrew. He said, we're all right. But they just blew the house up.

CATHERINE FOSL

They were out and came back in and were standing on the porch with the guards when a charge of dynamite blew up the back half of the house. The chilling thing being that it was set right under their little three-year-old daughter's bedroom. And thus began a campaign of nerves really because it took quite a long time for the grand jury to convene to investigate.

LEW LUBKA

I was working out at my job at GE and a guy tapped me on the shoulder, said you're coming with me. I have a bench warrant. Took me in. I walked in the door, took me up the stairs, opened the door and there was a grand jury sitting around. I was all prepared to talk about the house and so forth and he asked me my name and address, did I swear to tell the truth. Yes. And then he asked me, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? And I was offended because there was a bombing crime. I thought we were going to ask about the bombing. And I said, that's none of your damned business.

CATHERINE FOSL

In October of 1954, Anne and Carl and five other whites that had acted to support the Wade's right to the house were charged with what was called "sedition."

ANNE BRADEN

Scott Hamilton said the purchase of the house, the resale of it and the bombing had all been a plot, a plot by communists, to stir up trouble between the races and in that manner to bring about the overthrow of the government of Kentucky and the United States. That's what he said.

DOROTHY ZELLNER

To think that she and Carl were charged with sedition and overthrowing the whole state of Kentucky, because they had bought a house for black people. It's, it's mind-boggling to me now that she went through that. And they paid a very heavy price; they paid a heavy price with their children, with Anne's parents.

ANNE BRADEN

I was in jail about a week, then Carl got out in about 3 weeks and we left the next day to go to Alabama, and see the children. Jim, who just adored his father, was

sleeping there in the room in his bed and he came over and got in bed with us and he was just, he still sucked his thumb. His eyes were shining he was so glad that we were there. Then that night our lawyer called and we'd been indicted, five of us had been indicted again, on charges of actually blowing up the house.

CATHERINE FOSL

They were not thought to be spies, nobody thought that about them. So what is it that they're subverting really? Except, in the case of the Wades, housing segregation, that's what they were subverting.

ANNE BRADEN

It's so hard to describe, this feeling that there were people out there that would have liked to have killed us, and talked about it. And that began to build up really during the grand jury and after our indictment and kind of reached a height I think during Carl's trial. Carl's trial was really about books. You see they raided our house and we had a lot of different books- books by Marx and Lenin, but they didn't really know the difference. I had been very interested in Russian literature at an earlier period in my life so they took the novels by Turgenev and Tolstoy and anything with a Russian name. People were literally going through their libraries to see if they might have any books that would be suspect, taking them off the shelves, wrapping them up in sheets, weighting them down with rocks and throwing them in the Ohio River.

JURY MEMBER

We the jury find the defendant Carl Braden guilty as charged in the indictment. With the punishment confinement in the penitentiary for a term of fifteen years and a five thousand dollar fine.

ANNE BRADEN

The anti-communist sort of hysteria that was gripping the country and the antiblack hysteria that was certainly gripping the south all got rolled up in a ball and hurled at us. We were traitors to our race, we were communists, we were evil, we were the devil.

CATHERINE FOSL

While the mildest kind of white liberals might very well get tarred with the communist brush, that was not the politics of Anne and Carl Braden. They were left wing, they were avowed socialists, they had embraced the communist party in terms of their networks, their friends, the causes they espoused. They were critics of capitalism and they were critics of racism.

ANNE BRADEN

The worst of what happened in the '50s wasn't what happened to individuals, even the ones who were most hurt, it was what happened to this country. Because although you always had a resistance movement, people who never did become silent, that's what we met as we traveled the country, those people, but for the most part most people were frightened and they did quit going to meetings they quit signing petitions, somebody went out with the Bill of Rights nobody would sign it you know, that kind of thing. People were scared to express themselves.

LEW LUBKA

It was unbelievable! When you look back at it, you know, but then there was this hysteria, whooping it up. You know what I understand got Carl sprung was the Supreme Court of the United States, we appealed to the Supreme Court, threw the law out because you couldn't commit sedition against a state, it was a federal offence. It was a technicality.

ANNE BRADEN

We used this attack on us as a platform to reach more people with what we'd been talking about anyway, which was segregation and housing and racism. If you do that, if you use every attack as a platform, they can't win and you can't lose cause if they leave you alone you go right on organizing, if they attack you you're gonna have a platform to reach a lot more people. So you really can't lose. And it really works like a charm.

