

# Newsletter

Volume II

June, 1964

Number 7

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## SCLC Scores Victory In St. Augustine Against Klan, Violence

### Rebuilt Georgia Churches Dedicated

The three Negro churches which were burned two years ago in the rural area of southwest Georgia, were rededicated on Sunday, June 28, by SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. and others who had spearheaded a fund-raising drive to get them rebuilt.

Addressing more than 600 persons at Mt. Olive Baptist Church, Dr. King declared: "Two years ago I stood among the smoldering ruins of these churches. Those days told us of man's potential for evil. Now we see the goodness of man reflected. These new churches symbolize the quest for human dignity. You can't kill an idea. It will live on. The rebuilding of these churches symbolizes this fact."

Cost \$100,000

The three churches—Mount Olive and Mount Mary in Terrell County and Shady Grove in Lee County—were rebuilt at a total cost of more than \$100,000.

Former baseball star Jackie Robinson, who served as honorary chairman for the SCLC church fund, told the group: "We in the North can only hope that we can acquire the kind of courage you have in the South. With this spirit, we will be truly able

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### Report 275,000 Negroes Registered In Georgia

An estimated 275,000 Negroes are now registered voters in Georgia, according to the latest figures. Negro candidates are also being encouraged to qualify for public office. The statewide, non-partisan, non-political group, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Georgia Voters League, conducted Citizenship Clinics in eight different cities, supported by the Voter Education Project.

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### Demonstrators Assaulted By Police, Ku Klux Klan

After more than a month of raging violence in St. Augustine, Florida, America's oldest city, in which more than 300 SCLC-led demonstrators were arrested and scores of others injured by Klansmen wielding tire chains, and other weapons, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was able to proclaim victory in this rock-bound bastion of segregation and discrimination.

The nonviolent forces of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, determined in its desegregation thrust in this ancient stronghold of slave trading, suffered the most violent assaults to date at the hands of Ku Klux Klansmen, openly endorsed by law enforcement officials. Yet, they continued their protest marches by night and day to the old slave market where surly gangs of Klansmen awaited them with chains, clubs

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### Beginning Of St. Augustine Drama (See Pages 6 & 7)



SCLC's C. T. Vivian (r.) and Mrs. Dorothy Cotton lead one of the first prayerful marches to slave market with about 800 demonstrators.



Police with dogs soon interrupted march, snatched bull horn from C. T. Vivian as Ku Klux Klansmen (r.) moved in to intimidate marchers.



**SCLC OPENS WEST COAST BUREAU**—Cutting the ribbon to formally open the new combined offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Western Christian Leadership Conference, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., SCLC President (third from right), officiates at recent ceremonies. The bureau will be under the direction of Rev. Thomas Kilgore (fourth from right), who formerly headed the New York office of SCLC. Opening of the new office now brings to a total of three branch offices for SCLC besides the home office in Atlanta.

## ST. AUGUSTINE VICTORY

(Continued from Page 1)

of various sorts, even guns.

### Attacked By Police

A prelude of what was to come occurred on May 28 when Harry Boyte, Special Assistant to Dr. King, was set upon by a city police officer with a dog on a leash. Shouting, "there's that nigger lover," he knocked Mr. Boyte to the ground, and immediately some 20 other whites gathered around and started kicking the fallen man. Soon four other police dogs appeared and began leaping and tearing at him upon the command: "sic 'em!"

A newsman, Paul Good of the American Broadcasting Company, threw his body across Mr. Boyte's to absorb some of the brutality, which momentarily brought an end to the attacks.

### Gunfire Blasts Car

Later, as Mr. Boyte drove away in search of a motel for overnight lodging a car followed. When he finally parked, blasts of gunfire tore through his rear window, leaving nine holes the size of a half-dollar. He was missed only by inches.

The next morning when he went out to a cottage that had been rented by Dr. King, and where he had stayed on two previous evenings, an examination showed that 21 shotgun and rifle blasts had been fired through the place during the night.

When the office of Sheriff L. O. Davis was notified of the damage to the house and furniture, the reply was:

"What are you concerned about? The place was empty, wasn't it?"

Later, as SCLC's full-scale assault against



Where bullets went through windshield.

## Citizenship Workers In Race For Congress In Miss. Freedom Move

Two SCLC citizenship education workers in Mississippi, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville and Mrs. Victoria Jackson Gray of Hattiesburg, have joined Rev. John Cameron of Hattiesburg and retired furniture dealer James M. Houston in challenging the segregated political system which has kept them disfranchised in the state.

### Freedom Ticket

All candidates are running on the Freedom Democratic party ticket and opposing the candidates running in the regular democratic party, which in Mississippi, refuses to admit Negroes and which also has disassociated itself from the national democratic party.

### Spur Voter Registration

In addition to the congressional campaigns, which will spur voter registration efforts among Negroes in the state, and which will result in challenges to the seating of delegates at the Democratic National Convention and the seating of white representatives in the Congress, COFO will operate a number of community centers and freedom schools for teenagers and young adults.

desegregation got under way, attempted wade-ins at the beaches brought bands of fist-swinging, club-wielding whites who sought to drive the integrated demonstrators out of the waters.

In another direct confrontation, SCLC's President Martin Luther King, Jr. and Treasurer Ralph Abernathy sought to be served at the Monson Motel Restaurant and were arrested on trespassing charges. Both were later released under bond.

Violence finally subsided only after a two-week truce was agreed upon and a secret bi-racial committee formed to arbitrate the city's discrimination ills.

