



Memo from

Martin Luther King, Jr.

October, 1965

As one of our valued contributors I thought you would like to read my report to our annual convention. It details the many ways your money was used.

Also included is a copy of our financial report, set up so that the various functions are related to expenditures.

Martin Luther King Jr.

ANNUAL REPORT DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Delivered at SCLC's Ninth Annual National Convention
Birmingham, Alabama, August 11, 1965

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We assemble in this ninth Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the year of our Lord, 1965. This year happens to be the 10th anniversary of the Montgomery bus boycott. That action opened a new era in the freedom struggle. It was an historic watershed in the history of the American Negro, marking the date on which he took his destiny in his own hands and began a march which was to shake the foundations of this nation. In Montgomery, the Negroes created the American application of mass non-violent direct action to achieve social change. He put behind him the exclusive reliance on the courts and entreaties of goodwill as methods of reform. He came out of shadows that had enveloped him for centuries and physically took possession of forbidden streets to lay claim to his rights.

Whites Learn of Injustice

For the first time in American history the white majority as a whole learned how deeply injustice was woven into its social fabric. From Montgomery, in an ascending spiral, nonviolent direct action stimulated courageous action in cities traditionally immune from Negro protest. Cities which had been citadels of the status quo became the unwilling birthplace of significant national legislation. Montgomery led to the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960; Birmingham inspired the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Selma produced the voting rights legislation of 1965.

The courage, sacrifice and unity of Negroes led inevitably to the creation of an alliance with white Americans and awoke the somnolent conscience of the nation.

It would be hypocritical indeed if I allowed modesty to forbid my saying that SCLC again, in a large measure, was responsible for some of the most positive civil rights gains of the year and perhaps of the century. Just as SCLC aroused the conscience of the nation in Birmingham in 1963 and set in motion a comprehensive civil rights bill, these same stalwart nonviolent activists within our ranks brought about a coalition of the nation's conscience on the infamous stretch of highway between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama. One can still hear the tramping feet and remember the glowing eyes filled with determination and hope which said eloquently, "We must be free," a sound which echoed throughout this nation, and, yes, even throughout the world. My mind still remembers vividly the ecumenicity of the clergy, the combined forces of labor, civil rights organizations and the academic community which joined our ranks and said in essence, "Your cause is morally right, and we are with you all the way."

ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH AND EXPANSION

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has had a phenomenal growth and expansion during the past year. Our professional staff has increased from 75 to 200 workers, and our budget, needless to say, tripled over this period in keeping pace with our expanded programs and personnel increases.

It is due to the fine quality of our professional staff that during this period of expansion we have experienced a minimum amount of growing pains.

DIRECT ACTION

The mainstay of SCLC's program is still in the area of nonviolent action. The year began with a campaign of direct action in Alabama. Selma, Alabama, loomed as a city which had sought to completely suppress every semblance of freedom for its Negro citizens. Injunctions had been issued against any assembly of three or more persons and against more than three persons walking together along city streets. These court orders were systematically used by Sheriff Jim Clark to put an end to any civil rights meetings or demonstrations.

Following the experience of Birmingham and the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, it became apparent that direct action programs had to broaden their scope beyond lunch counters and employment within a single city. The task was too great and the time too short to go from city to city confronting the evils of segregation. In addition to this, the states of Alabama and Mississippi were developing an amazing efficiency in crushing demonstrations through the sheer power of their brutality. Gadsden, Alabama, Greenwood, Mississippi, and the Selma Movement of 1963 were examples of this.

Our Direct Action Department, under the direction of The Rev. James Bevel, then decided to attack the very heart of the political structure of the state of Alabama and the southland through a campaign for the right to vote. Selma was selected as the starting place for this movement.

The world knows the outcome of this venture. The Edmund Pettus Bridge has become a milestone in the history of the Movement. But let us not mark this great Movement only by the bloodshed and brutality. We certainly can never forget those who gave their lives in this struggle and who suffered in jail, but let us especially mark the sacrifice of Jimmy Lee Jackson, Rev. James Reeb and Viola Liuzzo as the martyrs of faith.

Church Is Reawakened

Selma brought into being the second great awakening of the church in America. Long standing aside and giving tacit approval to the civil rights struggle and then stirring to motion around the crisis in Mississippi last summer the church finally marched forth like a mighty army and stood beside God's children in distress.

The awakening of the church also brought a new vitality to the labor movement, and to intellectuals across the country. A little known fact is that 40 of the nation's top historians took part in the march to Montgomery.

In conclusion, Selma brought us a voting bill, which was only this past week signed into law, but it also brought us the grand alliance of the children of light in this nation, and made possible changes in our political and economic life heretofore undreamed of. The solidification of this coalition of conscience in Selma has helped to place the present administration on a firmly progressive course in domestic issues.