CATHERINE FOSL

Carl had been employed by the Courier journal but the day after he was convicted he was fired. All of the other defendants lost their jobs, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, SCEF, hired Anne and Carl as field organizers and as editors of the Southern Patriot newspaper. C.T. VIVIAN

SUBTITLE- Rev. C.T. Vivian Southern Christian Leadership Conference

I knew Anne before I first saw her because I read the Southern Patriot. It was through the Southern Patriot that I realized all the other people that were in movement in the south. It was in the Southern Patriot that I began to realize the background that made it possible for all of us to be active in the South. And Anne knew it she was writing it she always wanted it to be. She was using her total self to change the south.

ANNE BRADEN

There was always somebody coming to a board meeting thinking maybe we ought to adopt a resolution that we don't admit communists, for the survival of the organization and people were doing that all over the place. The ACLU had a purge, the NAACP long before had purged its ranks. And Jim Dombrowski said, "I don't know if it's that important whether SCEF survive, but I think it's important that some hope for American democracy survive and if we join in this witch hunt we'll be helping to destroy any hope of democracy." That shut everybody up, I don't believe it came up on that board again. SCEF got stronger and stronger, every time we were attacked we got stronger cause we won new support you see because we learned how to use it as a platform and we survived basically because we fought back.

BLACK AND WHITE ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF ANNE BRADEN

I think we've got to think about and find a way to keep our positive program for integration going in the south and if we don't do that I think the UnAmerican Committee has accomplished its purpose.

FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

Heroism if you can use that term although I don't think a person is being a hero because he does what he thinks is right. I don't think we should strive for hero worship. We ought to just do the thing because it is right and because god expects us to do that.

FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

SUBTITLE- Southern Conference Education Fund

Negro pastor heads communist front, that was the headline...when I was elected president of SCEF.

OFF CAMERA WOMAN

They challenged segregation-

FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

--at its core. The core had to be Birmingham, Alabama.

ANNE BRADEN

Birmingham had to have somebody with the individual guts that Fred Shuttlesworth had, which he says he got from his religious faith and I'm sure he did. But his church was bombed on Christmas night and he lived right next to the church and they set the bomb, went off right between the church and the house, blew up one side of the church and one side of his house and he was lying in bed right under where the bomb went off in the house when it went off. They never found the springs to that bed, and with such force that it pushed splinters through the wall. And he did not get a scratch.

FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

My house was bombed, house and church was bombed twice while I was pastor there and once after I left there.

STILL PHOTOS OF BOMBED CHURCH

You can't kill an idea anyway. Especially if somebody else catches hold to it.

VIDEO- SUBTITLE- Fred Shuttlesworth attacked while enrolling his children in school.

To a segregationist, integration means communism. And so I equated my work against red baiting just like I did against segregation. People who believe what they believe and would stand for it anywhere, I thought they were saints of the highest magnitude.

TITLE- In 1959, Carl Braden refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee about communists in the civil rights movement.

Pete Seeger Singing SUBTITLE- Pete Seeger, Carl Braden, and thirty-six others claimed their rights under the First Amendment.

Our [singing] faith cries out. We have no fear. We dare to reach our hand to other neighbors, far and near, to friends in every land. Isn't this a time, isn't this a time to free the soul of man, isn't this a...

ANNE BRADEN, talking to Carl at home, archival footage

We're going to break down segregation at Mount Cherry Park. We've been talking about that for five years we ought to do it this year. You won't be here though.

JIM BRADEN

No you're not scared are you?

ANNE BRADEN

Who me? No, but I wouldn't want daddy to miss it.

TITLE- Braden Home, Louisville, Kentucky The last days before Braden's imprisonment

ANITA BRADEN

I told them he was going to jail, for what was right.

ANNE BRADEN

Well I think that was pretty good for a beginning.

CARL BRADEN

That's the answer, that I'm going to jail for what is right.

JIM BRADEN

They took him down there and they asked him some questions. Was he a communist? Had he been a communist or a member of the communist party?

And he refused to answer the questions on the grounds of the first Amendment. The first Amendment is freedom of association, freedom of speech.

CARL BRADEN

We feel that it will be worthwhile to go to jail if it alerts the American people to the dangers posed to their liberties.

FRANK WILKINSON

I'd like to add something to that -- the Un-American activities committee will be abolished because it is unconstitutional and-

MAN IN CROWD

Why the hell does anyone come here if they don't like it?

FRANK WILKINSON

This is a press conference!

MAN IN CROWD

Do you think you could do it in Moscow too?

MARSHALL

All of you can come up if you want to.

ANNE BRADEN

Where's Jimmy?

MARSHALL

Get this group out of here or there's going to be trouble.

FRANK WILKINSON

You're putting roses on me. Keep them, the roses are for you.

ANGELA DAVIS

SUBTITLE- Scholar and political activist

It was a very sad occasion. No one wants to see anyone go to prison and I think we were all aware that he was doing this because of his principled belief in equality and justice and democracy. And that finally he would prevail.