## CHURCHES DEDICATED

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to overcome."

Others who participated in the dedication were: Rev. David G. Prichard of the Georgia Council of Churches; Rev. E. James Grant of the Albany Movement; Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, SCLC Treasurer, and Rev. Wyatt Walker, former SCLC Executive Director.

### Windows Donated

The cost of rebuilding each church was about \$34,000. The stained glass windows were made and donated by the brothers at the Trappist monastery in Conyers, Georgia. Others who aided in the rebuilding program included: The Atlanta Constitution, which sponsored a campaign that yielded more than \$10,000; New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who contributed another \$10,000; William Black, president of the Chock-Full-Nuts Co., who gave \$5,000; and Frank Shiffman, owner of New York's Apollo Theater, who contributed \$1,000.

## 275,000 REGISTERED

(Continued from Page 1)

SCLC staff members participating in the clinics were: Rev. Fred C. Bennette, field secretary, Rev. Andrew Young, voter-education and citizenship training director, Rev. Daniel Harrell and Mrs. Juanita Harrell, Hosea Williams and Rev. Samuel Wells, field workers. Others included: Mrs. Barbara Whitaker of VEP, G. C. Williams of Madison, Rev. Clarence Tuggle of Rome, Slater King, of Albany, Elijah Jackson of Greensboro, the Albany singers and field workers of SNNC. Several NAACP branch presidents and field workers also participated in workshops.

## Youth Wins Bank's \$500 Award; Criticizes It For Job Bias

A San Diego high school senior, David Wofsy, won a \$500 Achievement Award from the Bank of America and promptly contributed half of the cash prize to help in the furtherance of civil rights activities. He made the donation to SCLC President Martin Luther King at a civil rights rally in San Diego on May 29.

### Criticizes Bank

The youth, a student at Clairemont High School, won second prize in Science and Mathematics in the finals of the Southern California Bank of America Achievement Awards Program. He noted, however, in a letter to Board Chairman Jesse W. Tapp of the Bank of America that the bank practiced discrimination in employment and urged that the firm "act immediately to assure fair employment practices in all its branches."

**Register To Vote!**

## One Man-One Vote

### Negroes Must Have Vote And A Voice

By James Bevel and Andrew Young

History has long since proved that one group of people could not govern another. Rome could not govern Asia Minor and Europe; England could not govern the American colonies or India, Ghana and Nigeria; France could not govern Algeria. No nation or group of individuals within a nation can successfully govern persons who have no voice in the governmental process. Yet in Nineteen hundred and sixty four, White people are still determined to try to govern Negroes. This can not be. It will not be.

#### Southern Schemes

Since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, there have been continuous Southern schemes to keep the Negro out of politics, that is to keep him from having anything to say about his government. The experience of Reconstruction was not a bad one, in spite of



Young (l.), Bevel (r.).

what most history books say to our school children. Reconstruction was no worse than Germany would have been after World War II had it not been for the Marshall Plan. Economic impoverishment leads to corruption, and the enormity of the task confounded not only the zealous, though unlearned, black men who made up Southern Legislatures; it literally destroyed two Presidents of the United States and produced a third "least common denominator candidate" who compromised the U.S. Constitution into a century of turmoil and litigation.

#### Hayes Compromise

The compromise of Rutherford B. Hayes paved the way for the Grandfather Clause, poll tax, literacy test, Democratic white primary, and a system of education designed to keep the Negro politically illiterate. This in effect has been the source of our slavery. It has kept us without a voice in our own defense in every state of this union, South of the Mason Dixon Line.

Now we cry, "Give us the Vote", "Unconditionally". You have made us pick cotton six months of the year and then crowded us into shanties called schools. You have given us teachers who were controlled politically by those who would keep us enslaved, so You have no right to demand that we know how to read. The

## LETTER FROM ST. AUGUSTINE JAIL

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following letter was written by a young white volunteer who joined the nonviolent army in St. Augustine and committed herself to go to jail if necessary. She was arrested and wrote the following letter to her hometown newspaper.)

I live in Ormond Beach but I write from the county jail in St. Augustine. I write to you, my community, because I learned that you have been informed of my presence here, and I wish to discuss it with you. Twenty years ago this week my father was killed in action on an island in the Pacific fighting for the freedom of his family, his country, his world. Twenty years ago on the same day he died, I was born, and it is fitting that I am now fighting for the same thing. The army I have joined is a nonviolent one born out of suffering and love and concerned not only with the welfare of America's Negro citizens but with the spiritual well being of our whole country. I marched quietly with more than 400 others through the streets of St. Augustine and looked into the eyes of hatred. I felt sick to my stomach when some behind me were attacked and all we knew was the sound of screaming, bricks being thrown, and barking dogs. I hurt for those that suffered then, I hurt because there is only one of me from my community; I hurt for my state that tries in vain to cling to the immoral traditions of the past; I hurt for my country that has failed to live up to the principles on which it was founded; I hurt for all humanity that has not yet learned how to live in a spirit of love and brotherhood. That is why I am here; I hurt.

KATHY FENTRESS

St. Augustine, Florida

United States fought a war over the right of South Koreans to vote, then they held free elections with the candidates pictures on the ballots so that all Koreans could vote. Why can't the same thing be done in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana? Medgar Evers fought for the Koreans' right to vote, yet he was slain in his own home town for trying to secure the very same right for his friends and neighbors.