But Selma and the March to Montgomery ignited a freedom flame all across the southern black belt. Selma, due to the publicity; but the Movement in Marion, Camden, Greensboro, Demopolis and Eutaw mark a new day in the direct action movement. These are small rural communities which have proven that nonviolent action can be as effective in rural areas as in metropolitan centers. The people have marched, picketed, conducted long and effective boycotts and gained a new respect from their white brothers. Neighboring towns like Uniontown have learned from the lessons of these strife-torn communities and sought to implement the promise of justice without the struggle now raging in other black belt areas.

New Maturity in Nonviolence

It is significant to note that these counties have proceeded without the employment of major staff and financial resources of the organization. Here, local actions are financed by the resident Negro. This is a tribute to the effectiveness of the field staff and to the new maturity of the nonviolent approach.

Crawfordville and Americus, Georgia, have brought the same kind of campaign to Georgia, and with similar results. In each of these communities, more than half the population has been directly involved in the action program. With this kind of fearlessness and unity, the liberation of the southland is not far off.

POLITICAL EDUCATION AND VOTER REGISTRATION

One of the most significant developments in the program of SCLC is the work of the Department of Political Education and Voter Registration. The able and dedicated head of this department, Hosea Williams, has launched the most vigorous and devastating war ever conceived against the disenfranchisement of the Negro people. Ultimately, the objective of SCLC's program of political education and voter registration is to rid the American body politic of racism. It is our contention that it was upon the rock of political disenfranchisement of the Negro that segregation was built, and that the gates of democracy cannot prevail against it.

SCOPE Increases Voter Registration

One of the major programs of our Political Education and Voter Registration Department is the Summer Community Organization and Political Education Project, known as SCOPE. At present, SCOPE is operating in six southern states, covering fourteen U.S. Congressional Districts and 125 southern black belt counties. There are more than 1,200 SCOPE workers—650 summer volunteers, representing more than 120 colleges and universities throughout America, 150 paid SCLC staff workers and 400 local volunteers. Since June 22, SCOPE workers have contacted more than one million Negroes across the southland; 600,000 Negroes have been involved in political education; 280,000 in community organization, and 124,000 have attempted to register. Thirty-four thousand have been processed, and 26,000 registered. *It is important to say here that this was done before passage of the voting rights bill.* There are 900,500 Negroes of voting age residing in the selected counties covered by SCOPE and of that number only 225,000 are registered, which leaves more than 700,000 Negroes of voting age unregistered.

Before we meet again next year, it can safely be predicted that this program will have affected the political life of at least 120 of the South's most predominantly Negro counties. Eventually, this will lead to Negro state representatives, county commissioners, sheriffs, city councilmen, police chiefs, and even mayors. This will inevitably result in liberating the political climate of the South.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

As a bulwark of SCLC's program department stands the Citizenship Education Program which continues to play an important part in assisting thousands of Negroes in finding a sense of dignity and worth. Most importantly, the Citizenship Education Program is the firm base upon which the direct action projects of SCLC find ready minds and bodies, with assurances that when the direct action is over, every community is left with leaders qualified to continue the struggle.

Writing Clinic in Dallas County (Selma, Ala.)

The major contribution of the Citizenship Education Program this year was the establishment of writing clinics in Dallas County headed by Mrs. Septima P. Clarke. These clinics were responsible for teaching hundreds of persons to write their names in order that they could sign an appearance book for voter registration. It is remarkable to note that in acquiring this new skill—to write—many of these persons were motivated to continue to learn.

New SCLC affiliates are also being formed in many small towns and rural communities as an outgrowth of citizenship classes. So in a real sense, the Citizenship Education Program continues to be our most vital and positive program, moving silently across the black belts of the South, teaching, encouraging and inspiring the underprivileged masses of our society with a technique and a vision of freedom.

This program has been under the able and dedicated guidance of The Rev. Andrew Young, Mrs. Septima Clarke, and Mrs. Dorothy Cotton. Through their expert direction, the Citizenship Education Program was elevated from local into national political and economic relevance. Now that Andy Young's brilliant abilities have elevated him to the executive directorship of SCLC, he will be replaced by Dr. Robert Green, whose academic credentials and experience more than qualify him to continue the phenomenal growth and development of this department.

OPERATION BREADBASKET

One of the most dramatic and creative phases of our program has been the development of what is known as Operation Breadbasket, under the dynamic leadership of The Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Jr. This is a program which has as its aim the securing of more and better jobs for all Negro people. The success of this program grows out of the fact that the Negro is a key factor in the consuming community and that he now has a collective power of about 30 billion dollars a year. This means that the Negro buying dollar can make the difference between profit and loss in almost any industry in our country. So Operation Breadbasket is a program which calls for support of those businesses that will give a fair share of the jobs, and the 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 dollar, you must respect my person. If you respect my quantitative support, then you must respect the quality of my job. In short, this program says you have a moral obligation to refuse to use your dollars to perpetuate segregation and discrimination.