CATHERINE FOSL

Martin Luther King spearheaded the petition that was asking for Carl's clemency in 1961. He sent them a copy of the first hardback edition Stride Toward Freedom, the Montgomery Story and he autographed it this way, "To my friends Carl and Anne Braden, whose genuine goodwill and great humanitarian concern have contributed much in the constant stride toward freedom."

SUBTITLE- Carl Braden Memorial Center Louisville, Kentucky

ANNE BRADEN

The whole theory of the right of free speech is not your right to speak, but my right to hear. That was absolutely the rock bottom essential to have any sort of representative government or democracy is that people be able to examine all ideas and look at them, so if they don't get a chance to hear the ideas that can't happen. So the real reason you need freedom of speech is so people can hear different ideas. Not just because I want to get up, pop off and speak, see. I say it guarantees the right to organize because your right to speak, to meet, to print, to petition the government -- that's organizing is what it is. It's the freedom to organize against policies of the government that are wrong. It was born in struggle. It was because people insisted on it and there's been a struggle ever since to make it mean something. And the only time it's meant something is when people struggled for it.

CATHERINE FOSL

Civil rights cannot be achieved without civil liberties. That what Anne called the southern police state has got to be broken down to win the right to dissent period.

BOB ZELLNER

SUBTITLE- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Five of us in a senior sociology class were assigned a paper on the race question- write a paper about the race problem and present solutions to the problem. So we were going to go interview Dr. King and Rosa Parks and E.D. Nixon who had made the Montgomery bus boycott. When we got back to college we were confronted by the whole administration they met us and they said you've gone to a meeting, you've broken segregation laws, you've got to resign from school. That night the Klan burnt crosses around the dormitory, and then two nights later there was a huge rally of the Klan and they burnt a 38 foot cross, this was huge something in Montgomery and we're students you know we're saying "what in the world? The whole world's going to end because we went to a black church?" And then we were called to the attorney general's office and he said "You've fallen under the communist influence."

And I said "You mean communists are in Alabama?"

And he said "No but they come through here." So that was where I met Anne Braden, first thing out of his mouth was "Anne Braden." And of course she got in touch with me and when she did I said well, this is finally the outside world. My first job at SNCC was actually paid for by SCEF. To have a campus travelling program so the first staff meeting I went to was in McComb Mississippi. I joined the march and was beaten, arrested and almost lynched that first meeting. They kept calling me a god damn nigger loving motherfucking son of a bitch Jew from New York. Communist son of a bitch. And I said well, nine out of ten is not bad but I am not from New York. Anne had taught us that you can be against segregation, you can be for an open political discussion, you can be against segregation, you can be for integration and so forth and you can still be a good southerner and you can still be a good person and a normal person.

SUBTITLE- Anita Braden and friend 1961

CATHERINE FOSL

One of the things that she just would not talk about was Anita's death. It was at the height of the civil rights movement when the child was diagnosed with, it was a rare heart and lung disorder that wouldn't be fatal today. They took her all over the place they took her... she was ten years old when she was diagnosed, she really was like the light of their lives. Ella Baker came and stayed with Anne for a couple of weeks after it happened. Because Anne just couldn't stop. Her way of dealing with grief was to plunge deeper into the work and Ella said, "No. You've got to stay and grieve this. You've got to just be still." TITLE- *"I had developed a philosophy that creative results can come from even the worst experience. The death of a child, I found, is the one thing that cannot fit. There is only the relentless pain." –Anne Braden*

MAN'S VOICE

SUBTITLE-Selma to Montgomery March 1965

This march will not continue. Is that clear to you?

SUBTITLE- Alabama Sovereignty Commission Film

FILM NARRATOR

Among the performers in the Selma to Montgomery March were high ranking members of the Southern Conference Education Fund, officially identified as a communist front group.

MAN INTERVIEWING CARL BRADEN

Mr. Carl Braden of Louisville Kentucky. Mr. Braden what is your connection with the demonstration march from Selma to Montgomery.

CARL BRADEN

Well I have no official connection with the demonstration march from Selma to Montgomery I am here as a journalist and an observer. You see, the, this march was-

NARRATOR

The interview was interrupted at this time by Federal Security Officers checking the camera crew's credentials. This might be an appropriate time to review Carl Braden's record. Mr. Braden, identified before Congressional committees as a Communist Party member, has served a federal sentence for contempt of Congress. And was convicted in Kentucky for the crime of sedition. Conspiring to overthrow a duly constituted government by force. Carl Braden and his [background music] wife Anne have served as a publicity core for King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. While also working for the communist front organization the Southern Conference Education Fund.

