334 AUBURN AVE. N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE 524–1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

AUG 27 1962

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

Contribution

August 22, 1962

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President
U A W
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

This is just a note to express my deep personal appreciation to you and the UAW for your generous contribution of $2,000. I can assure you that this gift will go a long, long way in helping us carry on the work that stands before us. While we are working all over the South, our most challenging center at the moment is Albany, Georgia. We are working to break down the rigid barrier of segregation in that southwest Georgia community. Along with our work in non-violent direct action, we are seeking to double the number of Negro registered voters. This, we feel, will change the present political climate of that community. So you can see that your contribution will serve a most worthwhile purpose.

I don't know what we would do without friends like you and the United Auto Workers. This type of moral and financial support are of inestimable value for the continuance of our humble efforts.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Martin

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km

41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

MAY 31 1962

May 23, 1962

Mr. Walter Reuther
International United Automobile, Aircraft Workers
Union (AFL-CIO)
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I know how very busy you are, but if you will spare a few moments I am sure you will agree that a subject of real importance is in this letter.

A crucial turning point has arrived in the South with important implications for labor and the civil rights movement. The Supreme Court's recent decision affecting reapportionment of state legislatures, and the new emphasis on voter registration and greater representation by the Negro community, together with some limited successes in the election of labor-supported candidates are the main ingredients in this encouraging new situation.

For some years the SCLC, which I have the pleasure of leading, has initiated and supported various forms of direct action sit-ins, bus boycotts, freedom rides, mass marches, and so forth. Each has been successful in leveling another barrier of segregation. The time has now come for a utilization of all awakened forces in a full scale assault to achieve a major break-through.

This central task we believe to be an effective voting and registration campaign in key southern states. We have already begun this work and results demonstrate that we can create new balance in southern political forces.

A larger Negro vote will give courage to southern moderates even more effectively than Federal court decisions. Simultaneously, it will slow down or stop the extremists. Beyond the South, long term changes affecting labor and the nation are inevitable. The new Negro vote is certain to be overwhelmingly liberal and essentially pro-labor as it has been since Roosevelt.

A large vote will send forth from the South a new breed -- liberal Congressmen whose alliance with their Northern counterparts will alter the balance in Congress and end the reign of the Dixiecrat-Northern reactionary alliance.

When that day comes, segregation will breathe its last -- the South as a haven for run-away shops will end -- and labor's right to organize in the South will become a reality. Labor's program in Congress will have staunch friends from the South.

To successfully undertake a voter registration drive, we have mapped plans contained in the enclosed report. Our budget is $100,000.00, but less than one-half of this amount will be underwritten through prospective grants from the Voter Education Project under the supervision of the Southern Regional Council. More than $60,000.00 remains to be raised through other sources. We appeal for your help with this budget.

Our strength can be multiplied by your contribution because foundations will be prepared to participate if their funds are not our only resources. We have until now sustained ourselves with the small but numerous donations of thousands of individuals, white and Negro.

You can thus see how very important your assistance would be at this time. I hope sincerely you will support us in this new surge forward to free a people and enrich the democracy of our nation. With warmest personal regards.

Faithfully,

Martin Luther King, Jr., President

MLK/dm

June 1, 1962

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 23rd.

We share with you the importance of carrying forward a successful registration drive in the South and its broad implications upon both labor and the civil rights movement.

Since my schedule will require my being on the road in the immediate period ahead and I will be participating in a number of international labor conferences in Europe during July, I have taken the liberty of discussing your letter with my brother Roy who, as you know, is directing the national registration drive for the AFL-CIO. I have asked Roy to be in touch with you so that we can cooperate in this important area of our common interest.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

WPR:ob
oeiu 42
cc: Roy L. Reuther

Walter P. Reuther
President

RY

First Baptist Church

347 North Ripley Street
Telephone AMherst 4-6921
Montgomery 4, Alabama

FEB 27 1959

Ralph D. Abernathy, Pastor
Residence
1327 South Hall Street
Telephone AMherst 4-6364

February 25, 1959

Dear Mr. Reuther:

First, I would like to express sincere thanks and appreciation to you on behalf of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for having given your valuable time in conference with us recently. We were more than pleased to see you again and greatly encouraged by meeting with you. We sincerely hope and pray that the struggle in the South will be greatly benefited from this effort. We appreciate so very much your courageous stand in the past and we have all faith and confidence that you will do all within your power to help in the struggle that is now at hand.

In keeping with your request, I am enclosing material which I hope will explain the purpose and program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. I am also mailing, under separate cover, a large quantity of this material which you may distribute among the various labor unions. I am writing your brother, Mr. Roy Reuther, in which I am listing the cities where we are presently conducting voter-registration campaigns. We do hope that he will be able to secure some financial assistance for these campaigns from COPE.

May I wish for you continued success in your great field of endeavor. We know how valuable your time must be and how numerous are the requests for your services. But we do hope that you will find it convenient to help us solve the financial problem of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. There is a great need for funds to help in our long range program. But also there is an immediate need for funds in order that we may continue in our humble efforts to secure rights for all citizens. Anything you can do in our behalf will be greatly appreciated. I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph D. Abernathy

Ralph D. Abernathy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Christian
Leadership Conference, Inc.

Mr. Walter Reuther, President
United Auto Workers Union
8000 E. Jefferson

APR 3 1961

HARRY BELAFONTE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

There are many worthy appeal letters, but the enclosed, written by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is the authentic voice of the Negro in the bitter struggles in the South. Written a few months ago, it remains as timely as to-day's headlines. As I write almost 100 students and ministers are in jail in Atlanta voluntarily choosing jail to bail as a form of protest.

Dr. King's inspiring leadership has infused the whole South of resistance with a dynamic inner courage. This spirit of action and non-violence has influenced every current struggle from the sit-ins to voter registration efforts; desegregation of public facilities such as schools, libraries, transportation and restaurants.

I am sure you feel as I do that this great crusade for freedom deserves our full support. Will you help with desperately needed funds. Please join with me and mail a check to-day.

Sincerely,

Harry Belafonte

Harry Belafonte

Martin Luther King, Jr.
407 Auburn N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Contribution

Oct. 20, 1960

Dear Friend:

I have dictated this letter to you from the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta. Thirty five students are imprisoned here with me merely because we sought equal treatment at a lunch counter. It is difficult to prophesy what tomorrow will bring. With sufficient national pressure we may be released soon. Without it, we may remain in jail indefinitely.

This, however, is but one facet of our struggle. Recently, we of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, experimented with a new technique; large groups of Negroes in twelve southern cities marched to the registrar's office and demanded they be put on the voting rolls. They warned evasive officials that they would stand in the office until their lawful rights were granted. Thus was born the "stand-in" for voter registration.

Only a one day demonstration was intended - a foray to ascertain what delaying devices would be used to deny us our rights. In one community in Tuskeegee County a registration proceedure designed for Negro applicants required four hours for completion of the application. Based on this experience, and various others, the "stand-in" forces are now planning large scale voter registration drives.

We who are organizing these significant efforts are fully aware that our actions may be countered, as in the past, with brutal violence. Beatings, bombings and even cold blooded murders have been used to prevent Negro registration. On October 15, our field secretary, Mr. Blake, while working on voter registration in Shreveport, La., was fired at from a speeding car. The bullet missed his head by inches. But he drove on to continue his work. Again and again the Negro people, on their determined march to freedom, have answered such attacks with a courage which awes even their enemies.

But courage, determination, even willingness to risk death do not guarantee victory in this struggle. Funds are needed for legal defense, for the care of families of victims, for educational materials, etc.

Contribute now - today - to our many-sided fight! Share in the coming great triumph of Democratic Rights and Human Dignity!

Please contribute as generously as you can. Every contribution - even the smallest - is tangible evidence to those who are making the deepest sacrifices for our common objectives, that others, in their own way, are in the fight with them.

This is a critical appeal in a crisis period. Make today significant for freedom with your contribution. With my warmest personal appreciation of your past help and in anticipation, I am,

Sincerely

Martin L. King Jr.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

P.S. Please make checks payable to Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

OFFSET PRINTING 150

CONSTITUTION

and

BY-LAWS

-:- of the -:-

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Atlanta, Georgia

CONSTITUTION

and

BY-LAWS

-:- of the -:-

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Atlanta, Georgia

PREAMBLE

Our nation came into existence as a protest against tyranny and oppression. It was created upon the fundamental assumption that all men are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights. The Government exists to protect the life and liberty of all without regard to race, color or religion.

The Federal Government has announced this principle and pledged repeatedly in its basic documents equal protection under the law. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, particularly the Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th Amendments, the Federal Civil Rights Laws, and many recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court proclaim unequivocally that all American Citizens shall be accorded full citizenship rights and opportunities without discrimination.

Aims and Purposes

I. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has the basic aim of achieving full citizenship rights, equality, and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of American life.

II. Social and economic forces are bringing about great changes in the South. Urbanization, industrialization, scientific agriculture and mass education are making it possible to remove the barriers to a prosperous, free and creative life for all Southerners. However, these barriers will not disappear automatically.

Accordingly, the responsibility of the Southern Negro in the struggle for a better society is two-fold:

A. The Negro must join with other Southerners in solving Southern problems; and

B. Since the South is a part of the nation, the Negro (and other Southerners) must cherish and defend our fundamental, democratic heritage. Thus, simultaneously,

he will be fulfilling his obligations to his country and to himself as a first-class citizen.

To secure these ends, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is established, dedicating itself to justice, refusing to cooperate with evil, appealing to the conscience of man, and working for social change but always in a spirit of good will and non-violence.

III. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is organized as a service agency to facilitate coordinated action of local protest groups and to assist in their sharing of resources and experiences. The magnitude of the problem calls for the maximum commitment of resources of all institutions in Negro life, North and South. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference seeks to cooperate with all existing agencies attempting to bring full democracy to our great nation.

BY-LAWS
of the
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, INC.

ARTICLE I.
Name, Area, and Purposes

SECTION 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the "Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc."

SECTION 2. Area. The geographic area covered will comprise the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

This geographic area may be increased or reduced at any meeting of the members as hereinafter explained.

SECTION 3. Purposes. The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain Christian guidance to aid in improving the Civic, Religious, Economic, and Cultural Conditions in the South and in the Nation. Said Corporation intends to strive towards greater understanding in all efforts toward interracial development and good will; to assist in developing Christian Leadership in the South and in the Nation; to work with National, State and Local Agencies in development of Christion fellowship; to work with such groups in the attainment of interracial unity, harmony, understanding and opportunity; to secure, through research and action programs the practices of opportunity for all the people, irrespective of race; to educate, and offer information concerning opportunities; to conduct public forums on the obligations of Citizenship; to promote registration and other Civic participation which fulfills the individual's obligations and promotes the general welfare. This organization hopes to achieve its purposes through non-violent direct action, lectures, dissemination of literature and other means of public instruction.

ARTICLE II.

Members

SECTION 1. The members of the Corporation shall be as follows:

a. Membership in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. shall consist of a predetermined number.

b. The membership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. shall consist of affiliate organizations.

c. Only representatives of affiliate organizations, hereinafter defined, shall be voting delegates.

d. Affiliate organizations shall have the right to be represented by a maximum of five (5) voting delegates provided their annual fee of twenty-five ($25) dollars for each voting delegate has been paid.

e. Accredited visitors are those persons who are representatives of local groups or non-affiliated organizations, those over five (5) voting delegates of affiliate organizations and other individuals not necessarily representative of any group but interested in the program of this organization, who have been approved by the Executive Board of this organization or any committee designated by the the Executive Board to approve or disapprove such visitors. Accredited visitors, previously defined, must also satisfy the registration requirements as determined by the Executive Board of this organization. Such accredited visitors, having satisfied all requirements shall have the right to participate in discussions but not to vote.

SECTION 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights.

a. Notice of the place, day and hour of every regular meeting shall be given to each member of the Executive Board and to each affiliate organization not less than twenty (20) days before the meeting.

b. No rights of any member in the corporation shall be assignable or transferable, and all rights shall terminate upon the death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

SECTION 3. Voting. Each delegate shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall elect or pass any measure before this organization. If at any time the Executive Board finds it necessary voting by mail may be conducted on questions in a manner provided by said Board.

SECTION 4. Annual Meetings. The Corporation shall hold two meetings annually. One meeting shall be held the week following the second Sunday in May. The election of Officers and members of the Executive Board shall be held annually the last day of the May meeting. The second meeting will be held the week following the last Sunday in September. These will be general meetings; as such, they will be open for transaction of any business brought before the body by the President or the Executive Board or in any other manner within the power of the Corporation, without special notice of such business unless otherwise provided in these by-laws.

SECTION 5. Quorum. The majority of members present at the two regular meetings will constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE III.

Affiliates

Those organizations or other bodies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. may, at the discretion of this organization, become affiliates of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc., upon such conditions as the Corporation may prescribe. The by-laws of such Organization or bodies shall be approved by the Executive Board or a designated committee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. in advance of affiliation. If the by-laws of an affiliate organization are altered approval of the changes must be secured from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. for affiliation to continue. Affiliated organizations may disaffiliate. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. may require disaffili-

ation on failure of an affiliate to comply with the terms of its by-laws as approved by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc., or in the event this organization concludes that the aims and methods of such organization be no longer closely akin to those of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. All affiliate organizations will contribute a minimum of twenty-five ($25) dollars annually to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc., which entitles such affiliate to the representation of one (1) voting delegate.

ARTICLE IV.

Boards and Committees

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. shall provide for an Executive Board of not more than thirty-three (33) members; at least one person from each Southern State should be on the Board. Nine (9) Board members shall be elected by the Board itself and the other twenty-four (24) members by the Conference. The Executive Board shall serve during the pleasure of the Southern Christian

Leadership Conference, Inc. The President of the Leadership Conference shall also serve as Chairman of the Executive Board. During the intervals between the meetings of the Leadership Conference, the Executive Board shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the Corporation, conferred by the by-laws or the charter of the Corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Leadership Conference. The Executive Board shall keep full account of its transactions. All action by the Executive Board shall be reported to the Leadership Conference at its next meeting, succeeding such action. The Executive Board shall be empowered to fill all vacancies that occur among officers of the Conference and on the Executive Board during the interim between Leadership Conference Meetings.

SECTION 2. Term of Office of Executive Board. The term of office of members of the Executive Board shall be three (3) years. The terms shall be staggered so that eleven (11) members shall be elected each year, eight (8) by the Conference and three (3) by the Board itself.

SECTION 3. Meetings of the Executive Board. The Executive Board shall meet three times annually. One of said meetings will be held one day during the week following the first Sunday in December, the other two meetings shall be held each time the Conference convenes. The Board shall also meet at the call of the Chairman or any seven (7) members of the Board.

SECTION 4. Quorum. At the Executive Board meetings nine (9) members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; if at any meeting there is less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over thirty (30) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

SECTION 5. Removal. At any meeting of the Executive Board called and with the

purpose stated in the call, any member of the Executive Board may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from Office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term.

SECTION 6. Proxies. Every member of the Executive Board may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of the Executive Board only. Proxies shall be in writing and revocable at the pleasure of the member executing same. Unless the duration of the proxy is specified, it shall be invalid after thirty (30) days from the date of its execution.

SECTION 7. Administrative Committee. The administrative committee shall be composed of a maximum of nine (9) members of the Executive Board, appointed by the Chairman of the Executive Board, including the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Counsel. The committee shall act in place of the Executive Board at the discretion of said Board.

SECTION 8. National Advisory Commit-

tee. The Leadership Conference shall establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who are in sympathy with the aims and policies of the Organization, and whose purpose shall be to advise the Leadership Conference on matters pertaining to its work.

SECTION 9. Nominating Committee. The nominating committee shall be composed of seven (7) persons: three (3) persons who are members of the Executive Board, elected by the Executive Board and four (4) persons elected by the Conference. The committee shall be appointed at the October meeting and meet the day of the meeting of the Executive Board in May and make its report to the Executive Board. The Executive Board then conducts the election. The nominating committee shall elect its own Chairman. The nominating committee shall nominate the officers of the Conference and eight (8) members of the Executive Board each year. Conference affiliates will be notified to send in recommendations to the nominating committee thirty (30) days before the committee meets.

SECTION 10. Other Committees. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference or the President may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees deemed desirable and may discontinue the same if necessary.

ARTICLE V.

Officers

The Executive Officers of the Corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; a recording secretary; an assistant secretary; a financial secretary; a treasurer; a chaplain and a historian. The Officers shall have such duties as usually inhere in their respective offices or as may be prescribed by the Executive Board.

The President and the Administrative Board shall have the authority to procure such a professional staff as would be necessary to further the purposes of the Conference, and to outline and supervise their

duties as required by the Conference subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

All Officers must be members of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any regular meeting or by a two-thirds (⅔) vote of the delegates present or by a three-fourths (¾) vote of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VII.

Rules of Procedure

The rules of procedure at meetings shall be according to "ROBERTS' RULES OF ORDER," so far as applicable and when not inconsistent with the charter and the by-laws. The rules of procedure may be suspended by majority vote of those present and voting at any meeting.

CRUSADE
FOR
CITIZENSHIP

Purpose
to DOUBLE
the NEGRO VOTE
in the SOUTH

SPONSORED BY

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

NEGRO VOTER
IN THE SOUTH

There are 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the South.

Yet only 25% of adult Negroes vote as compared with 60% of white adults.

Fully 54% of the potential Negro voters are in the South.

Louisiana has the highest percentage of registered Negroes (18%).

Mississippi has the lowest percentage (less than 2%).

In only 6 of the 82 counties in Mississippi can Negroes vote with any substantial degree of freedom.

Literacy tests have replaced the "white primary" as a means of curbing the Negro vote.

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia all have literacy laws now.

Where literacy laws exist, a Negro's ability to vote depends largely upon the registrar's sense of justice --- or prejudice.

Registration books are often "closed" when Negroes appear.

With less than seven million votes, the South elected 92 congressmen in 1952.

It took more than eighteen million votes to elect 113 representatives from the North.

Thus representatives from the South influence national legislation far out of proportion to the number of voters they represent.

Crusade For Citizenship

TO DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF QUALIFIED NEGRO VOTERS IN THE SOUTH

TO REALIZE the potential voting strength of the Negro population in the South, and to give real meaning to the 1957 Civil Rights Bill, a sustained and vital mass movement must be developed. For no legislation is any good until and unless people make use of it.

1. The basic aims of the Crusade are twofold:

   a) To educate and stimulate Negroes to exercise the vote where they have it.

   b) To help them to obtain the right to vote where, in practice, it does not exist.

2. The Crusade is Non-Partisan. It will not engage in party politics.

3. The Crusade is designed to serve as a Clearing House, to aid, service and strenghten local voting efforts.

4. Registration Clinics, workshops for leaders, public meetings and all mass communication media will be utilized in the Crusade's program.

5. Non-violent resistance will be emphasized to help prepare Negroes spiritually and tactically to meet the opposition they will face.

6. Major emphasis will be placed on registration for the 1960 elections.

7. But voting in all elections, city, state and national will be constantly stressed.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

208 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ROOM 203 — TELEPHONE: JACKSON 5-1763

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
REV. M. L. KING, JR.
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
REV. C. K. STEELE
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
REV. A. L. DAVIS
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
ATLANTA, GA.

SECRETARY
REV. T. J. JEMISON
BATON ROUGE, LA.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
REV. F. L. SHUTTLESWORTH
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

TREASURER
REV. R. D. ABERNATHY
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

CHAPLAIN
REV. KELLEY M. SMITH
NASHVILLE, TENN.

HISTORIAN
L. D. REDDICK, PH.D.
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

ATTORNEY I. M. AUGUSTINE
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

REV. HENRY C. BUNTON
MEMPHIS, TENN.

REV. W. A. DENNIS
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

REV. WALTER L. HAMILTON
NORFOLK, VA.

REV. W. H. HALL
HATTIESBURG, MISS.

DR. ARON E. HENRY
CLARKSDALE, MISS

REV. E. V. HILL
HOUSTON, TEXAS

REV. R. E. JAMES
KNOXVILLE, TENN.

REV. M. L. KING, SR.
ATLANTA, GA.

REV. J. E. LOWERY
MOBILE, ALA.

REV. MATTHEW McCULLUM
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REV. R. K. YOUNG
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

REV. JOHN L. TILLEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ELLA J. BAKER
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

DISTRIBUTED BY

Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
Letter from Harry Belafonte received 4-3-61.

They are trying to raise funds for legal defense, care of families of victims, educational materials, etc. in connection with efforts in the South for equal rights at lunch counters; for voter registration.

No specific amount requested. No previous contribution.

Denied I&B 7/11/61

Beka Fonte Memo

MLK from jail

Re King to
Contribution

in exhibit

5/12/94

Postage Will be Paid by Addressee

No Postage Stamp Necessary If Mailed in the United States

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

First Class Permit No. 3135, Auburn, Ga.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

S. C. L. C.

208 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

328

August 17, 1962

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

Dear Dr. King:

It was nice to have had an opportunity to chat with you on the phone briefly yesterday.

As I advised you, you have our wholehearted support in the common struggle to win equity and decency for all Americans.

I am pleased to enclose two checks in the amount of $1,000 each from the Industrial Union Department and from the UAW to assist in the important work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Kindest personal regards and all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther
President

WPR:ob
oeiu 42
enclosures

bcc: WPR-IUD
James B. Carey
William H. Oliver

August 16, 1962

Emil Mazey

Walter P. Reuther

Dear Emil:

Will you please issue a check in the amount of $1,000 as a contribution to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

This contribution should be charged to the F.E.P.C. Fund.

Fraternally,

WPR:lgm
oeiu42

41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

MAY 31 1962

May 23, 1962

Mr. Walter Reuther
International United Automobile, Aircraft Workers
Union (AFL-CIO)
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I know how very busy you are, but if you will spare a few moments I am sure you will agree that a subject of real importance is in this letter.

A crucial turning point has arrived in the South with important implications for labor and the civil rights movement. The Supreme Court's recent decision affecting reapportionment of state legislatures, and the new emphasis on voter registration and greater representation by the Negro community, together with some limited successes in the election of labor-supported candidates are the main ingredients in this encouraging new situation.

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This central task we believe to be an effective voting and registration campaign in key southern states. We have already begun this work and results demonstrate that we can create new balance in southern political forces.

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To successfully undertake a voter registration drive, we have mapped plans contained in the enclosed report. Our budget is $100,000.00, but less than one-half of this amount will be underwritten through prospective grants from the Voter Education Project under the supervision of the Southern Regional Council. More than $60,000.00 remains to be raised through other sources. We appeal for your help with this budget.

Our strength can be multiplied by your contribution because foundations will be prepared to participate if their funds are not our only resources. We have until now sustained ourselves with the small but numerous donations of thousands of individuals, white and Negro.

You can thus see how very important your assistance would be at this time. I hope sincerely you will support us in this new surge forward to free a people and enrich the democracy of our nation. With warmest personal regards.

Faithfully,

Martin Luther King, Jr., President

MLK/dm

THE CRUSADER

Vol. 1, No 1 Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. February, 1959
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

What of 1959!

Gov. Collins Asks: Mix Post-Grads

TALLAHASSEE (UPI) — Gov. LeRoy Collins made a surprise

Integration Bill Opens Rights Duel

By WARREN DUFFEE
WASHINGTON (UPI)—Fifteen

Gov. Almond Retreats in School Fight

RICHMOND, Va. (AP)—Gov. J. Lindsay Almond Jr. said Wednesday Virginia was at the end of the legal line in attempting to operate a completely racially segregated public school system.

Registration Drive Kickoff

B'ham 'Toughest' Southern City

Bus Desegregation Moving Smoothly

B'ham Bus Suits Won't Be Halted

(Courier Press Service)
BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Negroes

INTRODUCING —

"THE CRUSADER"

For the information and inspiration of our affiliates, supporters, and friends, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will issue a periodic report of happenings, trends, portents, and achievements in the current struggle for human dignity, and racial justice, especially in the South. We hope that THE CURSADER will appear bi-monthly, but this will, of course be conditioned by the limitations of our human and material resources, and the ever-changing social and politicial climate in which we operate. We welcome your comments, criticisms and contributions (both newswise and otherwise).

WHAT IS S.C.L.C.?

The Leadership Conference is organized as a service agency to facilitate coordinated action by local protest groups and to assist in their sharing resources and experiences.

It is southwide in scope, with eleven (11) states presently represented on its Executive Board, and chartered to work in six border states. The official geographic area of SCLC covers Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Missouri, Virginia, West Virginia, Texas, Flordia, Olkahoma, and Tennessee.

AIMS PURPOSES

The Basis aims of SCLC is to achieve full citizenship rights, equality and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of American Life.

