

ANNUAL REPORT OF  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CON-  
FERENCE - EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION  
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA - SEPTEMBER 28-  
OCTOBER 2, 1964.

MR. CHAIRMAN, FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

SINCE OUR CONVENTION IN RICHMOND LAST YEAR, PROFOUND AND REVOLU-  
TIONARY CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED WITHIN OUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS THROUGHOUT THE  
WORLD. JUST BEFORE OUR 1963 CONVENTION, WE WITNESSED THE EMBERS OF FREEDOM  
SMOLDERING WITHIN TWENTY MILLION BLACK AMERICANS ERUPTING INTO BLAZING CON-  
FLAGRATIONS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI: NEW YORK CITY:  
CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND, AND OTHER PARTS OF OUR NATION. IN 1964, THE MEANING OF  
THE SO-CALLED NEGRO REVOLUTION BECAME CLEAR FOR ALL TO SEE AND WAS GIVEN  
LEGISLATIVE RECOGNITION IN THE RECENTLY ENACTED CIVIL RIGHTS LAW.

YET, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF THIS LAW, A SERIES OF  
EVENTS SHOOK THE NATION, COMPELLING THE GRIM REALIZATION THAT THE REVOLUTION  
WOULD CONTINUE INEXORABLY UNTIL TOTAL SLAVERY HAD BEEN REPLACED BY TOTAL  
FREEDOM.

THE NEW EVENTS TO WHICH I REFER ARE: THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION  
HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO: THE CONSUMMATION OF A MARRIAGE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT AND  
THE SEGREGATIONISTS: THE HIDEOUS TRIPLE LYNCHINGS IN MISSISSIPPI: AND THE OUT-  
BREAK OF RIOTS IN SEVERAL NORTHERN CITIES.

IN SAN FRANCISCO, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TOOK A GIANT STRIDE AWAY  
FROM ITS LINCOLN TRADITION, GEARING ITS APPEAL AND PROGRAM TO RACISM, REACTION  
AND EXTREMISM. ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL VIEWED WITH ALARM AND CONCERN THE  
FRENZIED WEDDING AT THE COW PALACE OF THE KKK WITH THE RADICAL RIGHT. THE  
"BEST MAN" AT THIS CEREMONY WAS A SENATOR WHOSE VOTING RECORD, PHILOSOPHY AND

PROGRAM ARE ANATHEMA TO ALL OF THE HARD-WON ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST DECADE.

THUS, THE CELEBRATION OF FINAL ENACTMENT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CURDLED AND SOURED. REJOICING WAS REPLACED BY A DEEP AND FRIGHTENING CONCERN THAT THE COUNTER-FORCES TO NEGRO LIBERATION COULD FLAGRANTLY NOMINATE FOR THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN THE LAND ONE WHO OPENLY CLASPED THE RACIST HAND OF STROM THURMOND. A COLD FEAR TOUCHED THE HEARTS OF TWENTY MILLION NEGROES. THEY HAD ONLY BEGUN TO COME OUT OF THE DARK LAND OF EGYPT WHERE SO MANY OF THEIR BROTHERS ARE STILL IN BONDAGE - STILL DENIED ELEMENTARY DIGNITY. THE FORCES TO BAR THE FREEDOM ROAD, TO DRIVE US BACK TO EGYPT, SEEMED SO FORMIDABLE, SO HIGH IN AUTHORITY, AND SO DETERMINED.

BUT, IN 1964, OUR FEARS WILL NOT LEAD TO PANIC. I AM CONFIDENT THAT OUR RANKS CANNOT BE BROKEN OR SCATTERED. A FEW CAN BE PROVOKED AT TIMES TO UNCONTROLLED PROTESTS: STILL FEWER CAN HEED TEMPORARILY THE FALSE VOICES. BUT THE BATTLES OF MONTGOMERY, ALBANY, ST. AUGUSTINE, BIRMINGHAM AND DANVILLE WERE NOT IN VAIN. THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, FACED FIRE HOSES AND DOGS' FANGS AND FILLED THE JAILS, HAVE BEEN TEMPERED AND DISCIPLINED BY THESE STRUGGLES.

[ IN THE BURSTING MOOD THAT HAS OVERTAKEN THE NEGRO THE WORDS "COMPROMISE", "RETREAT", ARE PROFANE AND PERNICIOUS. ] THE DIRECTION OF THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT--INDEED ITS COMPELLING AND INSPIRED FORWARD MOTION--CANNOT BE DIVERTED FOR LONG. DETOURS AND ERRORS WILL OCCUR...THERE WILL BE TEMPORARY SETBACKS. WE WILL HAVE OUR VALLEY FORGES AND SUMMER SOLDIERS, AND EVEN BENEDICT ARNOLDS. BUT, LIKE THE WORDS OF OUR INSPIRING FREEDOM SONG, WE WILL HEAD FOR OUR GOAL BECAUSE WE "AIN'T GONNA LET NOBODY TURN US AROUND."

OUR REVOLUTION IS GENUINE BECAUSE IT WAS BORN FROM THE SAME WOMB THAT ALWAYS GIVES BIRTH TO MASSIVE SOCIAL UPHEAVALS--THE WOMB OF INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS AND UNENDURABLE SITUATIONS,

THE NEGRO IS DETERMINED TO LIBERATE HIMSELF. HIS CRY FOR JUSTICE HAS HARDENED INTO A PALPABLE, IRRESISTIBLE FORCE. HE IS UNWILLING TO RETROGRESS OR EVEN MARK TIME. IN THIS REVOLUTION, NO PLANS HAVE BEEN WRITTEN FOR RETREAT. THOSE WHO WILL NOT YET GET INTO STEP WILL FIND THE PARADE HAS PASSED THEM.

FINALLY, THE NEGRO KNOWS HE IS RIGHT. HE HAS NOT CLOSED RANKS. HE HAS NOT ORGANIZED FOR CONQUEST TO GAIN SPOILS OR TO ENSLAVE THOSE WHO HAVE INJURED HIM. HIS GOAL IS NOT TO CAPTURE WHAT BELONGS TO SOMEONE ELSE-- HE MERELY WANTS AND WILL HAVE WHAT IS HONORABLY HIS!

