A Statement by
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Tuesday, August 15, 1967
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Annual Convention
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
AUG 17 1967
UAW FAIR PRACTICES DEPT.

A million words will be written and spoken to dissect the ghetto outbreaks, but for a perceptive and vivid expression of culpability I would submit two sentences written a century ago by Victor Hugo.

> "If the soul is left in darkness, sins will be committed. The guilty one is not he who commits the sin, but he who causes the darkness."

The policy makers of the white society have caused the darkness; they created discrimination; they created slums; they perpetuate unemployment, ignorance and poverty. It is incontestatable and deplorable that Negroes have committed crimes; but they are derivative crimes. They are born of the greater crimes of the white society. When we ask Negroes to abide by the law, let us also declare that the white man does not abide by law in the ghettos. Day in and day out he violates welfare laws to deprive the poor of their meager allotments; he flagrantly violates building codes and regulations; his police make a mockery of law; he violates laws on equal employment and education and the provisions for civic services. The slums are the handiwork of a vicious system of the white society; Negroes live in them but do not make them any more than a prisoner makes a prison.

Let us say it boldly that if the total slum violations of law by the white man over the years were calculated and were compared with the law-breaking of a few days of riots, the hardened criminal would be the white man.

After establishing the general cause of outbursts, it is possible to identify five immediate causes:

1. White backlash
2. General discriminatory practices
3. Unemployment
4. War
5. Features peculiar to big cities: crime, family problems and intensive migration.

I place white backlash first bdcause the outbursts have an emotional content that is a reaction to the insults and depravity of the white backlash. Many people point out that there have been years of some progress, and this is true. Yet equally true is the fact of an animalistic reaction by a significant section of the white population. In the midst of progress Negroes were being murdered in the south and cynical white jurors automatically freed the accused. In Chicago last year thousands of vicious white hoodlums with murder in their hearts bombarded Negroes with rocks and bottles because they dared to ask to be neighbors. The white backlash told Negroes that there were limits to their progress; that they must expect to remain permanently unequal and permanently poor. The white backlash said Negroes should not confuse improvements with equality. True equality, it said, will be resisted to the death. The so-called riots in a distorted and hysterical form were a Negro response that said inequality will now be resisted to the death.

The second major cause is unemployment because it furnishes the bulk of the shock troops. Government figures reveal that the rate of unemployment for Negroes runs as high as 15% in some cities - and for youth up to 30-40%! It is not accidental that the major actors in all the outbreaks were the youth. With most of their lives yet to live, the slamming of doors in their faces could be expected to induce rage and rebellion. This is especially true when a boastful nation, while neglecting them, gloats over its wealth, power and world pre-eminence. Yet almost 40% of Negro youth waste their barren lives standing on street corners.

I proposed that a national agency be established to immediately give employment to everyone needing it. Training should be done on the job not separated from it and often without any guarantee of employment ~~of employment~~ in which to use the training. Nothing is more socially inexcusable than unemployment in this age. In the thirties when the nation was bankrupt, it instituted such an agency, the W. P. A. In the present conditions of a nation glutted with resources it is barbarous to condemn people willing to work to soul-sapping inactivity and poverty.

I am convinced that one massive act of concern will do more than the most massive deployment of troops to quell riots and still hatreds. I am not convinced that the statesmanship exists in Washington to do it. Hugo could have been thinking of 20th century America when he said, "There is always more misery among the lower classes than there is humanity in the higher classes."

The third cause is discrimination, which pervades all experiences of Negro life. It pushes the Negro off the economic ladder after he has ascended a few rungs. It stultifies his initiative and insults his being. Even the few Negroes who realize economic security do not attain respect and dignity, because on upper levels discrimination closes different doors to them.

Discrimination is a hell hound that gnaws at Negroes in every waking moment of their lives to remind them that the lie of their inferiority is accepted as truth in the society dominating them.

The fourth cause is the war in Vietman. Negroes are not only conscripted in double measure for combat, but they are told the billions needed for remaking their lives are necessary for foreign intervention. Democracy at home is starved to seek a spurious democracy abroad. Dictators, obligarchies, are given our resources to perpetuate their rule at the rate of $80,000,000 per day, but we cannot afford to spend 10% of this on anti-poverty programs.

There has never been an American war opposed by so many. Opposition has now ascended to a clear majority of Americans and merges with the overwhelming majority of the world.

The immoral, insane pursuit of conquest against the will of the people has to diminish respect for government. Among those deprived by government, the disrespect degenerates into contempt and cynicism. In testifying before the Senate last December, I said, "the bombs in Vietnam

explode at home. The security we profess to seek in foreign adventures we will lose in our decaying cities." There is no need to change a word of that prophesy; rather it needs underlining. To war against your own people, while warring against another nation, is the ultimate in political and social bankruptcy.

Finally, a complex of causes are found in the conditions of urban life. Crime is well organized in the cities and produces an underclass of great numbers. Rackets are the big business of the ghetto, with masses of employees. In any period of unrest they utilize conditions for advantage. Organized crime has a protected sanctuary in the slums, with police tolerance, if not connivance. It becomes a normal feature of life, poisoning the young and confounding the adult. It adds, in substantial numbers, the professional criminal to outbreaks, exacerbating the results. When they merge with the declassed and dispossessed, also numerous in the slums a large anti-social force is assembled.

Cities are also victims of the anarchic migrations of Negroes. Although everyone knew in the past decade that millions of Negroes would have to leave the land without schooling, no national planning was done to provide remedies. Other white immigrants in the 19th century were given free, credit and land, by the government. In the early 20th century a plethora of social agencies helped them to adjust to city life. The economy readily absorbed white workers into factories and trained them to skills. There were obstacles

and privations for white immigrants but every step was upward; care and concern could be found.

When the Negro migrated he was substantially ignored or grossly exploited within a contest of seering discrimination. He was left jobless and ignorant, despised and scorned as no other American minority has been. The result was aptly described by E. Franklin Frazier in the title of one chapter of his book on The Negro Family, "Into the City of Destruction."

To list the causes is to structure the remedial program. A program is not, however, our problem. Our real problem is that there is no disposition by the Administration nor Congress to seek fundamental remedies beyond police measures. The tragic truth is that Congress, more than the American people, is now running amok with racism. We must devise the tactics, not to beg Congress for favors, but to create a situation in which they deem it wise and prudent to act with responsibility

and decency.