Although great changes are taking place in the South because of social, economic, scientific and industrial forces, the barriers to a prosperous, free and creative life for all Southerners, black and white, will not disappear automatically.

To achieve these ends, SCLC is dedicated to justice, refuses to cooperate with evil, and will work unrelentingly for social change, but always in the spirit of good-will and non-violence

ATTENTION!

Organizations and groups whose aims and purposes are closely akin to those of SCLC may become AFFILIATES.

WRITE FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

BACKGROUND

The founding meeting was held in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 10-11, 1957. Indicative of the need for SCLC is the fact that its initial meeting was interrupted by the dynamite blasts that wrecked ---homes---churches in Montgomery the night of January 10, 1957. Subsequent meetings have been held in New Orleans, Montgomery, Memphis, Clarksdale and Norfolk.

From 100 to 200 community leaders attended the workshop sessions and thousands packed the evening gatherings wherever the conference met.

THE CRUSADE FOR CITIZENSHIP, the voter-registration program of SCLC, was launched on February 12, 1958 with 22 Southern cities holding simultaneous mass meetings. Although this was the coldest night in 50 years in the South, over 13,000 persons attended and were instructed and inspired at these meetings.

LEADERS —

-The Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., leader of the world renowned Montgomery Bus Boycott, is initiator and president of SCLC. Associated with him are these distinguished leaders from 11 Southern States:

-REV. C. K. STEELE, dedicated leader of the Tallahassee Bus Boycott, is first vice-president.

(continued on page 3)

SOUND ADVICE - from the past.

In his front page column of January 21st, Ralph McGill, trenchant editor of the Atlanta Constitution offers his fellow southerners some very sound advice. Citing the September, 1958 decision by the United States Supreme Court in which schemes to evade its 1954 school desegregation ruling were discredited, he said:

"In the aftermath of the Virginia action the people of the South might well ask themselves if they will continue to follow extremists advice.

In 1946 when the Supreme Court ruled the white primary illegal these same voices deceived the people by saying that all that had to be done to retain it was to remove all state legislation referring to white primary.

They were wrong!

They were the ones who assured the people that a state might make any sort of voting qualification rules it chose.

They were wrong!

The truth, harsh, severe and unfair though it may seem, has been there all along. But the extremists, by their promises, made it politically dangerous to speak it.

Nothing but tragedy, sorrow and closed schools can come of extremists advice. But the people may follow it if they wish.

They then told the people that if they would build schools to make them equal,, the Court could not rule in that field.

They were wrong!

They then said a state-supported private plan would be the simple, easy out.

They were wrong!

They then insisted tuition payments would be the remedy.

They were wrong!

****

S.C.L.C. LEADERSHIP (Continued)

-Rev. A. L. Davis, second vice-president, helped spearhead the successful action to desegregate busses in New Orleans.

-Rev. Samuel W. Williams, third vice-president and professor of Philosophy at Morehouse College, Atlanta, was one of the plaintiffs in recent bus desegregation victory in Atlanta and played a decisive role in the litigation that cracked r racial barriers at Georgia State College of Business Administration.

-Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth - Birmingham's beleagured but duntless leader serves as recording secretary.

-Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy whose role in the Montgomery bus boycott has caused his home and church to be bombed, is treasurer.

-Rev. Kelley Miller Smith, dynamic young civic leader of Nashville, serves as chaplain.

-Dr. L. D. Reddick, brilliant scholar and writer is the Conference's Historian.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD includes:

-Attorney I. A. Augustine, New Orleans, La.
-Rev. William Holmes Borders, Atlanta, Ga.
-Rev. W. A. Dennis, Chattanooga, Tenn.
-Rev. W. H. Hall, Hattiesburg, Miss.
-Dr. Aaron E. Henry, Clarksdale, Miss.
-Rev. R. E. James, Knoxville, Tenn.
-Rev. J. E. Lowery, Mobile, Ala.
-Rev. Douglass Moore, Durham, N. C.
-Dr. C. O. Simpkins, Shreveport, La.
-Rev. Daniel B. Speed, Tallahassee, Fla.
-Rev. R. K. Young, Little Rock, Ark.
-Mrs. Daisy Bates, Little Rock, Ark.
-Rev. Henry C. Bunton, Memphis, Tenn.
-Rev. Edward Graham, Miami, Fla.
-Rev. Walter L. Hamilton, Norfolk, Va.
-Rev. Edward V. Hill, Houston, Texas
-Rev. M. L. King, Sr., Atlanta, Ga.
-Rev. Matthew McCullum, Orangesburg
-Mr. W. E. Shortridge, Birmingham, Ala
-Rev. R. Julian Smith, Atlanta, Ga.
-Mrs. Katie E. Whickham, New Orleans

STAFF :- Rev. John L. Tilley, Executive Director
Miss Ella J. Baker, Associate Director

ALA. LEADERS MEET

Seventy-five (75) Negro religious, Civic, fraternal and labor leaders from all sections of the state, met in Montgomery Saturday, January 24th, and launched a coordinated action program to make maximum use of the Commission on Civil Rights, the Department of Justice and existing leadership and organizational resources to step-up voter-registration.

"Federal protection of Negro citizens' rights to vote without fear of bodily harm or economic reprisal and to assemble without police interference" were called for in telegrams to President Eisenhower, Attorney General William P. Rogers and majority and minority leaders of both houses of Congress.

The immediate appointment of another Negro to succeed the late Honorable J. Ernest Wilkins on the Civil Rights Commission was urged upon President Eisenhower. Lamenting Mr. Wilkins' death, the group lauded his contributions to the Commission's voter-registration hearing in Montgomery, December 8-9, 1958, and credited him with getting on record much of the most revealing evidence of the denial of voting rights to Negroes in Alabama.

The January 24th meeting was initiated and coordinated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and jointly called by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., S. C. L. C. president, Rev. K. L. Buford, acting president, Tuskegee Civic Association and Mr. W. C. Patton, president, Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting. The three conveners were also elected as a continuing committee to develop closer coordination for future statewide action on civil right issues.

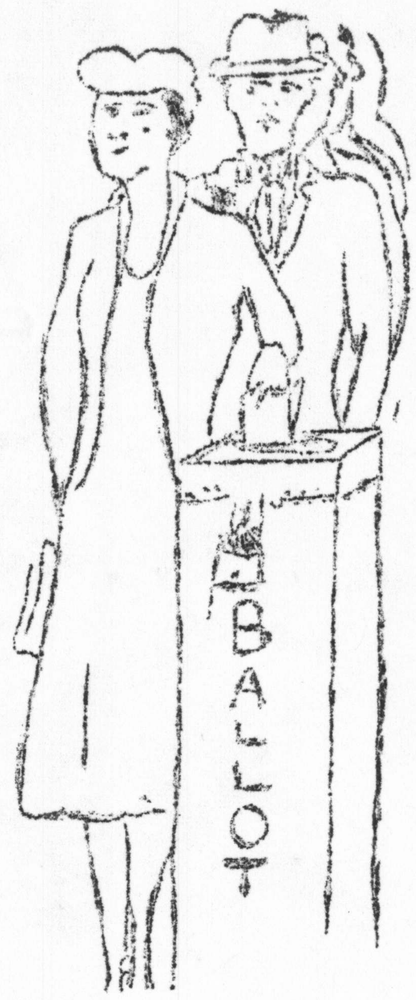
******

LA. SETS DRIVE !

The determined effort of North Louisiana parishes to re-register the ten-thousand (10,000) Negroes purged from voter-registration rolls in recent years and to enroll all eligible new voters will be intensified during February, when Miss Ella J. Baker, associate director of S.C.L.C. will devote full time to this area.

White Citizens Councils drive to reduce Negro voting strength was effective. In Ouachita, the number dropped from 5,700 in 1956 to only 766 in 1958; in Natchitoches the decrease was from 2,800 to 1, 300; and in Minden, Webster parish only 76 Negroes had been restored to the voter-lists in July, 1958, after approximately 1,700 had been dropped.

The February "puch" will be spearheaded ny the United Christian Movement, Inc., of



which Dr. C. O. Simpkins, Shreveport is president, and the Coordinating Council of North Louisiana, organized last August.

******

S.C. WORKSHOP

Rev. John L. Tilley, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and former chairman of the voter-registration campaign that added more than (100,000) one hundere thousand voters to the Negro voting strength in Baltimore, Md., will be a leader of the all-day voter-registration workshop to be held Thursday, February 12th at Allen University, Columbia, S. C.

The meeting will be sponsored by the Palmetto State Voters Association, Inc., Mr. W. J. Hunter, president and civic leaders from the state's forty-six counties are expected to attend.

******

ATLANTA KICKOFF

The Atlanta drive to register 25,000 new voters was officially opened January 29th, under the leadership of the All-Citizens Registration Committee. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in response to a request, is providing office personnel and other material and advisory assistance for the drive.

******

Register!

"KEEP SCHOOLS OPEN", Atlantans Urge

An increasing number of new voices in Atlanta are saying that "closing the schools are too high a price to pay" for "the Georgia way of life".

White groups of ministers, educators, physicians, and parents have urged that the public school system be maintained even if it means some intergation.

Some 311 white ministers of all faiths recently called for appointment of an inter-racial citizens committee and recommended the preservation of the schools.

Two-thirds of the faculty of Emory University (250) opposed closing public schools anywhere, as a potential loss of a generation of scientists, and as "playing directly into the hands of Communism". More than 400 physicians issued a "save the schools" statement. About 97% of the faculty of a private girls' school at Decatur, Georgia, declared shutting schools would spread illiterarcy and cause increased "migration of gifted young people from the South".

For the first time, public office holders have demanded that the Atlanta people be allowed to decide the fate of their own schools. Mayor William B. Hartsfield said, "If the people of Atlanta want to destroy their educational system, they should have the right to make that decision themselves."

Some 451 P. T. A. members , out of 475 at the Fernbank School, Druid Hill section of Dekalb County, voted approval for open schools on January 14th. The resolution read in part:

> "We believe tha t the closing of schools anywhere in the State, even the closiiig of a single school - places in jeopardy all schools".

The resolution was drawn by the group's Executive Council and requested by the main body.

The P. T. A. sentiment against closing schools, however, has come largely from sections where income levels are higher and Negroes fewer. Despite this, Mrs. Hamilton Lokey, wife of a former legislator and a founder of H O P E Inc., Help Our Public Education, declared:

> "We wouldn't have started if we hadn't thought we had a chance".

She reports that support has come from all sections of Atlanta, and H O P E even plans a statewide campaign for support.

"Save the schools" sentiment in letters to the Editors of Atlanta's daily papers range from religious pleas to open ridicule of political die-hards. Typical of the latter is:

> January 14, 1959 - "Why should parents not concern themselves about the closing of public schools? Because, says the bland Pittman: George Washington never attended public schools in his life",
>
> With such inspired thinkers guiding the helm of the state, is there any wonder that Georgia ranks close to the bottom in economic health and over-all literacy?"
>
> Phillip H. Stockbridge

ON TO TALLAHASSEE — MAY 13-14 !!

With the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Association as host, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will hold its spring meeting in that city, Wednesday and Thursday, May 13-14th. Workshop sessions will emphasize Voter-registration, bu desegregation, school intergation and non-violent resistance. Religious, civic and labor people, especially of Flordia, are expected in large numbers.

Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the Inter-Civic Association and Rev. Daniel B. Speed, transportation chairman, are both founder-members of S. C. L. C.

THE POWER of the BALLOT

NO NEGROES ON JURY PROBLEM FOR MISSISSIPPI

"Mississippi officials face a major law enforcement problem in counties where no Negroes are registered as qualified electors and therefore none is available for jury service".

The Fifth United States Court of Appeals recently set aside the 1954 death sentence given Robert Lee Goldsby, a Carroll County Negro, accused of the mudering of a white woman and ordered a new trial. Carroll County has no Negro electors and it takes two years to qualify them.

NOTE: Also, majority Leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson "making like" a champion of Civil Rights. The 1960 presidential election is the reason.

ATLANTA-

The Negro voting strength in Atlanta no doubt helped stimulated city officials to urge peaceful compliance with the January 9th Bus Desegregation decision.

NEWS BRIEFS

Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., are now visiting India to study the non-violent movement of Gandhi. Dr. L. D. Reddick, noted historian is accompanying them. The trip is sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

.....

Mrs. Katie E. Whickham, one of the two women members of S. C. L. C's executive board, became the first female member to attend a meeting when she participated in the December 10, 1958 session in Atlanta. Mrs. Whickham is president of the National Beauty Culturist's League, Inc., and a major goal of her program is to have "every league member a registered voter."

.....

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, stormy petrel of Birmingham, is now writing a column in the Pittsburg Courier, entitled "Shuttlesworth Says". Read it and see why Birmingham is called "The South's Toughest City"!

.....

WE SALUTE—

1. The N A A C P - for 50 years of effective leadership in establishing the legal rights of Negro Americans and thus making Democracy more secure for all Americans (The Association was born February, 1909)

2. The New York Chapter of Christian Action as the largest contributor to SCLC for 1958. More than $2,300 was raised from individual donors. (more-next issue)

3. Friendship Baptist Church, New York City, Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., pastor, for the highest 1958 church contribution ($1,625.00)

Let's all
VOTE

208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Non Profit Org.
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Atlanta, Ga.

July 8, 1963

Dear Dr. King:

It was good to have seen you again at the New York meeting, which I thought went quite well.

We are moving immediately to get the Washington coordinating office established, and I believe that with the many organizations working together with effective liaison, we can maximize our efforts and win through on the legislative front and succeed in getting passage on the President's civil rights program.

I look forward to the pleasure and privilege of working with you in this great crusade for equality and human decency for all Americans.

Under separate cover I am forwarding you a copy of the news clippings on the Detroit rally.

Kindest personal regards and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

WPR:ob
oeiu 62

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

~~draft of~~ straight wire to: September 24, 1962

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
The Gaston Motel
Birmingham, Alabama

Attention: Mr. Wyatt Tee Walker

On behalf of more than a million UAW members, we extend to you our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes on this Sixth Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The whole world has been alerted to the significance of the struggle which you, by peaceful means, are waging to make men free.

As we celebrate the Centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the overwhelming majority of the American people are deeply thankful that God has spared you to carry on an unrelenting fight for social justice, freedom and complete equality for every American.

We wish you Godspeed in your endeavors and we extend again our warm support to you and your organization, in the knowledge that America will emerge more free and more just.

Walter P. Reuther, President
International Union, UAW

# # # # #

RM;jmo
oeiu42

334 AUBURN AVE. N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE 524–1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

September 20, 1962

SEP 21 1962

Mr. Walter Reuther
United Automobile Workers
Solidarity House
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

You are aware of the tremendous work and dedication of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The extension of this man's personality and ideas are represented by the program staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference based in Atlanta, Georgia. The enclosed brochures describe in brief the areas in which we ply our talents and energies. During the week of September 24, SCLC will mark its sixth year and will meet in annual convention in Birmingham, Alabama. It is our thought that your office would like to forward some word of greeting and commendation to the organization and its president whose labors in the Deep South help to make our American ideals living realities.

Appropiate message may be forwarded by wire or letter to:

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
The Gaston Motel
Birmingham, Alabama
Att: Mr. Walker

It would be helpful if your wire or letter reaches the address above no later than noon September 24, 1962. Thank you kindly for your attention to this matter.

Very truly yours,

wyatt tee walker
Executive Assistant to
Martin Luther King

WTW:wm
CC: Mr. William Oliver

Inter-Office Communication

JAN 3 1964

January 2, 1964

file

To Larry Gettlinger

From William H. Oliver

Subject Letter to President Reuther, dated December 5, 1963, from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Dear Larry:

You transmitted to me on December 6, 1963 a copy of a letter dated December 5, 1963 to President Reuther from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The letter, as you will recall, dealt with the pending trial of the Albany demonstration defendants. You requested that I forward to you my suggestions as to what action we might take regarding your request to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who urge that we join with them in sponsoring a petition to the President of the United States asking him to issue an Executive Order granting a stay of prosecution of the leaders of the Albany, Georgia demonstration movement.

We checked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and in view of President Kennedy's death, together with the lateness in their idea to get underway the petition as described hereinabove; Reverend Walker, assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King recommended that we have a representative in Macon, Georgia in the Federal Court on December 23, 1963, the date on which the defendants were sentenced. We complied with this request--Brother Earl Henderson was in attendance representing the UAW. I am attaching hereto a copy of the news story from the Macon News, dated December 23, 1963.

In further contact with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund; their chief counselor, Mr. Jack Greenberg, advises that these cases will be appealed. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference suggests that any contributions in connection with this matter be made to the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Kindest regards.

Fraternally,

oeiu42
WHO/dhg
cc: Irving Bluestone Shelton Tappes

Macon News
Dec 23, 1963

Integrationists Are Sentenced

By CHARLES SALTER

A 22-year-old white woman and four Negro integration leaders convicted of perjury were sentenced today by Judge W. A. Bootle in U. S. District Court.

The five persons were convicted in federal court in November on perjury charges which grew out of appearances before a federal grand jury investigating the boycotting of a white grocer by Negroes in Albany.

All of them filed notices of appeal.

Miss Joni Rabinowitz of New Rochelle, N. Y., who is a senior at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, received an unusual, indefinite sentence.

The judge sentenced Miss Rabinowitz "to the custody of the attorney general for treatment and supervision until discharged by the Youth Corrections Division of the Board of Parole."

She was represented by her father, Victor Rabinowitz, and C. B. King, who posted $3,000 bond.

Thomas C. Chatmon and Robert Thomas both were sentenced to five - year probationary terms. Both the Rev. Samuel B. Wells and Slater Hunter King were sentenced to a year and a day in prison.

The four Albany men, represented by C. B. King and Donald L. Hollowell, planned to post $2,500 bond each in Albany this afternoon.

Miss Rabinowitz was charged with falsely testifying that she was not at the scene of the store picketing last April 20. The white man was picketed after he served on a trial jury which denied charges to a Negro in a civil rights suit.

The trial of Mrs. Eliza Leslye Jackson, also accused of perjury in the grand jury investigation, has been postponed until January.

The four men and Mrs. Jackson were charged with denying to the grand jury that they met in attorney King's office in Albany to discuss their upcoming appearance before the jury.

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

12-10-63

TO: Bill Oliver

FROM: Larry Gettlinger

...x.....For your information

.....Note and return to me

.....Per your request

.....For your action

Comments: I would appreciate your suggestion as to what we do with this.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL INDIANAPOLIS 43

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

S C L C

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*
Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

December 5, 1963

DEC 6 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
800 Jefferson Street
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

The attached letter was forwarded to you some days ago. We are sure that the tragic death of our beloved President interrupted your plans for responding to our request.

You would want to know that all of the Albany defendants who were tried on the perjury charge with the exception of Mrs. Jackson, were found guilty. They are scheduled to be sentenced on December 23rd. TIME IS SHORT. Would you please indicate your willingness to lend your name and influence to bring relief to these harassed Freedom Fighters.

Quite naturally, the petition will now be directed to President Lyndon B. Johnson. A second card is enclosed for your convenience.

Very truly yours,

wyatt tee walker, Coordinator
National Committee for the Albany Defendants

Martin Luther King, Jr., Honorary Chairman
National Committee for the Albany Defendants
WTW:MLK:wm
Encl-2

National Committee*

A. Phillip Randolph	F. L. Shuttlesworth	Hosea Williams
Benjamin E. Mays	Msrg. John LaFarge	James Forman
Harry Golden	Ralph D. Abernathy	James Farmer
Clarence Pickett	Wyatt Tee Walker	Martin Luther King, Jr.

*Confirmed

November 6, 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
800 Jefferson Street
Detroit 14, Michigan

Enclosed is a petition to the President of the United States seeking an executive order to stay the prosecution of the leaders of the Albany Movement. The attached memo gives a detailed history of why they are presently under Federal indictment and facing trial and conviction that carries a maximum penalty of $5000.00 fine and/or 5 years in jail. There is no need to stress the seriousness of this situation.

It seems to us that the '64 elections has the Administration "running scared" and this is some gesture of obeisance being made to appease the racist forces of the Democratic party in Georgia. Only public indignation can thwart a gross miscarriage of justice.

We are requesting the use of your name as one of the several initiators. The names attached thereto are those persons who are being asked to join you. Those checked have already consented. An authorization card is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Wyatt Tee Walker
Coordinator
National Committee for the Albany Five

WTW/fmo

AUTHORIZATION CARD

PLEASE INDICATE HOW YOU WOULD PREFER TO BE IDENTIFIED:

_____

church

Contri

September 24, 1964

Jack Edwards

Larry Gettlinger

Attached is our check in the amount of $100 as the UAW's share of the reception costs for Dr. Martin Luther King's recent visit to Detroit.

Would you please transmit the check to the property party.

LG:lm
oeiu42
att.

September 21, 1964

Emil Mazey

Larry Gettlinger

Contribution

Dear Emil:

We agreed to defray part of the reception costs on a recent visit to Detroit by Martin Luther King. Our share amounts to $100.00.

Would you please issue a check in the amount of $100, payable to the Greater Macedonia Baptist Church, and forward it to our office for transmittal.

Fraternally,

Jack Edwards

LG:lm
oeiu42
cc: Jack Edwards

Inter-Office Communication

SEP 14 1964

September 14, 1964

To Larry Gettlinger

From Jack Edwards

Subject

Dear Larry:

Would you arrange for a check to be issued in the amount of $100 to cover a donation to the Greater Macedonia Baptist Church, 8200 Mack Avenue, Detroit 14, Michigan.

Fraternally,

Jack E Edwards

JE:e
oeiu42
aflcio

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

S C L C

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

MAY 4 1964

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

April 30, 1964

Mr. Walter Reuther
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Walter:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a recent journal which seeks to give a brief sketch of the work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in pictures and words. I wanted you to have a complimentary copy. In a real sense, your commitment and contribution to the civil rights movement made this booklet possible.

Sincerely yours,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

K/bhh
Enclosure

Statement by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Washington, D. C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

I came to Washington to discuss the most fundamental question concerning the health of American democracy. My colleagues and I have made clear to the Vice President and the Attorney General our conviction that all citizens must be free to exercise their right and responsibility to vote without delays, harassment, economic intimidation and police brutality.

I indicated that while there had been some progress in several southern states in voter registration during the past few years, in other states, new and crippling legislation has been instituted since 1957 precisely to frustrate Negro registration. At a recent press conference President Johnson stated that another evil is the "slow pace of registration for Negroes." This snail's pace is clearly illustrated by the ugly events in Selma. Were this pace to continue at its present rate it will take another 100 years before all eligible Negro voters are registered.

There are many more Negroes in jail in Selma than there are Negroes registered to vote. This slow pace is not accidental. It is the result of a calculated and well-defined pattern which uses many devices and tactics to maintain white political power in many areas of the South. I emphatically stated that the problem of securing voting rights cannot be cured by patchwork or piecemeal legislation program. We need a basic legislative program to insure procedures for achieving the registration of Negroes in the south without delay or harassment.

I expressed my conviction that the voting sections of the 1957, 1960 and 1964 Civil Rights Acts are inadequate to secure voting rights for Negroes in many key areas of the South.

I told Mr. Humphrey and General Katzenbach how pleased I am that the Department of Justice has under consideration legislation pertaining to voting which implements President Johnson's state of the union declaration, namely, "I propose we eliminate every remaining obstacle in the right and opportunity to vote."

I urged that the administration incorporate the following principles as a basis for what the events in Selma clearly indicate to be immediate and essential — a 1965 civil rights bill securing voting rights for Negroes without delay and harassment.

1. Such new legislation must provide machinery which is virtually automatic to eliminate the interposition of varying standards and crippling discretion on the part of hostile state officials. Only elementary biographical data should be required.

2. It must put an end to the use of literacy tests in those areas where Negroes have been disadvantaged by generations of inferior, segregated education.

3. It must apply to all elections federal, state or even for sheriff, school board, etc.

4. Enforcement of such legislation must be reposed in Federal Registrars appointed by and responsible to the President. They must be empowered to act swiftly and locally to insure the nondiscriminatory use of the simplified federal machinery.

5. Such legislation at the very minimum should be directed at the most oppressive regions as typified by Selma and other hardcore areas in the south.

Beyond this, I have asked the Attorney General to use his existing powers to prevent the most serious impediment to the full exercise of voting and all other constitutional rights. Southern officials know they cannot jail citizens for seeking constitutional rights and consequently they have manufactured claims that Negroes have breached ordinary state criminal regulations. I refer to the practice typified by such local officials as Sheriff James Clark of Selma who have brought about the arrest of more than 3,000 Negroes on such charges as "breach of the peace," "contempt of court," "unlawful assembly," "contributing to the delinquency of minors." So long as such arrests are made and such charges lodged, the path to the registrar's office is blocked.