DOROTHY ZELLNER

I was working at the Southern Regional Council at the time and she said to me, "Well I can't come there, we're not allowed to even go into that office." I think she wanted to make contact. She was absolutely- this is where she was fearless- she would talk to anybody, she would talk to her worst enemy. She was the conscience of civil liberties, for the movement.

BERNICE JOHNSON REAGON

She started by defining racism as a systemic danger. Then, she talked about how devastating racism was for the targeted group and all of the different ways you could twist and distort the lives of a group if you had a racist system in place. And then, she quieted her voice and she talked about the devastation that would take place within any human being who actually practiced racism or participated in supporting a system that was racist. And she insisted that you couldn't just sit and wish for things to be better, you had to actually pick up your life and put your life in the way of the evil, and dare the evil to strike you down because you were not going to change who you were for anything.

ANNE BRADEN

SUBTITLE- MLK Day Celebration, Braden Center 2005

It's a different country because of what happened in the 1960s and that happened because young people, some of them not any older than some of the people here who are young- 14, 15, 16 years old, all through the south, stood up and said we're going to change this thing, and we will risk our lives and they did and some of them gave their lives. They were trying to be able to sit at a lunch counter and get a cup of coffee. Well you don't risk your life for a cup of coffee. They were trying to get the right to vote, which is terribly important but I'm not sure you risk your life even for the right to vote. They risked their lives because they had a vision of a whole different world. They were going to remake the world and in a sense they predicted a vision of a whole different kind of society, where people's needs came first, where people cooperated instead of dog eat dog trying to step on another person. They had a dream they called it the beloved community, not just a community where people would love each other but a just community for everybody they had that vision. And it was young people who made the difference.

Non-violent direct action was people themselves taking to the streets. The black movement in the south shook the whole society. It was like the foundation stone was hit and the whole structure shook because it brought everything into question because everything- because so much in this country is based on race and the exploitation and oppression of African-Americans. So once you- that's challenged, everything shakes.

REV. C.T. VIVIAN

SUBTITLE-Aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

What we were about was destroying the structures that could be used to intimidate decent, honest people on every hand, the idea was to open the possibilities that we could all speak out fully knowing who we were, what we meant and if we were wrong then correct us, with thought and if you were wrong then come on over to our side- that's what we've been saying to America.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF C.T. VIVIAN

SUBTITLE-Rec. C.T. Vivian at the Selma courthouse 1965

We're willing to be beaten for democracy! And you misuse democracy in the streets! You beat people bloody in order that will not have the privilege to vote! You beat me in the side and then hide your blows!

ANNE BRADEN

The most important contribution that the civil rights movement in the 60s made was that it broke the police state in the south. But even at that it didn't get to the heart of the matter because the real problem was economic. And the march on Washington that, you know, 1963, the big one that everyone talks about, was a march for jobs and freedom, but people have forgotten that it was for jobs and freedom, you know?

I frankly, ya'll, find it hard to get through every January cause I know all the phony stuff I'm going to have to listen to about Dr. Martin Luther King because the powers that be in this country have totally distorted what that man was, they've put him on a pedestal you see, he looks like a dreamer. He wasn't a dreamer he was a revolutionary! I may not know a lot but I know something about white folks cause I been one for 80 years. And I know that us white folks, we will do anything in the world rather than face the truth about what racism, and I prefer to call it white supremacy which is what it is, has done to us and to the country. But this is a very comfortable image, of the little black and white children walking the red hills of Georgia together. Well of course you'd like to have that happen but it takes more than that right? It's very different from what he was saying in his Riverside church speech when he said, among other things- "true compassion is more than flinging coins to a beggar. True compassion recognizes that a society that creates beggars needs to be totally restructured.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE- RIVERSIDE CHURCH SPEECH

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice. A time comes when silence is betrayal and that time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

ANNE BRADEN

After he made that speech the wrath of this country descended on him, of the powerful people in this country. The Washington Post wrote an editorial, the New York Times wrote one they were all saying he's lost his value to the black community, he's lost his effectiveness as a civil rights leader, and he's alienated his natural allies and Vincent Harding says "Dr. King had decided long ago that the Federal Government wasn't among his natural allies."

BLAINE HUDSON

SUBTITLE-Scholar and Dean, University of Louisville

The black left, essentially, was one of the most important casualties of the civil rights era because the fundamental compromise that King was always under pressure to make and others were always under pressure to make is that if you distance yourself from the left, you know, the far left, because of its association with communism and so forth, you know, we will ally ourselves with you to support moderate, middle of the road racial reform. So that meant of course that people like Paul Robeson, people like Du Bois and others became expendable. You know and Du Bois talked about, back before World War One and in the '20s, there's got to be a better American dream for African Americans than being just like white Americans.