Some people assert riots are just such a method. Perhaps it would be well to examine the nature of the outbreaks. They reveal in the first place that the time we have is shorter than many of us believed. Patience is running out and the intransigence and hostility of government - national, state and municipal - is aggragating grievances to explosive levels.

The riots are not simply a reign of terror or a splurge of crime, though both elements are partially present. They are also a wildly emotional protest and a desperate attempt to display the utter desperation that has engulfed many Negroes. The vast majority who actively participated were remarkably discriminating in avoiding harm to persons, venting their anger by appropriating or destroying property. There is an ironic purpose in this choice; to attack a society that appears to cherish property above people, the worst wounds to inflict on it are those to property.

The outbursts cannot be considered an insurrection, because insurrections are organized and can sustain themselves for more than a few days. The riots are powered by spontaneous bitter emotions and therefore die out rapidly.

We have not devised the tactics for urban slum reform. We spent ten years in the south using new tactics of non-violence that were successful. But in the northern cities, with time running out, we failed to achieve creative methods of work. As a result, a desperate, essentially leaderless mass of people acted with violence and without a program.

Where does leadership go from here? Let us state what it is not, first. It is not leadership, nor a program, for self-styled revolutionists to declare insurrection to be the order of the day. The number of Negroes, today, dedicated to armed insurrection are so few it is mere posturing and recklessness to urge this course. Even if one could favor armed revolt, which I cannot, it is a practical policy against oppression only when people support it. It does not become a valid policy because a few proclaim it. The call to insurrection does not even educate, because if in the weakness of support it is doomed to defeat, it can lead only to deeper despair and helplessness. Any action involving any form of militancy, peaceful or violent, must be able to win victories or it cannot win adherents.

On the other hand, it is not leadership, nor a program, for conservative spokesmen to tell enraged Negroes not to offend the white majority.

There is probably no way, even eliminating violence, for Negroes to obtain their rights without upsetting the equanimity of white folks. All too many of them demand tranquility when they mean inequality. It would, however, be seriously in error to over-generalize. One positive feature of the recent experiences is that

during the outbursts a great many important white elements did not succumb to hysteria. Some very distinguished newspapers, magazines, commentators and TV programs fixed on the basic causes and called for fundamental reform, not revenge or military might. Sad to say, some of the Negro press was more backward than some white papers.

The demands in Congress and the administration for police measures as the primary solution are a sick echo of the solutions proposed as long ago as 1919 in the Washington riots. The Herald (Tribune) called for "a larger, better-drilled and more ably commanded police organization." The N.Y. Globe anticipated the current Congressional sentiment of "not rewarding the rioters" in stating on July 23, 1919, "There is nothing to be done but to quiet the rioters by force. We make no pretense nowadays of settling the race question; we simply keep it in abeyance."

Against this grunting of ancient solutions it is all the more impressive that some major publications demanded deep reforms and accepted a heavy measure of responsibility for the white community.

To return to the search for tactics, we must reject both armed insurrection either for shock value or conquest along with obsequious pleas to insensitive government.

Taking into account that rage is a powerful fact of life in the ghetto, the mechanical application of tactics of non-violent marches and meetings which could work among southern Negroes becomes unsound. Non-violent action in the south was effective because <u>any</u> form of social movement by Negroes upset the status quo. When Negroes merely marched in southern streets it was close to rebellion. In the urban communities marches are less disquieting because they are not considered rebellions and secondly, because the normal turbulence of cities absorbs them as merely transitory drama which is ordinary in city life.

To raise protest to an appropriate level for cities to invest it with aggressive but non-violent qualities, it is necessary to adopt civil disobedience. To dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot because it can be longer-lasting, costly to the society but not wantonly destructive. Moreover, it is more difficult for government to quell it by superior force. Mass civil disobedience can use rage as a constructive and creative force. It is purposeless to tell Negroes they should not be enraged when they should be. Indeed, they will be mentally healthier if they do not suppress rage but vent it constructively and use its energy peacefully but forcefully to cripple the operations of an oppressive society. Civil disobedience can utilize the militancy wasted in riots to seize clothes or groceries many did not even want.

Civil disobedience has never been used on a mass scale in the north. It has rarely been seriously organized and resolutely pursued. Too often in the past it was employed incorrectly. It was resorted to only when there was an absence of mass support and its purpose was headline-hunting. The exceptions were the massive school boycotts by northern Negroes. They shook educational systems to their roots but they lasted only single days and were never repeated.

If they are developed as weekly events at the same time that mass sit-ins are developed inside and at the gates of factories for jobs, and if simultaneously thousands of unemployed youth camp in Washington, as the Bonus Marchers did in the thirties, with these and other practices, without burning a match or firing a gun, the impact of the movement will have earthquake proportions. (In the Bonus Marches, it was the Government that burned down the marcher's shelters when it became confounded by peaceful civil disobedience.)

This is not an easy program to implement. Riots are easier just because they need no organization. To have effect we will have to develop mass disciplined forces that can remain excited and determined without dramatic conflagrations.

The existence of riots, while primarily a responsibility of the white majority, is also in part our own. Our slum brothers are not organized by any of us for real action. Our internal quibbling, compromising and capitulating for cheap gains leaves them essentially leaderless. We may not do all of this in a day but if we set to the task, I am convinced civil disobedience can curtail riots. This should not be its primary objective; its basic objective is social change, not to put an iron lid on slums. It will not be welcome to the power structure even though it solves rioting because it supplants it with more effective action.

We should also realize that in civil disobedience we will have significant white allies directly involved in our action as well as others sympathetic to it. The reason there have been some sane white voices in this period is that the urban crisis intersects the Negro crisis in the city. Many white decision-makers may care little about saving Negroes but they must care about saving their cities. The vast majority of production is created in the cities; most white Americans live in them; the suburbs, to which they flee, cannot exist detached from the central cities. Hence powerful white elements objectively have goals that merge with ours.

Civil disobedience does not eliminate coalition politics. It supplements it. To take the opposite position that coalition politics is the exclusive method is as futile as it is disastrous. Negroes are not in a mood to wait for change by the slower, tedious, often frustrating road of political action. While inducing them to see this as the

long term task, they need the social adrenalin of quick changes that would be provided by civil disobedience. However difficult it may be to combine political action with civil disobedience, it must be done because both are necessary in today's urban condition.