I HAVE DEALT AT SOME LENGTH WITH THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US TODAY. ALLOW ME NOW TO GIVE A CURSORY VIEW OF THE WORK OF SCLC DURING THE UNFOLDING EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR. I HOPE YOU WILL ALLOW ME THE PRIVILEGE OF BOASTING A BIT IN YOUR BEHALF, FOR I TRULY BELIEVE THAT SCLC WAS IN A LARGE MEASURE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE POSITIVE GAINS OF THE PAST FEW MONTHS. SCLC AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION IN BIRMINGHAM, AND SET IN MOTION THE FORCES WHICH COALESCED TO GIVE OUR NATION A COMPREHENSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH AND EXPANSION

SCLC CONTINUES TO GROW AT A RAPID PACE. OUR ORGANIZATIONAL EXPANSION OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS HAVE BEEN NOTHING LESS THAN PHENOMENAL. LAST YEAR AT CONVENTION TIME WE HAD A TOTAL OF 85 ACTIVE AFFILIATES. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO INCREASE THAT NUMBER OF AFFILIATES TO 217. PRESENTLY WE HAVE AFFILIATES IN 28 STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. THIS GREAT AFFILIATE GROWTH IS DUE ALMOST ENTIRELY TO THE INDEFATIGABLE WORK OF OUR DIRECTOR OF AFFILIATES, C. T. VIVIAN. WE ALL OWE C. T. A GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS TIRELESS AND DEDICATED EFFORTS.

## DIRECT ACTION

[THE MAINSTAY OF THE SCLC PROGRAM IS STILL IN THE AREA OF NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION.] OUR FEELING IS THAT THIS METHOD MORE THAN ANY OTHER IS THE BEST WAY TO RAISE THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE INJUSTICES OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER BEFORE THE COURT OF WORLD OPINION AND REQUIRE ACTION.

THIS PAST YEAR WE HAVE WITNESSED THE FIRST SERIOUS THREAT TO NON-VIOLENCE AS THE TEMPER AND FRUSTRATIONS OF NORTHERN GHETTOS HAVE FLARED IN OPEN VIOLENCE. HOWEVER, WE WILL NOT RETREAT FROM THIS CHALLENGE, IN FACT, WE GLADLY ACCEPT IT. OUR PROGRAM THIS YEAR HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO RESPOND TO THESE DEMANDS.

WHEN NORTHERN NEGROES BEGAN TO PLAN STALL-INS WHICH FAILED, AND DUMPING GARBAGE ON THE STEPS OF CITY HALLS, WE REALIZED THAT THE DESIRE TO FREEDOM WHICH WE AWAKENED THROUGH OUR ACTION IN THE SOUTH DEMANDED THAT WE KEEP OUR PEOPLE IN MOTION, OR THE MOVEMENT MIGHT CONTINUE IN A CHAOTIC FASHION. OURS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO CHANNEL THE FRUSTRATIONS TOWARD PRODUCTIVE AND CREATIVE ENDS. ONE WAY OF DOING THIS IS BY CONTINUING TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH AND PROVIDING AN OUTLET WITH WHICH NEGROES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY CAN IDENTIFY.

ANOTHER OBSERVATION WE MAKE IS THAT WHEN WE ARE IDLE, THE WHITE MAJORITY VERY QUICKLY FORGETS THE INJUSTICES WHICH STARTED OUR MOVEMENT AND ONLY THINK OF THE DEMANDS FOR PROGRESS AS UNREASONABLE REQUESTS FROM IRRESPONSIBLE PEOPLE. FEW WHITES WOULD DENY OUR CAUSE IN THE DAYS WHEN DOGS AND FIRE HOSES WERE TURNED ON OUR CHILDREN OR WHEN WE FILLED THE JAILS BY THE THOUSANDS IN THE QUEST FOR DIGNITY. A FEW DAYS LATER, HOWEVER, THESE SAME

ST, AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA WAS SYMBOLIC OF THE OLD SOUTH. THE KU KLUX KLAN AND THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY LINKED IN AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE TO RETAIN AN AIR OF TERROR FOR NEGRO CITIZENS THERE. DR. ROBERT HAYLING, A NEGRO DENTIST, HAD WAGED A COURAGEOUS YEAR LONG BATTLE AGAINST THESE FORCES AND REQUESTED OUR HELP. SCLC SENT IN HOSEA WILLIAMS, AND FROM THERE ON WE HAD A MOVEMENT. AT ONE POINT WE HAD AS MANY AS 20 OF OUR STAFF MEMBERS ON THAT DIFFICULT BATTLEFIELD. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF RAGING VIOLENCE IN 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, WE WERE ABLE TO PROCLAIM A RELATIVE VICTORY IN THAT ROCK-BOUND BASTION OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

IN COMBINATION WITH THE LOCAL DEFENSE FUND WE BEGAN TO PAVE THE WAY FOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AND RUSH THROUGH ITS' PASSAGE. THE LEGAL AND ACTION STRATEGY, TOGETHER HAVE GIVEN US A BODY OF PRECEDENT FOR DEALING WITH HARD CORE COMMUNITIES WHO ALLOW VIGILANTE MOBS TO PRESERVE THE OLD SOUTH TRADITIONS.

OUR NEXT CAMPAIGN WAS TO HAVE BEEN IN ALABAMA. THIS WAS TO BE OUR TESTING GROUND FOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. PLANS WERE ALSO UNDERWAY TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO DEMAND CHANGE IN THE ELECTION LAWS TO PERMIT REGISTRATION IN LARGE NUMBERS. AT PRESENT, IT WOULD TAKE 135 YEARS TO REGISTER 10,000 NEGROES UNDER THE EXISTING VOTING REGULATIONS.

TWO THINGS INTERFERED WITH THIS PLAN. FIRST, OUR FIELD STAFF UNDER JAMES BEVEL DID TOO GOOD A MOBILIZATION JOB. WHEN THE ALABAMA POWER STRUCTURE BECAME AWARE OF OUR PLANS THEY MADE SURPRISINGLY REASONABLE PLANS TO COMPLY WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL LEST THEY SUFFER THE HIGH COST OF CONFLICT.

THE SECOND FACTOR WAS THE IMMINENT CANDIDACY OF SENATOR GOLDWATER WHICH MADE IT ESSENTIAL FOR US TO TURN ALL FORCES TO AREAS WHERE REGISTRATION COULD BE READILY ACCOMPLISHED AND WHERE POLITICAL RESULTS WERE POSSIBLE. THIS RESULTED IN THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE EFFORT IN ALABAMA.