I have asked the Attorney General to seek an injunction against the prosecution of the more than 3,000 Negro citizens of Selma who otherwise will face years of expensive and frustrating litigation before the exercise of their guaranteed right to vote is vindicated. The experience of the freedom riders in 1961 whose cases are still pending in Mississippi courts should not be repeated.

Moreover, to the extent that existing laws are inadequate or doubtful to accomplish this all-important purpose, I have asked the Vice President and the Attorney General to include in the administration legislative program new procedures which would invest the Attorney General and private citizens the power to avoid the oppression and delays of spurious state court prosecution.

# # #

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
208 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. RM.203
PHONE: JACKSON 5-1763
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF SECRETARY-TREASURER
347 North Ripley Street
PHONE: AMherst 4-6921
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Friend of Freedom:

This letter comes to you with a special request from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is President. It is our sincere hope that you will read this message prayerfully and then do all within your power to grant this most urgent request.

Today, our nation faces one of the most crucial periods in its history. There is a segment of the population in the South who will go to any lengths to keep the Negro in subjection and a second-class citizen. However, on the other hand, the Negro in the South is dedicated to the achievement of equal rights for all citizens, regardless to race, creed or color. Since the beginning of the Montgomery bus protest, there has developed a movement for the freedom of the Negro in every major city of the South, but most significant is the fact that these local organizations have banned themselves together in a southwide organization known as The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. This organization covers the fifteen hard core southern and border states. Standing at the side of Martin Luther King, Jr. are such freedom fighters as the Reverends C. K. Steele, F. L. Shuttlesworth, Samuel Williams, Kelley Miller Smith, J. E. Lowery; Mrs. Daisy Bates, and many others too numerous to mention.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was organized two years ago during the crucial and critical days when our homes were being bombed, churches destroyed and individuals were being shot because we dared to stand up for our rights. It was organized for the purpose of pooling resources and co-ordinating efforts in the Fight for Freedom. It was <u>not</u> formed to replace the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but rather to supplement it and work in areas where it is prevented legally or psychologically from functioning. Its program calls for the doubling of the Negro vote in the South by the 1960 general election. Our office is now set up and staffed in Atlanta, Georgia with the Rev. Dr. John L. Tilley of Baltimore, Maryland as Director and Miss Ella J. Baker, formally of New York and the NAACP, as Associate Director. But we cannot do this job without your <u>H E L P</u>.

One of the greatest needs in the South at this time, and in our organization in particular, is a need for funds. Before our office was set up in Atlanta, finance was not such a problem, since none of the leaders in our movement receive salaries for their services. But with an office, a staff, educational material and voting campaigns we are now spending more than $2,000.00 per month.

Therefore, we are calling upon you for H E L P at O N C E. Please do the following:

1. Because of your past record as a Friend of Freedom we are kindly asking you to become a regular contributor to our movement. Please make a personal pledge of not less than $25.00 per year. You may pay your pledge monthly, quarterly, yearly, or any other convenient method you choose. Because of the urgency of this situation, we are forced to ask you to mail us your initial check today. If not today, please do it tomorrow or as soon as possible.

2. We are also asking you to put the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the budget of your Church, club, fraternity, sorority or any other organization you are a part of. If your budget has already been prepared for 1959, then, please make this addition. We would appreciate it so very much if you would take an after offering for the movement in your next meeting.

Please let us hear from you at once. The future of our organization depends upon your prompt favorable actions.

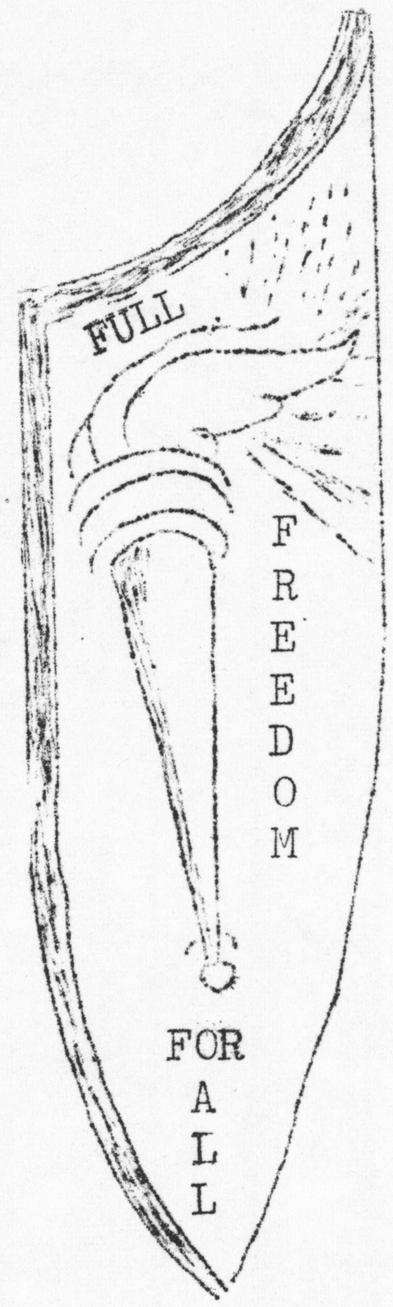
Yours for the Caude of Freedom,

Ralph D. Abernathy
Secretary-Treasurer

RDA/clp

P.S. Please make all checks payable to The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and mail them to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, 347 N. Ripley Street, Montgomery, Alabama. You will be properly receipted.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE



PLANS OF ACTION

for

SOUTHWIDE, YEAR-ROUND

V O T E R - R E G I S T R A T I O N P R O G R A M

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is organized as a service agency to facilitate coordinated action by local groups dedicated to full citizenship for all, and to assist in their sharing of resources and experiences.

DATE: FEBRUARY, 1959

208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

HISTORY

The founding meeting of S. C. L. C. was held in Atlanta, Georgia on January 10, 11, 1957. The initial meeting which took place on January 10th, was interrupted by dynamite blasts that wrecked houses and churches in Montgomery, Alabama, during the early morning. Included in this wreckage were the home and church of Reverned Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the founders of S. C. L. C. This incident only served to strengthen our belief in the need for such an organization as this.

BASIC AIMS!

The basic aims of S. C. L. C. are to achieve full citizenship rights, equality and integration of the Negro in all aspects of American life.

Although great changes are taking place in the South because of social, economic, scientific and industrial forces, the barriers to a prosperous free and creative life for all southerners, black and white, will not disappear automatically. To achieve these ends, S. C. L. C. is dedicated to justice, refuses to cooperate with evil, and will work unrelentingly for social change, but always in the spirit of good-will and non-violence.

HOW S. C. L. C. OPERATES

S. C. L. C. attempts to achieve its ultimate objectives of full citizenship rights, dignity, full integration in American life and spirit of non-violence and good-will, primarily by Christian Social Action (voter-registration) and mass adult education, which might be considered its basic functions. These must be made possible by carrying on such incidental functions as:

a. Organizational promotion (securing affiliates as members)

b. Office operation

c. Organization and administration

d. Fund raising, and

e. Research

Because of the urgency of certain phases of our program, concentration will be placed, in the immediate future, upon voter-registration and organizational promotion, with major emphasis upon voter-registration.

FACTS —(Yesterday and today)

Since the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South, approximately three quarters of a century ago, he has been threaten, intimidated, fired from jobs. put out of his community, beaten and even murdered in some communities whenever an attempt was made on his part, to register and vote.

College graduates and persons holding graduate degrees have had their applications to register, denied by registrars who had not finished grade school, Many laws were passed in the southern states which disfranchised the Negro, one of which was commonly known as the "Grandfather Clause". It alone disfranchised millions. The essence of this particular law is as follows: "Persons having ancestors who voted or were eligible to vote in 1861, may vote without having to take a literacy test". This automatically excluded the Negro, because there were relatively few who had ancestors who were free, and fewer still, per population who could read and write.

The South has had relatively a one party system of government. The predominant party, the Democratic party, systematically excluded Negroes from the primaries, which in most cases are tantamount to elections, until such was dec-

clared unconstitutional, in recent years, by the Supreme Court of the Land.

Today, there are still those who would "keep alive" the disfranchises of earlier times, but in various degrees from section to section. Usually, they are worse where the precentage of Negroes is highest, and farm tenancy is greatest.

The Negro is constantly reminded of the many disadvantages of attempting to vote, and there are but few examples which he can see of the tangible advantages of his making the sacrifices which seem necessary to register and vote, therefore, many have come to feel that their sacrifice isn't worth the reward, that their votes have no value.

Generation after generation have suffered from the early fears of voting because of violence or the threat of it, in the South, making them prejudiced against anything related to the ballot. Many Negroes of the South have developed, not simply an indifference or apathy toward voting, but a strong fear and a deep antipathy toward having anything to do with politics.

In addition to the fear of suffering some personal disadvantages as a result of voting or the feeling of the futility of his vote, there is in many places the feeling that politics is sinful and crooked(and has to be that way), and that decent people should stay as far from politics as possible. Upon moral and religious grounds, many have developed a hostile attitude toward voting. There is a fear that to become involved in politics is to become "contaminated" by it. This feeling has become so strongly implanted in his mind that it has become a part of his culture.

"NEXT STEP"---

These fears and misconceptions of the Negro in regards to politics, must be overcome before the votes can be mobilized in any appreciable degree. His thought

patterns must be changed by an effective crusade to inform, impress and recondition his thinking and feeling.

Two things are very important in getting this done:

1 1. Negro ministers who hold a unique place in influencing the thought paterns of the masses of Negroes, need to become more deeply interested and dedicated in using their offices to inspire and guide members of their congregations to register and to vote. Members need to be guided in their choice of candidates, to choose those persons and measures that show the greatest prospects of contributing most to the promotion of the best interests of all of the people of a community. This can be done in informal talks and sermons, and person-to-person contacts. There could also be an arrangement made to take persons to the registrar's office, and to appoint committees to work on getting 100% registration on the part of the church members. Also, a canvass could be made of the church community for new registrants.

2. The most effective approach to this problem is the person-to-person contact on a house-to-house, block-to-block basis. Interested persons must be selected and instructed on making personal calls on people at their homes, and explaining to them, in simple and meaningful terms, how tremendously important it is for every Negro, who can qualify, to register and vote.

The canvassers or visitors might be mobilized from churches, other religious, fraternal, civic, social, political, business, professional, labor, educational, and non-partisan precinct organizations. Persons representing no organization may volunteer or be selected, also.

Both the mobilization of the ministers, their churches and other community organizations; and the mobilization and directions given to the person-to-person visitors who will make the house-to-house contacts, can be most effectively carried out if they are organized by states on the following levels:

1. Congressional Districts
2. County and City
3. Wards
4. Precinct, and
5. Block

We would then have organized, every city block in which Negroes are predominant, and every Negro rural community, in every precinct, in every ward, in every city and county, in every congressional district in each of the southern states. We would have an active, permanent bi-partisan voter-registration program through which important information can be given in a short time.

Through this well knit organization, citizens can be instructed in local government machinery and procedures, and inspired to vote for persons and measures which insure full freedom for all American Citi-

zens in all sections of the country.

Detailed instructions have been prepared regarding procedure, techniques and materials for conducting an effective voter-registration campaign. (see "The Register and Vote Campaign in Baltimore" by J. L. Tilley). These instructions are being revised in the light of experiences and observations in various types of communities, over a period of two years.

OUR PROGRAM

It is said that it is better to put ten men to work than to do the work of ten. It is better for communities throughout the South to carry on a year around voter-registration program under guidance than for us, or anyone to attempt personally to conduct every campaign to be conducted.

However, to see that the various campaigns get off to a good start, a member of our staff would do the following:

1. Organize the community, calling leaders of varuous community organizations together to discuss their willingness to have a voter-registration program, and if willing, instructing them on the necessary procedures and techniques, selecting required committees and officials. Budget, office space, paid staff, and other incidental matters would be worked out. A local full-time person would be selected as the local director who would be trained in the procedures and technique of carrying on the program.

2. Conduct a workshop in which leaders from the city and other cities in the state would come and have sufficient guidance and working material for them to set up and carry out their own program.

   The area selected for the campaign, might serve as a pilot project or laboratory for the state or section of the state. Workers from the other cities or sections of the state would observe, from time to time, as the procedures and techniques are being carried on.

3. In conducting the program, he would check and supervise its operation, by staying in constant touch with the local director and dealing with the problems and situations as they arise. This staff person might have several voter-registration programs going on at the same time in different cities, carried on by local directors under his guidance and supervision.

4. As other communities get ready to organize and begin their own programs, and wish for our staff person to conduct workshops in their communities, or assist in some way, he would deal with the situation.

In cities or other geographic areas which have voter-registration programs in progress, our plan is to offer to work with the agencies conducting the program, or leave such agencies to carry out their program without our participation.

At present, S. C. L. C. is providing leadership in three voter-registration projects now in progress in the South, namely, Atlanta, Georgia, Shreveport, Louisiana, and certain parishes in northern Louisiana and Columbia, S. Carolina. Other voter-registration campaigns are being planned.

Experience validates the particability of the program in which S. C. L. C. is engaged. We feel that we have the machinery, and the "know-how", and that the time and place is now, here in the South.

When we have affiliates throughout the scuthern states, and councils of affiliates on a state or sectional level, they can be of considerable help in getting the various communities aroused and organized for voter-registration programs. Our board members in the different states can be of tremendous help in this regard. We also believe that when sufficient funds have been raised, and we are able to push this program with resolution and vigor, within two years, every large community in the South, and many small ones, will have an effective block-to-block, house-to-house, year around voter-registration program. The results would be significant, indeed! This would not be something spasmodic and detached, but would be consistent, widespread; a year-round program, uniting, educating, and developing under guidance, a new type of citizenship all over the South which would be felt throughout the nation. Activities of already exisiting community organizations of various types can be mobilized to achieve common community objectives. The Negro vote could not only be doubled, but tripled. The quality of the Negro's vote could be improved as well as the quantity. Every community can become a center of study, mass education, Christian social action, and spiritual dynamics.

AFFILIATION

The second major phase of the program of S.C. L. C. to which considerable attention is being given for the immediate future, is that of securing the membership of organizations of various types as affiliates and organizing them into affiliate councils.

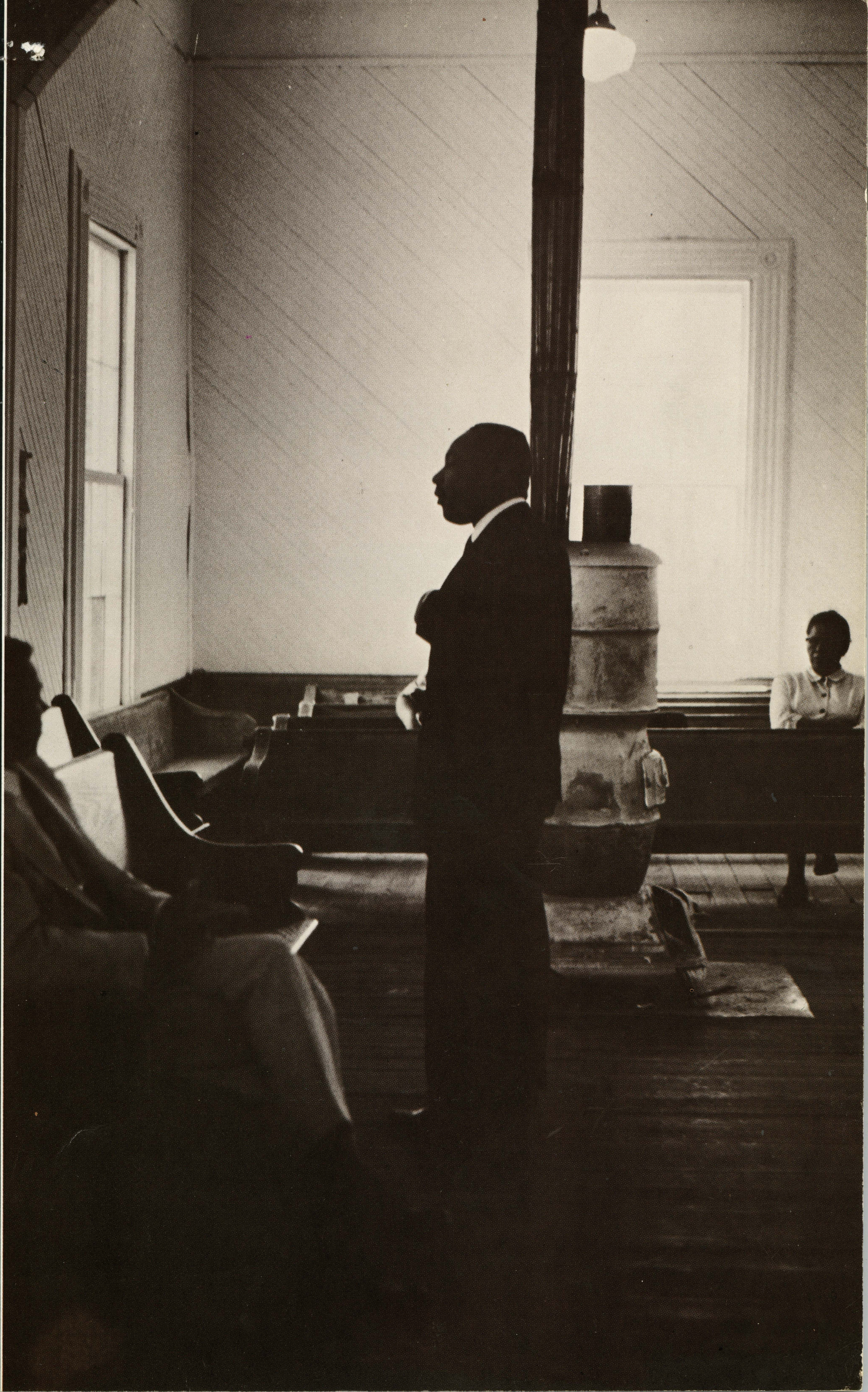
The membership of S. C. L. C. consists of affiliate organizations which pay an annual membership fee. Individuals do not hold memberships. Both, the types of organizations whose primary objectives are closely akin to those of SCLC, and those whose primary objectives are not, but endorse the objectives and program of S. C. L. C. and will endeavor to foster them, may apply for affiliation.

Since S. C. L. C. has no individual members or branches, the affiliates which are autonomous organizations, can be the link between S. C. L. C. and the particular community which each affiliate serves. In other words, the affiliates may be considered two-way streets by being both the medium by which the needs, problems, and background of each community can be interpreted, and by being the medium through which the total resources throughout the South can be made available to everyone.

It is therefore, necessary that definite emphasis be placed upon acquainting organizations with the nature, philosophy, program, and techniques of S.C. L. C.

For this to be done effectively, it will be necessary for a staff member to meet with national, regional, and state conferences, conventions and convocations of various types of organizations, to present the program of SCLC, and get their endorsement and support in getting their organizations to become affiliates. Success in this area would enable us to approach the idea of making the resources of every community available to those whose needs are greatest.

the SCLC story in words and pictures



ONE DOLLAR

dedicated to...

the millions

of persons

who are a part

of the

nonviolent revolution

the SCLC story

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i have a dream
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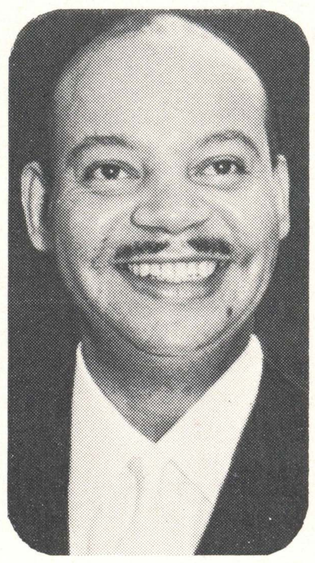
the SCLC story



edited by

ed clayton

editor's note

The telling of the SCLC story in all its completeness probably will never be done in a single volume. This attempt to bring together in a limited volume such words and graphic pictures that tell only a small portion of that story is merely to help the reader better understand the work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

This work is one of determination, sacrifice and dedication. It had its beginning scarcely seven years ago with a mere handful of people who nurtured a fierce desire to obtain full and unqualified freedom. This passion was soon joined a hundred-fold by similar passions, and SCLC became a live and hotly burning spirit, kindling thousands of other passions through the moral fibre of nonviolence and the tenets of Christianity. From the red clay of Georgia to the bayous of Mississippi, the pursuit of freedom for all mankind became the great task and thus the story of SCLC.

We are grateful for the cooperation from all those we have called upon to help make this story possible, and especially to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., without whom there possibly would not be an SCLC story.

We also wish to pay tribute to those unsung followers of SCLC, who at risk of limb and life are helping to lift the darkness of illiteracy from those neglected unfortunate souls of the deep south and giving them in its stead the light of letters and their birthright of the ballot.

Whatever errors and omissions we have committed in this effort are unintended.

ed clayton

editor

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*portrait of dr. king, page 7

**cover photo of dr. king

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a message from the president . . .

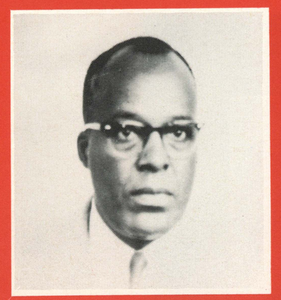
In these turbulent days of uncertainty the evils of war and of economic and racial injustice threaten the very survival of the human race. Indeed we live in a day of grave crisis. Yet, I am convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that the philosophy of nonviolence will redeem the soul of America. There is a great temptation to accept nonviolence solely as a strategy, a device; this we must guard against.

This is one of the chief aims of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: to broadly disseminate through intensive training the heart of nonviolence, that our commitment to nonviolence will not only be a technique, but shall become for us a way of life with love and redemption as its center. Another chief aim of SCLC is in the area of voter registration. Here again it must be recognized that the right and proper use of the ballot is vital in our struggle for first-class citizenship.

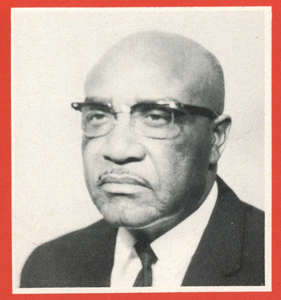
Indeed, the past year has been a most tragic and historic one, and certainly the past decade a most exciting one. But in spite of the tensions and uncertainties of our times, something profoundly meaningful is taking place. Old systems of exploitation and oppression are passing away; new systems of justice and equality are being born. In a real sense this is a great time to be alive. Therefore, I am not yet discouraged about the future. Granted that we face a world of crisis, but every crisis has both its dangers and its opportunities. It can spell either salvation or doom. We would like to think that it will bring salvation to the hearts of men and the truth that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Martin Luther King Jr.

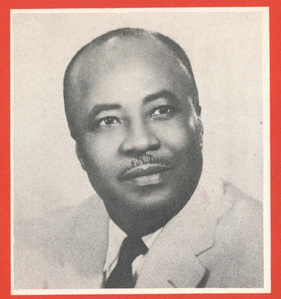
Martin Luther King Jr.



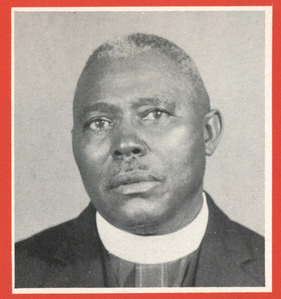
Henry Bunton
Washington, D.C.



R. L. Drew
Clarksdale, Miss.



Edward T. Graham
Miami, Fla.



W. H. Hall
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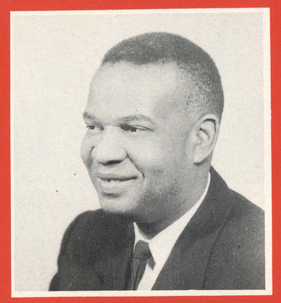
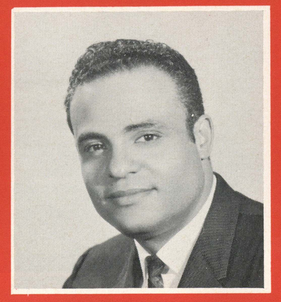
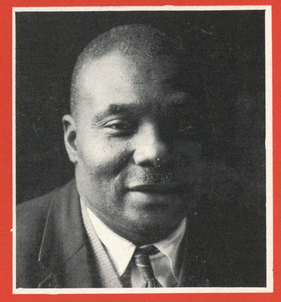


Aaron Henry
Clarksdale, Miss.

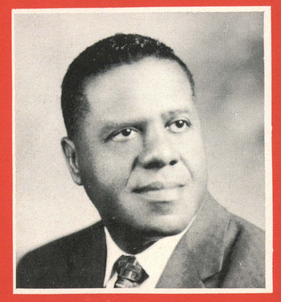
Clarence Henry
New Orleans, La.