The white society failed to move when the conservative McCone Commission warned two years ago after Watts, "The existing breech, if allowed to persist, could in time split our society irretrievably. So serious and so explosive is the situation that unless it is checked, the August riots may seem by comparison to be only a curtain-raiser for what could blow up one day in the future." The white society did not move and Newark came after Watts and was followed by Detroit. We will have to make them move.

We will have to remind them that in the 18th Century, Thomas Jefferson said, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." In the second half of the 20th Century his warning can no longer remain unheeded.

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334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

S C L C

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

AUG 4 1965

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

July 19, 1965

7

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President
International Union, United Automobile
Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the very generous contribution of $5,000.00 which you sent last week. Your contribution was certainly welcomed. Our expenses for the Summer Project are greatly increased due to the delay in the Voting Bill. However, we are busy organizing potential voters in eighty counties of five southern states.

While we are very much concerned about the political impact of this program, we are also growing increasingly mindful of the unique implications and specifically the need for a new effort to organize workers following the repeal of 14B. This is something that we must talk about sometime for I am convinced that we will find the civil rights movement really engaged in the organization of both the workers and the unemployed. Since this is your area of special competence, we will need much in the way of advice and guidance before making any steps in this direction.

With deep personal appreciation for your continuous support, I am

Sincerely yours,

Martin

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km
enc

June 28, 1965

Emil Mazey

Walter P. Reuther

Contribution - Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Dear Emil:

At their meeting held on June 25, the Officers approved a contribution to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the amount of $5,000. This is for voter registration purposes and should be taken from the Citizenship Fund. Would you please transmit the check.

You may wish to check with Bill Oliver on this.

Fraternally,

WPR:lgm
oeiu42
cc: Bill Oliver

bcc: Emil Mazey
Leonard Woodcock
Pat Greathouse
Roy Reuther
Bill Oliver

July 15, 1965

Dr. Martin Luther King, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

It was indeed nice seeing you and chatting with you recently in Tuskegee.

With regards to the plans of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to launch this summer a comprehensive Voter Registration Campaign in some 120 counties throughout the South, I am pleased to enclose our check in the amount of $5,000 as our contribution in support of your Voter Registration Campaign.

Recent passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 should greatly enhance the efforts of your organization in bringing about a full realization of the right to register and vote to millions of citizens who have not had the full benefits of the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

May God give you the strength to carry on this most noble work.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther
President

WPR:ob
oeiu 42

November 15, 1965

Dear Dr. King:

In response to your invitation of November 12th to join as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Foundation on Nonviolence, I am pleased to advise you I am most happy to join you in this undertaking.

I regret most sincerely that my schedule will prevent my participation in the meeting on November 29th but if it is agreeable, I have asked my brother, Roy Reuther, to represent me.

Kindest personal regards and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

WPR:ob
oeiu 42

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Honarary Chairman
American Foundation on Nonviolence
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

bcc: Roy Reuther
Victor Reuther
Bill Oliver
Frank Winn

NOV 15 1965

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

OK

November 12, 1965

Mr. Walter Reuther
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I have consented to serve as Honorary Chairman of the American Foundation on Nonviolence, a newly named tax exempt foundation. I would like very much for you to join me as a member of this Foundation's Board ofDirectors.

We are about to launch a program to meet what I consider to be urgent and critically important problems confronting 22 million Negro citizens and, indeed, our nation as a whole;

1. to sharply increase voter registration and broadly advance citizenship education in the black belt area of the South;

2. to establish schools for leadership training in nonviolence;

3. to arouse Americans to an awareness that so long as murder, violence and brutalities may be committed with impunity in Lowndes County, Alabama, or in any county, against a civil rights worker, then in no corner of America can any man live in freedom and peace. This ugly, brazen concept that murder of a civil rights worker is not a crime, constitutes a serious threat to nonviolence as an effective vehicle for achieving change.

When I accepted the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo last December, I pledged $25,000.00 of its proceeds to "the furtherance of education in the realm of nonviolence" because I believed that nonviolence was

the essence of the award. Convinced that the Foundation's program can advance this objective, I am making an unconditional gift of the $25,000.00 of Nobel Prize proceeds to it.

The new Board of Directors of the Foundation will hold its organizational meeting on Monday, November 29th, 1965, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, Park Avenue at 50th Street, at 8:30 p. m., at which meeting the structure and program of the Foundation will be fully discussed.

I am hopeful that you will return the enclosed card indicating your willingness to serve on our Board and advising whether you will be able to attend on November 29th.

Sincerely yours,

Martin L. King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km
enc

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

JUL 26 1967

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

Dear Friend:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is holding its tenth Annual Convention August 14-17, 1967. The site of the Convention is Atlanta, Georgia. We see this as quite significant because this is our 10th Anniversary Celebration. The theme of the Convention is "Where Do We Go From Here?"

We are planning what we feel will be a very meaningful Convention. Workshops will be conducted on Economic Development, Civil Rights and Politics, Federal Housing Programs and Poverty. Your participation is certainly needed on all of these subjects to help us chart a course that will enable us to continue to grapple with the problems of human rights. The Convention will be officially opened with the Annual Banquet. Mr. Sidney Poitier will be the guest speaker for the occasion.

We look forward to being with you at our Atlanta Convention. A fact sheet and pre-registration form are enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Martin L. King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

fla

Enclosure

S. C. L. C. 'S

10TH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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WHEN?

August 14-17, 1967

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WHERE?

Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

****

THEME ?

"WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?"

****

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER!!!!

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Convention Coordinator:
Miss Carole F. Hoover

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For additional information,
Write or Call.....

Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone - (522-1420)

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CONVENTION HIGHLIGHTS!!!

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Academy Award Winner, Sidney Poitier speaking at 10th Anniversary Banquet!!!

Entertainment by Aretha Franklin at Banquet!!

Louis R. Martin, Clarence Townes and Hosea Williams - - - - "Civil Rights and Politics"

Address by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.!!!

Address by Congressman John Conyers!!!

Presentation of Rosa Parks Award and Affiliate of the Year Award!!!

Workshops on "New Approaches to Poverty"

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REMEMBER!!!!!!!!

Registration fee is - $3.00

Banquet Tickets are - $10.00

Housing available in private homes for $3.00

Hotel accommodations range from $8.00 to $20.00

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10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION!!!!!

