Ain't gonna let Chief Pritchett turn me 'round,
turn me 'round, turn me 'round,
Ain't gonna let Chief Pritchett turn me 'round,
I'm gonna keep on a walkin', keep on a talkin',
Marching up to freedom land.

Ain't gonna let Mayor Kelly turn me 'round,
turn me 'round, turn me 'round,
Ain't gonna let Mayor Kelly turn me 'round,
I'm gonna keep on a walkin', keep on a talkin',
Marching up to freedom land.

Ain't gonna let segregation turn me 'round,
turn me 'round, turn me 'round,
Ain't gonna let segregation turn me 'round,
I'm gonna keep on a walkin', keep on a talkin',
Marching up to freedom land.

Ain't gonna let Z. T. turn me 'round,
turn me 'round, turn me 'round,
Ain't gonna let Z. T. turn me 'round,
I'm gonna keep on a walkin', keep on a talkin',
Marching up to freedom land.

Ain't gonna let no jailhouse turn me 'round,
turn me 'round, turn me 'round,
Ain't gonna let no jailhouse turn me 'round,
I'm gonna keep on a walkin', keep on a talkin',
Marching up to freedom land.

Ain't gonna let no injunction turn me 'round,
turn me 'round, turn me 'round,
Ain't gonna let no injunction turn me 'round,
I'm gonna keep on a walkin', keep on a talkin',
Marching up to freedom land.

Source: Traditional songs: "We Shall Overcome" and "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round."

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6

"We Need Group-Centered Leadership," *Ella Baker*

Ella Baker (1903–1986) played an instrumental role in the development of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Baker was born in Norfolk, Virginia, and grew up in rural Littleton, North Carolina. After graduating from Shaw University, she organized consumer cooperatives in New York and worked on consumer affairs for the Works Progress Administration (WPA). In the 1940s Baker became a national field secretary of the NAACP, traveling throughout the country organizing branches and developing membership drives. Increasingly, Baker became disaffected with the NAACP's leadership, because decision-making occurred primarily in the national office rather than in the branch organizations. In 1957 Baker joined King to help found the SCLC. She directed the SCLC national office and was instrumental in coordinating major civil disobedience actions. She became critical of the SCLC because of its emphasis on charismatic leadership. In 1960 Baker was the principal organizer in helping student protesters establish the SNCC. She solicited funds for SNCC and assisted in planning strategies for voter registration drives and desegregation campaigns. Baker eventually broke with the SCLC after she disagreed with ministers who felt that SNCC should simply be an arm of the SCLC, rather than an independent organization. Although she preferred working behind the scenes to playing a public leadership role, she is widely regarded by scholars as one of the central leaders in the Black Freedom movement.

"Bigger than a Hamburger"

Raleigh, N.C.—The Student Leadership Conference made it crystal clear that current sit-ins and other demonstrations are concerned with something much bigger than a hamburger or even a giant-sized Coke.

Whatever may be the difference in approach to their goal, the Negro and white students, North and South, are seeking to rid America of the scourge of racial segregation and discrimination—not only at lunch counters, but in every aspect of life.

In reports, casual conversations, discussion groups, and speeches, the sense and the spirit of the following statement that appeared in the initial newsletter of the students at Barber-Scotia College, Concord, N.C., were re-echoed time and again:

> We want the world to know that we no longer accept the inferior position of second-class citizenship. We are willing to go to jail, be ridiculed, spat upon and even suffer physical violence to obtain First Class Citizenship.

By and large, this feeling that they have a destined date with freedom, was not limited to a drive for personal freedom, or even freedom for the Negro in the South.

Repeatedly it was emphasized that the movement was concerned with the moral implications of racial discrimination for the "whole world" and the "Human Race."

This universality of approach was linked with a perceptive recognition that "it is important to keep the movement democratic and to avoid struggles for personal leadership."

It was further evident that desire for supportive cooperation from adult leaders and the adult community was also tempered by apprehension that adults might try to "capture" the student movement. The students showed willingness to be met on the basis of equality, but were intolerant of anything that smacked of manipulation or domination.

This inclination toward *group-centered leadership*, rather than toward a *leader-centered group pattern of organization*, was refreshing indeed to those of the older group who bear the scars of the battle, the frustrations and the disillusionment that come when the prophetic leader turns out to have heavy feet of clay.

However hopeful might be the signs in the direction of group-centeredness, the fact that many schools and communities, especially in the South, have not provided adequate experience for young Negroes to assume initiative and think and act independently accentuated the need for guarding the student movement against well-meaning, but nevertheless unhealthy, over-protectiveness.

Here is an opportunity for adult and youth to work together and provide genuine leadership—the development of the individual to his highest potential for the benefit of the group.

Many adults and youth characterized the Raleigh meeting as the greatest or most significant conference of our period.

Whether it lives up to this high evaluation or not will, in a large measure, be determined by the extent to which there is more effective training in and understanding of non-violent principles and practices, in group dynamics, and in the redirection into creative channels of the normal frustrations and hostilities that result from second-class citizenship.

Source: "Bigger than a Hamburger," *Southern Patriot* 18 (June 1960).

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7

Martin Luther King, Jr., and Nonviolence, *1957 and 1963*

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968) was *the* political and moral leader of the Black Freedom movement in the mid-twentieth century. King graduated from Moorhouse College in 1948, and received an M.A. from Crozier Theological Seminary in 1951 and a doctorate from Boston University in 1955. King emerged as an important voice for civil rights during the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, and he was the founding president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. Drawing inspiration from Mohandas Gandhi, the black church, and various theologians, King advocated an ethic of nonviolence, not simply as an organizing tactic but as a way of life. In addition to helping organize several major campaigns of civil disobedience in such diverse places as Albany, Birmingham, Selma, and Chicago, King won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Although he was subjected to illegal surveillance and harassment by the FBI, King became increasingly radical in his critique of U.S. society. On economic issues King gravitated toward democratic socialism, advocating full-employment and social-welfare legislation. At the time of his death in April 1968 he was planning to launch a major Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

Excerpt from Nonviolence and Racial Justice

It is commonly observed that the crisis in race relations dominates the arena of American life. This crisis has been precipitated by two factors: the determined resistance of reactionary elements in the south to the Supreme Court's momentous decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, and the radical change in the Negro's evaluation of himself. While southern legislative halls ring with open defiance through "interposition" and "nullification," while a modern version of the Ku Klux Klan has arisen in the form of "respectable" white citizens' councils, a revolutionary change has taken place in the Negro's conception of his own nature and destiny, once he thought of himself as an inferior and patiently accepted injustice and exploitation. Those days are gone.

This new self-respect and sense of dignity on the part of the Negro undermined the south's negative peace, since the white man refused to accept the change. The tension we are witnessing in race relations today can be explained in part by this revolutionary change in the Negro's evaluation of himself and his determination to struggle and sacrifice until the walls of segregation have been finally crushed by the battering rams of justice.

The determination of Negro Americans to win freedom from every form of oppression springs from the same profound longing for freedom that motivates oppressed peoples all over the world. The rhythmic beat of deep discontent in Africa and Asia is at the bottom a quest for freedom and human dignity on the part