It is our contention that the vote is the means of Christian witness in a democratic society. We pray, "Thy Kingdom Come", but

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## Wyatt Tee Walker On Two-Year Leave From SCLC; Will Develop Negro History

Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has been granted a two-year leave of absence from SCLC to accept a position as vice-president of Educational Heritage, Inc., a book publishing firm in Yonkers, New York. In his new job, on a "lend-lease" basis, Mr. Walker will help prepare a 20-volume Negro Heritage Library, scheduled for publication in September. He commences his new duties on July 15.

Mr. Walker, 34, an ordained Baptist minister, joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1960 and has played a vital role as chief strategist for the organization.

#### \$4 Million Project

In his new job Mr. Walker will supervise development of the Negro Heritage Library program. The goal of the \$4 million dollar project, Mr. Walker said, is to "so document the history of the Negro community that the true record will be eventually interpolated in all texts of the nation's public schools." He called the "cultural black-out" resulting from deliberate exclusion of the Negro from history texts, "a major tragedy of our times."

#### Dr. King Comments

Of his temporary leave, Dr. King made this comment: "Wyatt Tee Walker is one of the keenest minds of the nonviolent revolu-

tion. He has made a tremendous contribution to the life and growth of SCLC and the South as a whole. We will surely miss his services during the period of his leave. I'm reluctant to let him go, but the development of the Negro Heritage Library is so critical to the long range goals of the Negro community that he goes with my full blessings. He possesses the drive, the enthusiasm and the creativity so necessary for this significant and monumental task."

Noel N. Marder, president of Educational Heritage, Inc., one of America's largest independent book producers, referred to the Negro Heritage Library as one of the most important publishing efforts of this decade. He lauded Dr. King for lend-leasing his top aide at "such a critical juncture in the Negro revolution" as led by Dr. King's organization and other Civil Rights groups.



Wyatt Tee Walker

# SCLC Newsletter

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LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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## 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.

## Editorial

### The Civil Rights Law

Now that the long-argued civil rights bill has become law, the huge task ahead in the civil rights movement is to see to it that the law is vigorously implemented. Without question it is certain that there will be those who will seek to use various subterfuges to flout the new law just as has been the case over the past 100 years.

For the most part, the nation will comply as has already been demonstrated. But in areas of hard core resistance as in Selma and Tuscaloosa, Ala., and in spotted sections of Atlanta, Ga., a most vigorous campaign is going to have to be waged before the law will have any real meaning.

Such die-hards as Lester Maddox, whose disgraceful television performance showing him with gun in hand and a band of his followers wielding ax handles to prevent Negroes from entering his restaurant, may never comply. Long years of instilled hatred and prejudice have spread the cancer beyond hopeful treatment.

To be sure, implementation of the new emancipative document will require more "give" than "take" from both whites and Negroes. Whites will

have to "give" the same kind of courteous treatment in their restaurants, motels and hotels that they give all other customers. Negroes will have to "give" response with friendliness rather than hostility.

It is to be expected that there will be no smooth application or acceptance of the new law overnight. It has taken all of 10 years for the nation to grow accustomed to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and desegregated schools.

Let's pray that it doesn't take that long for the civil rights law to become a respected and meaningful document.  
—ETC

### That Communist 'Smear'

In times of desperation, desperate men do desperate things. It is obvious that Southern racists and those of extreme right-wing elements have been driven to desperation in their die-hard resistance to the civil rights movement. The only cry they can send up is not one of "help," but rather one of "communist," which is intended to smear all those who are in the front ranks of the civil rights movement.

A few months ago FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover became a pawn in this awful desperation campaign by charging that communists had "infiltrated" the civil rights movement. Later, a Negro woman, Mrs. Helen Brown, identifying herself as an "FBI informant", went on Boston radio station WNAC to reassert this claim and make broad and sweeping accusations of civil rights leaders.

The tactic is an old one. The plan, in this case, is to keep civil rights leaders and others in the movement on the defensive, forever denying that there are communists in the movement. It is designed to operate in much the same manner as the old saw: "When are you going to stop beating your wife?"

It is indeed regrettable that neither Mr. Hoover nor Mrs. Brown could see through the thin veneer of such a smear campaign, and realize that beneath it lies the desperation of racists and bigots, who, after 100 years, find themselves completely paralyzed by this day's dawning of love, truth and justice.—ETC

### Democracy Must Give . . .

**The right to equal employment**  
**The right to equal justice**  
**The right to adequate housing**  
**The right to vote**  
**The right to equal treatment**  
**The right to equal learning**

## The Cartoonist's View

'New Frontiers'



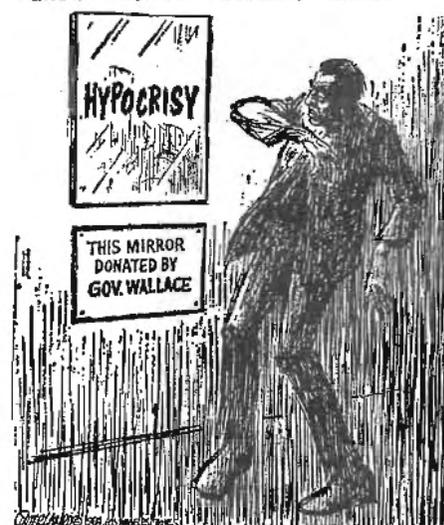
Burck In The Chicago Sun Times

'It Takes Longer Cooked To Order'



Burck In The Chicago Sun Times

Take A Look At Yourself, Yankee!