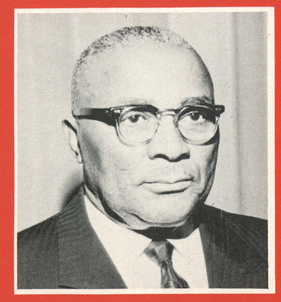
B. L. Hooks
Memphis, Tenn.



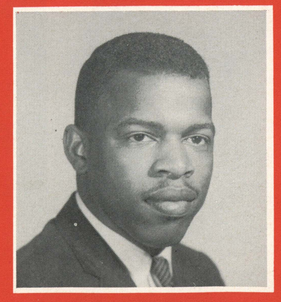
Esau Jenkins
Charleston, S. C.



D. E. King
Louisville, Ky.

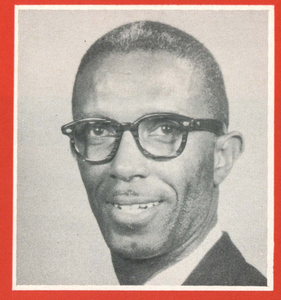


M. L. King, Sr.
Atlanta, Ga.

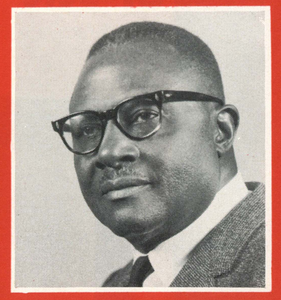


John Lewis
Atlanta, Ga.

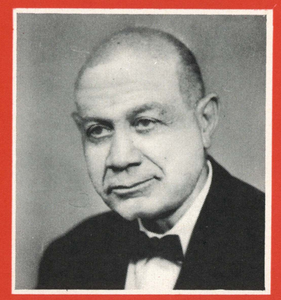
the executive board of SCLC



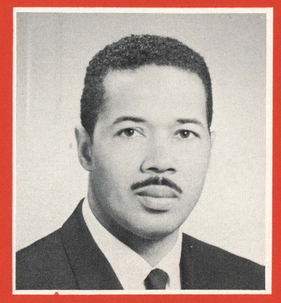
Matthew D. McCollom
Orangeburg, S. C.



S. S. Seay
Montgomery, Ala.

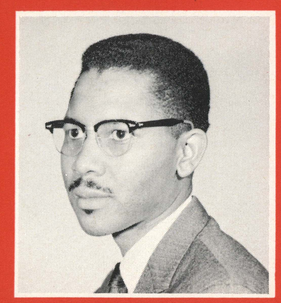


W. E. Shortridge
Birmingham, Ala.

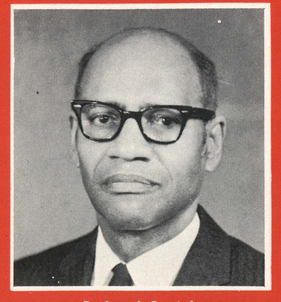


C. O. Simpkins
Hollis, L. I., N.Y.

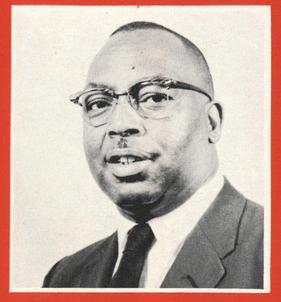
Kelly M. Smith
Nashville, Tenn.



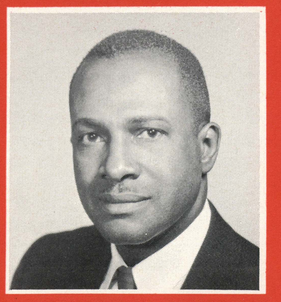
Nelson Smith
Birmingham, Ala.



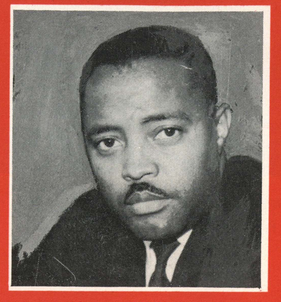
Roland Smith
Little Rock, Ark.



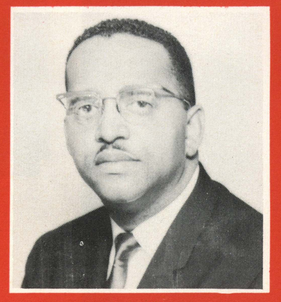
Daniel B. Speed
Tallahassee, Fla.



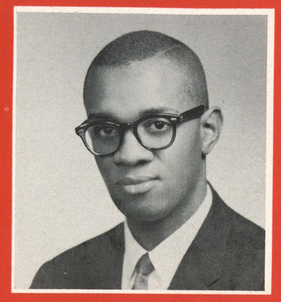
Andrew White
Nashville, Tenn.



Hosea Williams
Savannah, Ga.



R. G. Williams
Washington, D. C.



Virgil Wood
Roxbury, Mass.

the history of sclc — *continued*

nually for legislative and inspirational purposes. The Board as well as the convention reflected the strong church orientation of the organization, but there was always a sprinkling of intellectuals, laborites and lawyers.

A major decision was made *not* to solicit individual memberships; rather to permit and encourage local organizations to affiliate with SCLC. This policy has remained, with the proviso that a person can be a member-at-large where no local affiliate exists.

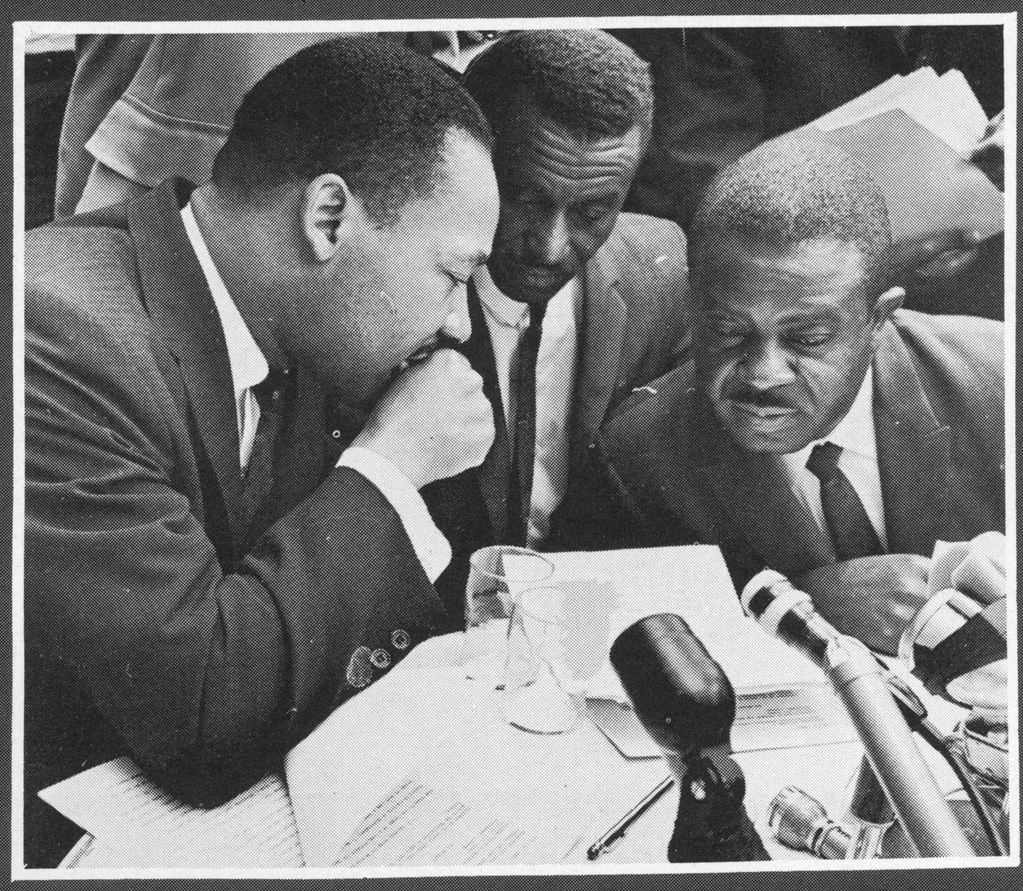
For a long while, SCLC had no staff of its own. Dr. King's MIA office crew did the secretarial and clerical chores while Bayard Rustin and Mrs. Ella Baker helped out with plans and projects. It was difficult to acquire a full time staff and a supporting budget. However, today SCLC has a full complement of field agents, directors, secretaries and clerks. Its annual budget has grown from virtually nothing to almost a million dollars.

The achievements of SCLC can not, of course, be listed in the space provided here. But it may be fair to say that it has been a most decisive influence on the mass of Southern Negroes in the nonviolent crusade for equality in America. It has cooperated freely with other groups. It gave birth to SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee). SCLC's President, more than any other American, symbolizes the world struggle for freedom and democracy. Perhaps he has evolved a technique for arousing men to make a personal and physical witness for justice and at the same time persuade them away from the utter destructiveness that is inherent in an aroused individual or crowd.

SCLC is not yet a thoroughly South-wide, grass roots organization. Nor has it succeeded in wiping out racial segregation completely in a single state. Thus, there is still much to do. But SCLC is surely much nearer its goals today than on January 10, 1957 when it was born. Thanks to Heaven, the South and the nation are much nearer those goals, too!

The Aims and Purposes of SCLC

1. To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.
2. To stimulate nonviolent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.
3. To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of nonviolence through local and area workshops.
4. To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.
5. To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.



Dr. King, Rev. Shuttlesworth and Rev. Abernathy
. . . they were there at the founding of SCLC

the staff of SCLC

Some observers have said that the staff of SCLC, like "Topsy," "just grew." In a manner of speaking, it did. But it had to if any pace was going to be kept with the hundreds of letters the office receives daily, a president who is always on the go (see photo below) and the many phases of the civil rights thrust that is the organization's work. In seven years of growth the day-to-day continuous function of SCLC could no longer be adequately handled by volunteer help alone, thus a full-time staff came into existence. They were only a handful at first, in fact only five in 1960 when the organization operated on a yearly budget of $57,000. In that year Wyatt Tee Walker joined the organization as executive director, bringing with him several other staff members from his home state of Virginia. Today, under Rev. Walker's direction, that modest staff of only a few has grown to 61, and the yearly budget for SCLC has increased to nearly $1 million. Besides those employed in the Atlanta home office, several others are also employed in a New York office and in a bureau in Washington, D. C. Of all of them on the staff, however, the most underpaid is SCLC's president, Dr. King, who receives only one dollar a year in salary.

the executive staff

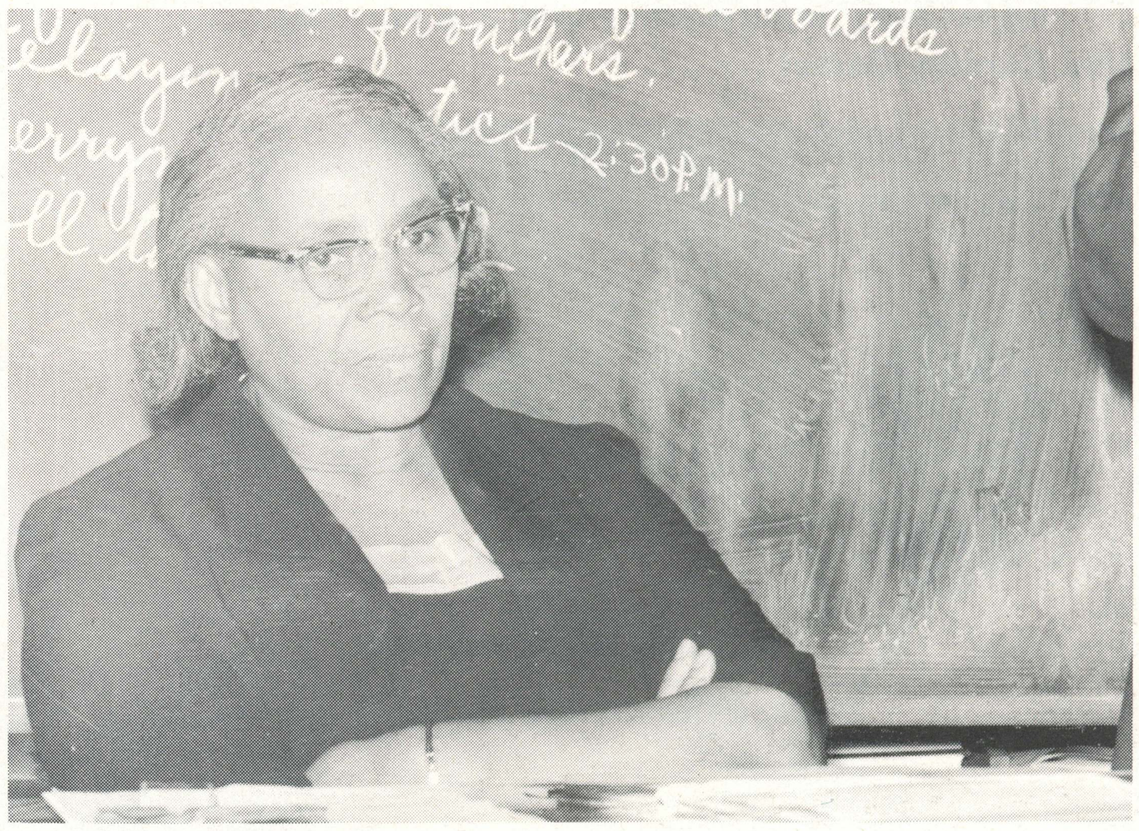
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*
Miss Willie Mackey, secretary

Harry G. Boyte,
Special Assistant To President
Mrs. Barbara Hicks, secretary

Andrew Young
Director, Voter Registration

Mrs. Dorothy Cotton
Director, Citizenship School

C. T. Vivian
Director of Affiliates



Mrs. Septima P. Clark
Supervisor, Teacher Training

Edward T. Clayton
Director, Public Relations
Mrs. Barbara Suarez, secretary

the clerical and secretarial staff

executive secretaries

Mrs. Dorothy Gaines

Mrs. Edwina Smith

Mrs. Jacqueline Brown

citizenship school

Mrs. Delores Hall, *secretary*

receptionist

Mrs. Miriam Smith

finance department

From left: Mrs. Mary Frances Oatts, Miss Jean Turner, Mrs. Vivian Garrison and Mrs. Lillie Hunter, *bookkeeper*

secretary to dr. king

Miss Dora E. McDonald

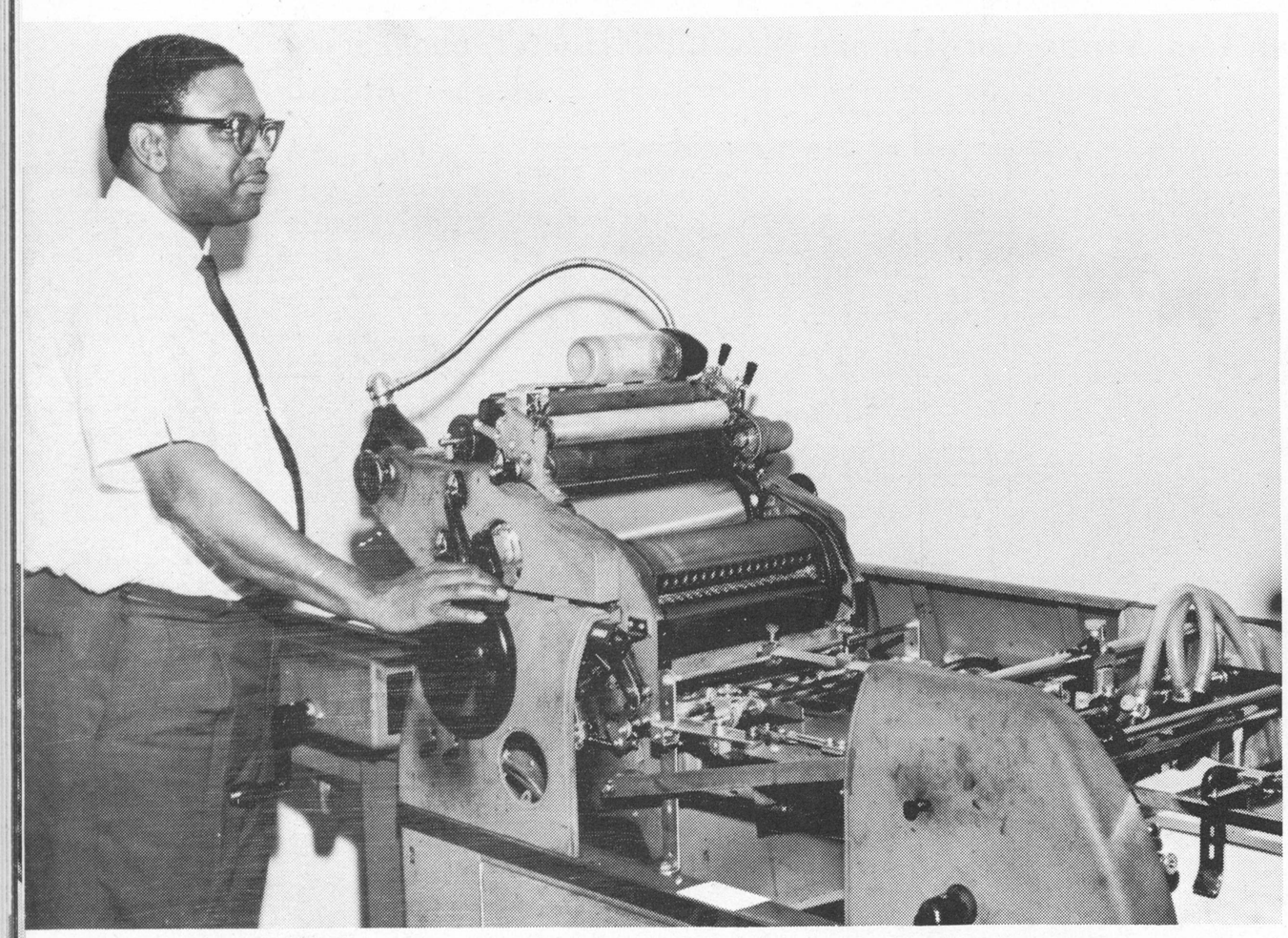
atlanta voter registration

Fred C. Bennette, Jr., *vice-chairman*

Miss Elizabeth Jones, *secretary*

departmental staff

addressograph Mrs. Margaret A. Gamble



printing John A. Davis

research Miss Albertine Perrin

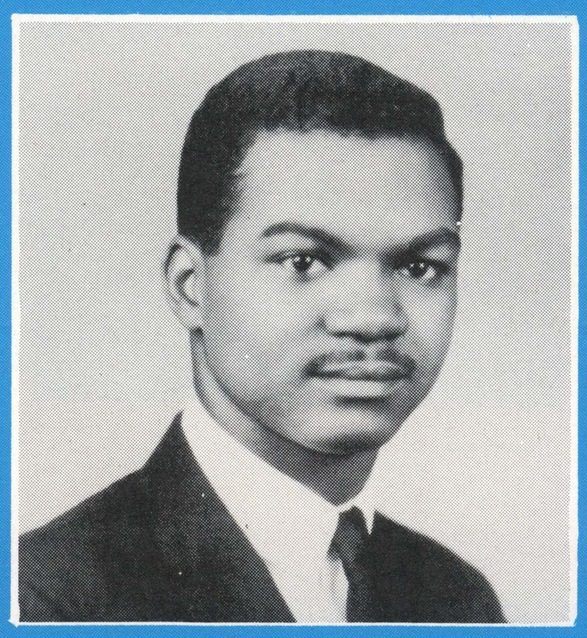
promotions

Miss Carole Hoover

mailing John Parks & William Dady

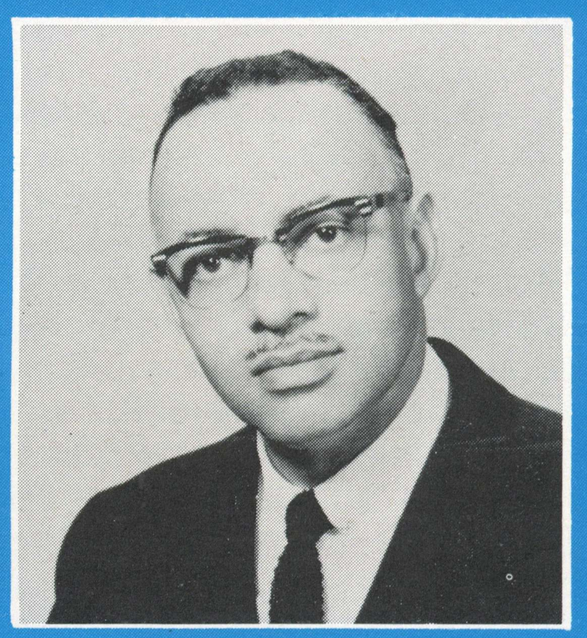
aide to dr. king Bernard S. Lee (r.)

directors of branch offices



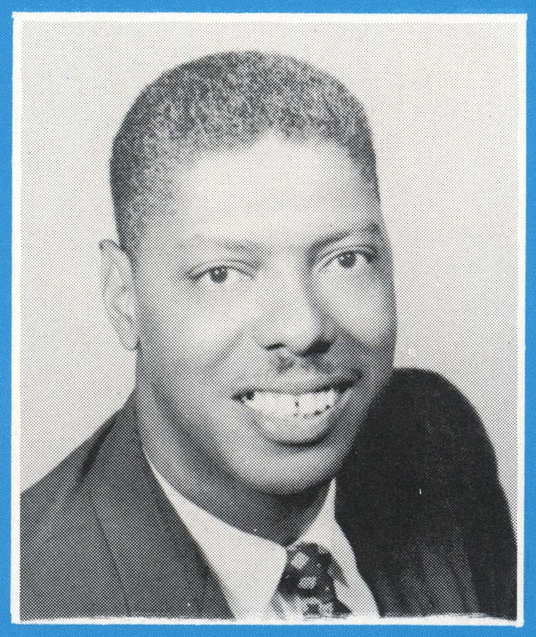
Walter E. Fauntroy
Washington, D.C.

Miss Adele Kanter
New York, N.Y.

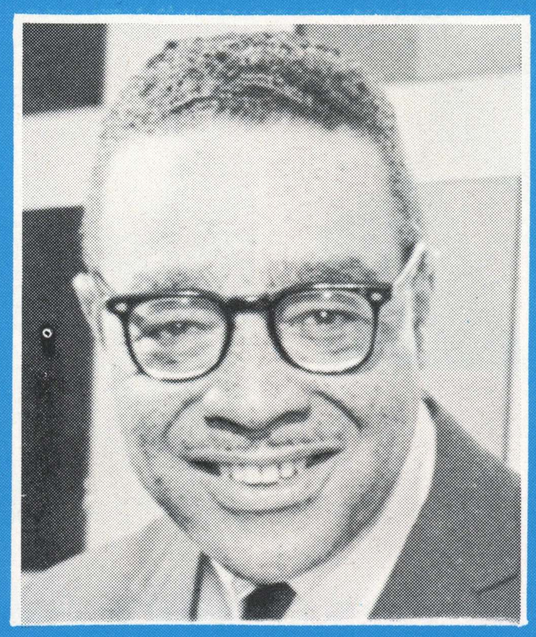


Thomas C. Kilgore
Los Angeles, Calif.

legal counselors



I. M. Augustine
New Orleans, La.



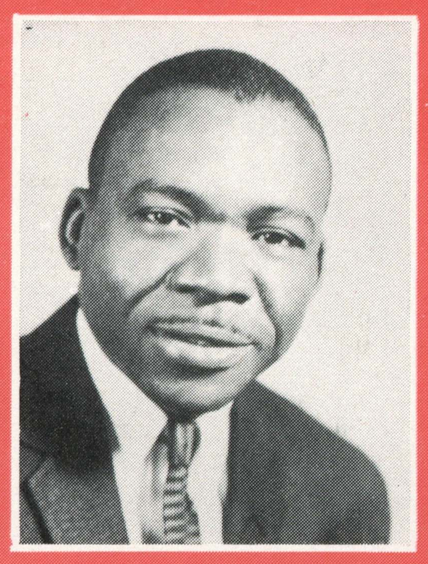
Chauncey Eskridge
Chicago, Ill.

accountant

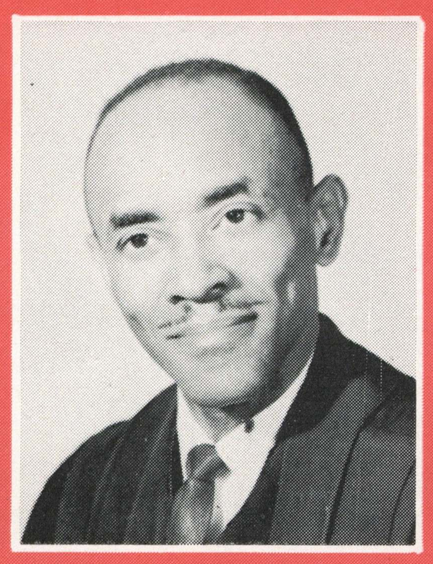
Francis A. Covington, *Greensboro, N.C.*

the regional and field staff

regional directors

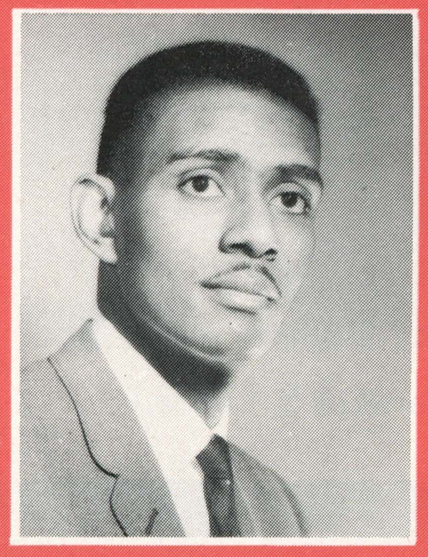


Richard A. Battles, Jr.
Hartford, Conn.