FOLLOWING THIS, JIM BEVEL AND THE ALABAMA STAFF BEGAN TO WORK MORE IN NORTHERN CITIES. RIOTS HAD BROKEN OUT AND THREATENED TO NULLIFY SOME OF THE GAINS OF THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT. A TEAM WAS SENT INTO ROCHESTER TO BEGIN WORKING WITH RIOTING GANGS AND TO EXPERIMENT WITH METHODS OF WORKING IN THE NORTH. THE RESULTS WERE SPECTACULAR. IN A FEW DAYS THE SAME GANGS WHO RIOTED, HAD SECURED REPRESENTATION ON THE COMMUNITY CENTER BOARD, HELD CONFERENCES WITH THE POLICE CHIEF AND CITY MANAGER, AND HAD BEGUN TO WORK IN VOTER REGISTRATION. FOLLOWING THIS SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT, THE TEAM MOVED ON TO PHILADELPHIA WHERE SIMILAR RESULTS WERE ACHIEVED.

#### VOTER REGISTRATION

ONE OF THE SELDOM MENTIONED DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS BEEN THE PHENOMINAL GROWTH OF NEGRO REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH. NEGRO REGISTRATION IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES HAS NEARLY DOUBLED SINCE THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. NEGRO VOTERS NOW NUMBER MORE THAN 2 MILLION COMPARED WITH 1.1 MILLION FOUR YEARS AGO. THIS INCREASED POLITICAL STRENGTH MAY WELL PREVENT SENATOR GOLDWATER FROM CARRYING THE SOUTH IN THE COMING ELECTION.

I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT SCLC HAS PLAYED A MOST SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN MAKING THIS VOTER REGISTRATION LEAP POSSIBLE. UNITING WITH OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, WE HAVE WORKED IN COMMUNITIES ALL ACROSS THE SOUTH. DURING THE PAST YEAR ALONE, SCLC WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN AIDING LOCAL AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REGISTERING OF APPROXIMATELY 100,000 NEW VOTERS. IN ADDITION TO THESE PERMANENT



REGISTRATIONS, SCLC PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN RECRUITING ALMOST 60,000 BLOCK WORKERS ACROSS THE STATE OF TEXAS, WHO IN TURN REGISTERED MORE THAN 300,000 NEGRO CITIZENS ON THE ANNUAL TEXAS REGISTRATION THROUGH POLL TAX PLAN. THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE WORK OF OUR BIRMINGHAM REGISTRATION TEAM WHO FIRED UP STUDENTS ACROSS THE GREAT STATE OF TEXAS IN A TREMENDOUS EFFORT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS.

APPROXIMATELY 40,000 VOTERS WERE ADDED IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA. PERHAPS THE TWO MOST OUTSTANDING EFFORTS IN THE SOUTH WERE HELD IN ATLANTA AND SAVANNAH, WHERE THE POLITICAL TIDE HAS BEGUN TO TURN AND WHERE NEGRO CITIZENS WERE ABLE TO REGISTER IN NEIGHBORHOOD LOCATIONS. ATLANTA REGISTERED ALMOST 20,000 AND SAVANNAH 8,000. OTHER SIGNIFICANT DRIVES WERE CONDUCTED IN ALBANY AND IN JONES COUNTY. THE GEORGIA REGISTRATION OF NEGRO VOTERS NOW STANDS NEAR THE 300,000 MARK, AND THIS HAS REMOVED GEORGIA FROM THE DIXIECRAT CAMP AND STARTED HER ON A PATH OF MODERATION AND PROGRESS.

OTHER DRIVES WERE HELD IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA WHERE 2,000 VOTERS WERE ADDED, VIRGINIA WHERE 3,610 WERE ADDED IN SPITE OF A \$4.86 POLL TAX; WHERE CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS ORGANIZED IN ALL 46 COUNTIES WORKED IN A STATEWIDE ORGANIZATION WHICH BROUGHT SOUTH CAROLINA'S REGISTRATION UP TO 250,000.

THERE IS A DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF VOTERS AND THE MORAL CLIMATE OF A GIVEN STATE. THIS IS WHY I STILL CONTEND THAT ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT STEPS THAT THE NEGRO CAN TAKE IS THAT SHORT WALK TO THE VOTING BOOTH.

#### CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

LAST YEAR SCLC RECEIVED A GRANT OF \$250,000.00 FOR A TWO YEAR PROGRAM IN BASIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION. THIS WAS THE THIRD YEAR THAT WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THIS PROGRAM WITH THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. THE GRANT CALLS FOR TRAINING 300 LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS EACH YEAR TO CONDUCT CLASSES FOR ADULTS WHICH WILL TRAIN THEM TO VOTE

OF THOSE BUSINESSES THAT WILL GIVE A FAIR SHARE OF THE JOBS AND ECONOMIC WITHDRAWAL FROM THOSE BUSINESSES THAT HAVE DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES. THE KEY WORD IN OPERATION BREADBASKET IS RESPECT: IT SAYS IN SUBSTANCE, IF YOU RESPECT MY DOLLARS YOU MUST RESPECT MY PERSON. IF YOU RESPECT MY QUANTITATIVE SUPPORT, THEN YOU MUST RESPECT THE QUALITY OF MY JOB, AND MY BASIC MATERIAL NEEDS. IN SHORT, THIS PROGRAM SAYS YOU HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO REFUSE TO USE YOUR DOLLARS TO PERPETUATE SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL SOUTHERN EXPRESSION OF OPERATION BREADBASKET HAS BEEN THE JOB DONE BY OUR ATLANTA AFFILIATE. UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF RALPH ABERNATHY, JOSEPH GRIER, OLIVER HOLMES AND OTHERS FAR TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION, A MARVELOUS PROGRAM HAS BEEN DEVELOPED. THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO UNLOCK EIGHTY SEALED DOORS OF DISCRIMINATION AND MAKE THAT POSSIBLE AND EVEN EASY WHICH A FEW YEARS AGO APPEARED TO BE DIFFICULT AND IMPOSSIBLE. IN LESS THAN TWO YEARS THEY HAVE ADDED MORE THAN TWO MILLION DOLLARS TO THE ATLANTA NEGROES' INCOME BY SECURING NEW AND UPGRADED JOBS THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN CLOSED TO THEM.