SUBTITLE- Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael march together in Mississippi 1966

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

We've got to make this march our march, this has got to be the march for the black people in Mississippi. We got to go to every little place and get every black man and black woman, black boy and black girl out who's not afraid and let's make this our Mississippi!

SUBTITLE- Willie Ricks SNCC

MARCHERS What do you want? Black power!

FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

They realized that blacks ought to head the struggle and they really felt like that. They didn't feel like any place was too important or too high up for blacks to be.

MATTIE JONES

SUBTITLE- Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

One thing about Anne- Anne never gave no message to black folks what they should do. Anne's message was always what white folks need to do. You need to join this other America. And from her, organizing white folks, she instilled in me that, you know, I can't organize your community, I can't organize black folks. You got to do this job, that's your responsibility. And that was an amazing thing about that little lady.

AL MCSURELY

SUBTITLE- SCEF staff and civil rights attorney

SNCC began having struggles over two key political questions. One was whether to continue non-violent response to that murderous violence that was taking place- the dynamite and shooting people, killing people. The other was the whole role of white anti-racist fighters if some of us were to work with poor white people. These are some FBI files. You'll see this is an FBI agent who got a copy of this somehow and wrote note on it.

SUBTITLE-SCEF Annual Report by Anne Braden 1967

SCEF's role has always been to reach the white southerner and bring him into action in coalition with the black southerner. Never has this been so necessary as it is today, in fact the future of our nation may depend upon it. Furthermore we believe that never has it been as possible as it is today- you can just hear Anne, this is the way she would talk.

BOB ZELLNER SUBTITLE-SCEF staff, Laurel, Mississippi

We have to go organize the white people, we have a program to do that it's called GROW- Grassroots Organizing Work, Get Rid of Wallace, in the GROW project we don't want to appeal to people's consciousness, their Christianity their love or anything like that cause everyone who could be appealed to on that basis is already in! We now have to say "it is for your material benefit to put aside racist practices and behavior, no matter what your thoughts are, and get together with your fellow black workers, and improve your situation! Because you have always been fed a bill of goods by the rich people- accept poor schools, accept poor clothing and medical care and what do you get in exchange? Racial superiority? You know? That's crazy.

AL MCSURELY

Here is the southern mountain project, that was Margaret and me. Here's GROW, that's Bob and Dotty. Here's the Southern Patriot. In April of 1967, April fool's day, we drove to the mountains.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF AL MCSURELY

The factories and the coal mines are owned by very few people and it's these people that have democracy in this country, but for the great majority of the working and poor people in this country there is no democracy.

MARGARET MCSURELY

SUBTITLE- SCEF staff

Our very presence in the mountains tells people what we stand for which is that poor and working class people have to control the government themselves or they're going to be exploited.

ANNE BRADEN

We had set up what we called our southern mountain project cause we thought that's where we could recruit whites. Well of course we got under attack immediately and they were saying all the reds were taking over the mountains in Pikeville and we got indicted for sedition and all that kinda stuff.

UNIDENTIFIED MAN

Well I got some valuable land out here that men like him have just finished augering my property and putting out fruit trees and things like that on it. Well these people, they come in the restroom and they smell! You come to us like a damn bunch of beatniks and we're going to treat you like beatniks. Now my friend you better believe it, you're treading on damn dangerous ground.

Someone says "why?"

Because we don't like the way you dress! We don't like your filthy damn faces! We don't like your boots, we don't like that. We don't like no part of it.

AL MCSURELY

I remember when they came into the house Sheriff Justice was there, Perry Justice, also an undertaker, and he had a polaroid right, we called it a paranoid polaroid, and he was taking pictures of me and he said "hold your head up so we see what you look like when we hang you." And I'm sitting on this couch and I'm scared shitless and Margaret gets the telephone, it had a long cord and she went and locked herself in the bathroom and called up Bill Kunstler and then she called Anne and Carl and said "they're in here" and Anne and Carl then began calling people all across the country.

TOM RATLIFF

SUBTITLE- District Attorney, Pike County, Kentucky

We certainly, I hope, don't have to put up with people coming here, financed by tax money, trying to, to promote Marxism or communism or any kind of subversive activities in Eastern Kentucky. I know I don't want to put up with it.

ANNE BRADEN

It was really strange, we never ran for public office, never intended to, and yet for years there wouldn't be an election somebody didn't run against us. We always knew when a candidate was going to lose cause he'd start accusing his opponent of associating with the Bradens.

AL MCSURELY

Ratliff particularly and Louie Nun thought they were going to ride these headlines about going after the reds all through November when the election was. And instead, the headline was "No competent lawyer could ever believe that this sedition law was constitutional" ha ha, you know, it was an ad hominem attack on Ratliff.

Dr. King sent me this telegram saying "will you help me organize the poor people's campaign?" cause they were trying to get some more white people up there.