Interlandi in The Los Angeles Times

# If Not Now--When?

By Wyatt Tee Walker

One does not need to be sage or seer to discern clearly that the summer of 1964 will be far more critical in the civil rights fortunes of the Negro than was 1963. This assertion is not meant to minimize the importance of the epochal "summer of discontent". Rather, it is aimed at underscoring what may be expected to come in an awesome and devastating social context. The mood of the larger Negro community, while certainly not vengeful, bitter or violent, is distinctly one of extreme impatience with the long and continued denial of basic freedoms. Behind his alleged *unrealistic* demand for "Freedom Now!", there stands his *almost surely*, "If not now, when?"

## Reached Crest

It is so very apparent that a counter-revolution has reached its crest. The chief evidences were the "Stall-In" in the Senate on the civil rights legislation and the polling of more than a quarter-million votes by racist George Wallace in the Wisconsin primary. There is hardly a reasonable conjecture that the Negro is going to turn around or even delay his forward movement though the resources and determination of the opposition must not be lightly judged. The remaining months or *weeks* ahead will most certainly spell the moment of truth, not only for the Negro revolution, but in a larger sense, for the nation as a whole. If the counter-revolution displays more strength and stamina than the revolution that spawned it, America and the Negro community will be in real trouble. This is not meant to be a prophecy of doom, but only a realistic appraisal that there are two possibilities existent.

## Determined Thrust

Let me address myself to the other possibility—that is, the offsetting of the counter-revolution by a determined thrust forward by the Negro community and its allies. First, it seems that if the counter-revolution is to be turned aside, there will be definite earmarks by which the Negro revolution will be heightened and intensified. It will be preceded and prodded by new events and dimensions, some of which we already have seen glimpses.

The Negro revolution will begin to develop in structured form along national lines. This does not mean the cessation of local protests, but rather a consistent pattern with a high degree of uniformity evident. The basic approach of the nonviolent revolution will not be changed. It will be marked by increasing frequency and intensity of activity. Broad goals will be sought as over against specific demands of the past. It is already evident that the South will not be the chief focus of activity. The entire nation will feel the brunt of nonviolent forces insisting: "*Freedom Now*". The South will see most of the activity focused on public accommodations and the right to vote; The North's activity will center chiefly on *de facto* school segregation and housing. Both North and South will give considerable attention to employment. In no event will any form of discrimination go unchallenged.

## Relief to Problem

The Negro community has some concrete ideas as to how he might call national attention and relief to his problem. He contemplates seriously the implementation of a national program of economic withdrawal. With nation-wide coordination, it would be aimed at a show-case, giant, consumer industry. The convening city has already been chosen and only the date and the industry are left to be named.

To quote from an earlier paper:

"A massive refusal to buy on the part of the Negro community and others of good will would throw the business community into shock. Maybe then, and only then, will the nation's financial leaders exert some initiative in eliminating the evils of segregation and discrimination."

Money does not talk, it *SCREAMS!*

## Immobilized Nation

We have already had intimations of what is to come. It is very possible that in the next few months that on some appointed day, at some appointed hour, the nation will be literally immobilized by widespread acts of civil disobedience. That day may not be far off if the nation does not act swiftly on the Negro's plea for justice and morality. Transportation centers could be strangled by the bodies of committed witnesses nonviolently insisting, "Freedom

# For Human Beings Only

## The Myth Of Racial Superiority

By Sarah Patton Boyle

(The following is from Mrs. Boyle's just published book, *For Human Beings Only*, and is reprinted herewith by permission of the author.)

Until a few decades ago most white Americans believed in the existence of "racial differences" in character and intelligence which would stand forever as granite-like obstacles to shared activities and mutual understanding. Some still do.

During the rise of Naziism a rash of books by respected German scientists appeared in support of the *Master Race* theory. They still are quoted by zealous segregationists. But reputable modern scientists — biologists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists — now combine voices in rejecting the assumption that such a thing as innate racial superiority exists.

Anthropology, of course, is "the study of races, physical and mental characteristics, distribution, customs, social relationships." (*Webster's New World Dictionary*.) On anything concerning race, anthropologists are the final experts, who draw on and evaluate relevant findings of all other scientists. Their conclusions are recognized as the soundest that modern science affords on this subject, and any opinion which ignores them may justly be dismissed as uninformed.

## Adopt Resolution

It is therefore of great moment that the official national body of anthropologists unanimously adopted the following resolution, which they reaffirmed and released for general publication on November 13, 1961:

"The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

## No Differences

The fact that, as a group of psychologists expressed it, "there is no scientifically acceptable evidence of inborn differences between racial groups in abilities," is well known by Negroes. They are taught the fact in high school, even before. But most whites learn it only from certain colleges courses—usually in anthropology or sociology—if they happen to take them.

This ignorance on the part of whites, which is greatest in the South, is one of the reasons why integration in general and inter-marriage in particular, is feared and fought with such intensity.

Now!" Airports, train stations, bus terminals and the traffic arteries of large cities could very well be the site of the next major battleground in civil rights.

The plight of the Negro is swiftly becoming desperate. On the one hand, he carries the social leprosy of his visible identity which has crippled him psychologically, emotionally and educationally; on the other hand, the dread onslaught of automation is grinding out his economic existence. He supposes that a nation-wide work stoppage might attract enough attention to persuade someone to do something to get this monkey of segregation off his back.