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March 31, 1966

Emil Mazey

Walter P. Reuther

Emergency Contribution to Southern Christian Leadership Conference to reactivate Voter Registration Campaign

Dear Emil:

Would you please arrange for a check in the amount of $1,000, to be made payable to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. This contribution is being used by Dr. Martin Luther King for a registration drive in the South which is being initiated at a rally in Chicago.

Bob Johnston apparently made some commitment, so the check should be forwarded to him for transmittal.

Fraternally,

WPR:lga
oeiu42

Inter-Office Communication

March 23, 1966

To Larry

From Irv

Subject

The attached is self-explanatory but it carries a story with it which Walter had asked me to check out.

Dr. Martin Luther King, in a telegram dated February 18, 1966, requested a contribution from the UAW for a registration drive in the South which was being initiated at a rally in Chicago. Bob Johnston, it was reported, had pledged $5,000 and in addition had made a commitment to supply 96 full time representatives to assist in the campaign. In checking on this report, I was unable to obtain accurate information because Bob was unavailable and Jim Hamby was not quite clear on the facts. Nevertheless, based on Walter's recommendation, I advised Jim that the International Union would make a token contribution of $1,000. He checked this with Bob Johnston and reported back that this would satisfy the situation.

Accordingly, would you please arrange for a check in the amount of $1,000, to be made out to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, designated as an emergency contribution to reactivate the Voter Registration Campaign. Bob asked that the check be sent to him for transmittal.

IB:lm
oeiu42
att.

MAR 9 1966

March 8, 1966

Walter P. Reuther

William H. Oliver

Dr. King's Wire of February 18, 1966

Dear Walter:

This is in response to Brother Irving Bluestone's memorandum of March 1, 1966 to Roy and me with a copy of the wire sent you dated February 18, 1966 by Dr. Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Dr. King has requested an "emergency contribution" for the purpose of reactivating his Voter Registration Campaign in the Selma, Alabama area. As you know, in October 1965 COPE allocated $50,000.00 for the Voter Registration Campaign in five of the southern states: Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina; each state receiving a $10,000.00 allocation for this purpose.

Several developments are underway in Alabama with regards to Voter Registration Campaigns. Our National COPE is active in this area as is the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SNCC and other local community groups.

I am attaching hereto a copy of the New York Times story of January 25th under the caption "U.S. Voter Drive On In Alabama" along with a copy of the New York Times article of January 23, 1966 which reports on the all-negro slate for local elections in the South and the repudiation of this approach by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who underscores this opposition with the assertion that

> They said (Christian Leadership Conference (CLC) and NAACP)
>
> "they were still confident that the needs of southern Negroes could be met through the election of city and county officials of both races."

In early February 1966 the Carnegie Foundation made a grant of $300,000.00 to the Voter Education Project administered by the Southern Regional Council to kickoff the South Wide Voter Registration effort.

The Southern Regional Council sponsored a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia on February 28, 1966 at which U.S. Attorney General Nicholas D. Katzenbach spoke (see copy of New York Times story of March 1, 1966 attached). In addition to the above activity the NAACP is working vigorously to reactivate its local chapter in Selma where some 30 or 40 families have been driven off their share crop farms because of their involvement in voter registration. They are presently relocated on a six-acre tract a few miles east of Selma in tents.

In Dr. King's wire to you of February 18, 1966 he advises of his efforts in Chicago dealing with a current campaign of war on the Chicago slums, along with a host of civil rights organizations in Chicago known as the Coordinating Committee of Community Organizations all of which are sponsoring a fund raising effort for Dr. King's campaign and their individual organizations. This fund raising campaign will be climaxed with a Freedom Festival to be held Saturday, March 12, 1966 at the Chicago Amphitheater.

I would recommend that we provide some minimum emergency contribution to Dr. King in support of his Alabama Voter Registration Program because the problem is indeed enormous, and incidents which flow from it will unquestionably require the organizational activities of Dr. King as well as the rest of those organizations now working in the area.

Fraternally,

WHO:dhg
opeiu42
aflcio
attachments
cc: Roy Reuther
Irving Bluestone

2 Rights Groups Promote All-Negro Slates for Local Elections in the South

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 22 — Two civil rights organizations are quietly committing themselves to the election of all-Negro county and municipal governments in some predominantly Negro areas of the South.

Leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee said in interviews this week that they were taking the step because of a shortage of "responsive" white candidates.

"There is now the feeling among Negroes that we have to hammer out our own destiny and go for broke," said Richard Haley, Southern regional director for CORE.

Leaders, however, in two other organizations—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—remain opposed to all-Negro slates of political candidates.

They said they were still confident that the needs of Southern Negroes could be met through the election of city and county officials of both races.

Tuskegee Is Watched

Within all of the major civil rights organizations, leaders are watching current racial unrest in Tuskegee, Ala., where Negroes, although they outnumber registered white voters, decided during elections two years ago to leave a white majority on city and county governing boards.

This week, leaders of CORE and the student committee were interpreting the Tuskegee unrest as an indication that "coalition" governments of Negroes and whites will not work in areas where the Negro has long been under the dominance of the "white power structure."

By contrast, leaders of the N. A. A. C. P. and the leadership conference viewed Tuskegee's problems as "growing pains" and said "some frustration" could be expected in the transition from all-white to interracial government.

Should the N.A.A.C.P. and the leadership conference eventually join the other organizations in their misgivings about the Tuskegee type of government, the development could have far reaching ramifications in the South.

Although there are now only seven Southern counties in which Negro registered voters outnumber whites, there are 71 others in which registration under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 could produce Negro voting majorities.

Mr. Haley predicted that "several Black Belt counties" in which CORE was influential would "ultimately" have all-Negro or predominantly Negro governments as the result of CORE-supported political campaigns.

Among those he listed were Gadsden County, Fla.; Madison County, Miss., and East Feliciana, West Feliciana and St. Helena Parishes (counties), La.

"The white leaders in the South missed a golden opportunity to bring about a workable coalition of all elements in various governmental units," he said. "But through obstructionism and foot-dragging they have changed the point of view of the freedom movement."

Mr. Haley said experience had taught the Negro that he could negotiate "only symbolic changes" from white leaders in Black Belt counties, that "real changes" would come only when he gained control of local government.

There are dangers, he continued, that Negro control could touch off Negro oppression of whites in counties with Negro majorities and still more white hostility in neighboring counties with white majorities.

"But should we abdicate that danger, by keeping things as they are?" he asked.