ROBERT FULCHER

SUBTITLE-Poor People's Campaign 1968

I tell you the white people have to be identified with this thing. You have to be part of [inaudible] [Applause and cheering] And I am proud today to stand up before you as a white man and declare that we're becoming part of a nation that is being reborn again and [inaudible] [Applause and cheering]. I couldn't have said that a few months ago. I hated the nigger a few months ago. This is true yeah. I'm not ashamed to admit what I was and what I am now. Today I am a man that can stand up for human beings and human dignity and human rights. [Applause and cheering]

AL MCSURELY

We had Victor on December 29, there was, you know there would be a story in the Pikeville county news about "Seditionists have baby" or something like that there was a little story and we were always worried about Victor's safety and our safety. And rightly so you know they dynamited us a year later in December of '68. We got to have a very hard time overcoming this isolation, we could've if we had said we were going to stay there for 10 years or something but you know that was a terrible time for us.

BLAINE HUDSON

As you get into the early '70s, that sense of being part of something larger is what gets lost. And instead of being part of this, the big ocean, all of a sudden you've got a few little ponds, little oasis in the desert. And those oasis were under siege.

SUBTITLE- Black Panther Party Breakfast Program 1970

WOMEN PANTHERS CHANTING WITH CHILDREN

Black is beautiful, free Huey! Said I want him free, free Huey!

ANGELA DAVIS

The '70s became a period of FBI repression, the attempt to wipe out the possibility for the further growth and development of these movements. Huge numbers of political activists were imprisoned, were either assassinated or imprisoned. Uh, I happened to be one of those persons, arrested in 1970, finally acquitted in 1972. There had been a very intense campaign developed around the demand for my freedom and of course Anne and Carl were in the leadership of that campaign.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE

As a communist, I feel that the people who live in a society, the people who produce the wealth of that society, have a right to that wealth. In this country today there are millions and millions of poor people. I feel that the only ultimate solution is to totally restructure the whole economic and political fabric in this country.

ANNE BRADEN

We had one committee after another to defend so-and-so to defend this person or that person in Alabama, this person in Georgia, and around some of those battles we were able to mount movements around the counter-offensive. But on the other hand, there was a momentum that was lost in terms of what was happening at that time in challenging the economic and political structures of the country.

CATHERINE FOSL

When she lost Carl in 1975, that's a young age, she was 50 years old that was a young age to lose your husband and she I think was deeply traumatized by it but her way was never to stop or to change course.

BOB CUNNINGHAM SUBTITLE- KY Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

She used to tell me many times that I was so good at bringing working class white folks and working class black folks together. When I worked at the water company it was a blue collar white guy. We'd go reading water meters from yard to yard. And you know little kids would follow you around.

Well, we were out there that day and a little boy who looked to be about five years old maybe was following us, from a few yards over and his mother was in the door yelling at him. And she was just screaming at the top of her lungs, "Jeffrey didn't I tell you to get in this house. You get in here right now." And finally Jeffery looked at me and he said, "Are you a nigger?" I said, "Well, I don't know Jeffrey. Could be. I'm not sure." And he just kept walking with us and he said, "Do you kill people?" I said, "Well no Jeffrey I don't kill people." He looked at me and he said, "My mother said you kill people."

It was during the busing period. The white guy who worked with me began to come to meetings and things and he ended up by telling me that he had heard his father talking about the N word, if you will, at the table and he told his father to please don't ever do that again. If you ever do that again you will never see my daughter again. That shows how he changed, you know. There was a change after we come together. So he was again, very supportive of those things. And I think that's true with all of us when we get to know one another.

TITLE- Anne Braden helped organize a multi-racial organization to support Louisville school integration. She wrote, "The lines are clearly drawn. One cannot oppose busing and be for equal rights."

ANNE BRADEN

I remember the first morning that buses rolled to pick up the kids and there were mobs out in the street out at some of the places, white mobs, where these kids were going and I wondered how you put your child on a bus to go there and yet I rode around that morning early and watched the mothers who'd brought their children out to the corner to put them on those buses. And I thought, you know, why are they, how do they get the courage to do that? And I think people had faith well this is, education's so important, this is going to mean a better education for our kids.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE

SUBTITLE- LAST NIGHT

CROWD CHANTING

You ain't bad you ain't cool get these niggers out of school.

BLAINE HUDSON

These kind of Leave it to Beaver housewives with these crazed expressions on their faces throwing rocks at buses with 6-year old children on them. You know, I mean, it was bizarre.

SUE CONNOR SUBTITLE- CONCERNED PARENTS, INC.