We may see one or all of these in the next few months ahead. The summer of 1963 was long and hot! The summer of 1964 will be *longer* and *hotter*. The Negro, for the sake of our nation must find a definite answer to his present query: "If not now; *When?*"



Mrs. Boyle

# Photos Tell Violent Story Of St. Augustine



## PLANNING SEGREGATION ASSAULT

Pickets stand in background at press conference as SCLC's Dr. R. B. Hayling, SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. and Treasurer Ralph Abernathy (left to right seated) announce the beginning of assault on segregation.



## DUCKING BRICKS DURING MARCH

Demonstrators fall to sidewalk behind hedge row to dodge bricks thrown by white segregationist in background as they marched on downtown St. Augustine. Several were injured by the missiles.



## DOUSED WITH ACID

When a group of white and Negro integrationists entered a segregated motel pool, manager James Brock poured acid into it, shouting: "I'm cleaning the pool." All were arrested.



## ATTACKED IN THE SURF

White segregationists attacked a group of SCLC-led Negroes as they began to swim at St. Augustine Beach. Police moved in and broke up the fighting, several days later a heavy guard around swimmers (below) as they finally integrated beach.





### ARRESTED AT RESTAURANT

Dr. King, (right) and Rev. Abernathy (left), are placed under arrest by police chief Virgil Stuart (right) when they sought to be served at the Monson restaurant. SCLC's Bernard Lee (center) was also arrested.



### IN CUSTODY

Dr. King and Rev. Abernathy are shown leaving county court in custody of police officer after pleading not guilty to charges of trespassing for refusing to leave restaurant. They were later released under \$1,500 bond.



### BROKEN NOSE VICTIM

Mrs. Elane Evans (right) of New York, suffered broken nose when struck by a segregationist. She is shown at news conference held by Dr. King. Standing is SCLC Program Director Andy Young. Rev. Abernathy is seated.

## 400 Years

# Of Bigotry And Hate

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

St. Augustine, Florida—A beautiful town, the nation's oldest city, recently was the scene of raging tempers, flaring violence and the most corrupt coalition of segregationist opposition outside of Mississippi.

Here the Klan has made a last-ditch stand against the nonviolent movement. They flock to St. Augustine's Slave Market Plaza from all across North Florida, Georgia and Alabama. In St. Augustine they find welcome from Sheriff L. O. Davis, who deputized many of them, and give them the cover of



Martin Luther King, Jr.

law in their ruthless terrorization of Negro citizens.

Sheriff Davis is supported in this by the local power structure who reflect a strong John Birch Society influence.

St. Augustine has been the nonviolent prelude to what may be a long, hot summer. The Negro population had been struggling alone for more than a year. Stall-ins in New York streets and the U.S. Senate threatened the nation. Violence seemed tragically close. Only the nonviolent movement could give the release and hope that millions of Negroes needed to maintain their faith in the American Dream and the democratic process.

### A Sore of Hatred

Once in St. Augustine, SCLC uncovered a sore of hatred, violence and ignorance which spread its venom throughout the business and political life of Florida and reached subtly into the White House.

Florida responded out of a concern for tourist trade. But when Governor Bryant realized that justice was the price to be paid for a good image, he resorted to the old South line of attempting to crush those seeking their Constitutional rights. Only Judge Bryan Simpson of the Federal District Court, and a Republican appointee proved to be free enough of the "system" to preserve Constitutional Rights for St. Augustine's Negroes.

For the past month, St. Augustine's 3,700 Negro citizens waged an heroic campaign in the midst of savage violence and brutality condoned and committed by police. Night after night they marched by the hundreds amidst showers of bricks, bottles and insults. Day by day they confronted restaurants, beaches and the Slave Market where they spoke and sang of their determination to be free.

SCLC came to St. Augustine at the request of the local unit which was seeking: 1) a Bi-racial Committee; 2) desegregation of Public Accommodations; 3) hiring of policemen, firemen and office workers in municipal jobs; and 4.) dropping of charges against persons peacefully protesting for their Constitutional Rights.

### Bill Will Give Some Relief

The Civil Rights Law will give some relief to this situation. It will give a body of law to support the persons of goodwill in this city. But the law is only a beginning to meet the needs of the Negro. Demonstrations are the only way to convince local power structures that these needs must be dealt with if there is to be peace and prosperity. Demonstrations alone, unearth the corrupt police state methods.

St. Augustine has been a testing ground. Can the deep South change? Will Southern states maintain law and order in the face of change? Will local citizens, black and white, work together to make democracy a reality throughout America? These are the questions the nonviolent movement seeks to answer with a resounding: "Yes—God willing!"

# Attorney In New York Times Libel Victory Points Up Significance And Dangers Of Decree

By Atty. Harry Wachtel

(Editor's Note: Atty. Wachtel is senior partner in the law firm of Wachtel & Michaelson, one of the several law firms which represented the four SCLC officials involved in the New York Times libel case. He also is Executive Vice-President of the Gandhi Society For Human Rights.)

All over the United States, newspapers and other news media have hailed the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in the "so-called" libel cases brought by Alabama officials against The New York Times and officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Reverends Ralph D. Abernathy, Fred L. Shuttlesworth, S. S. Seay, Sr., and Joseph F. Lowery. The libel suits claimed that an advertisement in The New York Times of March 29, 1960, soliciting funds to defend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. against an Alabama perjury indictment, was false and libelous. Correctly, they praised the reversal of the \$500,000 damage judgment obtained by the City Commissioner, L. B. Sullivan, of Montgomery, as an affirmation of the constitutional right of freedom of press and speech.