"I'm convinced that this [Negro control] ultimately is the best thing that could happen for race relations in the South. Just as whites have long since learned to deal with Negroes in a financial way, I feel they will learn to deal with Negroes politically the same way—on the basis of issues," he said.

Charles Evers, Mississippi field director for the N.A.A.C.P., said that neither he nor his organization would support any drive toward "all-black government."

"We want Negroes in all departments of government, but we don't want to go from white supremacy to black supremacy," Mr. Evers said. "We could vote Negroes into every office in Jefferson County but we would be defeating our own purpose. Negroes have been denied participation in government and don't have the experience or the training to run it as of now."

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said he considered experience and training to be less important than "being responsive to the needs of the people."

He said his organization was helping to create all-Negro political organizations, which are using the black panther as their political symbol, in Greene County, Ala., and in neighboring Lowndes County, where there were two civil rights slayings last year.

"We are doing it," he said, "because there is no white officeholder in the county who is responsive to the needs of Negroes, and we know there won't be any white person running who is responsive."

In some instances, Mr. Lewis continued, it "might be necessary to have all-Negro government before you can have a workable interracial government."

"Philosophically, I'm for interracial government," he said, "but it [all-Negro government] is one of the realities we are going to have to witness and live with in many parts of the South, perhaps for a long period of time, as a transitional sort of thing."

Whites Are Backed

At the headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Randolph Blackwell, program director, said he had "not abandoned confidence" in the possibility that acceptable white candidates would emerge in Black Belt counties.

"It is much too early to arrive at any hard and fast conclusions about this thing," he said. "If white candidates come forward and take responsible positions on issues, I am confident they will be elected.

"I don't believe that the Negroes of Alabama or any Southern state will evade this opportunity for electing people because of their positions on public issues rather than the color of their skins."

While civil rights leaders were discussing the wisdom of interracial versus all-Negro government as an issue with wide-ranging application this week, Negroes in Tuskegee were heatedly debating the question on a local level.

The issue developed in Tuskegee, a Negro college town and seat of Macon County where whites account for only 1,700 of the 6,700 population, after a white service station attendant was arrested—and later charged—in the slaying of a Negro student.

Students from Tuskegee Institute started protest demonstrations against the slaying and, then, this week, expanded them into an attack on the city's interracial government.

"Macon County is 85 per cent Negro," read one student picket sign. "Negroes should run the government."

Dr. Stanley Smith, a professor of sociology at the institute and one of the two Negroes on Tuskegee's five-member City Council, said he believed the sign reflected the opinion of a "definite minority."

He said that "most Tuskegee Negroes believe definite progress has been made" since the city switched from all-white to interracial government in 1964.

"They believe," he declared, "that if it is evil to have all-white government, its is also evil to have all-Negro government."

Another faculty member, the dean of students, Percival B. Phillips, thought, however, that most students and many faculty members now favored all-Negro government and objected to the city's image as a "model city in race relations."

"The students have not yet seen where it paid any dividends when the Negro has held back and not taken over full political power where it is possible."

On the other hand, Dr. Phillips said, many older Negroes were seing signs of change and believed that "redress for the evils of the past may come."

"The big difference between the two sides in this whole dispute," he said, "is the rate of speed with which change should come."

U.S. VOTER DRIVE ON IN BIRMINGHAM

23 Examiners Begin Work—Few Negroes Register

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Jan. 24—Federal voting examiners, responding to demands for help in registering Negroes, flooded into Alabama's largest city today and went to work.

But by mid-day, fewer than 300 persons had turned up to register—an average of 13 voters for each of the 23 examiners.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was counted on to stir interest among prospective Negro applicants with a whirlwind half-day visit. He arrived late this afternoon.

Dr. King immediately swung into a strenuous round of speeches at rallies throughout Jefferson County. Three hundred Negroes applauded him at Thurgood African Methodist Episcopal Church in Birmingham when he told them:

"I am here to join with you in the beginning and the continuation of the most far-reaching and massive voter registration drive ever held anywhere in the South."

Urges Purge of Racists

Declaring that the Negro voters' job was to "democratize the total political structure of the state," he said, "we plan to purge the State of Alabama of all its racist politicians, and we've got to do the job through the ballot."

Hosea Williams, director of voter education for Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, promised to produce large numbers of applicants for the examiners during the days ahead.

"We're just not rolling yet," he said. He said he had understood that the examiners would not be organized and ready to work for two or three days.

The civil rights leaders were still not fully satisfied by the Government's response on the examiners. Dr. King said on his arrival that the Government had an obligation to make it convenient for Negroes to register and that his organization would continue to press for sending the examiners into Negro neighborhoods and for keeping the offices open late into the evenings.

The examiners began on a schedule of 8:30 A.M. to 7:30 P.M. They are stationed in three central locations in Jefferson County.

1,500-a-Day Capacity

Timothy Mullis of Atlanta, regional coordinator of the civil rights program for the United States Civil Service Commission, said the examiners were ready to process 1,000 to 1,500 persons a day.

"We anticipate this many and we are equipped to handle them," he said. "We can get more manpower and space if they are needed."

Nine of the 23 examiners sent by Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach are Negroes.

Fifteen examiners are in the Birmingham Post Office. Four are at Bessemer and four at Fairfield—suburbs of Birmingham.

The slow start by the Federal examiners produced some quiet declarations of "I told you so" at the Jefferson County Courthouse. County officials had insisted all along that they could process all Negroes who cared to register.

The local registrars were about twice as busy as the Federal men today. By 1:15 P.M., the county registrars had registered 472 persons.

Exactly half were white, indicating that the Negro drive had touched off a counter move in the white community.

The local registrars and officials have insisted stoutly that no discrimination has been practiced and that Negroes have been given every opportunity to register in Bermingham.

The Justice Department announced last week that it would send the examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the department had expressed dissatisfaction with the pace of Negro registration despite recent gains.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1966.

U.S. TO UNDERPLAY VOTER DRIVE ROLE

Negroes Decry Katzenbach Stress on Local Action

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Feb. 28—Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach told civil rights leaders today he expected more than half of the eligible Negroes in the Deep South to vote in this year's elections.

However, he said private organizations, rather than the Federal Government, had chief responsibility for getting them registered.

After his speech, which drew mild applause, some of the civil rights leaders expressed disappointment that Mr. Katzenbach had not pledged the immediate appointment of more Federal voting examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

"I still feel we need more registrars," said the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. "We will not be able to go into all the counties where there is a need with voter education projects."