OPERATION BREADBASKET IS A GREAT PROGRAM. THE NEED FACING US NOW IS TO BROADEN IT TO COVER ALL OF OUR AFFILIATES, AND INDEED LIFT IT TO THE NATIONAL ARENA WHICH WILL GIVE IT ADDED POWER IN GRAPPLING WITH THE NOTORIOUS PROBLEM OF JOB INEQUALITY.

#### OPERATION DIALOGUE

SCLC INTRODUCED A NEW DEPARTMENT IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS. MORE AND MORE WE HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT THE NEGRO NEEDS ALLIES IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY IF WE ARE TO EFFECT PERMANENT SOCIAL CHANGE. OUR EXPERIENCE IN PAST YEARS HAS INDICATED THAT A COALITION OF NEGRO CITIZENS AND WHITE PERSONS OF GOOD WILL MUST WORK TOGETHER. NOW HARRY BOYTE, OF OUR STAFF, HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO EXPLORE AVENUES OF COMMUNICATION AMONG THE MANY WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE RESPONDING TO OUR CALL TO CONSCIENCE OF THE RACE QUESTION. ALREADY HE HAS HAD SIGNIFICANT RESULTS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND FLORIDA.



OFFICE ADMINISTRATION AND STAFF CHANGES

OUR STAFF CONTINUES TO DEVELOP AND TO GROW ACCORDING TO THE DEMANDS OF THE TIMES. PRESENTLY WE ARE OPERATING WITH A STAFF OF 62 FULL TIME PERSONS, ALONG WITH 15 PART TIME WORKERS WHO FALL UNDER THE CATEGORY OF VOLUNTEER AND REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES. THIS STAFF HAS PERFORMED EXTRAORDINARILY WELL AMIDST VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES AND TREMENDOUS DEMANDS. GRADUALLY WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF GROWTH FROM AN ORGANIZATION OF 3 TO ONE OF 62 IN A FEW YEARS TIME. WE HAVE NOT YET MASTERED OUR JOB, BUT WE ARE GAINING IN OUR PURSUIT OF THE KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE EXCELLENCE WHICH A MOVEMENT SUCH AS THIS DEMANDS.

OUR MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE REVOLVED AROUND THE LEAVE OF ABSENCE OF OUR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WYATT TEE WALKER. WYATT NURTURED THE ORGANIZATION THROUGH SOME OF ITS' MOST DIFFICULT DAYS AND GAVE BRILLIANT LEADERSHIP TO THE NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE FROM THE SIT-INS THROUGH THE FREEDOM RIDES, MONROE, NORTH CAROLINA, ALBANY, GEORGIA, AND BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA. HIS ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP CARRIED US FROM MEAGER BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT WORLD-REKNOWNED ORGANIZATION WHICH WE NOW WITNESS. I PERSONALLY MUST ATTEST TO THE GREAT HELP HE WAS TO ME DURING THESE YEARS FROM 1960 TO 1964.

WYATT HAS GONE ON TO ONE OF THE NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM AS HE SEEKS TO WORK AGAINST THE CULTURAL BLACKOUT WHICH HAS DEPRIVED NEGROES OF A SENSE OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE. HE IS NOW SERVING AS VICE PRESIDENT OF EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE AND WORKING ON AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF NEGRO LIFE.

GOD MUST BE WITH US, FOR YOU DON'T FIND REPLACEMENTS FOR A WYATT TEE WALKER VERY EASILY. [HOWEVER, OUR NEEDS HAVE BEEN MET IN MOST ADEQUATE FASHION BY A SERIES OF MOVES AND THE ADDITION TO THE STAFF OF RANDOLPH BLACKWELL AS PROGRAM CO-ORDINATOR. HOSEA WILLIAMS HAS MOVED TO ATLANTA AND NOW SERVES AS DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL ACTION. JAMES BEVEL HAS ASSUMED DUTIES AS DIRECTOR OF DIRECT ACTION, AND ANDREW YOUNG FILLS IN AS EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT.] ALL OF THESE MEN ARE DEDICATED, BRILLIANT, AND SOLIDLY COMMITTED TO THE CAUSE WHICH WE REPRESENT.

OUR FIELD STAFF HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED THROUGH THE ADDITION OF MRS. BERNICE ROBINSON IN SOUTH CAROLINA, REV. SAMUEL WELLS IN GEORGIA, AND MISS ADELE CANTOR AS OUR NEW YORK FUND-RAISER, AND NUMEROUS ADDITIONS TO THE CATAGORY OF SUBSISTENCE WORKERS.

IN PUBLIC RELATIONS WE HAVE MANAGED TO CONTINUE TO FOCUS ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE THROUGH PUBLICISING THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR ORGANIZATION. THIS YEAR WE COMPLETED AN INTERPRETIVE JOURNAL, THE SCLC STORY. OUR PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR, ED CLAYTON, DID A MATCHLESS JOB IN COMPILING THIS USEFUL DOCUMENT. TO DATE WE HAVE DISTRIBUTED MORE THAN 40,000 COPIES. THE RESPONSE TO THE BOOKLET HAS BEEN VERY GOOD, AND WE STILL URGE EACH AFFILIATE TO SELL AS MANY COPIES AS POSSIBLE.

#### WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

THIS, IN BRIEF, IS AN ACCOUNT OF SCLC'S WORK OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS. IT IS A RECORD OF WHICH WE CAN ALL BE PROUD, AND ONE THAT BRINGS ALL OF US CLOSER TO THE GOAL OF FREEDOM. BUT WE CANNOT REST CONTENT ON THE LAURELS OF PAST ACHIEVEMENTS. BRIGHT YESTERDAYS MUST BE TRANSFORMED INTO EVEN BRIGHTER TOMORROWS. IT IS TRUE THAT, BY AND LARGE, WE HAVE LEFT THE DUSTY SOILS OF EGYPT AND CROSSED A RED SEA WHOSE WATERS HAD FOR YEARS BEEN HARDENED BY A LONG AND PIERCING WINTER OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE. BUT EVEN AFTER LEAVING EGYPT WE MUST FACE THE HARD FACT THAT A CONFUSING, FRUSTRATING AND BEWILDERING WILDERNESS LIES AHEAD. BEFORE WE REACH THE MAJESTIC SHORES OF THE PROMISED LAND, WE MUST CONFRONT PRODIGIOUS HILLTOPS OF OPPOSITION AND GIGANTIC MOUNTAINS OF INJUSTICE. WE NEED A CHART; WE NEED A COMPASS; INDEED, WE NEED SOME NORTH STAR TO GUIDE US INTO A FUTURE SHROUDED WITH IMPENATRABLE UNCERTAINTIES. WHAT ARE SOME OF THE NEW DIRECTIONS THAT THE MOVEMENT MUST TAKE?