## "Can Not Silence Rising Voices"

The Court ruled, for the first time, that a suit in libel was not available as a formula "for repression of expression," that it could not be used as a device to intimidate and silence the "rising voices" of discontent. The First Amendment to the Constitution protects the protesting voices of the Civil Rights movement when they criticize government officials in the conduct of their office, even if the criticism is "vehement," "caustic," "exaggerated," or "false." Such criticism, however, will lose its constitutional protection if it is made "with 'actual malice'—that is with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not."

## "Uninhibited Debate"

Now, "robust" and "uninhibited" debate on public issues is guaranteed because one need no longer fear that a mistatement, strong language, or even error, could lead to large dollar judgments, with the consequent jeopardy to one's savings, property and possessions as was the case with the four ministers.

Now, the power structure which wields the enormous resources of government cannot (in the words of John Peter Zenger's counsel) "injure and oppress the people under their administration, provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and prosecutions."

## Black Out of Criticism

Without such a positive rule of law the weapon of libel suits heard before southern juries, could create a blackout of criticism and chilling conformity! It requires little imagination to picture the destructiveness of this weapon in the hands of those who, only yesterday, used dogs, fire hoses and bombs in Birmingham, Alabama.

Indeed, this decision did more than establish a constitutional landmark! When viewed in its historical perspective, this decision represented a repudiation of those in the south who "ingeniously" fashion "evasive schemes" to perpetuate what Dr. King called "a system of human values that came into being under a feudalistic plantation system which cannot survive."

## Refinement of Pattern

In a brief submitted to the Supreme Court, we pointed out that the use of such libel suits was but a refinement of this historic pattern:

"The century-long struggle of the Negro people for complete emancipation and full citizenship has been met at each step by a distinct pattern of resistance, with only the weapons changing, from lynching, violence and intimidation, through restrictive covenants, Black Codes, and Jim Crow laws, to avoidance, 'interposition,' 'nullification,' tokenism and open contempt."

The Supreme Court was reminded of its own bitter experience following the historic school desegregation opinion handed down 10 years ago in May of this year, during which time diverse resistance techniques were employed, some subtle, some overt, including contempt of such a nature by the governors of Mississippi and Alabama that the use of Federal troops was required to enforce basic constitutional rights.

The brief cited a veritable arsenal of evasive weapons, dressed in legal terms, which have been employed by segregationists to frustrate the Negro's right to vote, to serve on juries, to enjoy housing, employment and public accommodation free from bias and discrimination. Even today, in the United States Senate, the filibuster technique has been utilized to resist, stall and emasculate the Civil Rights Bill.

That the Supreme Court responded affirmatively and banned this new device warrants jubilation. But, it does not lessen the need for continued vigilance against further attempts by segregationist officials to nullify this newly declared freedom to speak out—"loud and clear"—for full freedom in the here and now.



Yale President Kingman Brewster, Jr. chats with Dr. King after graduation ceremonies.

## Dr. King Gets Yale Degree; Also Cited By Three Others

SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. was awarded four honorary degrees during the June graduation season, making a total of 15 such degrees he has now received. He was offered a total of 20 for this academic year, but because of his involvement in the civil rights struggle could only accept four.

The degrees he received are as follows: Yale University—Doctor of Laws; Jewish Theological seminary of America—Doctor of Laws; Springfield College—Doctor of Divinity; Wesleyan College—Doctor of Divinity.

## Citation Quoted

At Wesleyan College, President Dr. Victor Butterfield had this to say of Dr. King in making the citation:

"There are knives and there are arms and you have called on all of us to put them away and bear instead 'the weapon of nonviolence.' . . . Our nation can thank God that the bursting volcanic forces of the Negro's yearnings and demands have fallen as fully as they have into channels your strong arms have helped to dig."



Miller In The Des Moines Register

## Business Slump Hits St. Augustine

A business slump has hit St. Augustine, Fla., since desegregation attempts began, the Wall Street Journal reported. The city of 15,500 residents (3,500 Negroes), which draws more than two million visitors a year and depends upon them for about 85 per cent of its annual income, has suffered business decreases of as much as 50 per cent in some instances.

Here is part of the picture:

- Sightseeing vessel Victory II—50 per cent behind a year ago.
- City Museum—30 per cent behind last year.
- Spanish Fort Castillo de San Marcos—30 per cent behind last year.
- Patisserie Parisienne pastry shop—50 per cent off; closing at six p.m. instead of the usual 8 or 9 p.m.

Some of the motels and hotels were especially hard hit, the Journal reported. One manager complained: "I've gotten as many cancellations as reservations last week."

Grumbled another merchant: "If Martin Luther King doesn't stay away, the whole summer will be lost."

## ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

(Continued from Page 3)

we must also vote into office men of good will who maintain justice for all.

The vote is our protection against the kinds of unjust laws and police brutality which reign throughout our southland.

The vote is our assurance of education and job opportunities for our children in an automated society which seeks to pass us by.

Give us the vote. Give us representative government.

Schemes of the 1960's

The schemes of the 1960's are just as deadly as those of the 1860's. Grandfather clauses are replaced by reapportionment schemes which are designed to eliminate the Negro as a power factor in government. When this won't do the trick, gerrymandering such as that in Macon County, Alabama and Plaquemine, Louisiana, take over and the Negro finds himself thrown back into courts who are themselves contaminated by the corruption of racism, there to wallow in endless and expensive litigation until some miracle gets the cases up to the Supreme Court level where carefully calculated justice is measured out by the teaspoon. The Justice Department has had a Mississippi voting suit in the Federal Courts since the Eisenhower Administration and the cases are still bottlenecked in the Mississippi Federal Judiciary.