"It looks like we will have to have more demonstrations to get examiners," said Dr. King, noting that examiners had been appointed in Birmingham after his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, conducted street demonstrations there.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said Mr. Katzenbach had made a "forthright statement" but that the Federal presence was needed at the polls in large areas of the South. He pointed out that there were no Federal examiners in Georgia, the state with the largest number of unregistered Negroes of voting age.

"He put the burden right back on us," said a member of the Southern Regional Council, which sponsored the meeting.

Their statements underscored a basic disagreement that still exists between civil rights groups and the Justice Department on voter registration despite stepped-up enforcement of the act and some impressive gains made under it.

Mr. Katzenbach spoke at a luncheon at Atlanta's new Marriotte Motor Hotel marking the start of a new Southwide voter education project by the council. A similar project resulted in the registration of about 700,000 Negroes in 11 states prior to the elections of 1964.

About 600 civil rights leaders, representing the major organizations in all Southern states, attended.

Mr. Katzenbach said that as of Feb. 1 about 200,000 Negroes had been registered by local officials in voluntary compliance with the Voting Rights Act in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina, the five states principally affected.

In addition, he said, Federal examiners in 36 counties have registered more than 100,000 Negroes since the act was signed last Aug. 6, thus bringing the total five-state Negro

"I hope and expect," Mr. Katz-

This represents less than 40 per cent of those eligible.

"I hope and expect," Mr. Katenbach said, "that by the time of the next election in each of these states, more than half of the voting-age Negro population will register—and will vote."

Mr. Katzenbach pointed out that Federal examiners had been sent in where local officials had refused to make registration accessible. He said he would appoint more examiners if necessary, but his speech stressed the duty of private organizations.

"The most important generating factor is local organizations," he declared. "Counties which have extensive Negro registration, whether by local officials or by Federal examiners, are counties in which registration campaigns have been conducted. In counties without such campaigns, even the presence of examiners has been of limited gain."

WPR

March 23, 1966

Larry

Irv

The attached is self-explanatory but it carries a story with it which Walter had asked me to check out.

Dr. Martin Luther King, in a telegram dated February 18, 1966, requested a contribution from the UAW for a registration drive in the South which was being initiated at a rally in Chicago. Bob Johnston, it was reported, had pledged $5,000 and in addition had made a commitment to supply 96 full time representatives to assist in the campaign. In checking on this report, I was unable to obtain accurate information because Bob was unavailable and Jim Hamby was not quite clear on the facts. Nevertheless, based on Walter's recommendation, I advised Jim that the International Union would make a token contribution of $1,000. He checked this with Bob Johnston and reported back that this would satisfy the situation.

Accordingly, would you please arrange for a check in the amount of $1,000, to be made out to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, designated as an emergency contribution to reactivate the Voter Registration Campaign. Bob asked that the check be sent to him for transmittal.

IB:lm
oeiu42
att.

Inter-Office Communication

June 10, 1966

To Walter

From Irv

Subject

Mildred, upon our request, has checked the $12,000 salary which Hosea Williams of SCLC is receiving from the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Church makes a contribution to SCLC annually of $12,000 and SCLC is using this to pay Williams.

The Church maintains that it has no control over the use of the funds once it has made its contribution.

IB:lm
oeiu42

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

JUL 29 1966

July 27, 1966

Mr. Walter Reuther
President UAW
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

Message

Dear Mr. Reuther:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is holding its Tenth Annual Convention in Jackson, Mississippi, August 8-11, 1966. The official opening is scheduled for Tuesday morning, August 9th at the Masonic Temple.

Our convention theme is "Human Rights--the Continuing Struggle". We have made many strides toward freedom, but there is still much to be done. It is significant, too, that we come together in the state of Mississippi which has come to symbolize so many of the problems we face. We are always encouraged by the support you give to our efforts to help America realize her dream of becoming a truly great society.

We know it will be difficult for you to be present, so we are asking that you send Greetings to the Convention. We expect about one thousand delegates from across the South and the nation, and they will be honored and inspired by a message from you.

Please send your message to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, c/o Mrs. Dorothy Cotton, the King Edward Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi.

Very truly yours,

Martin L. King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

need for broadest possible coalition

despite diff. + prosecution struggle must go on in terms of non-violence

basic concept

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

JUL 5 1966

June 30, 1966

Mr. Walter Reuther, President
United Auto Workers
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Walter:

Words are inadequate for me to express my personal appreciation for taking time out of your extremely busy schedule to join us on the Mississippi March. The presence of such a distinguished American, as yourself, added meaning and dignity, and purpose to the march. Our struggle is often difficult and at times we feel that we are moving down a long and desolate corridor with no exit sign, but we receive new courage and vigor to carry on when we know that friends of good will, such as yourself, are supporting us. Your genuine good will, your broad humanitarian concern, and your unswerving devotion to the principles of freedom and justice serve as a beacon light of hope to millions of disinherited people.

Let me thank you for the support that UAW has consistently given us across the South and our Chicago movement. I must confess that I will need this support more than ever now because I am fighting the battle of my life. As you probably know, there are forces of black nationalism and violence creeping into the movement which can only be counter-acted by strong organizational resources on the part of those who believe in a coalition of conscience and a peaceful solution to our difficult problems.

I am sorry that the pressures of the March and the endless details surrounding it made it impossible for me to talk with you at length. I hope it will be possible for us to sit down and talk together on your

STRAIGHT WIRE August 10, 1966

Southern Christian Leadership Conference - Dr. Martin Luther King
c/o Mrs. Dorothy Cotton
King Edward Hotel
Jackson, Mississippi

The thoughts and the support of the UAW go out to you, to the delegates, and to all the many adherents of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as you hold your convention in Jackson, Mississippi. I want to say not only that we are with you in spirit, but that we shall truly have a Great Society in this great land when all Americans are with you in spirit and when we are truly one nation in upholding and fulfilling those human rights set forth so eloquently in our Declaration of Independence.

You focus on the heart of the matter in stressing the continuing struggle for these rights. And you affirm the highest ideals of our national and spiritual heritage in reminding us all, black and white, North and South, that, as Paul said, we are all members one of another, and hence must learn to live together as brothers.

Democracy itself is and must be a continuing revolution. One of our greatest democratic revolutionaries, Tom Paine, said, "Where liberty is not, there is my country." You are heirs of that great tradition, for you are going out, with great courage and sacrifice, into the troubled regions of this land where true liberty and justice are not yet fully realized, and you are challenging us to live up to our ideals.