I'm not a racist. I'm not a bigot. And I really feel insulted when most people ask me if I am, but if I were it's unimportant, because I am concerned only in the welfare of all children and their education. [Applause]

SUBTITLE- KKK Rally Against Busing Louisville, KY 1975

ANNE BRADEN

When the Klan was reorganizing they were saying that they were not against black people, they were just for white people and the problem in this country was that blacks were getting everything and whites were being left out. And you know, we were scared about the Klan reorganizing but we just laughed at that we thought "well isn't that the craziest thing you've ever heard?" And this was maybe '76 or along in there, never dreaming that within a little over 10 years that was going to be the line of the justice department. More of its discrimination cases were so called reverse discrimination cases than discrimination against minorities.

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN AT RALLY

Just because I'm white doesn't mean that the 14th amendment doesn't, doesn't apply to me either. I am white and I want my rights!

ANNE BRADEN

And this idea of reverse discrimination took hold of the country, and I think it's the most dangerous idea that's ever been inflicted on this country. It tells white people that the source of their problem is people of color and it's such a damn lie because it's based on the theory that what black people got took something away from white people, and that is the opposite of what happened, every piece of legislation everything that happened that the black movement won, helped most white people and certainly poor and working class white people.

DAVID DUKE

SUBTITLE- National Assoc. for Advancement of White People

Are you willing to defend your homes and your families? Are you willing to protect your kids and stop these crimes in integrated schools? White power!

SUBTITLE- Communist Workers' Party Anti-Klan Rally November 3, 1979 Greensboro, NC

CROWD AT ANTI-KLAN RALLY SINGING "WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED"

CATHERINE FOSL

Five young members of the Communist Workers Party, they were shot down in cold blood. And that so mobilized a counter response, and Anne Braden was one of the key people to pull together a really large regional demonstration in protest. We were told we needed to pass as a Baptist church group, there was a lot of conversation about weaponry and the Klan and, and it was a very- you know, for someone that really wasn't political that much it was a really kind of threatening experience. And then when I got there it was just huge, it was huge,

SUBTITLE- Protest March and Rally Greensboro, North Carolina 1980

There were many thousands of people there and I just remember her voice, that southern, white accent, I mean it was a very strong anti-racist message.

ANNE BRADEN

The men who pulled the triggers that killed 5 people here on the streets of Greensboro are dangerous men who must be brought to justice. But they are not the cause of our problem, they are the result. The real danger today comes from the people in high places, from the halls of congress to the board rooms of our big corporations, who are telling the white people that if their taxes are eating up their paychecks, it's not because of our bloated military budget, but because of government programs that benefit black people; those people in high places who are telling white people that if young whites are unemployed it's because blacks are getting all the jobs. Our problem is the people in power who are creating a scape goat mentality. That, that is what is creating the climate in which the Klan can grow in this country and that is what is creating the danger of a fascist movement in the 1980s in America.

CARLA WALLACE SUBTITLE- Fairness Campaign, Louisville, KY

When I first moved back here one of the first things I did was call Anne and say "what can I get involved in?" and of course she immediately said "well come over to my house I have to make these fliers" and I guess that was the beginning of our formal mentorship. Social justice work is not something you do in your life but a way it can become your life, and in a way that includes community and deep friendship and love and intellectual activity. She would model with where she put her body and if I wanted to talk to Anne, the best place to talk to Anne would be on the picket line. On the march, I mean, I can't tell you how many things we worked out just walking in a circle when the police abuse protests were taking place. Anne loved to strategize as we were doing the work and so her mentorship demanded that you be in the movement with your body- you were on the picket line and you were at the demonstration and you were on the bus to Washington or to Birmingham.

SUBTITLE- Mary Fanger, AFL-CIO Kentucky labor union meeting

ANNE BRADEN

Our issues are a living wage, police brutality, they're abused by the police too.

MARY FANGER

It's cause we have the same issues- we have to get out and talk to the community and talk to people.

ANNE BRADEN

We have to go door to door; I say people have lost the art of old door to door work. Some of them think if they send out an email people are coming to a

meeting, well they're not. Half of them don't look at the email, half of them don't have it, but even if there's nothing like somebody calling you on the phone, or going and knocking on your door and saying we need you at this meeting.

MARY FANGER

Then you are a part of the solution they're trying to find.

ANNE BRADEN

That's right we just have to get people back to knocking on people's doors I think, to reach those people that you're talking about. I know they want you everywhere so you can't come back all the time but come back when you can.

MARY FANGER

I will, I will, I enjoy coming.

CARLA WALLACE

I was coming out as a lesbian so I went to Anne and told her "we are going to launch this organization called the Fairness Campaign and we're going to build it broadly with a vision that has anti-racism at its core" and it was so funny because Anne was like "what!?" and a few years later it took a Klan coming to town and a huge mobilization but there were close to a thousand people downtown and it was in the rain and what Anne saw that day was how many lesbian and gay people came to that rally and afterwards Anne said to me, she said "Carla I owe you a tremendous apology" she said "I was wrong."