#### DEMONSTRATIONS AND POLITICAL ACTION

THE SCLC MUST REAFFIRM ITS ALLEGIANCE TO THE TIME HONORED TACTICS AND STRATEGIES THAT HAVE SERVED US SO WELL IN THE PAST TEN YEARS.

7 WHEN IT IS APPROPRIATE, WE WILL ENCOURAGE SIT-IN'S, PRAY-IN'S, BOYCOTT'S, PICKET LINES, MARCHES, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ANY FORM OF PROTEST AND DEMONSTRATIONS THAT ARE NON-VIOLENTLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED.

AT THE SAME TIME WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY AND PROTEST IS A RELATIVE RIGHT SUBJECT TO REGULATIONS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS. CITIZENS DO NOT HAVE THE MORAL OR POLITICAL RIGHT TO DREAM UP OR TO ENGAGE IN FANTASTIC GIMMICKS TO AROUSE PUBLIC ATTENTION THAT MAY CAUSE INJURY OR POSSIBLE DEATH TO OTHER CITIZENS, EVEN TO ADVANCE A JUST CAUSE. NO CITIZEN HAS THE RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN RIOTING, CIVIL DISORDER, OR HULIGANISM IN A DEMOCRACY NO MATTER HOW GRAVE HIS GRIEVANCES.]

BEYOND THE DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TACTICS, NOT PRINCIPLES. THEY ARE NEITHER SACRED NOR ETERNAL. TACTICS ARE TO BE USED ONLY SO LONG AS THEY ARE EFFECTIVE IN ACHIEVING SPECIFIC GOALS. THEY SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO FREQUENT ANALYSIS, REVIEW AND EVALUATION. TACTICS MUST BE MODIFIED IN RESPONSE TO THE EVER CHANGING SITUATIONS THAT CONFRONT US.

IN THE PAST OUR DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS HAVE BEEN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY WERE UNIQUE IN DOING THREE THINGS:

FIRST, THEY CALLED ATTENTION TO THE EVIL.

SECONDLY, THEY AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE COMMUNITY.

THIRD, THEY ELIMINATED THE EVIL ITSELF WHEN MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN STOOD FIRM AND ACCEPTED WHAT CAME.

HOWEVER, FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, WHICH HAS SO PROFOUNDLY EFFECTED PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS IN THE SOUTH, OUR ATTENTION OF NECESSITY MUST NOW ENCOMPASS MANY AREAS BEYOND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. THESE INCLUDE JOBS, ELIMINATION OF SLUMS AND QUALITY-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS.✓

WHILE DEMONSTRATIONS OF OLD AND NEW VARIETIES WILL NO DOUBT CONTINUE TO PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN THIS NEW PERIOD, WE MUST CLEARLY SEE DEMONSTRATIONS IN LIGHT OF THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION WE NOW FIND OURSELVES THRUST INTO.

IN FACING THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN SECURING DECENT HOUSING, ADEQUATE JOBS AND QUALITY-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, WE MUST REALIZE THAT DEMONSTRATIONS IN MOST CASES CAN ONLY DO TWO THINGS:

ONE, CALL ATTENTION TO THE EVIL.

TWO, AROUSE THE CONSCIENCE OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT UNLIKE OUR EXPERIENCE WITH PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS - SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS ARE NOT A PROGRAM FOR REMOVING THE EVIL ITSELF. THESE AREAS REQUIRE POLITICAL ACTION, FOR WE ARE NOW FACING BASIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE POLITICAL REFORM.

FOR EXAMPLE, DEMONSTRATIONS CAN BE USEFUL IN CALLING ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT NEGROES ARE TRAGICALLY UNEMPLOYED. BUT SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS ARE NOT A PROGRAM, OR A MEANS FOR OBTAINING JOBS. SUCH A PROGRAM CALLS FOR POLITICAL ACTION. IT CALLS FOR POLITICAL ACTION TO REALIZE TWO OBJECTIVES:

ONE, BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ARE NEEDED TO ENSURE FULL AND FAIR EMPLOYMENT. THIS IS FAR MORE THAN A DEMONSTRATION. THIS IS A QUESTION OF CREATING POLITICAL POWER TO INDUCE CONGRESS TO APPROPRIATE SUCH A SUM OF MONEY.

SECONDLY, NEGRO PEOPLE DO NOT THEMSELVES POSSESS THE POLITICAL POWER TO CREATE FULL EMPLOYMENT ALONE. WE MUST ADD OUR POLITICAL POWER TO THAT OF OTHER GROUPS (THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT AND JEWISH, TO LABOR, TO THE LIBERALS AND INTELLECTUALS) IN ORDER TO CREATE A BROAD AND STRONG POLITICAL FORCE TO ENSURE POSITIVE ACTION.

IN LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL DEMANDS OF THE NEW SITUATION IN THE AUTUMN OF 1964, PERHAPS THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, AND TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS THIS: WE MUST REJECT RIGIDITY. WE MUST RENOUNCE THE REHEARSED RESPONSE. WE MUST REMAIN ETERNALLY OPEN TO NEW IDEAS AND TO NEW TACTICS AND STRATEGIES.

AS GANDHI REALIZED AND STATED SO WELL - "NON-VIOLENCE IS THE EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH" AND IF WE ARE TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO TRUTH AND TO NON-VIOLENCE, WE MUST BE "AS LITTLE CHILDREN" THAT IS ADJUSTABLE, PREPARED TO ENGAGE

WAR ON POVERTY

SCLC AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT GENERALLY MUST VIGOROUSLY JOIN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY. THE NEWLY ENACTED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL BRINGS THE AMERICAN NEGRO TO THE THRESHOLD OF BECOMING A FIRST CLASS PARTICIPANT IN OUR SOCIETY. BUT UNTIL HE CAN BE RELEASED FROM ECONOMIC PRIVATION HE CANNOT FULLY BE DEEMED LIBERATED. NEGROES ARE STILL AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ECONOMIC LADDER. THEY ARE CHAINED TO THE LOWEST RUNG BY A DOUBLE LOCK: ONE IMPRISONS THEM ON THE BASIS OF COLOR WHILE THE SECOND BINDS THEM TO A CULTURE OF POVERTY.