The struggle, as we all know, has not been easy and is not over. It will require the widest possible coalition of democratic elements from every

a walk of our national life; and it will demand of all of us the same firm determination always shown by you and your organization to adhere, despite all provocation, to the fundamental concept of non-violence.

We wish you well on this occasion and we pledge to you our continuing solidarity and support in the months and years ahead, as we pursue together this struggle for the heart and soul and well-being of America.

All good wishes.

WPR:ob
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther, President
International Union, UAW

FEB 18 1966

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WUY529 WUA033 PA012 MB636 M CCY45 NL PD 1
EXTRA
CHICAGO ILL 17
WALTER P RUETHER PRESIDENT UNITED AUTO WORKERS
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE DET
IN TIME OF CRISIS'S SCLC HAS BEEN ABLE TO CALL ON
A FEW CLOSE FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS FOR HELP. PRESENTLY WE
ARE CONFRONTED BY A CRISIS OF AN OPPORTUNITY MORE
THAN 2 MILLION NEGROS REMAIN UNREGISTERED ACROSS THE SOUTH
REGISTRATION BOOKS CLOSED IN 30 DAYS FOR PRIMARIES. WE
DESPERATELY NEED FUNDS TO COMPLETE THE JOB WHICH WAS BEGUN
AT SELMA SIMULTANEOUSLY WE ARE LEADING WAR ON SLUMS IN CHICAGO
AND ATTEMPTING TO ORGANIZE THE UNEMPLOYED. FINANCIAL
BURDEN OVERWHELMING. IF POSSIBLE WILL YOU PLEASE SEND AN
EMERGENCY CONTRIBUTION PLEASE SEND TO MY PERSONAL ATTENTION
334 AUBURN AVENUE NORTHEAST ATLANTA GEORGIA WARMEST PERSONAL
REGARDS
MARTIN LUTHER KING JR PRESIDENT SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.MM

845A EST FEB 18 66

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

May 7, 1969

Hosp. Wkrs.

Emil Mazey

Walter Reuther

Pursuant to the conversation that Irv Bluestone had with yourself, Leonard and Pat, would you please arrange to have a check in the amount of $10,000, made payable to the Hospital Workers Union, Local 1199B. This will be a UAW contribution to the strike of the hospital workers in the Charleston County and Medical College hospitals in Charleston, So. Carolina.

In addition, would you please have a check made payable to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the amount of $500. This will be one of four weekly checks of $500 each to be contributed to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and earmarked specifically for Southern Christian Leadership Conference efforts and support for the hospital workers struggle in Charleston.

Would you please have these checks transmitted immediately to me so that I can take them with me to Charleston on Sunday.

WPR:lbm
opeiu42

return from Europe.

A Friend,

Martin

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km

Dictated by Dr. King, but signed in his absence.

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

JUL 28 1967

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

July 26, 1967

Dick

Dick

Dick

Greetings

Mr. Walter Reuther, President
United Auto Workers Union
8000 East Jefferson Street
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

As you know, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is holding its tenth Anniversary Convention in Atlanta, Georgia on August 14 - 17, 1967. The Convention will be formally opened with our Anniversary Awards Banquet at the Regency-Hyatt Hotel on August 14th at 8:00 P.M.

The theme of this years Convention is "Where Do We Go From Here?" Every Workshop and every address will be geared to a realistic probe of the question, "Where Do We Go From Here?" With the continued support that we receive from you and other persons of goodwill, I feel that we will gleam a clear direction from this Convention.

We would be honored if you would join us. If you are unable to do so, we would appreciate Greetings from you to our Convention. We are expecting some fifteen-hundred delegates from across the nation and a message from you would be most inspiring to them.

Please send your message to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in care of Miss Carole Hoover, the Regency-Hyatt House Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

gss

STRAIGHT Wire

August ~~11~~ 15, 1967

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. King:

I regret exceedingly that the current contract negotiations with the major companies in the automobile industry will deny me the opportunity to join you at the Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, August 14 - 17, 1967.

In behalf of the UAW, however, and in my own behalf, I convey to you greetings and best wishes for a successful convention in this period when America is in crisis and is in dire need of the good will, the wisdom and the commitment necessary to provide affirmative, constructive leadership in solving the ills of our affluent society.

Over a hundred years ago, Lincoln provided us with our answer when he said that a house divided against itself cannot stand. The tragic fact is that a century after that homely wisdom was spoken in a society professing to believe that all men are created equal, we remain a

house divided in America. We must honestly acknowledge the great wrongs we have committed, and we must spare no effort to heal the divisions in American life by converting the rhetorical promise of the Great Society into any everyday reality for while and black men alike. The trouble is not that we lack the practical ~~e~~ means to translate promise into reality; it is that we have lacked the will and the sense of national purpose to commit ourselves and our resources to this ~~taks~~ task.

We cannot afford to succumb to the delusion that peace and order can be assured in the nation merely by squelching the irreconciliables, in the absence of fundamental justice. Slugging it out along the color line will do more than destroy the centers of our cities -- it will break the heart of our democratic faith in the capacity of free men to build true communities. Let us rather go about the necessary work of building those true communities. Let us destroy the ghettos -- not by fire and riot, but by a national reordering of priorities and a national decision really to end poverty and assure job, educational, housing and health opportunity for all among us. Let us, in

other words, face the facts of our historical heritage, which dictate that we ~~live together~~ live together as one nation, drawing strength rather than fear or hostility from our rich diversity and using our unique wealth and power to provide a good life for all our people.

Let us join together [redacted] men of good will of all races and creeds ~~in strengthening the solidarity and brotherhood enriched by the substance and spirit of human diversity and~~ Together we can build a better tomorrow and shape it in the image of peace, freedom ~~and~~ and social justice.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Reuther

WPR

AUG 25 1967

Inter-Office Communication

UAW

August 21, 1967

To Walter P. Reuther

From William H. Oliver

Subject Speech of Dr. Martin L. King at Southern Christian Leadership Conference, August 15, 1967.

Dear Walter:

Attached hereto is a copy of the speech by Dr. Martin L. King which you should find of interest, delivered at the Southern Leadership Conference at Atlanta, Georgia on August 15, 1967.

You may also find of interest the attached column from the Texarkana, Arkansas News, "Breaking out of the Ghetto".

Kindest regards.