We Must Be Free

The time has come when we must be free. We must have some say in our own destiny. Men, however unlettered, have an amazing sensitivity to the issues which determine their life or death. In the final analysis a man's worth is not determined by the amount of formal schooling which he has achieved, but by the fact that he is a child of God.

All God's children will be free. All God's Alabama children will vote, George Wallace notwithstanding.

Lyndon Baines Johnson has been entrusted with power to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court has the power to curtail the representation in Congress of those states which refuse to enfranchise some of their citizens. The Chief Justice also has the power to transfer judges, and it's about time we had some judges in the deep South who believe in the Constitution. Why not send Thurgood Marshall to Mississippi? He'll know what to do.

No Choice

There is no choice in this matter. Negroes will vote. The only question is whether it will be through the civil process with the President, Congress and the courts teaming up to fulfill the promise of our Constitution; or whether it will be by military process, with troops having to be called in to alleviate the situation caused by tens of thousands of Negroes across the South demonstrating for the right to be represented in government. And won't that look good at the U.N.?



"BALLOT BUS"—Sparking their registration drive in Savannah, Georgia, workers in the Chatham County Crusade For Voters pose beside their "Ballot Bus," which they used to transport new voters to register. They helped register some 8,000 new voters since January of this year.



ALL THAT REMAINS—A charred car, pulled from a swampy area near Philadelphia, Mississippi, is only clue to three civil rights workers who were reported missing after being arrested and released from jail on June 21 in Philadelphia, Miss. The trio, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, both of New York, and James Earl Chaney of Meridian, Mississippi, were last seen as they drove the car from Philadelphia.



ON TV'S 'FACE THE NATION'—Appearing on the nationally-televised CBS TV show, Face The Nation, on May 10, SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. is questioned by newsmen during the half-hour show. Dr. King discussed renewed and intensified demonstrations in Alabama this summer, the civil rights bill and denounced the obvious "communist smear campaign" civil rights opponents have attempted to inflict upon the movement. Appearing with Dr. King were Paul Niven and Dan Rather of CBS News, and Benjamin Bradlee of Newsweek Magazine.



New & Current

» *Freedom and After*, by Tom Mboya. The details behind the blueprint for the future of the African continent are presented by Kenya's Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs—Tom Mboya. He maintains they are: 1) classless socialism; 2) sharing the blessings of the rich continent; and 3) brotherhood. The prime objective is to show the world what freedom really means. Little, Brown & Co.

» *Adam Clayton Powell*, by Claude Lewis. The biography of the colorful and controversial minister of the Abyssinia Baptist Church is sketched by a *Newsweek Magazine* reporter. The author asks about the congressman: "What happened to this man who should be at the head of what may be the nation's potent political force?" Fawcett World Library.

» *Africa Must Unite* by Kwame Nkrumah. During the struggling years before independence and afterwards, President Nkrumah never lost sight of Ghana's problems and needs. He also never lost sight of his ideal of African unity. Recently, he has turned more and more to practical means of achieving this goal. This book is a "rally cry" for the continent of Africa. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.

» *Race: The History Of An Idea In America*, by Thomas F. Gossett. Says the author: "My effort has been to understand and explore how ideas of race have affected currents of thought in America." From tracing the history of race theories from the earliest days of Spanish and English colonization, he finds such theories had roots in Europe and elsewhere. He concludes that racism "is now on the defensive, as it has never been before." Southern Methodist University Press.

Available At SCLC

» *Strength To Love* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Row. Price: \$3.50

» *Stride Toward Freedom* by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publisher: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: \$2.95

» *Crusader Without Violence* by L. D. Reddick. Publishers: Harper & Brothers. Price: \$3.95

» *Echo In My Soul* by Septima Poinsette Clark. Publishers: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price: \$4.50

» *The Desegregated Heart* by Sarah Patton Boyle. Publishers: William Morrow & Co. Price: \$5.00

» *The Day They Marched*, edited by Doris Saunders. Publishers: Johnson Publishing Co. Price: \$1.00

Appraise Three Presidents In Third Book By Dr. King

In one of the most frank appraisals of three United States Presidents he has known during his leadership of the nonviolent revolution, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. contrasts the role each has played in his new book, *Why We Can't Wait*, which was published June 8. The book, published by Harper & Row, is the third to be written by Dr. King.

It was prompted by his jailing for the 16th time last summer in Birmingham, Ala., in the midst of demonstrations, and details at length his views on what must be done to guarantee the Negro his full citizenship rights.

Economic Problem

"What will it profit him (the Negro) to be able to send his children to an integrated school if the family income is insufficient to buy them school clothes?" Dr. King asks in pointing to the economic problem that is at the core of racial strife.

"Negroes," he insists, "must not only have the right to go into any establishment open to the public, but they must also be absorbed into our economic system in such a manner that they can afford to exercise that right."

Color Me Brown

by Lucille Holmes Giles



Here is a delightful trace and coloring book that has been carefully planned for children. In addition to providing recreational activity for the child, it also gives an early knowledge of the accomplishments of America's most outstanding Negroes.

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Register To Vote!

Of the three presidents, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, he has met and talked with during the past nine years that the Negro has dramatized his discontent, Dr. King admits in his book that he placed the most profound confidence in the late President Kennedy.

Eisenhower, he says, "... could not be committed to anything which involved a structural change in the architecture of American society."