During the past year, Operation Breadbasket has dealt with some 27 firms and added millions of dollars to the Negro's income by securing new and upgraded jobs which had been previously closed to us.

OPERATION DIALOGUE

One of our newest and most promising programs is the Dialogue Department headed by Harry G. Boyte. The Dialogue Program was established this past year to implement our commitment to seek reconciliation between the diverse and frequently hostile elements within our society and also to bring into alliance Negro and white Americans who share the same aspirations of justice, equality and brotherhood for all mankind. In our quest for such a reconciliation, we have given priority to experimental work in the most economically oppressed white communities. We believe that we can bring these deprived whites into a recognition that their experiences

and those of the Negroes are similar, and bring into being a coalition of these forces so that through joint organized effort the causes can be attacked constructively, transcending all racial factors.

"Group Conversation" Instituted

Through Dialogue we also are engaged in carrying on a program known as "Group Conversation." This "social invention," as it is called by Dr. Margaret Mead, has thus far been directed primarily toward middle class white Americans in the South, the Northeast and the Midwest. Frequently, however, this method of self exploration has drawn into its program groups of interracial composition. In Atlanta, where we have carried on our most intensive experimentation with this technique, more than 1,000 persons have attended 57 work shops and other facets of Dialogue.

As our experience grows with this new department, we are increasingly convinced that this movement into the broader area of "human rights" offers tremendous and challenging opportunities of reaching and finding some answers to our basic human problems. We are going deeply into the root causes of grinding poverty, inadequate medical care, slum housing, educational deficiencies and racial prejudice, while simultaneously demonstrating that the strongest force in all the world is the force of love as proven in its validity in active involvement with other human beings.

AFFILIATE DEPARTMENT

The ever increasing proof of the power of nonviolent direct action and the growing prominence throughout the nation of the nonviolent philosophy have resulted in a profound interest being shown in SCLC as one of the organizations best able to represent those interested in our struggle for freedom. Seizing upon this opportunity, our dynamic Affiliate Director, The Rev. C. T. Vivian, during the past year has continually moved throughout the nation establishing new organizations for SCLC. More than this, during the past year not only has Rev. Vivian added new organizations, but his work has gained the necessary support to establish a new pattern for affiliate organization.

The Affiliate office has shown this interest firstly in expansion; secondly, in community services; and thirdly, in community organization and government programs.

New Tutorial Program in Alabama

The Affiliate Program has been servicing its branches in a new way. It has projected a new program in the area of education called project "Vision," a tutorial program in Alabama which has employed more than 90 tutors in 16 educational centers in nine Alabama cities. More than 575 Negro high school students and recent high school graduates have put aside every summer vacation pleasure to devote 10 weeks to intensive academic study. SCLC has tested; now we are teaching, and eventually we will place every child of "Vision" into college who is willing to learn until he passes college entrance exams.

As a result of our "Vision" Program, SCLC has become a recipient of one of the national programs its energy helped write. Due to the continuing drive of the Affiliate Program, SCLC this week received an Office of Economic Opportunity grant for more than \$60,000. This is our first government grant, and it is being used to service our affiliates and both Negro and white persons who desire to live above the ignorance forced upon them by cultural deprivation in certain areas.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATION

We have put together a complete printing plant with equipment valued in excess of \$20,000. We are now carrying on major civil rights citizenship programs through the channel of printed literature. Since the last convention more than 1,250,000 pieces of related literature have been printed and distributed. A major campaign is anticipated for next year geared to giving back to Negro people their history. This would not be possible without our own publishing facilities which limits our costs to the size of our purse.

The Atlanta office, apart from the regular program areas, has done an effective job of keeping the Justice Department aware of isolated incidents of injustice.

Already we are moving on the business of helping communities and individuals take advantage of federal social legislation. SCLC, through one of its field workers, was instrumental in getting a poverty program for Gadsden, Alabama. Six other poverty programs are at various stages of development. More is anticipated in this regard.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

This, in brief, is an account of SCLC's work over the last year. 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 contented on the laurels of past achievements. Bright yesterdays must be transformed into brighter tomorrows. With all the struggle and all the achievements, the plant of freedom has grown only a bud and not yet a flower. Negroes in 1965 are freer, but they are not free. Negroes in 1965 have more dignity and self-respect than they have known in their history, but they are still far from equal. They are not equal because they are strait-jacketed in society as its most unskilled, most underpaid strata. They constitute the economic legion of the damned to hold the dirty jobs, the most poorly paid jobs; and, when employment diminishes, to be the first without jobs.

Aliens in An Affluent Society

In consequence, Negroes are impoverished aliens in an affluent society. They are too poor even to rise with the society; too impoverished by the ages to be able to ascend by using their own resources.