Fraternally,

William H. Oliver

WHO/flo
opeiu42aflcio

enclosures

CC: Irv Bluestone
Larry Gettlinger
Bill Beckham

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

UNIONIZING PLAN

Our plan is to choose people from all over the south who show promise of being potential Union organizers and leaders and send them to the north to work with the various Unions to learn all the phases of Union operations, organizing, running meetings, etc.

We would hope to have them up north for from three to four months working in the Union offices or in the field so that they can familiarize themselves with the ways and means to operate unions.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will provide housing for these people in the cities where they would be located but we would hope that the Unions would provide living expenses for the people while they are in the north.

From this plan w e hope to then, with the cooperation of all the Unions, bring Unions into every sphere of labor activity here in the south w here Unions do not now exist.

We invite you to discuss this plan with us, share with us your views and let us know if and how your union can help.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., PRESIDENT

MR. RANDOLPH BLACKWELL, PROGRAM DIRECTOR

TO ALL UNION REPRESENTATIVES:

B ecause of the fact that the working class in the south, both Negro and white are not informed about the make-up of Unions in our present day, they are still under the delusion that Unions are Communist or Communist-Front organizations and, therefore, they do not trust them and are afraid to have them introduced widely in the south.

However, we are convinced that Unions are a most important factor in changing the condition of the poorer classes in the south and for removing the lack of parity between the wages of north and south.

In order to change the ideas and misconceptions of potential Union leaders in the south we have evolved a plan which we hope will meet with your approval and cooperation. It is the best type of plan that we can come up with but we are open to your advice and suggestions.

The following page is an outline of our plan. Mr. Randolph B lackwell is in charge of the plan and Mr. Ralph Henry is the Field Representative.

TEXARKANA, ARK.
NEWS
— D. 5,552 —
TEXARKANA METROPOLITAN AREA
JUL 25 1967

RECEIVED
JUL 1967
FAIR PRACTICES

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Alex Fuller
Director of Civil Rights

Inside Labor

Breaking Out Of the Ghetto

By Victor Riesel

WASHINGTON, D. C.: — There's a distant rumbling which is sociological, not meteorological. Those who have heard the thunder before, including those who covered the wartime Detroit riots, know the meaning of the ugly sounds. To the sensitive ear, they portend Negro -white street warfare, battles breaking out of the "ghettoes" and riots at the plant gates of America's massive industries.

Unless there is a man-made cool, it will explode as restless young Negro workers in the mass production fields confront bitter white workers who want neither instant nor retroactive integration of supervisory and better paying skilled jobs in the land's mammoth mills.

Few realize that the NAACP labor specialists have been spending more time on this sector of the sprawling industrial front than anywhere else. It just doesn't hit the headlines. But in the past year there have been demonstrations in 48 cities on the issues of upgrading hundreds of thousands off Negroes from the "floor" and the "line" to skilled classifications, foremen and management echelons.

Now there will be increased militancy in Negro leadership cadres as the Reverend Martin Luther King pushes his Operation Breadbasket against the General Motors Corp.

Soon the campaigns will flare not only in the auto and steel arenas but in "rubber, oil, packinghouses," and other highly unionized fields. Thus there will be open conflict not alone with the AFL-CIO national leaders, but with thousands of local union officials, shop stewards and the rank and file of young white workers.

Angry Negro outcries demand leapfrogging over white workers in retribution and reparation "for a hundred years of downgrading." Grimly, the response is that the white workers will not give up their places on promotion and seniority lists.

No union is exempt. True, Herb Hill, the NAACP ambulatory anathema to organized labor, says that Reuther's United Auto Workers union is the "best." But influential "young turks" inside the NAACP say that the auto workers' "Solidarity House" (national headquarters in Detroit) has too much influence in the NAACP and is standing in the way of true upgrading in the car industry.

Deep inside the Justice Dept. and the federal government's "Title Seven" section of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforcement officials moan high and low. They're caught up in the tidal wave.

They tell trusted visitors that the auto industry, for example, is far ahead of many others. The percentage of Negro employment in car production is far higher than the Negro average of the population. Of GM's huge work force, 63,000 are non-whites — or 12.4 per cent of its production employes. And of the 63,000, only 15 per cent are of the common "laborers or service workers" classification. Thus 85 per cent are in an upgraded classification.

The percentages at Ford and Chrysler are slightly higher — in the Negro's favor. The push, nonetheless, will be unrelenting in auto. But "the clash at steel" is expected to be noisier. Herb Hill reports that a great many of his 1600 complaints filed with the E.E.O.C. and in the courts hit at the steel corporations and the United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO).

Federal observers clinging desperately to their anonymity, understandably, and industry observers as well as the union chiefs regret the assault on the huge metal industry.

The most recent attack was launched by CORE's "Steel and Shipyard Workers Committee" against the Bethelehem Steel Corp.

This is regrettable, insiders say, because the company actually opened its higher classifications and supervisory lists to Negroes as far back as 1956, and has worked hard at it since.

There are 25,000 workers for example, at Bethlehem's vast Sparrows Point, Md., tidewater mill. Of these, an estimated 10,000 — 40 per cent — are Negroes.

Scores are in foreman and supervisory positions. The white workers fumed. They did not want their "boss" to be colored. They did not want their shower, locker and toilet facilities desegregated. But the corporation was hardnosed. It integrated and integrated. Today at least 400 of the 5,000 skilled craftsmen are Negroes. This awakened no great fraternal joy in the white workers. The range now is almost 10 per cent — or about the Negro population average in the nation. The jobs pay very well.

So Bethlehem has been a leader in an industry which itself opened up its upgrading rosters some 10 years ago. But the push now is for leapfrogging. Union and industry people say the groups such as the "Steel and Shipyard Workers Committee" want preference and emotion to replace skills and ability — and deplorable lack of qualification.

In a hundred steel and auto cities — from Sparrows' Point to Gary to Fontana, and from Mahwah, N. J., to Detroit and the California coastal mill belt — company executives are seeking Negro manpower for upgrading even into the executive suite level.

This means a search for men to put into the tool and die shops as well as white collar management offices. It means bucking the tightly organized white skilled craftsmen who already feel they are underprivileged and underpaid. It means that both management and labor's leadership are on the spot. There will be movement. Some of it will be massed leapfrogging over white workers with long seniority.

Unless it is all delicately handled, the explosive force on the outside will collide head on with the compact cadres on the inside.

Then will come the riots. That's blunt. But true.