OUR AFFLUENT NATION IS EXPERIENCING A COMPLEX MANPOWER REVOLUTION, DRAMATIC SHIFTS IN THE COMPOSITION OF LABOR FORCE, INCREASING RAPID TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND RISING EDUCATIONAL AND SKILL REQUIREMENTS. AT THE SAME TIME, AUTOMATION IS ELIMINATING JOBS FROM OUR ECONOMY AT THE RATE OF FORTY THOUSAND PER WEEK OR TWO MILLION EIGHTY THOUSAND A YEAR. WHILE TECHNOLOGICAL FORCES AND STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BY AUTOMATION ARE COLORBLIND, THE OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN SOCIETY CAUSES HIM AS A GROUP TO BE HARDEST HIT BY AUTOMATION.

POVERTY IN AMERICA TENDS TO BE CONCENTRATED AMONG DISADVANTAGED GROUPS. ONE-HALF OF ALL NEGRO FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES ARE POOR BY THE \$3,000.00 ANNUAL INCOME DEFINITION. YET WE MAKE UP ONLY 22 PERCENT OF THE OVER-ALL NINE MILLION POOR FAMILIES. IN 1962, ALMOST ONE OUT OF THREE NON-WHITE WORKERS HAD NOT COMPLETED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS COMPARED WITH ONE IN TEN AMONG WHITES. A FIFTH OF NON-WHITE AND A THIRD OF WHITES HAD FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL. IN 1959, THE MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME OF ALL THE WHITE POPULATION WHO HAD INCOME WAS \$3,207.00 WHEREAS FOR NEGROES IT WAS SLIGHTLY OVER \$1,518.00. THE AVERAGE NEGRO WITH FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION CAN EXPECT TO EARN LESS IN HIS LIFETIME THAN THE WHITE EIGHTH GRADE DROP OUT. IN SHORT, NEGROES IN AMERICA ARE UNEMPLOYED THE LONGEST, HAVE LOWER EARNINGS WHEN THEY ARE EMPLOYED, AND HAVE LESS EDUCATION

AND ON THE AVERAGE BENEFIT LESS FINANCIALLY FROM THE EDUCATION THEY DO ATTAIN.

CONGRESSMAN McCULLOCH'S REPORT (HR 914, PART 2) SUCCINCTLY CORROBORATES THE DEPLORABLE FACTS CONCERNING NEGRO POVERTY. I QUOTE FROM P. 27 OF THAT REPORT:

"IN 1962, NONWHITES MADE UP 11 PERCENT OF THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BUT 22 PERCENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED. APPROXIMATELY 900,000 NONWHITES WERE WITHOUT JOBS DURING THE YEAR--THEREBY CONSTITUTING AN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF 11 PERCENT. THIS WAS MORE THAN TWICE THE RATE OF WHITE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS. THE BREAKDOWN AMONG AGE, SEX, AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IS EVEN MORE STRIKING. MOREOVER, AMONG NEGROES WHO ARE EMPLOYED, THEIR JOBS ARE LARGELY CONCENTRATED AMONG THE SEMISKILLED AND UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS. THIS HAS THE EFFECT OF SEVERELY RETARDING THE ECONOMIC STANDARDS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION. LIKEWISE, CONCENTRATION AT THE LOWER LEVELS OF EMPLOYMENT HEIGHTENS THE CHANCES OF EARLY AND LONG DURATION LAYOFFS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY EVIDENT TODAY WITH THE RAPID UPGRADING OF JOB SKILLS WHICH IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH AUTOMATION.

SADLY I FIND THAT THE TREND IS TOWARD EVER INCREASING NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT. IT IS IRONIC THAT ON THE VERY DAY WHEN THE PRESIDENT SIGNED THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, JULY 2, 1964, THE LABOR DEPARTMENT RELEASED THE FACT THAT THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE HAD INCREASED IN JUNE FROM 5.1 to 5.3 PERCENT. IN HUMAN TERMS, PEOPLE NOT PERCENTAGES, THIS REPRESENTED AN INCREASE OF ONE MILLION ONE HUNDRED PERSONS, OF WHICH ABOUT ONE-FOURTH ARE NEGRO.

[THE NEGRO TODAY IS NOT STRUGGLING FOR SOME ABSTRACT, VAGUE RIGHTS, BUT FOR CONCRETE AND PROMPT IMPROVEMENT IN HIS WAY OF LIFE.] WHAT WILL IT PROFIT HIM TO BE ABLE TO SEND HIS CHILDREN TO AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL IF THE FAMILY INCOME IS INSUFFICIENT TO BUY THEM SCHOOL CLOTHES? WHAT WILL HE GAIN BY BEING PERMITTED TO MOVE TO AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD IF HE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO SO BECAUSE HE IS UNEMPLOYED OR HAS A LOW-PAYING JOB WITH NO FUTURE? OF WHAT ADVANTAGE IS IT TO THE NEGRO TO ESTABLISH THAT HE CAN BE SERVED IN INTEGRATED



RESTAURANTS OR ACCOMMODATED IN INTEGRATED HOTELS, IF HE IS BOUND TO THE KIND OF FINANCIAL SERVITUDE WHICH WILL NOT ALLOW HIM TO TAKE A VACATION OR EVEN TO TAKE HIS WIFE OUT TO DINE? NEGROES 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.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS IS, AT BOTTOM, A STRUGGLE FOR OPPORTUNITIES. IN ASKING FOR OPPORTUNITY, THE NEGRO IS NOT SEEKING CHARITY. HE DOES NOT WANT TO LANGUISH ON WELFARE ROLLS ANY MORE THAN THE NEXT MAN. HE DOES NOT WANT TO BE GIVEN A JOB HE CANNOT HANDLE. NEITHER, HOWEVER, DOES HE WANT TO BE TOLD THAT THERE IS NO PLACE WHERE HE CAN BE TRAINED TO HANDLE IT. SO WITH EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MUST COME THE PRACTICAL, REALISTIC AID WHICH WILL EQUIP HIM TO SEIZE IT. GIVING A PAIR OF SHOES TO A MAN WHO HAS NOT LEARNED TO WALK IS A CRUEL JEST.