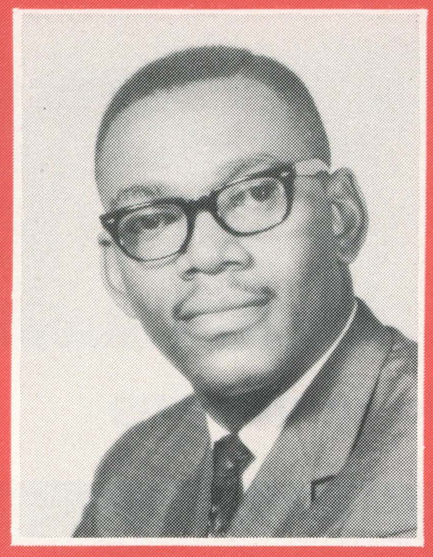


Charles Butler
Detroit, Mich.

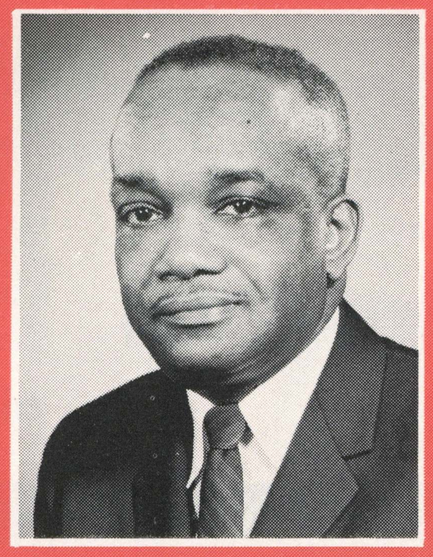
George Lawrence
Brooklyn, N. Y.



Otis Moss
Lockland, Ohio

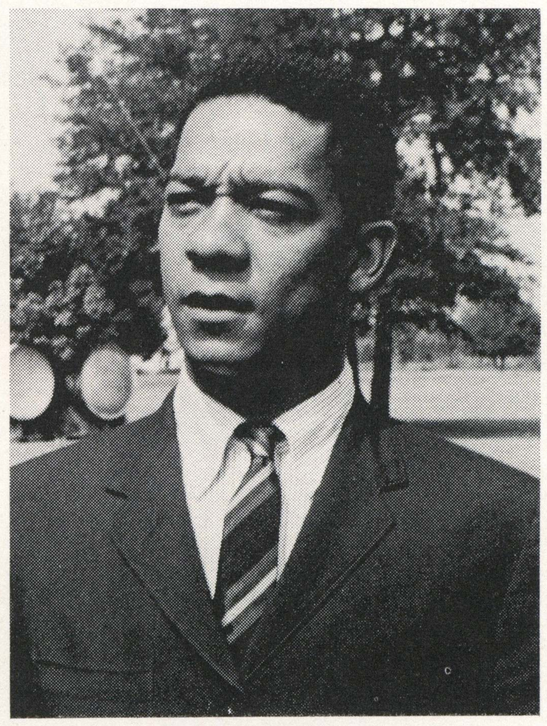


Milton Reid
Petersburg, Va.

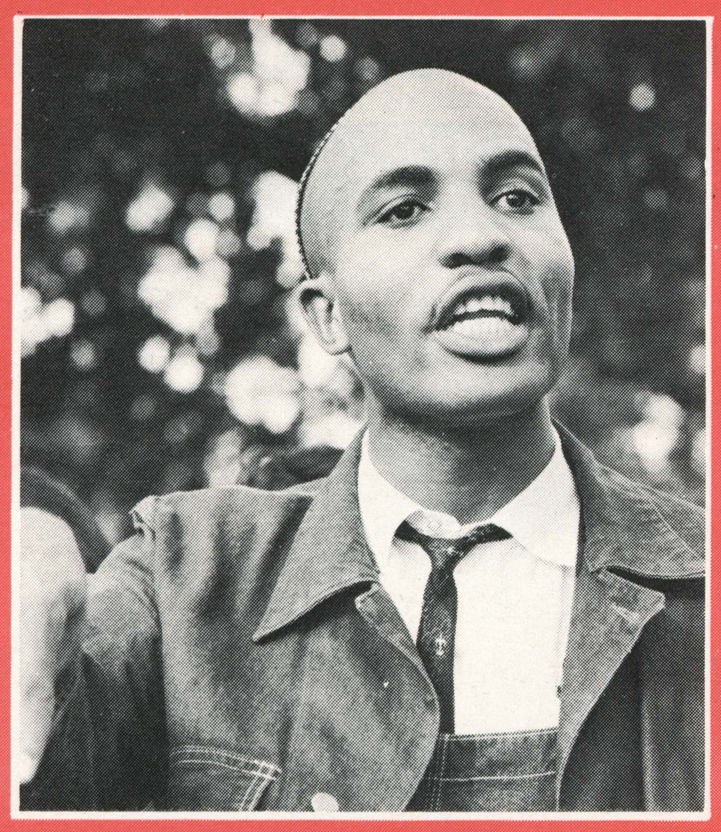


Edgar G. Thomas, Jr.
So. Orange, N. J.

assistant to program director
John Gibson, *Atlanta, Ga.*

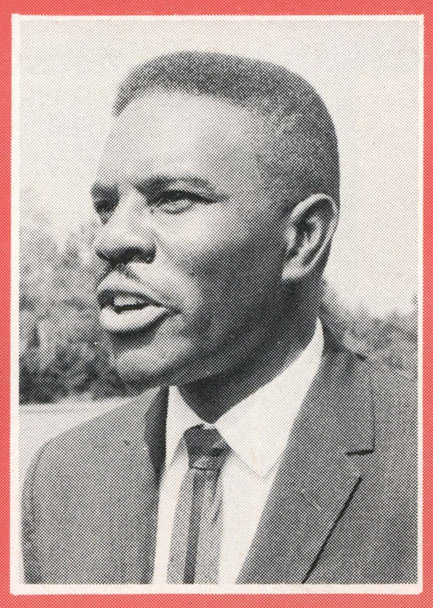


field secretaries

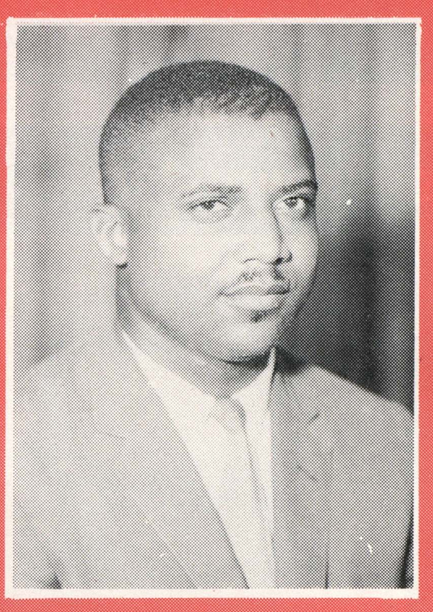


James L. Bevel, *Atlanta, Ga.*
Field Secretary At Large

Herbert Coulton
Petersburg, Va.

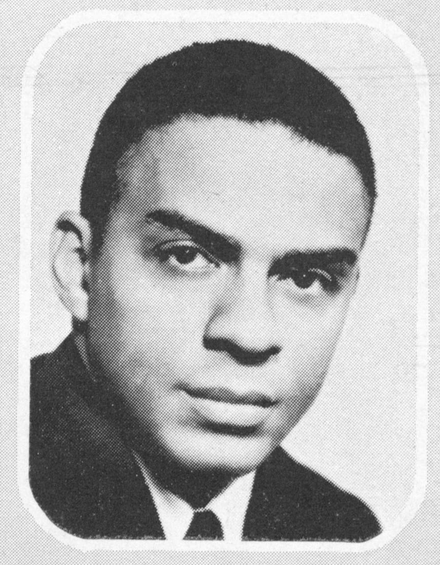


Golden Frinks
Edenton, N. C.



Major Johns
Maringouin, La.

voter registration

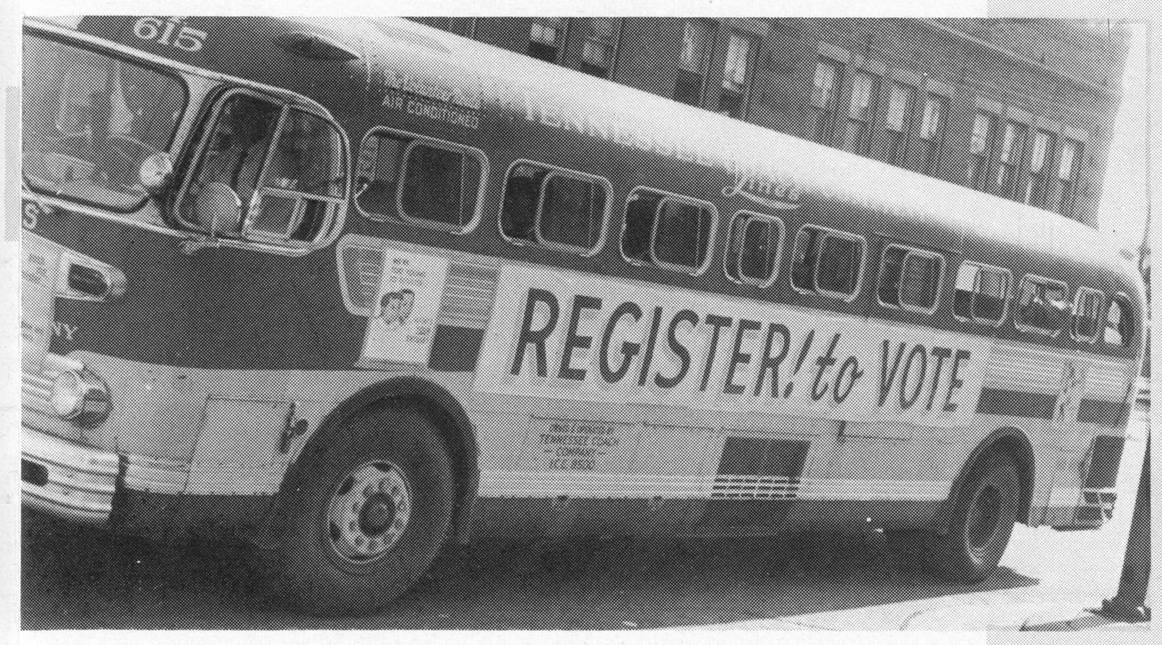


'. . . from protest to politics'

By Andrew J. Young

Bus Boycotts, Sit-ins, Freedom Rides and Selective Buying campaigns all seem to lead in one direction and converge on the Ballot. Every area of life seems to block the Negroes' drive for freedom, and it didn't take SCLC long to realize that, ultimately, decisions in each of these aspects of life were politically determined. Thus began the large-scale assault on the ballot box.

SCLC has waged voter-registration campaigns from Virginia to Texas. Danville and Petersburg have been the centers of Virginia activity which has doubled the existing Negro registration in the past two years. The Eastern 'Black Belt' of North Carolina has been SCLC's focus in that state. South Carolina has increased from 57,000 Negro voters in 1962 to almost 200,000 in early 1964, and no small part of this is the result of a network of SCLC Citizenship Schools at work in 42 of South Carolina's 46 counties.



The SCLC affiliate in Georgia, The Georgia Statewide Registration Committee, has accounted for more than 50,000 new registrants in 1963 with concentrated efforts being put forward in Atlanta, Savannah, Columbus, Albany, and Waycross.

Students turned to full support of voter registration in Alabama following the "hot summer" of '63. They too realized that representative government would have prevented the atrocities of the state of Alabama and launched a voter registration effort in Birmingham under the slogan, "We went to Jail for You, Register and Vote for Us", which resulted in more than 6,000 new voters on the rolls.

Six of the Birmingham student leaders joined the SCLC staff following the Birmingham Drive and began organizing students for Voter Registration in Louisiana and Texas. After a crash program, which registered 2,500 voters in six weeks in Lake Charles, New Iberia, and Lafayette, Louisiana, the team moved into Texas where they aided in recruiting and training students for Poll Tax and Registration Drives in Beaumont, Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth, Austin, San Antonio, and Tyler. Their stirring songs and stories of the Birmingham campaign aroused the youth of that state to increase the Texas registration from 190,000 to 350,000 in less than 90 days.

But these stories represent limited success against overwhelming odds. Poll Tax still plagues us in five Southern states. Literacy tests unfairly applied discourage our efforts in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and parts of Virginia. Bombings and Burnings — and the recent rage of Police "lynchings" — make the franchise a costly prize in southwest Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama. Limited registration periods in North and South Carolina make difficult any mass addition of Negro voters in those states. Thus it is that representative government is still far from a reality in southern U.S.A.

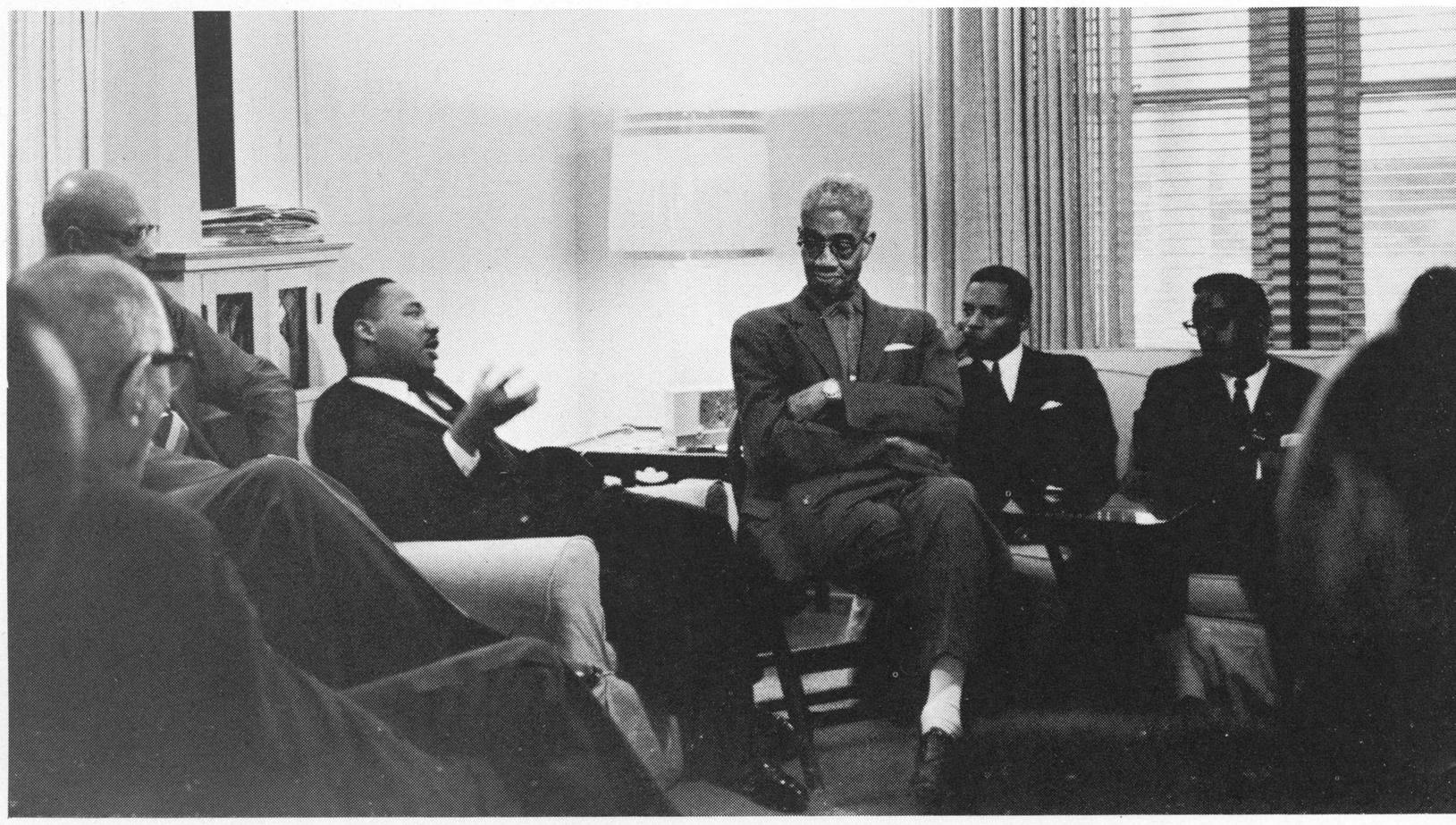
We will gain the Right to Vote for Negroes even if it means a return again and again to massive protests in behalf of representative government. Richard Russell and James Eastland cannot represent Negroes in Congress; police state tactics will not enslave us indefinitely; racial gerrymandering, under the guise of reapportionment, must not be allowed to deprive us of Negro representation in the southern State Houses.

The cry, "No Taxation without Representation" is as loud today as it was in 1776.

voter registration must be carried to the people . . .