There was homophobia in the civil rights movement, in the women's movement. When the homophobia would come up, she would talk about how it would divide people and how, when we shared a commitment to justice that meant we needed to be in the rooms together.

ANGELA DAVIS

Her principled stands against racism and the linkages she made- among racism and sexism and war and economic injustice and environmental assault, those linkages remain a model. And her inveterate optimism, even in the worst of times her refusal to give up and her refusal to believe that our dreams have been dashed. She always held up the banner of struggle, her vision was always focused on the future, and she was an inspiration to us all.

ANNE BRADEN

We've got something remarkable here in Louisville and you are a part of it. We have a coming together, from different colors, different parts of town, different issues. Now I want to say to you that is somewhat remarkable. The Achilles heel in this country is that we have a mostly white peace movement and a mostly people of color justice movement. We tried to deal with it in the 1960s during the Vietnam War, not very successfully, it's still the Achilles heel. We're talking about the same issue, the issue with us and the police is that the people running this place, to them, they're not going to put it in these words but to them the life of a person of color doesn't matter. The trouble in Washington is that to the people running our government, the people, the lives of those people in Iraq don't matter because they're not white. We know we're here, we're the hope of this community and every one of you is a part of that and we're going to win.

I go to these meetings and people talk about we gotta build better relations and that sort of thing and all that and I'm always getting up and I say well first we gotta deal with the whole issue of white supremacy. And it's like you threw a snake on the table they just don't want to hear it I mean literally, they look at me, but I don't care. Ha ha, I don't care, I mean, I just have to make myself obnoxious I guess.

CORNELL WEST SUBTITLE- *Philosopher and author*

When I think of my dear sister when I think of my comrade when I think of he and she Carl and Anne who were willing to stand up, straighten up their backs and sustain that struggle for the long haul we are talking about a high level of service. Thank god for her award winning memoir that said "let me tell my story of what it's like to be a white sister privileged but also making a moral stand against a system of white supremacy that bestows that white skinned privilege on me. And let me do it not because I am better than others but because I decide to be a human being in a certain kind of way with a certain commitment to justice, that's Anne Braden. Let us pay tribute to our dear sister Anne Braden no not just in Kentucky, not just in America but around the world as a freedom fighter and we love you sister Anne!

ANNE BRADEN

I don't think guilt is a productive emotion. I never knew anybody who really got active because of guilt. Now there's plenty for white people to feel guilty about but they'll sit around and they'll feel guilty then they'll go hear a real militant black speaker beat them over the head for an hour and go home and think they've done something and not do anything for a year. I've never seen it move anybody. I think what everybody white that I know has gotten involved in the struggle got into it because they glimpsed a different world to live in. The meaning of life is in that struggle, that human beings have always been able to envision something better. I don't know where they get it but that's what makes human beings divine I think. But all through history there've been people who've envisioned something better in the most dire situations, and that's what you want to be a part of. You won't see the fruits of it but that that's what you want to be a part of.

CARLA WALLACE

Anne would always say you know "I don't have time for this! I can't do this phone call now." You know, or "I can't do that I can't do this I have so much to do." Up till the last, up till the end she was saying, I remember I saw her right before she died and Anne just looked at me and she said "I just don't have time" and she just, she turned over and she said "not now" and I knew what she meant was "I can't do this dying thing right now because I have too much to do." (*Starting to cry*) I know it's not what you were getting at but...sorry.

FRED SHUTTLESWORTH

We made it baby, alright? Any change in America we made and it's not over because we and our children and our children's children are going to redeem this land sooner or later all right, all right? That's what we have to understand, right. Our commitment is to the death and we never give up. Our love of justice is greater than their hatred. It is life that in the end wins. Anne Braden has won, not for herself, but she's won for the south already, she's won for this nation already, and she won for you and I, all we have to do is keep it going.

VARIOUS VOICES AT POLICE BRUTALITY PROTEST

We've been marching for a mighty long time for justice.

We're not going to tolerate it any more.

We need to keep in mind Clifford Lewis. We need to keep in mind Antoine Brown. We need to keep in mind James Taylor.

We need to keep to mind all of them. Desmond Rudolph, Adrian Reynolds, all of those that have lost their lives and police officers have not been held accountable. We cannot depend on [phone ringing] on anybody else, but we have to do it ourselves. Deepening on a mighty God. A mighty God, a mighty God to make a way out of nowhere.

ANNE BRADEN

We who believe in freedom cannot rest, we who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes, until the killing of black men, of black mother's sons, is as important as the killing of white men, white mother's sons. We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it's won.