TO BETTER UNDERSTAND ONE OF THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE OUTBREAK OF RIOTS AND THE SELF-CONTAINED RESENTMENT OF MILLIONS OF NEGROES WHO LOOM SO LARGE IN THE GRUESOME STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, AUTOMATION AND POVERTY, ONE MUST ASSUME THAT THE NEGRO READS AND HEARS ABOUT AMERICA'S UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY. GLISTENING TOWERS OF GLASS AND STEEL EASILY SEEN FROM THE GHETTO SPRING UP ALMOST OVERNIGHT. JET LINERS SPEED OVER THE GHETTOES AT SIX HUNDRED MILES AN HOUR; SATELLITES STREAK THROUGH OUTER SPACE AND REVEAL DETAILS OF THE MOON. BUT NINETY PERCENT OF THE NATION IS IGNORANT OF THE DETAILS OF GHETTO LIFE ON EARTH. PRESIDENT JOHNSON, IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, EMPHASIZED THIS CONTRADICTION WHEN HE HERALDED THE UNITED STATES' "HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE WORLD: AND DEPLORED THAT IT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DISLOCATIONS, LOSS OF JOBS AND THE SPECTER OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY."

AMIDST THIS AFFLUENCE, THE NEGRO LIVES MOSTLY IN THIS SICK CULTURE OF INCREASING POVERTY. HE BECOMES CYNICAL AND SKEPTICAL ABOUT "WARS ON POVERTY" WHEN HE READS ABOUT EXPENDITURES TO PHOTOGRAPH THE MOON WHICH ARE MANY-FOLD

LARGER THAN THE COST OF THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL BEFORE CONGRESS. HE READS THE NEW YORK TIMES OF JULY 24, 1964, AND LEARNS THAT THE SENATE PASSED AN ANTI-POVERTY BILL WHICH PROPOSES TO SPEND \$947,000.00 AND ON THE SAME FRONT PAGE OF THE TIMES HE READS THAT FOR ONLY SIX MONTHS OF THIS YEAR GENERAL MOTORS ANNOUNCED AN AFTER TAX PROFIT OF ONE BILLION 138 MILLION DOLLARS: FORD 324 MILLION AND CHRYSLER 114 MILLION--MAKING AN AGGREGATE FOR THESE THREE AUTO PRODUCERS OF ONE BILLION 676 MILLION DOLLARS. IN THIS RICH LAND, WHERE ONLY THREE OF OUR MANY RICH CORPORATIONS REPORTED SUCH PROFITS FOR HALF A YEAR THE GOVERNMENT WAS FIGHTING HARD TO ADOPT A MEASURE TO SPEND A LITTLE MORE THAN HALF OF THAT PROFIT. THIS 947 MILLION AS A WAR ON POVERTY AMOUNTED TO \$23.67 FOR EACH OF THE 40 MILLION OF ADMITTED POOR!

I AM NOT HERE TO OPPOSE THE WAR ON POVERTY. I WELCOME A CAUTIOUS BEGINNING IF IT IS THE START, NOT THE END, OF THE PROGRAM. A REAL WAR REQUIRES FULL MOBILIZATION OF ALL RESOURCES. IT NEEDS AN OFFENSIVE FORCE WHICH MOVES WITH LIGHTNING SPEED.

ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO, WE WITNESSED HOW THIS NATION CAN RESPOND. TO A CRISIS. WITHIN HOURS AFTER THE EVENTS IN THE GULF OF TONKIN, THE RESOURCES OF THE MILITARY WERE DIRECTED DRAMATICALLY AND QUICKLY RIGHT AT THE TARGET. NO ONE PAUSED TO FIGURE THE DOLLARS AND CENTS COST. THE MILITARY, CONGRESS AND EVEN THE UN WERE MOBILIZED.

IF THE NEGRO EXPECTS THIS TYPE OF MOBILIZATION FOR A WAR AGAINST POVERTY IS HE ASKING FAR TOO MUCH? DID NOT THE PRESIDENT IN HIS 1964 STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE PLEDGE A FAR-REACHING WAR NOT ONLY TO "RELIEVE THE SYMPTOMS OF POVERTY, BUT TO CURE IT AND ABOVE ALL PREVENT IT."

THE AGGRESSION OF THE FORCES OF POVERTY MUST BE MET WITH A FULL SCALE WAR, IF THE VICTIMS OF THIS AGGRESSION, NEGRO AND WHITE ALIKE, REPRESENTING AT LEAST ONE-FIFTH OF THIS NATION, ARE TO FEEL THEY ARE PARTNERS IN THIS LAND OF OPPORTUNITY.

ONE ENCOUNTERS THESE DAYS A MOST MISCHIEVOUS APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF POVERTY. APPEALING TO DEEP ROOTED PREJUDICE IT SUGGESTS THAT THE WAR ON POVERTY IS SOLELY TO AID THE COLORED POOR; THAT IT IS JUST A PART OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE. IN TRUTH, OF THE 9.3 MILLION FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS POOR, 7.3 MILLION OR 78 PERCENT ARE WHITE AND 2 MILLION OR 22 PERCENT ARE NON-WHITE.

WE UNDERSTAND WHAT MOTIVATES THIS MISCHIEF. WITH EACH DAY IT BECOMES CLEARER TO THOSE OF US WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS THAT THE SOLUTION TO OUR FULL CITIZENSHIP, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY THE NEGRO OR CIVIL RIGHTS FORCES ALONE.

WE ARE PAINFULLY AWARE THAT IF ALL DISCRIMINATORY LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES WERE IMMEDIATELY REPEALED--AS THEY SHOULD BE--IF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WERE VIGOROUSLY ENFORCED--AS IT MUST BE--THE ECONOMICALLY DEPRIVED CONDITION OF THE NEGRO, THE HISTORIC AND INSTITUTIONALIZED CONSEQUENCE OF COLOR, WILL REMAIN UNLESS THE NEGRO REVOLUTION BUILDS AND MAINTAINS ALLIANCES WITH THE MAJORITY OF WHITE COMMUNITY, ALLIANCES WITH A BASIC GOAL--THE ELIMINATION OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY. ONLY THROUGH SUCH AN ALLIANCE WILL BOTH THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND THE WHITE COMMUNITY, NORTH, SOUTH, EAST AND WEST, TOGETHER IN PARTNERSHIP BE ABLE TO CONSTRUCTIVELY MAKE A MASSIVE ASSAULT UPON SLUMS, INFERIOR EDUCATION, INADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE, THE ENTIRE CULTURE OF POVERTY.