. . . in the churches

. . . in the homes

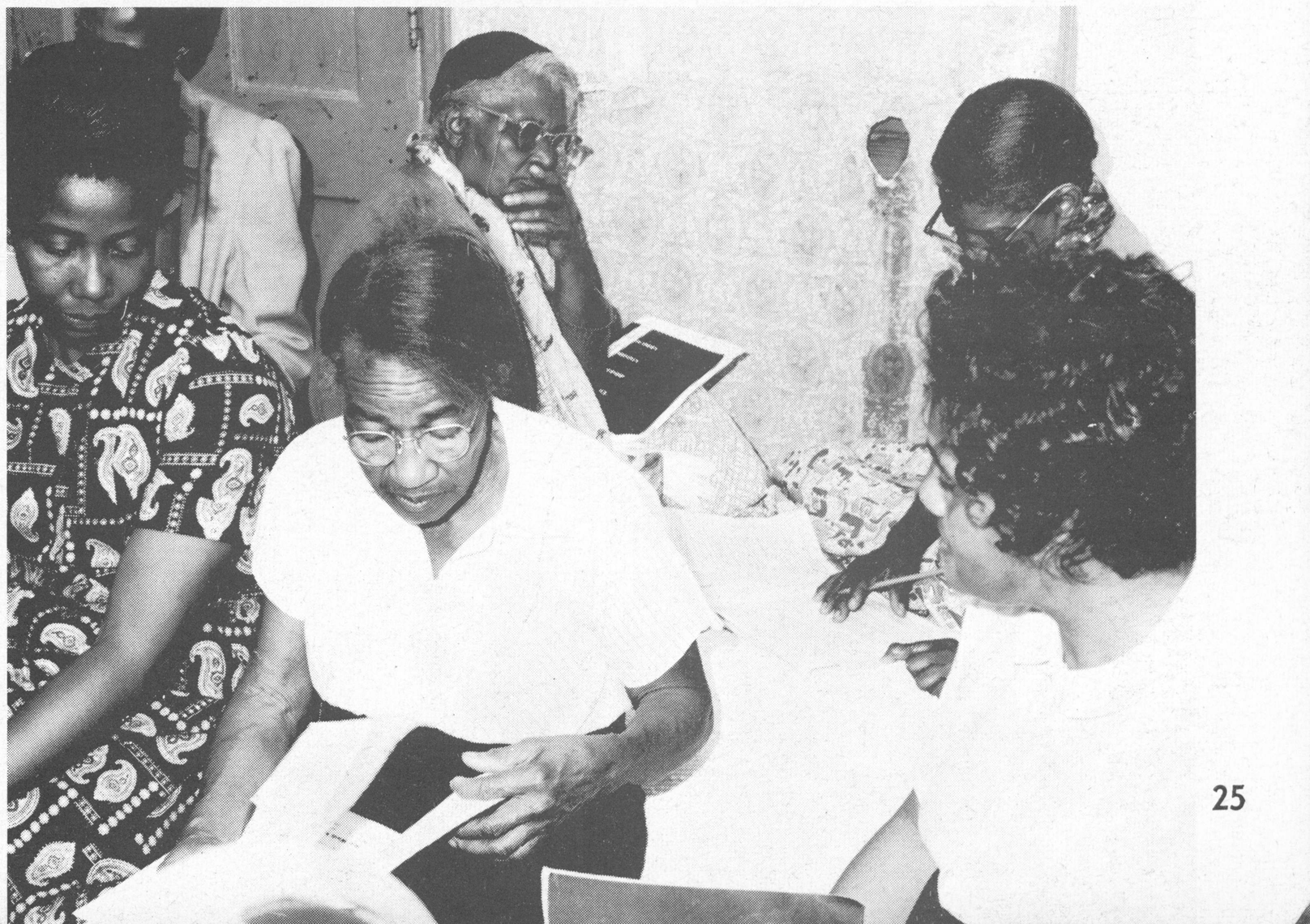


. . . in the streets

. . . clinics must be held

. . . the program explained

. . . and understood

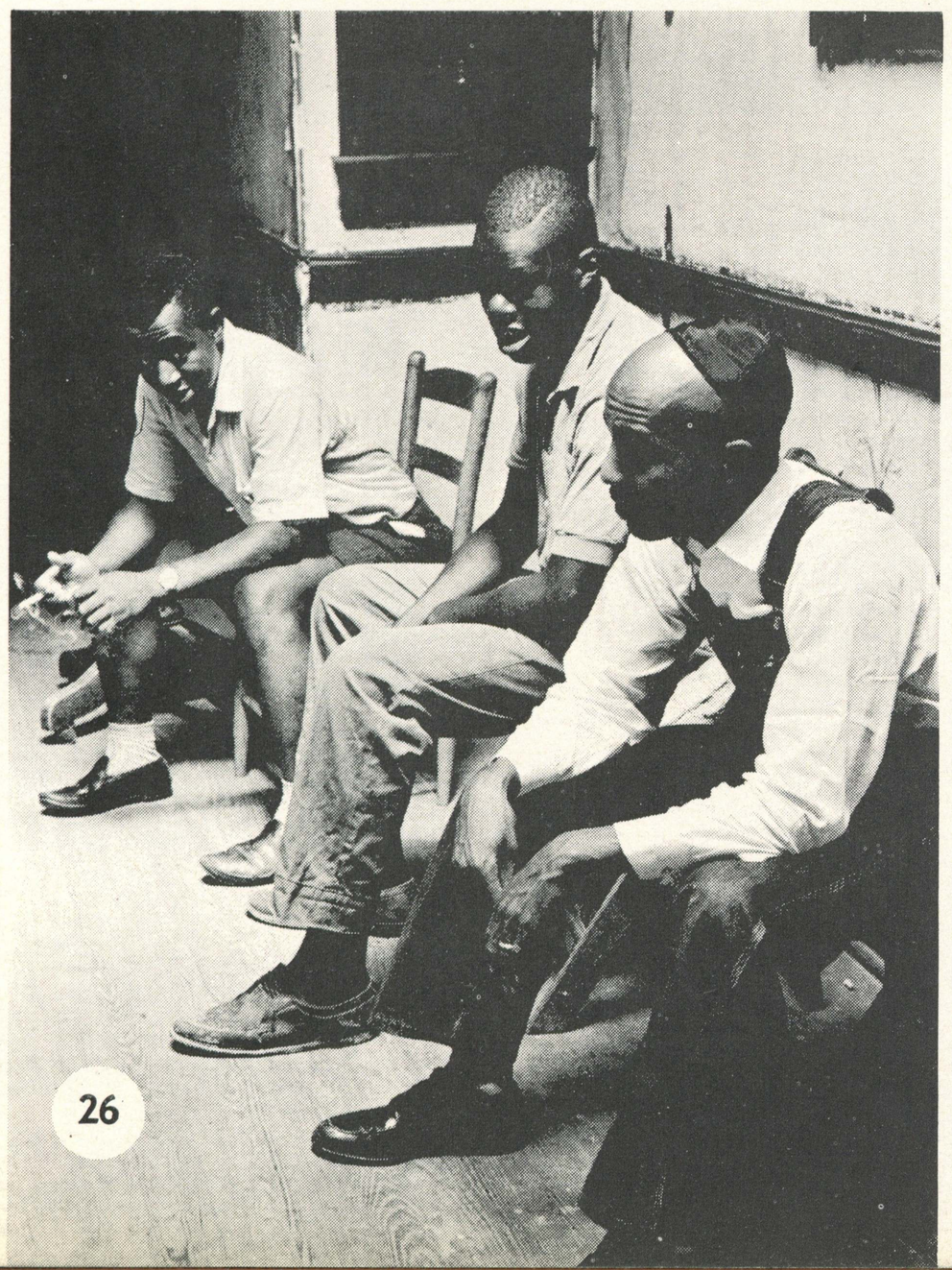


. . . reaching the people

. . . in the midst of checkers in mississippi

. . . knocking on doors in virginia

. . . taking a breather in mississippi



. . . sclc's crack traveling registration team

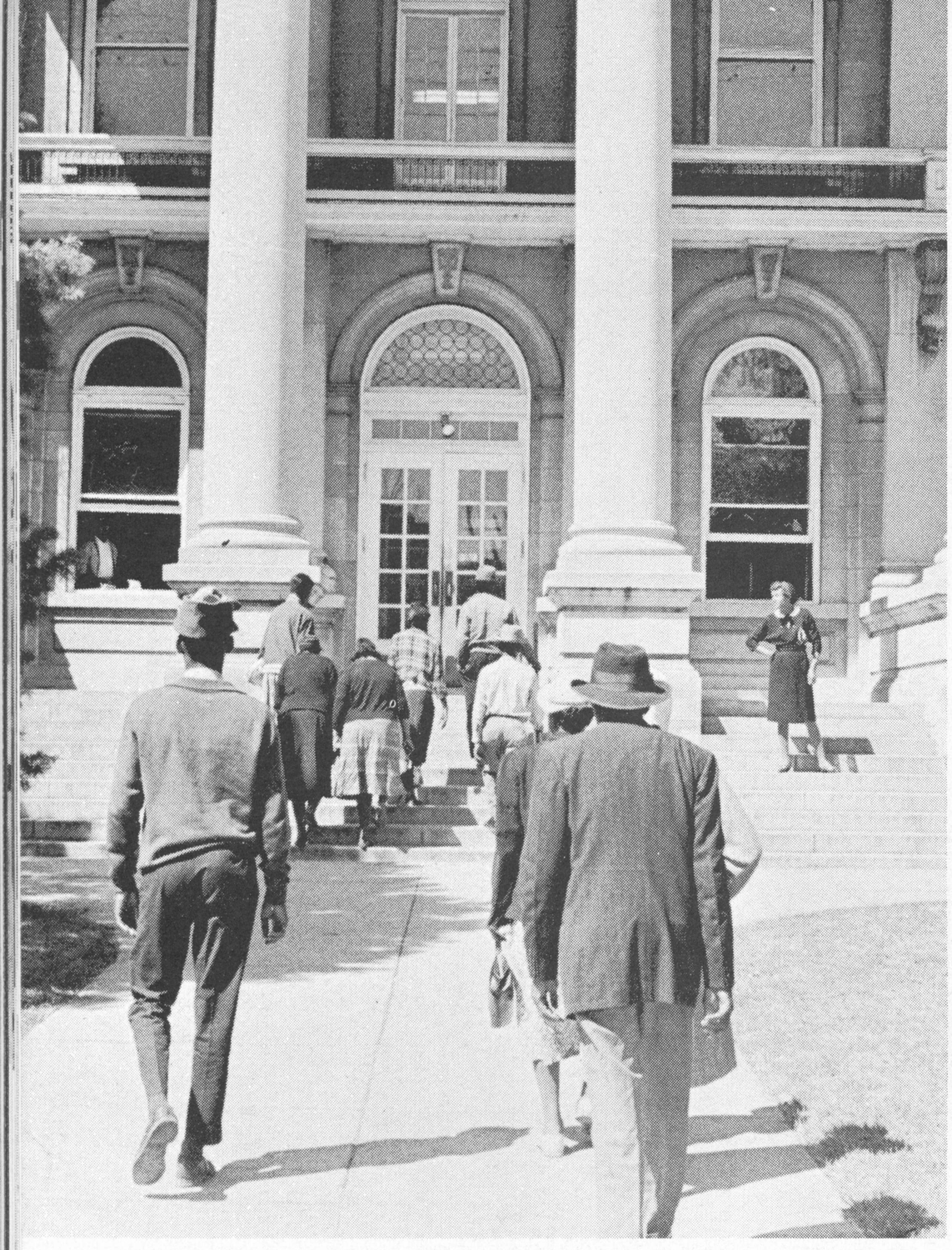
From left: Andrew Marrisett, Miss Elizabeth Hayes, Robert Seals and James Orange

. . . and adding new voters

. . . in savannah, ga.

. . . in dekalb county, ga.

. . . in chattanooga, tenn.



. . . in long lines in columbus, ga.

. . . by day in greenwood, mississippi

. . . by bus at night in atlanta, ga.

. . . by bus loads in macon, ga.

direct action

'. . . to dramatize a plight'

By Dorothy Cotton

"I never thought about the fact that they could not eat downtown. I never realized it," she said. "I am sick." These are the words of one woman in Nashville as she looked about her and saw hundreds of Negroes marching downtown, sitting in at lunch counters and getting thrown in jail. She had been sick for years and lived in a sick culture. Yet, not until the drastic and profound surging of nonviolent Christian direct action was used could she realize the sickness and prepare for the cure.

And so, to help all people in communities everywhere realize the plight of people of color; to help white people understand the suffering of people scorned; to help the nation know the damage that segregation does to the souls and minds of black people, children and adults alike; to help them "think about it", we must engage in nonviolent direct action. Like the woman referred to above, most people who have accepted the system of segregation have never come to grips with the rightness or wrongness of it.

To build a program of mass nonviolent direct action and to prepare soldiers for the nonviolent army, the following steps of preparation are necessary:

Gathering Facts Before engaging in nonviolent direct action, we must have detailed facts about the unjust situation against which we are protesting. A nonviolent campaign must never be based on mere opinion and hearsay.

Education Once all the facts and figures are known this information must be disseminated throughout the community involved. One goal of a nonviolent movement is to gain understanding, sympathy, and support for the changes we seek. In order to achieve this, the people, (white and Negro) must be informed.

Negotiation Nonviolent resistance to injustice presupposes the desire to *win* opponents to our cause, *not* to conquer or overthrow. We, therefore, talk directly with persons in charge of areas of our grievances before any action is taken.

Purification Spiritual preparation is mandatory for those who would participate in Christian nonviolent direct action. Preparation requires studying nonviolence in workshops, role-playing, and making a commitment. When actual love is felt for our opponents, a direct-action campaign is then begun.

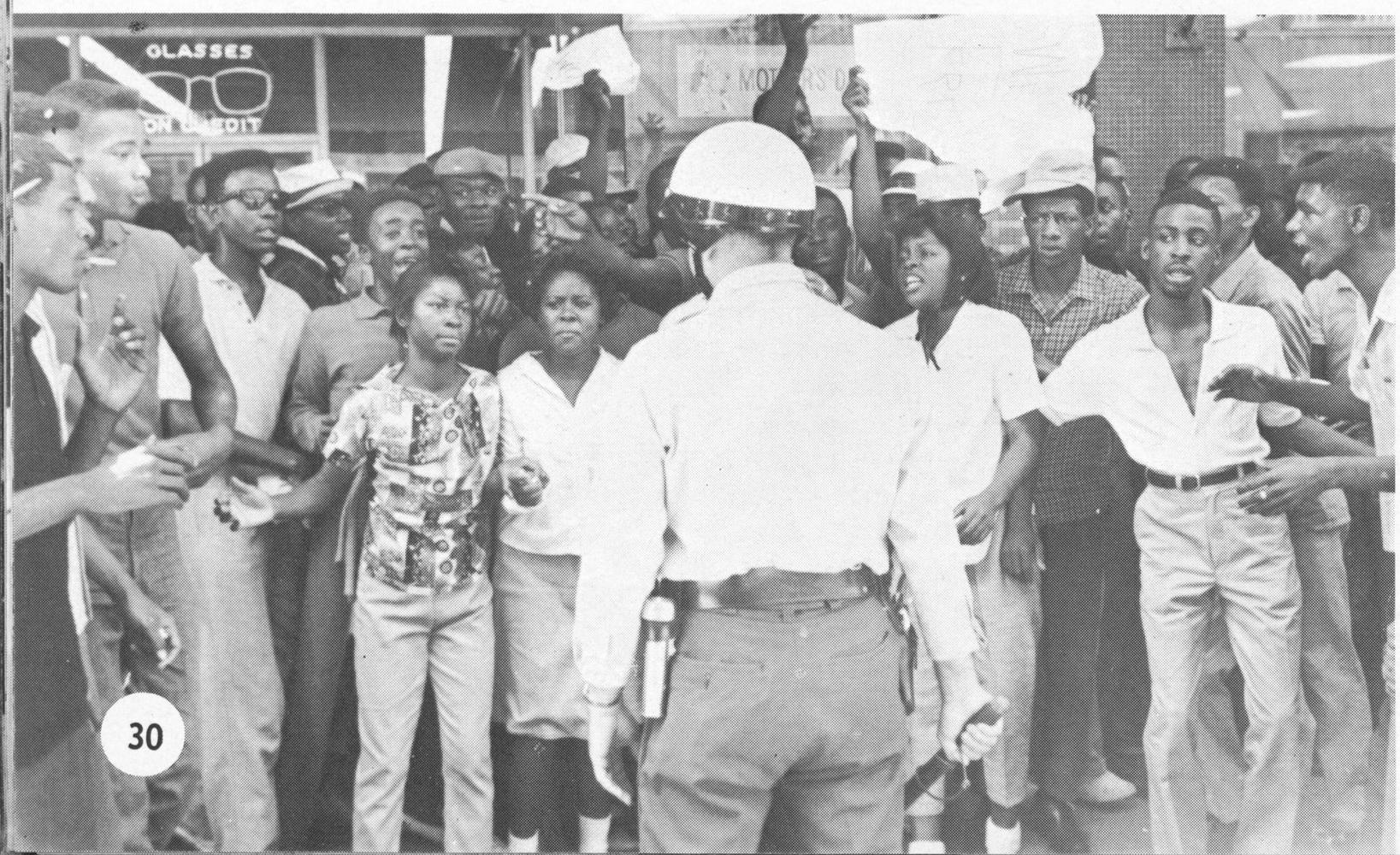
Direct Action We show our love and dedication to truth by presenting our very bodies in places not opened to us. By such acts we confront segregationists with the issues and ourselves, and they are forced to make a decision. By such acts, we *accept* suffering rather than *inflict* suffering.

Reconciliation Our white brothers often find it painful to change the teachings and habits of a lifetime. The nonviolent resister understands this pain and through love helps them to accept the new way of life. He is active in making the transition as easy and painless as possible.

Direct action projects must always be nonviolent, for the goals we seek by such action are "pre-existent in the means". The ends we seek for our nation and for ourselves are love, justice and peace. There can be no love tomorrow without loving men today; there can be no justice without just men; there can be no peace in the end without peaceful men. The legions of the nonviolent disciple will only grow if we are able to love regardless of the cost. The cost to Jesus Christ was the cross. That cross, its cost and implications, holds our confidence and our future as free men.

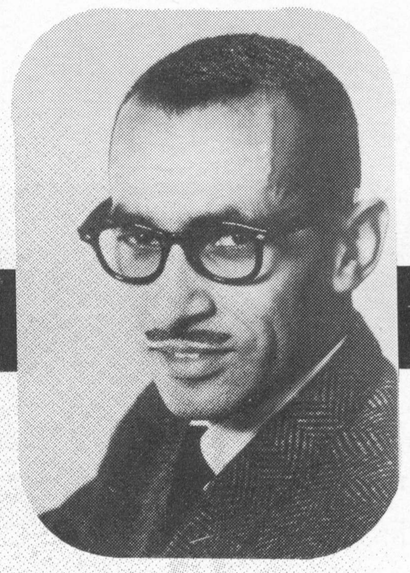
. . . facing the firehoses

. . . menaced by armored cars



. . . bullied by police

. . . the meaning of birmingham



By Wyatt Tee Walker

For many days to come, those who chronicle the events of the nonviolent revolution in America, will frequently use the phrases, "before Birmingham" and "since Birmingham." At this early vantage point of history, this assessment might seem premature. However, there are strong indications already that the confrontation in Birmingham, Alabama, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, marks a major watershed in the history of the Negro in America.

It is fair to say that the Montgomery bus protest, in its frame of reference, was a monumental undertaking. Its prime significance, though, was the introduction of the use of nonviolence on a mass scale in America's race dilemma. It rather signaled the beginning of a new thrust whose path would ultimately lead to Birmingham.

Between Montgomery and Birmingham, the nonviolent revolution in the South, cut its teeth on the Sit-Ins, the Freedom Rides and the Albany, Georgia, uprising. Each instance added a new dimension to the struggle of the Negro community and its allies, though each fell short of establishing clearly the general discontent lying dormant within the loins of the Negro people in America. Policy makers in high government circles and sociologists matter-of-factly referred to the continuing instances of the Negro revolt as only *symptomatic* of "the Negro problem." Most experts in race matters would give the off-hand appraisal that "it is a big problem and it's going to take us years to solve it through legislation and education."

Then came the Spring of 1963. The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Secretary of SCLC and head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in Birmingham, for seven years had fought nonviolently in a city properly dubbed "the last stop before Johannesburg, South Africa." The inflexible segregationist forces were symbolized in Birmingham's notorious Police Commissioner, Bull Connor. Unsolved bombings and police terror were routine for the South's largest industrial center. The Negro community generally moved about their city, their emotions at tip-toe stance, never quite knowing what to expect.

This was Birmingham before April 3, 1963.

Following the initial thrust of the movement, the nonviolent forces of SCLC and its Birmingham affiliate led by King, Abernathy and Shuttlesworth, went into high gear and became so powerful that the commerce and industry of "the Pittsburgh of the South" ground to a complete halt. Thus the agreement of May 10th. It was then that we were able to first see the far-reaching effects of what we had done.

All over the South and the North, communities began to spring alive with their own nonviolent thrust for Freedom. Birmingham has transmitted a new sense of courage to Negroes everywhere. A frequent sentiment expressed was "if they could do something against the dogs and firehoses in Birmingham, then we ought to do something here!" At the middle of the summer, just before the great March On Washington, it was apparent that the Negro community had cast aside its plantation psychology. No longer was the Negro paralyzed by the fear of what might happen if he stood up like a man against segregation.

Birmingham also meant one thing else. For the first time in the nonviolent revolution the jails were filled, *literally*. This represented another major development within the movement. It marked a measurable maturity that we had not seen before. The meticulous planning, the house-to-house mobilization, and the mounting of the strangle-hold boycott proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that nonviolence had come of age and had established itself as a legitimate technique by which an oppressed minority could gain freedom.

And Birmingham reached the hearts of the American people. Many citizens were detached and insulated against the day by day flesh-and-blood considerations of segregation, but the vicious dogs and high pressure water-hose splashed across magazine and newspaper pages and on television screens — gave to the national community a picture of what the South is *really* like for the Negro. The response generated was conscience-searing and thousands of Americans who had given only lip-service became intimately involved, and those who had no commitment at all became genuinely concerned. Within the Negro community, a new bond was forged between North and South and the total coalition of conscience was reflected in the dramatic March On Washington.

Finally, Birmingham and the creative crisis it produced, caused the Administration of our Federal Government to alter its order of priorities on domestic issues. In January of 1963, the late President Kennedy, in consultation with Martin Luther King, Jr., made it very clear that he felt sufficient legislation existed in the area of civil rights. In June of the same year, he went before the nation via network TV and radio to make an urgent appeal for support of the most sweeping legislation on civil rights in the history of the nation. He termed it a "moral question" that required soul-searching in every quarter of our national community. In six months, the plight of the Negro had not changed substantively — but there had been a "Birmingham"!

. . . the birmingham march

. . . heading for jail

. . . arrested in birmingham

letter from a birmingham jail

(After going to jail for the 13th time on April 12, 1963, in Birmingham, Ala., during the protest demonstrations, SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote an answering letter to eight white clergymen who had publicly criticized him for "unwise and untimely" demonstrations. The reply was smuggled out of jail on pieces of toilet paper, margins of newspapers and other odd scraps of writing paper. It is a classic expression of the nonviolent revolution, and says most eloquently in the excerpt below what most Negroes feel in the innermost corners of their very being.)

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say "wait."

But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, brutalize and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that "Funtown" is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored," when your first name becomes "nigger" and your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and when your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodyness" — then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.

In your statement you asserted that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. Isn't this like condemning the robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical delvings precipitated the misguided popular mind to make him drink the hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of the Crucifixion?

The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremist will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice — or will we be extremists for the cause of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill, three men were crucified for the same crime — the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. So, after all, maybe the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

Before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched across the pages of history the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. For more than two centuries, our foreparents labored in this country without wages; they made cotton "king," and they built the homes of their masters in the midst of brutal injustice and shameful humiliation — and yet out of a bottomless vitality, they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

birmingham helped dramatize the plight of the negro

. . . announcing the birmingham agreement

. . . wyatt walker jailed during 1962 sclc convention

. . . sclc staff members jailed in freedom rides

. . . wearing the battle scars of a firehose

. . . freedom singing in a pool hall

. . . in rain and snow in richmond, va.

all sclc affiliates give support to direct action campaigns

. . . in birmingham, ala.

. . . in atlanta, ga.

. . . in savannah, ga.

. . . a jailing in savannah

. . . and a jailing in st. augustine, fla.

From Left: Sheriff L. O. Davis, Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, mother of the governor of Massachusetts, and SCLC's St. Augustine affiliate director Dr. R. B. Hayling

. . . thousands of friends at mass rallies

the friends of sclc

The friends of SCLC are legion. They are among the thousands who fill the auditoriums and ball parks across the nation at mass rallies, and they are among that large group of unselfish entertainers who give liberally of their time and talent to raise funds in benefit performances to help keep the organization going.

They also may be small children in a crowd, still too young to realize that their future somehow is bound up in today's freedom-seeking or that their tomorrows will be brighter and more meaningful because of the seeking.

Or they may be those generous insurance companies, businesses and labor groups who make substantial contributions in freedom's cause. Or perhaps they can be counted among that vast number who lend their support by purchasing books by and about Dr. King, or maybe join in going to jail.

Sometimes their dedication is made manifest in such personalities as former baseball star Jackie Robinson, who willingly agreed to chair an effort to re-build three bombed-out churches in rural Georgia.

And again it might be a President of the United States, who, in his groping for an understanding of the problems of oppressed minorities, invites to the White House and seeks the counsel of SCLC's President, Martin Luther King, Jr.

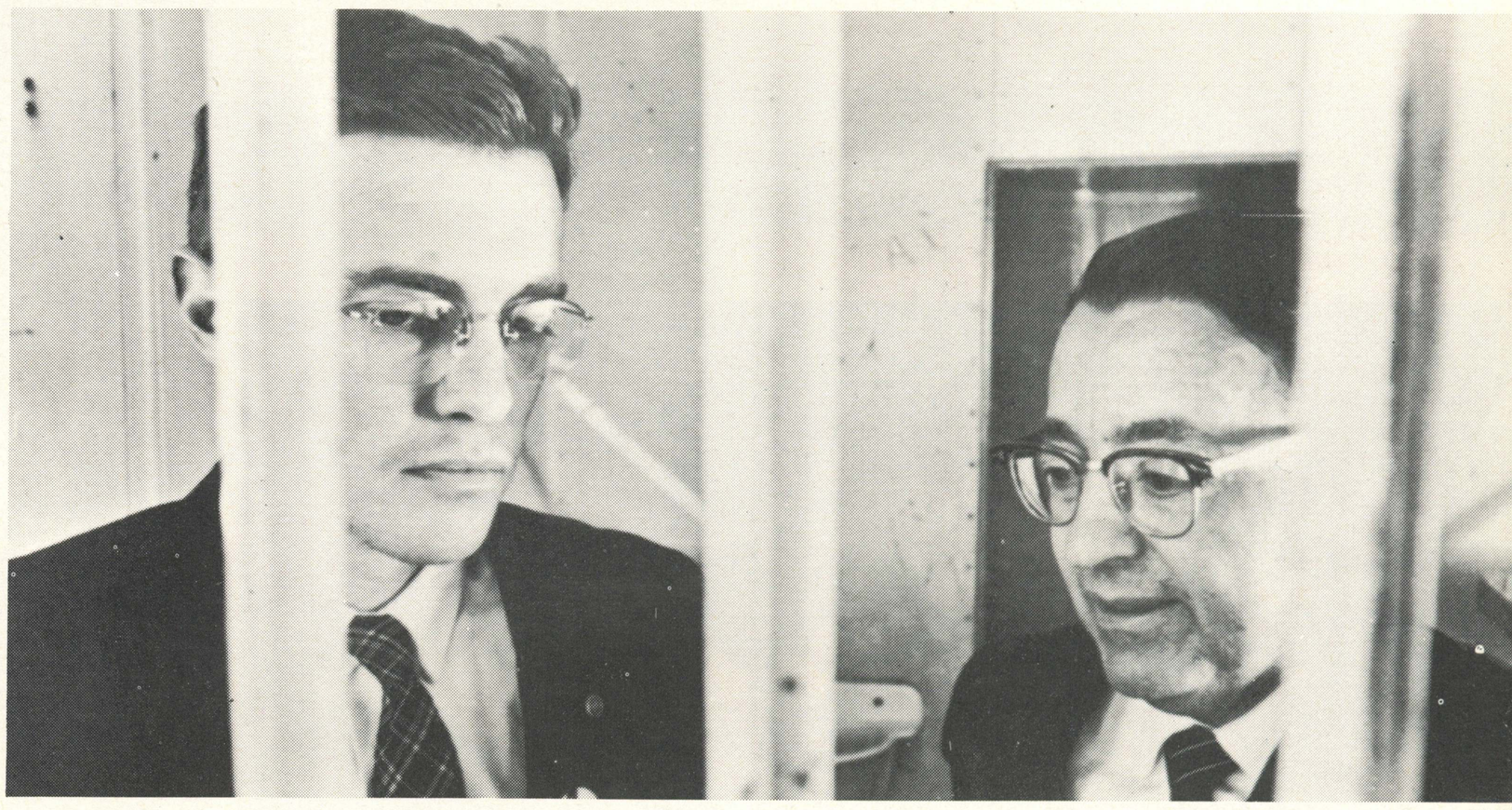
In any instance SCLC is grateful to its many friends and supporters, without whom the organization could not continue to exist.