On the other hand, President Johnson, he feels, "... has a comprehensive grasp of contemporary problems ... and is approaching the solution with sincerity, realism and, thus far, with wisdom."

For Human Beings Only

By Sarah Patton Boyle

Author of THE DESEGREGATED HEART.



THE FIRST BOOK OF ITS KIND — A LUCID MANUAL TO HELP SMOOTH THE ROUGH PATH TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL WHITE AND COLORED AMERICANS. IT EXPLORES SYMPATHETICALLY THE MAJOR SOURCES OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS, INCLUDING PRECONCEIVED ATTITUDES AND SPECIAL SENSITIVITIES OF WHICH MANY "HUMAN BEINGS" ARE UNAWARE. AN IMMENSELY IMPORTANT AND HIGHLY READABLE GUIDE, IDEAL FOR USE EITHER BY INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS CONCERNED WITH INTER-RACIAL UNDERSTANDING.

"What Mrs. Boyle has said here has needed to be said throughout all the years of the Negro's struggle . . . Knowing her for the great humanitarian she is, I am pleased that she has sought to dispel some of these errors of human evaluation. It is my sincere hope . . . that her message will be heeded."—Martin Luther King, Jr., *President Southern Christian Leadership Conference.*

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## Why St. Augustine?

# Hate, Prejudice Led To Beatings, Bombings In Oldest City

Historically, age and experiences generate wisdom. But, for 399½ years and many tribulations, St. Augustine has trapped, preserved and perpetuated all of the prejudice, bigotry and hate against the American Negro ever known to mankind.

Age and experience has not benefited democracy and christianity in St. Augustine, Florida. The Negro has been shifted from physical slavery to mental slavery. Unjust courts have been substituted for lynch mobs and black ghetto slums have been the substitute for slave huts.

### Founded on Indian Village

America's oldest city, St. Augustine, was founded on an Indian village site, out of disaster by a Spanish warrior, Menendez De Avil-Es (alias Pedro Menendez). Today, that same savage war between the French and the Spanish which paved the way for the founding of St. Augustine is being waged by the KKK and John Birch Society against the Negro. This war is destroying St. Augustine, Florida.

St. Augustine's Negroes, led by Dr. Robert Hayling, were caught up in last summer's enthusiastic national wave for Freedom. Demonstrations began in St. Augustine as in many other cities. All over America, whites were at least trying to pretend they were loosening the shackles of racial discrimination except in St. Augustine, Florida.

### Abducted and Beaten

On September 18, 1963, the KKK abducted four Negroes and beat them unconscious with clubs, brass nuckles, ax handles and pistol butts. On July 1, Dr. Hayling's house was shot up with buckshot. On October 22, three Negro homes were bombed; October 28, Negro night clubs were shot up with buckshot. On January 21, 1964, a Negro's car was destroyed by fire because his child was one of six Negroes allowed to attend white schools. On February 7, the home of two of the Negroes attending white

schools was burned down. That same night, Dr. Hayling's home was shot up with buckshot for the second time. His pregnant wife and two children barely escaped death. His boxer dog was killed while standing behind the living room door.

### Fired from Jobs

Many Negroes were fired from jobs that some of them had worked on for 28 years because they were in some way connected with the demonstrations.

Police brutality was unbelievable. Negroes were beaten and arrested for picketing, marching and singing freedom songs, etc. Four teen-agers spent many months in prison for picketing. They were pardoned by the Governor after six months. Many other Negroes spent up to 90 days in jail for demonstrating against segregation.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. received a plea for HELP from Dr. Robert Hayling, leader of the St. Augustine Movement. Knowing that St. Augustine is the oldest city in America, yet one of the most segregated; knowing the Negro population is only about 22 per cent of St. John County; having knowledge of the entrenchment of the KKK and John Birch's Society in St. Augustine; realizing that St. Augustine will be shown off to the world next year by our Federal Government as representative of America because of its 400th Birthday, Dr. King decided to make St. Augustine, Florida one of SCLC's battlegrounds against segregation.

### Mobilize Community

Hosea L. Williams of Savannah, Georgia, member of SCLC's National Board and Staff was sent into St. Augustine on Thursday, March 26, 1964, to mobilize the Negro community and direct a Mass Nonviolent Direct Action Campaign against segregation.

Mass meetings grew from one corner of an ELK's Lodge to the largest Negro church in St. Augustine, Florida. Meeting attendance jumped from about 60 to 600. On Saturday, March 28, picketing began of the en-

tire city. Freedom marches were led through the town, and freedom song rallies, civil rights speech forums, sit-ins, and kneel-ins ensued on a massive scale. Within five days more than 300 Adults and 150 youths had been arrested.

### Campaign Launched

A nation-wide campaign was launched to block the Federal Government from giving St. Augustine \$350,000 of America's taxpayers' money to promote its 400th Birthday. An International flavor was added when SCLC's St. Augustine chapter made definite, positive steps to discourage the O.A.S., British, French and Spanish Embasseys from building pavilions in St. Augustine in honor of its Quadricentennial.

Police brutality and excessive bail reached an all-time high, but the demonstrations continued. A "new day" began in America's Oldest City. About 290 of the Adults arrested were charged with being an undesirable guest, conspiracy and trespassing. Among those arrested were Mrs. Malcolm E. Peabody, Mrs. John Burgess, Mrs. Donal Campbell and Dr. William Coffin of Yale.

### CONTRIBUTIONS

I wish to contribute to the work of SCLC and the social struggle in the South.

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