THE STATESMANSHIP FOR SUCH A CREATIVE PROGRAM WILL CALL FOR A HIGH ORDER OF NATIONAL LEADERS. EVEN MORE IT WILL CALL FOR AN ALERT PEOPLE WHO WANT TO MAKE SECURITY AND JUSTICE A NATIONAL GOAL. WHEN THIS NATION BEGAN IN A WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE ON A NARROW STRIP OF THE EASTERN SEABOARD WITH WILDERNESS STRETCHING THREE THOUSAND MILES WEST, THE PROBLEMS WERE FAR GREATER THAN THOSE WE HAVE TODAY. THE DESCENDANTS OF THOSE WHO SOLVED THOSE PROBLEMS HAVE THE CAPACITY TO SOLVE THOSE OF THE PRESENT.

THESE THEN ARE THE "NEW DIRECTIONS" WHICH OUR MOVEMENT MUST TAKE; THIS IS THE ROAD WE MUST TRAVEL FROM THIS JUNCTURE IN OUR ON-GOING

STRUGGLE. WE ARE ON THE MOVE NOW AND NO WAVE OF RIGHT WING EXTREMISM CAN STOP US. WE ARE ON THE MOVE AND THE BURINING OF OUR CHURCHES WILL NOT DETER US; THE BOMBING OF OUR HOMES WILL NOT DISSUADE US; THE BEATING AND KILLING OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE WILL NOT DIVERT US; THE WANTON RELEASE OF THEIR KNOWN MURDERS WILL NOT DISCOURAGE US. WE ARE ON THE MOVE NOW AND LIKE AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME, NOT EVEN THE MARCHING OF MIGHTY ARMIES CAN HALT US.

LET US THEREFORE RESOLVE TO CONTINUE OUR TRIUMPHANT MARCH TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM.

LET US MARCH ON SEGREGATED HOUSING UNTIL EVERY GHETTO OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OPPRESSION IS DISSOLVED AND NEGROES AND WHITES LIVE SIDE BY SIDE IN DECENT, SAFE AND SANITARY HOUSING. LET US MARCH ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS UNTIL EVERY VESTIGE OF SEGREGATED AND INFERIOR EDUCATION BECOMES A THING OF THE PAST AND NEGRO AND WHITE STUDY SIDE BY SIDE IN THE SOCIALLY HEALING CONTEXT OF THE CLASSROOM.

LET US MARCH ON POVERTY UNTIL NO AMERICAN PARENT HAS TO SKIP A MEAL SO THAT THEIR CHILDREN MAY EAT: MARCH ON POVERTY UNTIL NO WORK-STARVED MAN WALKS THE STREETS OF OUR CITIES AND TOWNS IN SEARCH OF JOBS THAT DO NOT EXIST. LET US MARCH ON POVERTY UNTIL WRINKLED STOMACHS IN MISSISSIPPI ARE FILLED AND THE IDLED INDUSTRIES OF APPALACHIA ARE REVITALIZED AND BROKEN LIVES IN SWELTERING GHETTOES ARE MENDED AND REMOLDED.

LET US MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES. MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL RACE BAITERS DISAPPEAR FROM THE POLITICAL ARENA; MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL WALLACES AND GOLDWATERITES TREMBLE AWAY INTO SILENCE. MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL WE SEND TO OUR CITY COUNCILS, STATE LEGISLATURES AND U. S. CONGRESS AMBASSADORS OF GOOD WILL, MEN WHO WILL NOT FEAR TO DO JUSTLY, LOVE MERCY, AND WALK HUMBLY WITH THEIR GOD. LET US MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL BROTHERHOOD BECOMES MORE THAN A MEANINGLESS WORD IN AN OPENING PRAYER BUT THE ORDER OF THE DAY ON EVERY LEGISLATIVE AGENDA.

NOW THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH MARCHING IN THIS SENSE. THE BIBLE TELLS US THAT THE MIGHT MEN OF JOSHUA MERELY WALKED ABOUT THE WALLED CITY OF JERICO AND THE BARRIERS TO FREEDOM CAME TUMBLING DOWN. I LIKE THAT OLD NEGRO SPIRITUAL "JOSHUA FIT DE BATTLE ROUN' JERICO." IN ITS SIMPLE YET COLORFUL DEPICTION OF THAT GREAT MOMENT IN BIBLICAL HISTORY IT TELLS US THAT "JOSHUA FIT DE BATTLE ROUN' JERICO"

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AND DE WALLS COME TUMBLING DOWN.

UP TO THE WALLS OF JERICO, DEY MARCHED WID SPEAR IN HAN'

GO BLOW DEM RAM HORNS JOSHUA CRIED, CAUSE DE BATTLE AM IN MY HAN'.

THESE WORDS I HAVE GIVEN YOU JUST AS THEY WERE GIVEN US BY THEIR UNKNOWN, LONG DEAD, DARK-SKINNED ORIGINATOR. SOME NOW LONG GONE BLACK BARD BEQUEATHED TO POSTERITY THESE WORDS, IN UNGRAMMATICAL FORM, YET WITH EMPHATIC PERTINENCE FOR ALL OF US TODAY. THE BATTLE IS IN OUR HANDS. WE CAN ANSWER WITH CREATIVE NON-VIOLENCE THE CALL TO HIGHER GROUND TO WHICH THE NEW DIRECTIONS OF OUR STRUGGLE SUMMON US.

THE ROAD AHEAD IS NOT A SMOOTH ONE. THERE ARE NO BROAD HIGHWAYS THAT LEAD EASILY AND INEVITABLY TO QUICK SOLUTIONS, AND IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE OF US IF WE WERE TO INDICATE THAT THERE WERE. INSTEAD, THE COURSE WE MUST FOLLOW LIES THROUGH A MAZE OF INTERRELATED DEMANDS AND COUNTERDEMANDS, HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS, FEARS AND HATREDS. BUT DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL AS IT IS, SUCH A COURSE MUST BE CHARTED AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT MUST WALK IT WITH THE COURAGE AND DIGNITY OF OUR PAST ACHIEVEMENTS.