. . . a friend in counsel

. . . a friend to help

. . . a young friend

. . . friends to go to jail



. . . friends in insurance

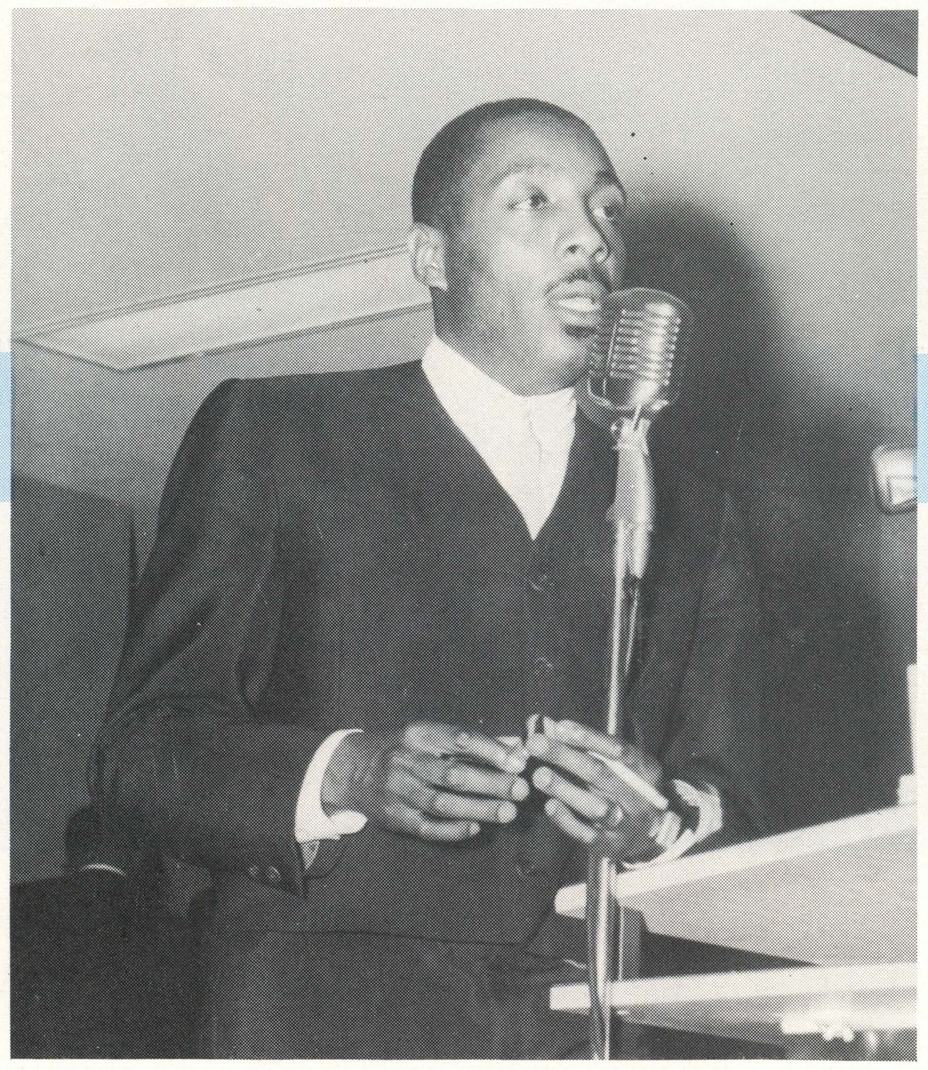
mahalia jackson is a staunch supporter

'stars for freedom' have been liberal in donating their talent

harry belafonte staged concert in atlanta

sammy davis, jr. always obliges

george kirby, lena horne and lambert, hendricks & bavan gave atlanta show



dick gregory is faithful supporter

errol garner has helped

sclc supporters extend aid in many ways

honored by united synagogue of america
From left: George Maislen, Dr. King and Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel

screen and writer boosters

Director Joseph Mankiewicz
Actor Charlton Heston
Author James Baldwin

johnny mathis

. . . arriving for benefit

west coast supporters

Rev. James Hargett, Los Angeles,
Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn,
Dr. King,
Rev. L. Sylvester Odum, Denver, Colo.

an assist from a record album

Detroit record manufacturer Barry Gordy and Dr. King

a tall welcome in milwaukee

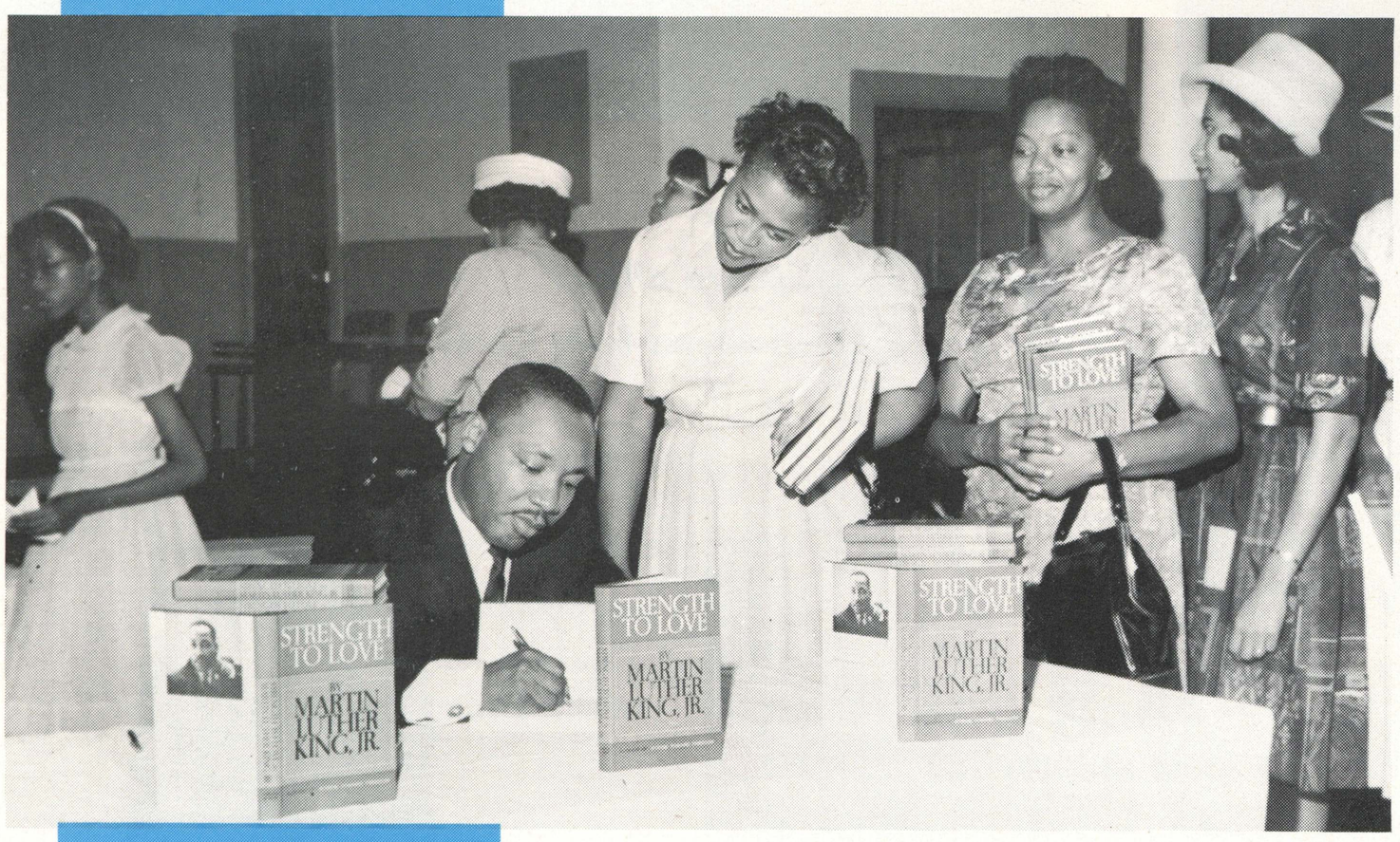
A city hall greeting was extended Dr. King

backstage after performance

From left: Rev. Abernathy, Sammy Davis, Jr., Dr. King, George Treadwell, Peter Lawford

arriving for birmingham show

Joe Louis helps in Alabama



in line for autographs

an autograph helps book sales

actors join in in alabama

From left: Paul Newman, Marlon Brando, Bernard Lee of SCLC, Tony Franciosco, Mary Hamilton of CORE and Virgil Frye

the detroit march...a prelude to Washington

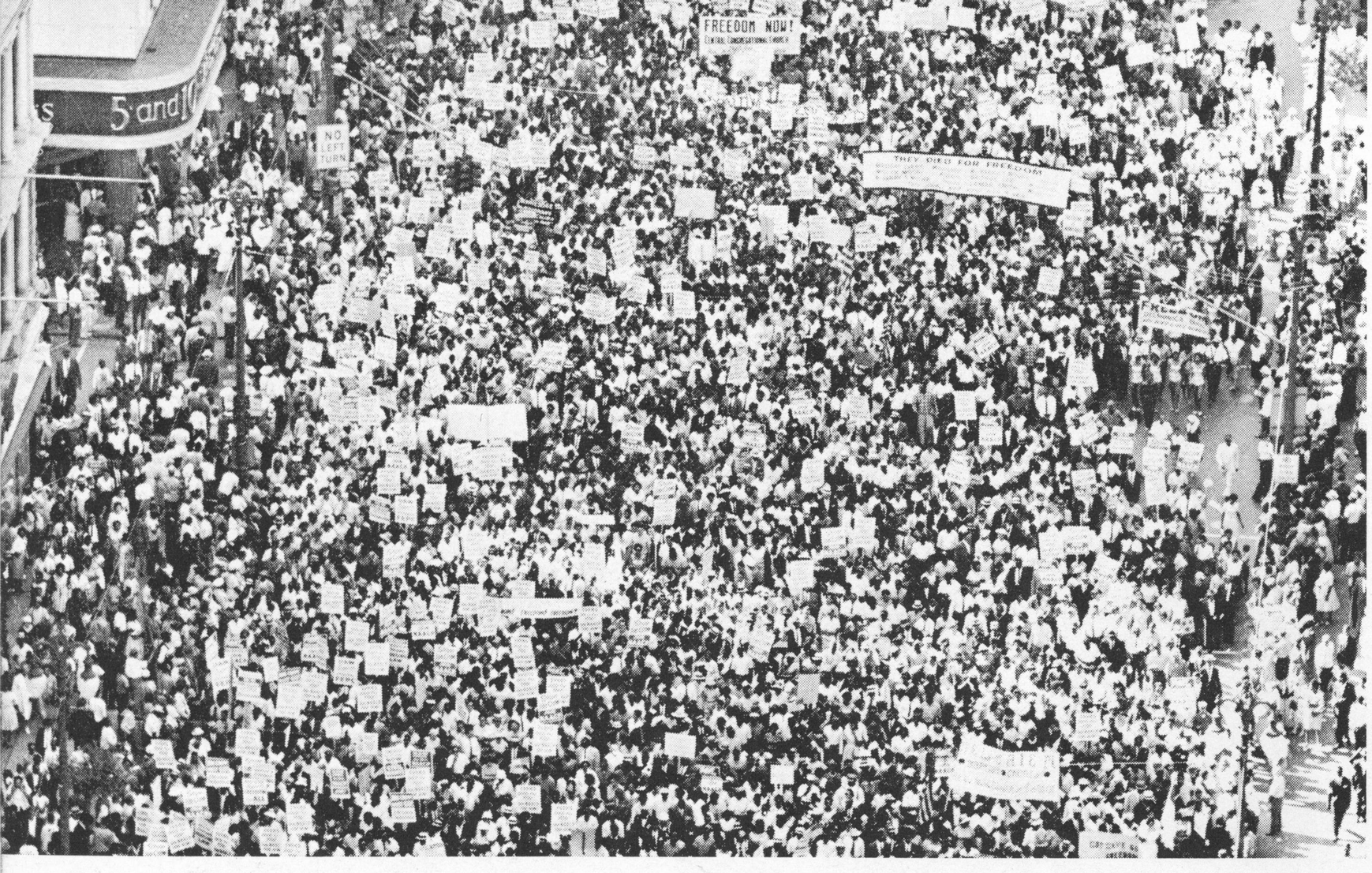
With SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. leading the way, some 125,000 persons joined together in a mighty "Freedom Walk" in downtown Detroit on June 23, 1963. It was the biggest demonstration in that city since 1936 when a rally was held for the late U. S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It also gave a hint of the mammoth gathering that would come two months later in the "March On Washington."

The record-breaking turnout broke all previous marks in terms of crowd size, and was sponsored by the Detroit Council For Human Relations, which had the Rev. C. L. Franklin as its chairman. It was so overwhelmingly successful as an orderly demonstration without incident that Detroit newspapers devoted bold banner headlines and pages of pictures and stories on the historical "walk."

Besides Dr. King in its front line of march, it also had such other Michigan dignitaries as UAW President Walter Reuther, Detroit Mayor Jerome P. Cavanaugh and former Governor John B. Swainson.

At the city's Convention Hall, where the great parade ended, Dr. King addressed a standing-room only audience that spilled out into adjacent smaller halls while others in the multitude heard his message over loudspeakers installed outside the rally hall.

Of the "Freedom Walk," Detroit police commented later that it "was the most orderly, peaceful crowd" that the city had ever experienced.



. . . part of the crowd

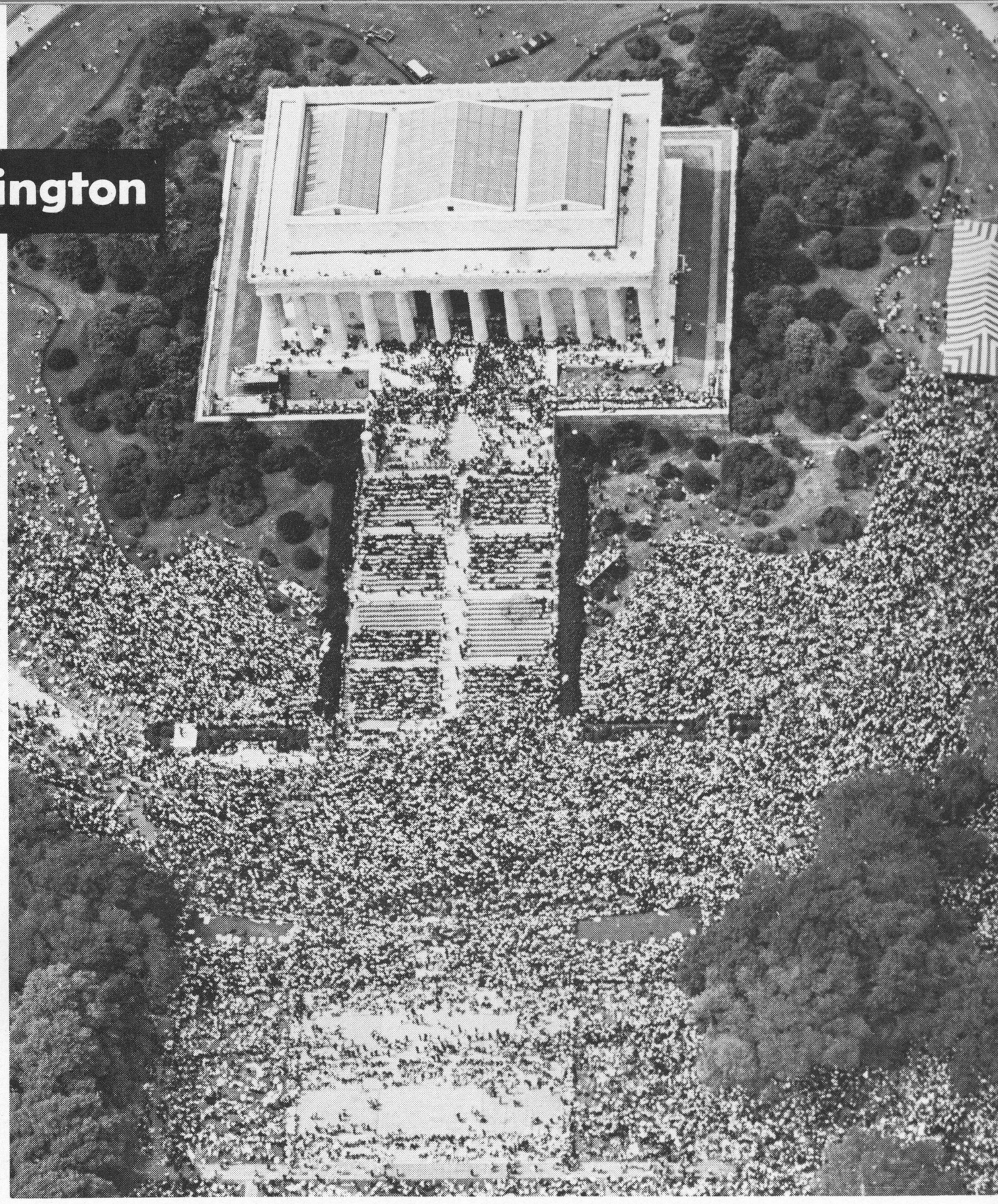
. . . leading the march

. . . in convention hall

the great march on washington

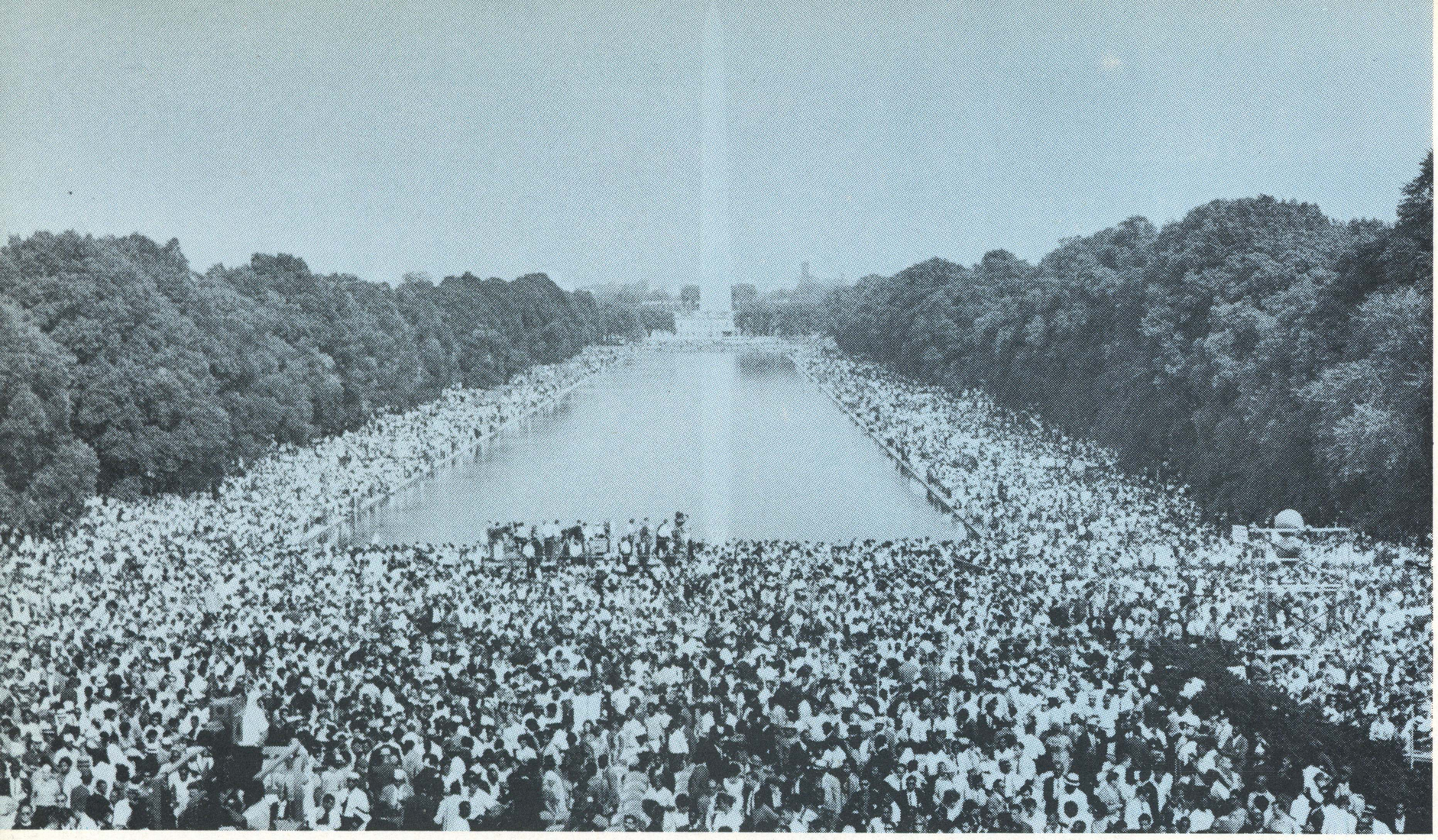
A new page in America's history was written on August 28, 1963, in Washington, D. C., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had an historic role in that writing. Cooperating with nine other organizations, SCLC made available its money, manpower and factilities to help mobilize the South in making the March On Washington the tremendous demonstration that it was.

History will note that it was the most peaceful, orderly assembly of some 250,000 Americans ever organized in mass protest. It will also note that in that massing, the American Negro won for himself a new respect and a new dignity that had long gone un-noticed. The world's news media reported the message of that march, and the people of the world observed that awesome gathering with an understanding sympathy for America's oppressed minorities.



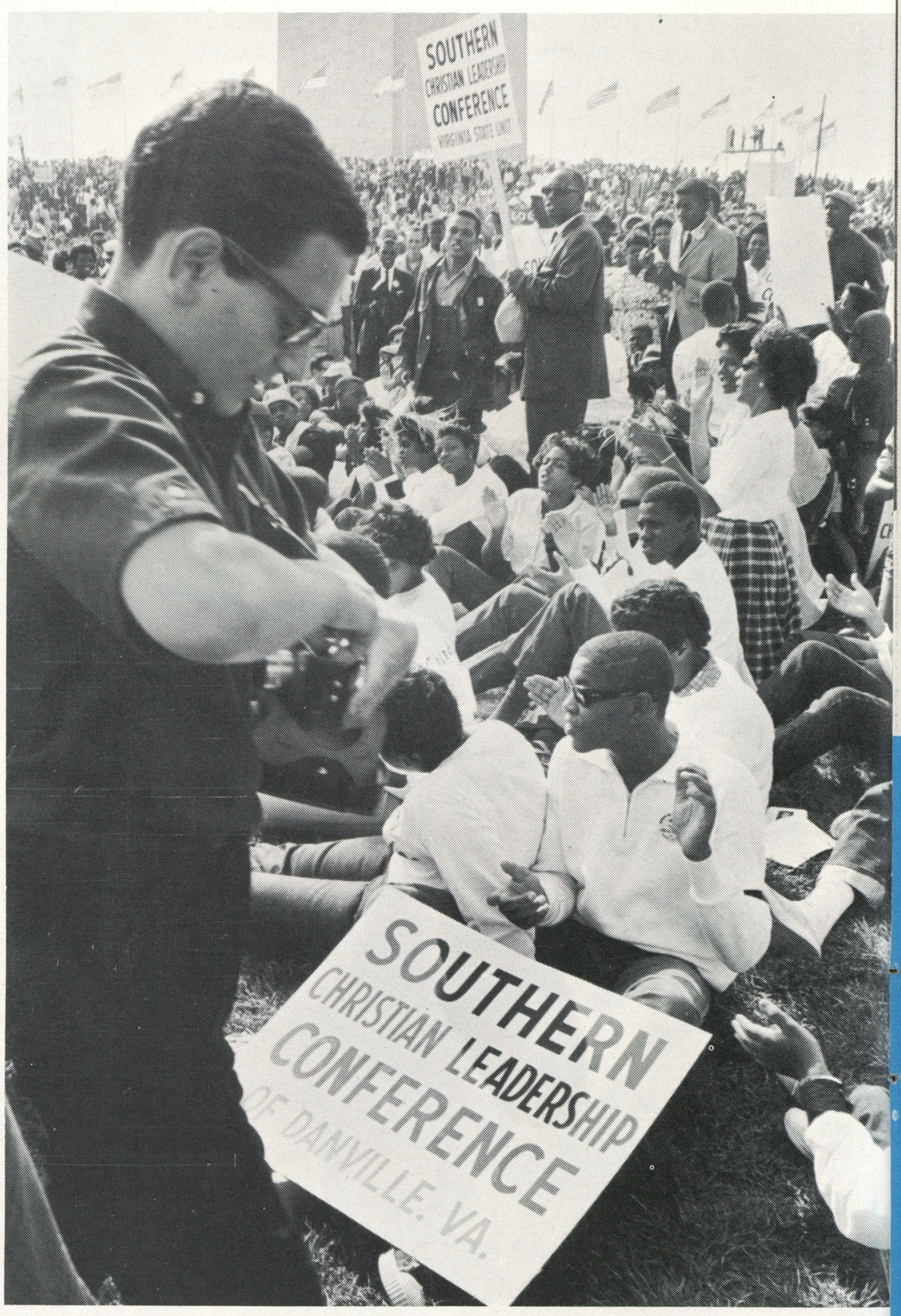
. . . an aerial view of crowd

. . . leaders at head of march



the crowd

march headquarters



an sclc delegation

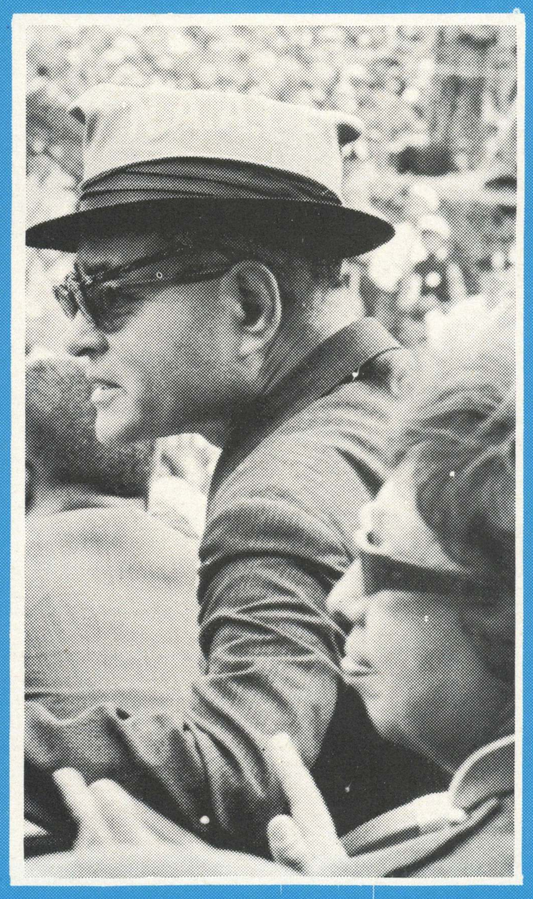
the view from lincoln memorial

a tired marcher

sclc's coordinator walter fauntroy

one scene of the many buses

lena horne



ralph bunche, jo baker

mahalia jackson

james baldwin

FIVE SCORE years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

IT IS OBVIOUS today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of **now.** This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. **Now** is the time to make real the promises of Democracy. **Now** is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. **Now** is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. **Now** is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

BUT THERE is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "when will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New

i have a dream . . .

York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I AM NOT unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I HAVE A dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

I HAVE A dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plains, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

AND IF AMERICA is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado!

Let freedom ring from the curvacious peaks of California!

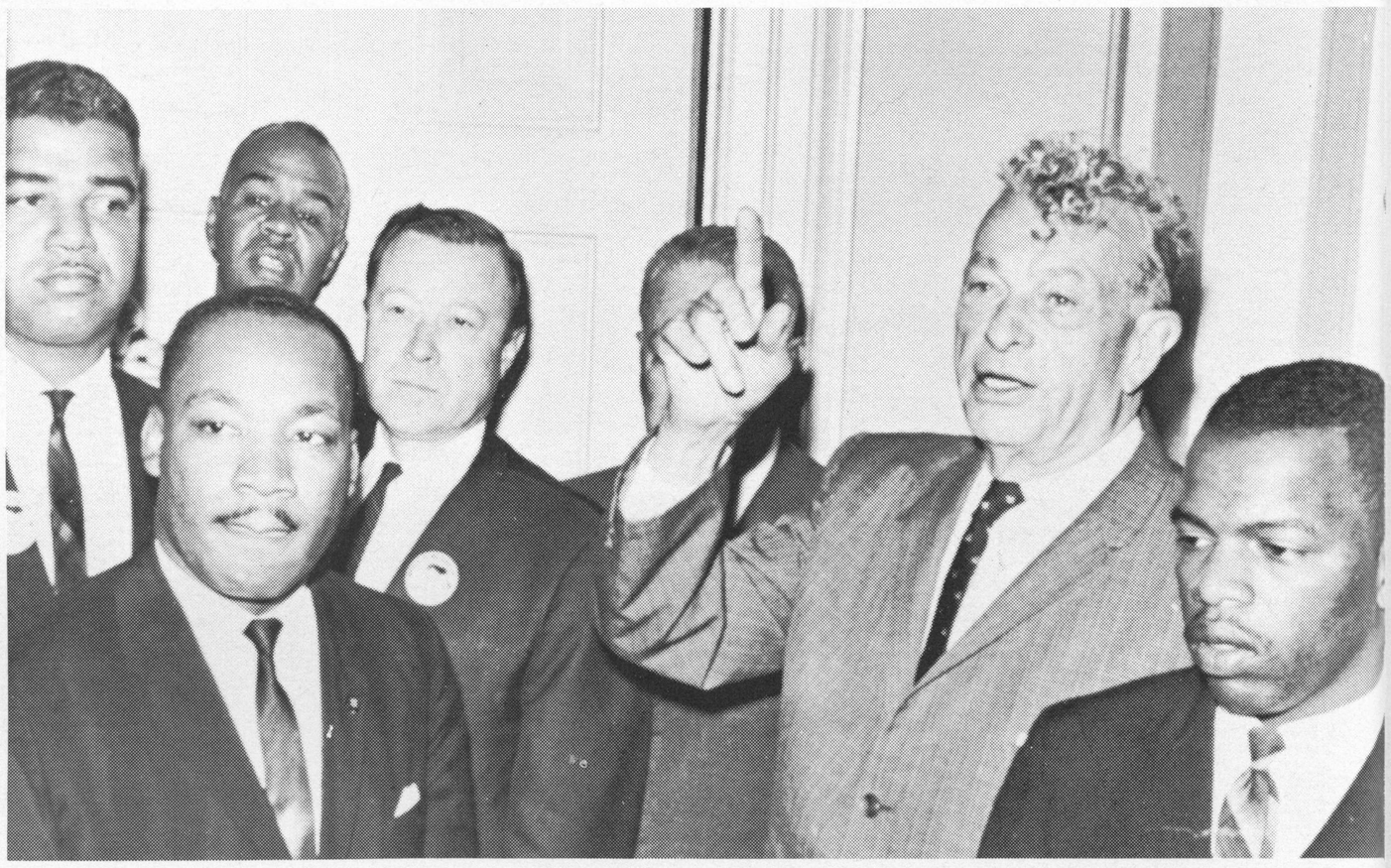
But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia!

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee!

Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

. . . a meeting with the late
president john f. kennedy



. . . an audience with senator
everett dirksen of illinois

. . . then it was over

the citizenship school

'. . . a lamp unto their feet'

By Septima Clark

Underlying the whole concept of political, economic and social progress is the importance of education.

A little over two years ago, SCLC took over the Highlander experiment in Basic Adult Education, the Citizenship School, and began to spread the idea across the South. By the end of February, 1964, more than 1,000 persons had received one week of intensified training in adult literacy, methods, and basic understanding of politics. They have returned to 11 southern states to share their newly-acquired knowledge with their neighbors.

The strategic importance of the program was evident to the Marshall Field Foundation which chose the American Missionary Association of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries to administer the project in conjunction with SCLC. The Rev. Andrew J. Young, a minister of the United Church of Christ, was chosen to direct the program at Dorchester Community Center in McIntosh, Georgia.

the dorchester school

The economic situation is a major key to the reason why voter-registration, with all of its restrictions, is crucial, and why the program is needed.

For instance, from 1619-1865 the Negro had no right to his own person. Legally, he was owned. Physical kinship was not talked about but was implied. He planted the richest land, but the planter took away from him the profit motive and suggested that he be satisfied with the sheer poetry of earth itself. He mixed with this earth his blood, sweat and tears, his dreams, fancies, joy and despair. He loved it and hated it more than we, the "new Negro," will ever know.

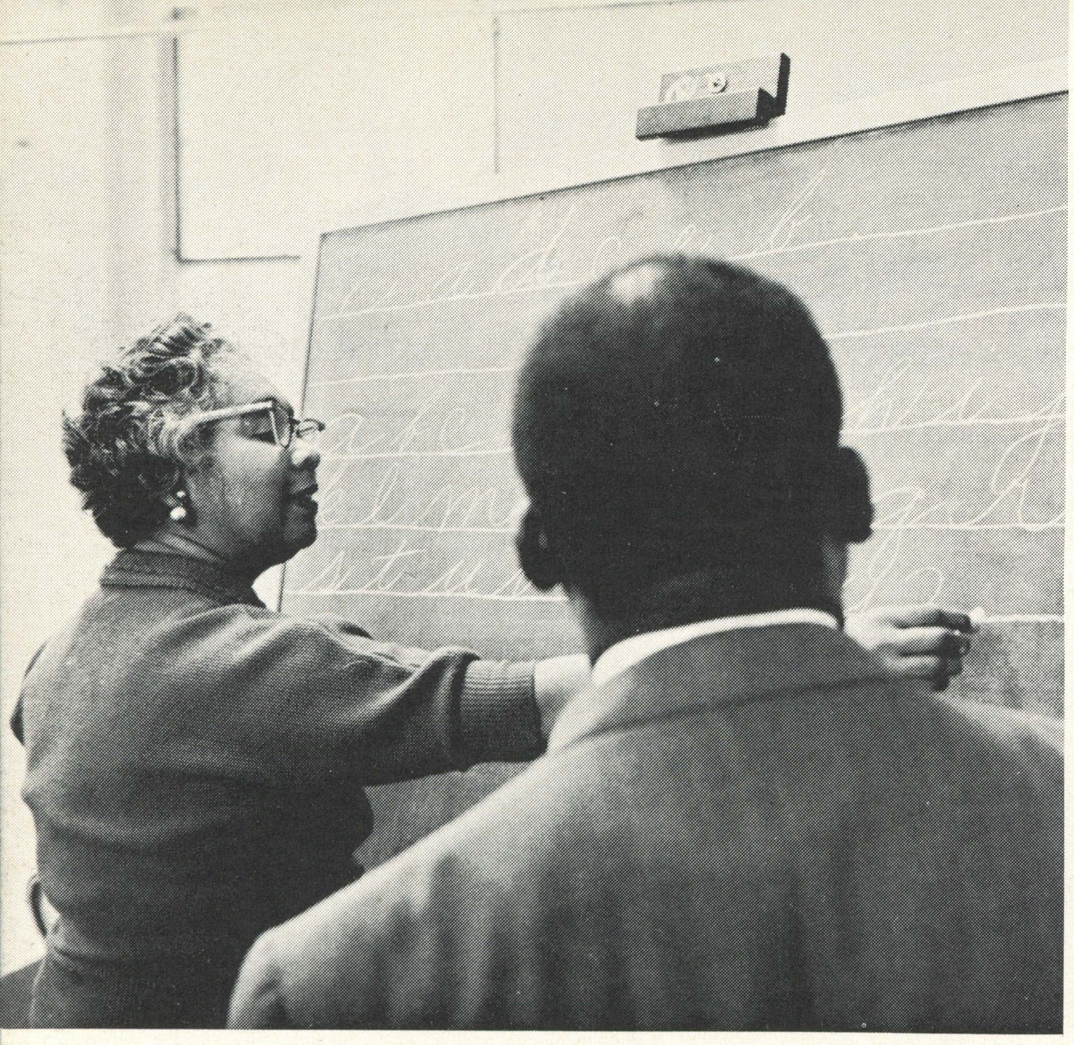
The long furrows, shade trees—under which the babies slept in boxes exposed to flies, gnats, mosquitoes, and even snakes—myrtle thickets, hot, high pine barrens, cool water from the spring, or cold water sweetened with molasses from the jug in the high cotton were his and were the sweetest things left to him. He had to live close to the earth, close to life, which was really close to death.

From 1865-1876 constructive attempts were made to raise Negroes to a better standard. After the Civil War an election brought in a new era. A new president pulled the troops out of the South. The Ku Klux Klan took over and a reign of terror ensued.

The next seven decades showed little improvement, but gave impetus to President Harry S. Truman's decision for Civil Rights in 1946. Two World Wars took Negroes, regardless of training, to foreign lands. There they bled and died, keeping America "safe for democracy". There they learned of a new way of life.

Back home from 1946-1964, they understand what the cross means, whole-souled commitment, laying one's life on the line, one's body in the jailhouse, the Great Prophets, and the ideal of social justice; but, they needed education to become an active part of their community, to prove their human worth, and to show their discontent nonviolently.

The Citizenship Education Program *lighted a lamp* and its rays guided the depressed and distraught to a new kind of school, a new approach to learning. It extracted learning from their experiences. The adults determined the educational goals, planned the techniques and applied them. The central focus is on meeting the here-and-now-educational needs of the students by "helping people help themselves".



teacher eliza seymour instructs a fellow teacher

A Citizenship School Statistical Report

July, 1962 — February, 1964

No. of Persons Trained at Teachers' Workshop	**1,074**
No. of Classes Conducted by Teachers	**595**
Total No. of Students attending Classes	**10,571**
No. of Persons Registered by Students and Teachers	**27,993**

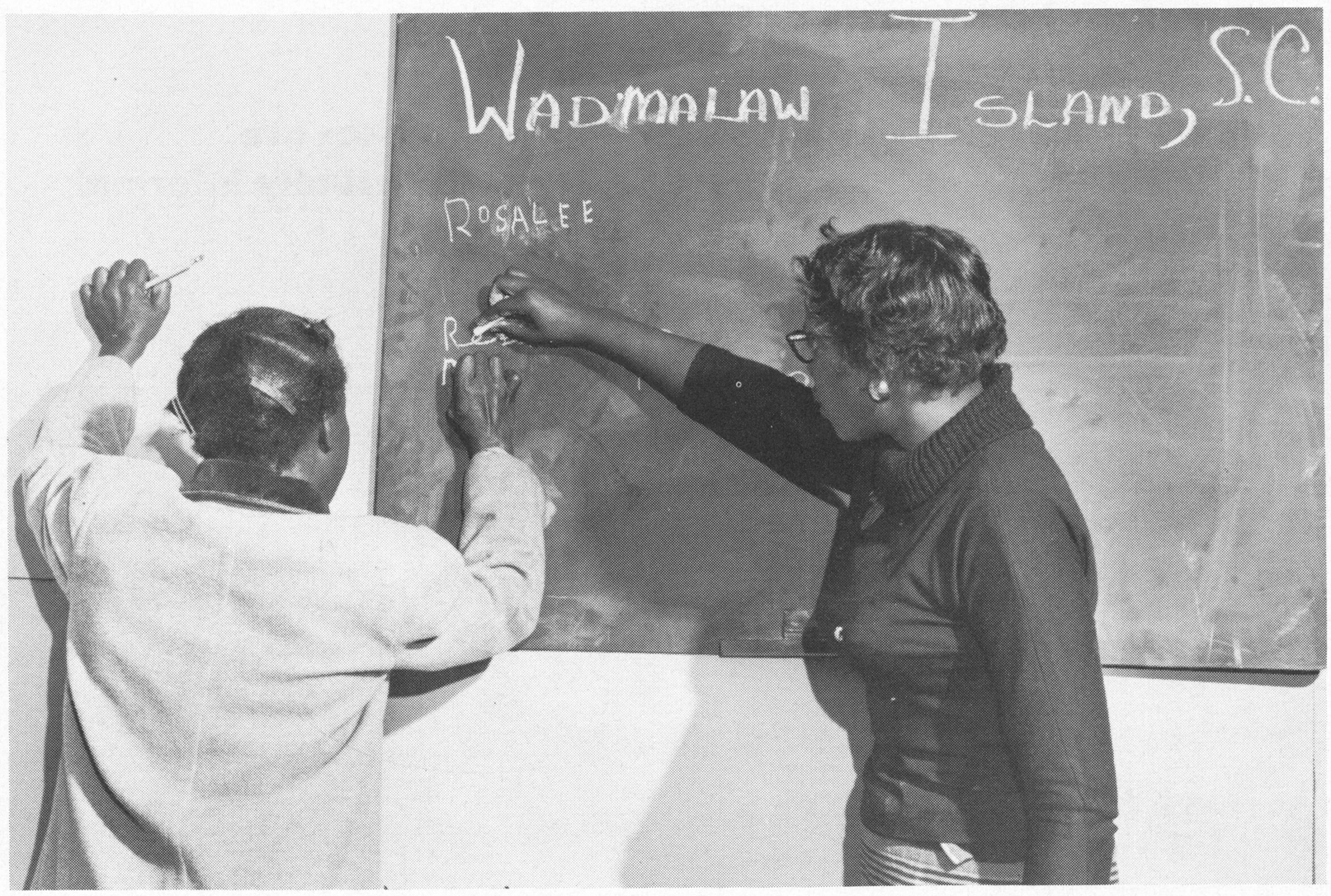
Statistics compiled from work in 11 Southern States

	No. of Counties per State	**No. of Schools per State**
Alabama	13	83
Arkansas	1	1
Florida	1	1
Georgia	43	171
Louisiana	7	29
Mississippi	7	101
North Carolina	7	28
South Carolina	42	147
Tennessee	3	10
Texas	1	4
Virginia	4	21
Total	**129**	**595**

director dorothy cotton explains the program

mrs. clark (r.) instructs a class

ralph abernathy lectures a group



a student learns to write

worker annemarie quiring was a mennonite volunteer

. . . there is time
for folk singing

. . . classes are
usually informal

. . . closing banquets
can be more formal

there's a time for convention . . .

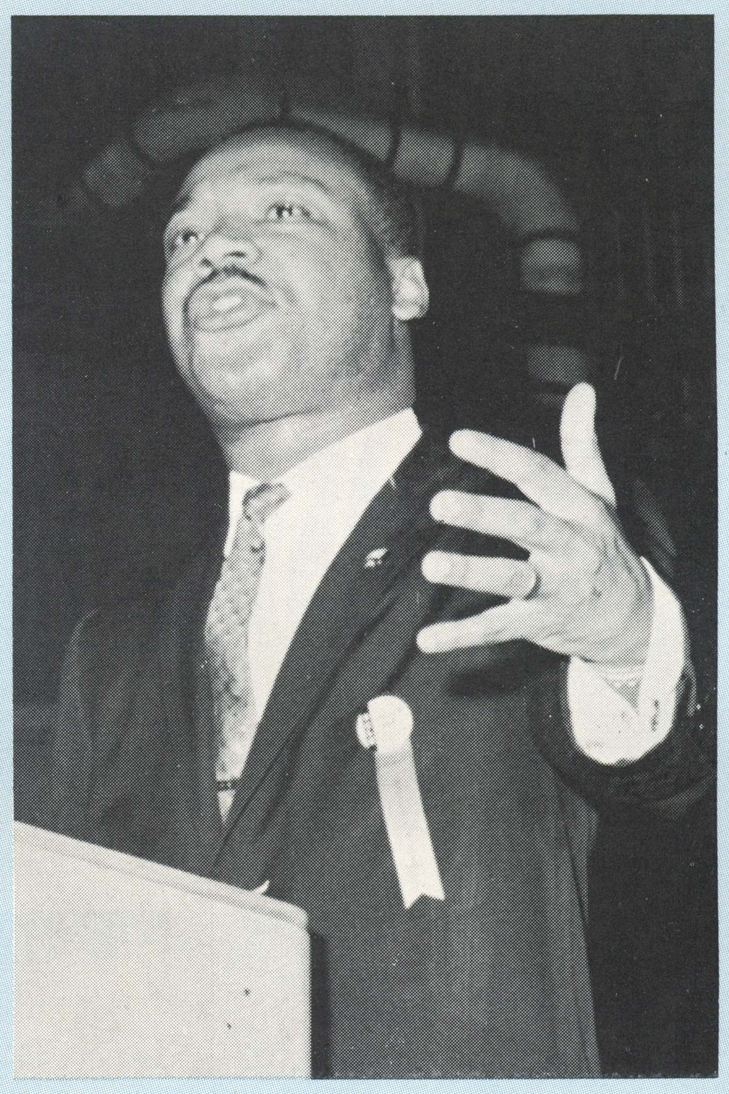
In the steady growth of SCLC since its founding in 1957, each year's convention has grown larger and larger. Last year's convention at Richmond, Va., was by far the largest yet with more than 500 delegates in attendance at the seventh annual meeting. An estimated total audience of 5,000 was in attendance at the night sessions (see photo below) over the four-night period to hear speakers like Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.), Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.). Significantly, the Richmond convention marked the first time that a predominantly Negro group used the banquet room of the John Marshall Hotel.

• • • and picture-taking

• • • and pennant-waving

• • • and warm handshakes

• • • and freedom singing



• • • and firebrand oratory

• • • and citations

a special award to wyatt tee walker
. . . for meritorious service to SCLC

"affiliate of the year" award . . . dr. a. a. peters (r.) presenting; w. e. shortridge (l.) accepting

"rosa parks freedom award"
. . . fred shuttlesworth (l.) accepting for Alabama Christian Movement

a special award for dick gregory
. . . dr. king (l.) makes citation to gregory

a special citation to sarah patton boyle
. . . charlottesville, va., author (l.) receives award from l. francis griffin

. . . and there's a time for relaxation

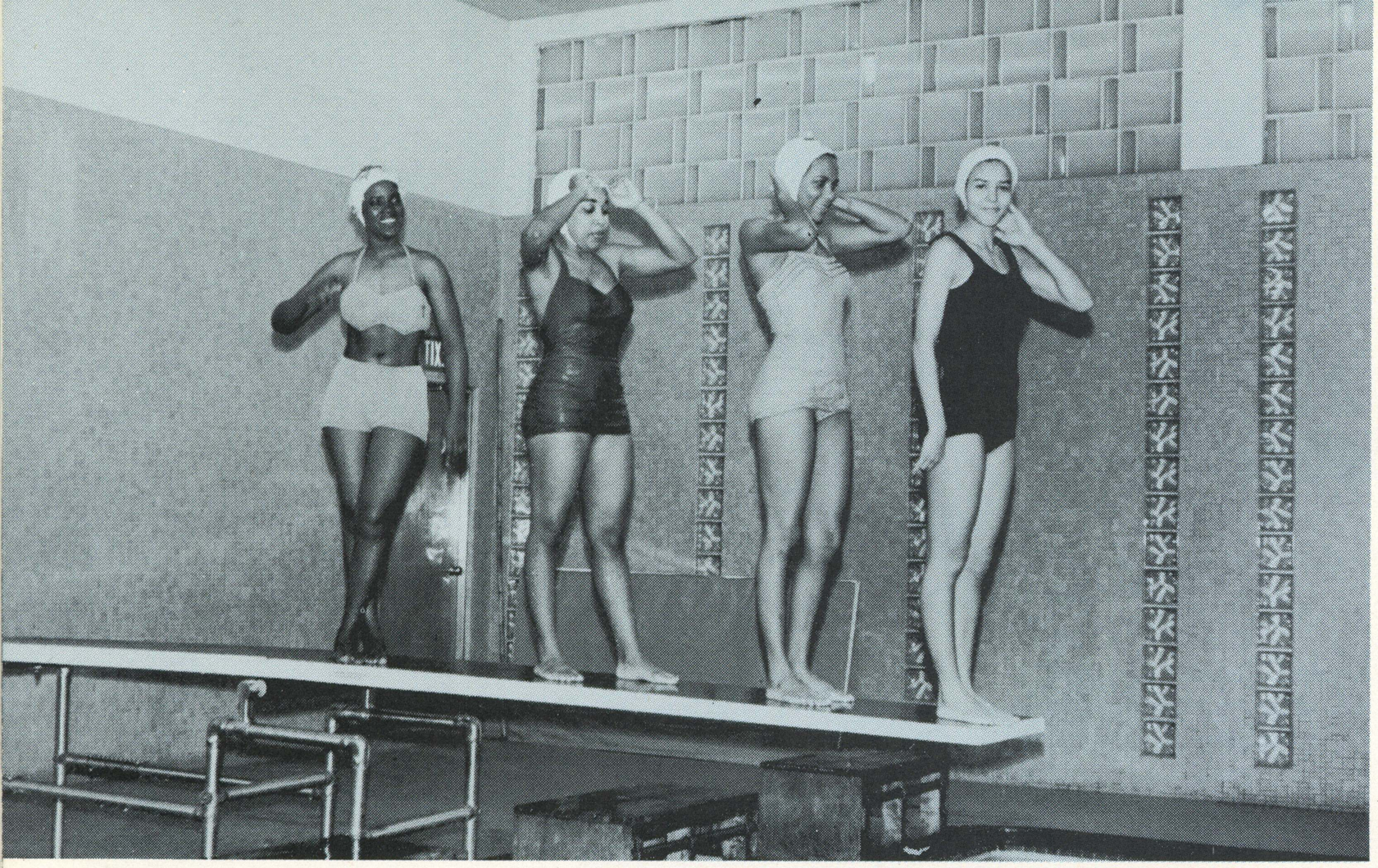
Freedom fighting is and can be a strenuous business. Fortunately, the great majority of those in the forefront of SCLC's struggle are in a youthful age bracket and can withstand the brunt of police brutality or the fatigue of long and wearisome hours sometimes involved in getting a job done. There are moments of relaxation, however, usually sandwiched in between extended staff meetings in such places as Dorchester Center at Hinesville, Ga., or at Black Mountain, outside of Asheville, North Carolina. In any case, the sudden presence of a ball and bat can mean the start of a softball game. Or, as in the case of Black Mountain, the facilities of a gymnasium and swimming pool are certain to beckon to the most challenging of ping pong contests and swimming sessions as late as one o'clock in the morning. Many of SCLC's staff members are expert swimmers, and there are evidences on the softball diamond and in the gymnasium that many of them left behind notable athletic records during college days.

• • • a softball game

• • • in dorchester center

• • • or perhaps a ping pong game

• • • in black mountain



• • • or a swim

• • • a walk in the woods

• • • or just relax

we shall overcome . . .

FREEDOM IS IMPOSSIBLE
MORAL CRISIS
EVERS DIED for YOU
WE MARCH FOR HIM!
DETROIT
EQUALITY-FREEDOM
ACT!
EQUAL