The Negro, once principally a small farmer, under the impact of contracting agriculture has become a displaced, unskilled, unhoused semi-migrant herded into the ghettos of the cities, themselves unprepared to absorb him. In these conditions of chaotic change his fragile family life has been shattered, his labor wasted or exploited, and thick walls of discrimination crush his hopes and opportunity.

The Negro did not do this himself—it was done for him. For more than half of his American history he was enslaved. Yet he built the spanning bridges, the grand mansions, the sturdy docks and stout factories of the South. His unpaid labor made cotton king and established America as a significant nation in international commerce. Even after his release from chattel slavery the nation grew over him, submerging him. It became the wealthiest, most powerful society in the history of man. But it left the Negro far behind.

So we still have a long, long way to go before we reach the promised land of freedom. We still need some Paul Revere of conscience to alert every hamlet and every village of America that revolution is still at hand. Yes, we need a chart: we need a compass. Indeed, we need some North Star to guide

us into a future shrouded with impenetrable uncertainties. What, then, are the basic issues that the grand alliance must grapple with in order to assure human rights?

Demonstrations

The SCLC must reaffirm its allegiance to the time honored tactics and strategies that have served us so well in the past 10 years. As long as injustice is around, demonstrations will be necessary. So when it is appropriate, we will encourage sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts, picket lines, marches, civil disobedience and any form of protest and demonstrations that are nonviolently 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. For that reason before a protest can be approved by responsible leadership they must answer the following questions:

1. Do we have a just grievance, or is our purpose merely to create confusion for its own sake as a form of revenge?
2. Have we first used every form of normal means to eliminate the problem by negotiation, petition and appropriate approach to authority?
3. Having found these channels useless or forcibly closed to us when we embark upon any type of lawbreaking, are we prepared to accept the consequences society will inflict and to maintain, even under punishment, a sense of brotherhood?
4. Do we have a clear program to relieve injustice which does not inflict injustice upon others, and is that program reasonable and grounded in the ethics and best traditions of our society?

Responsibility Must Be Met

In establishing these prerequisite conditions before employing direct action, the civil rights movement meets its responsibility to society and fulfills its obligations to democratic principles.

I am happy to report that, by and large, the civil rights movement has followed this course, and for this reason we in the nonviolent movement have enlarged the rights of all. It might be useful to review the advantages all Americans have derived from the growth of nonviolent direct action in civil rights.

When Negroes took to the streets to demand job opportunities for themselves they helped to stimulate a broad "war on poverty" concept which ultimately will benefit more whites than Negroes. When Negroes by direct action sought to participate in the electoral process they awakened the apathetic white who so took his rights for granted that he neglected to use them. When Negroes boycotted schools they did more than reveal classroom discrimination. They brought to the fore such criticisms as those of Dr. Conant, who had long charged we were seeking to utilize 19th century educational methods in conditions of 20th century urbanization. Pushing through the issue of desegregation, there emerged a new and startling question of paramount importance to the whole population. What is quality education and how is it attained for all, under conditions of population growth, automation and the redistribution of the population in sprawling cities?

When Negroes sought allies they stimulated an historic church unity. It is a striking fact that after the failure of brotherhood banquets to achieve results, and after the futile efforts to achieve ecumenity by discussion and conferences, there was the greatest and warmest expression of religious

unity of Catholic, Protestant, and Jew in the history of the nation in the streets of Selma and Montgomery and at the Lincoln Memorial.

So we must continue to march when necessary. Our marching feet have caused thick walls of segregation to crumble before the battering rams of the forces of justice. Our marching feet have resurrected crucified truth and placed bright-eyed wisdom back on her sacred throne. Our marching has taken wounded justice, lying prostrate on the streets of our cities, and lifted it from this dust of shame to reign supreme in the legislative annals of our nation. Yes, our marching feet have carved tunnels of hope through the dark mountain of despair.

One Million New Negro Voters

The civil rights movement now has before it a central task: to bring at least a million new southern Negro voters to the polls by next election day. That task is not merely mechanical; however, it is profoundly educational. The Negro community must become fully conscious of its potential political power, of its growing ability to change, through concerted political action, the conditions of life in the South, and, indeed, the complexion of Congress and the major parties. This is an ongoing, and sometimes tedious, job, requiring additional dedicated civil rights workers. But ultimately it is the most exciting undertaking, for it means the dawn of a new day.

Moreover, the Voting Rights Act comes at a time when the "one man, one vote" principle is being deepened. The SCLC is pleased that the week which saw the Act become law also witnessed defeat of the Dirksen Amendment, whose purpose was to undermine the historic Supreme Court decision on reapportionment. This decision, restoring first-class citizenship to urban and suburban voters, will give increased scope and impact to political action by Negroes and other minority groups entrapped in the metropolitan ghettos.

North and South, Negroes must be registered to vote. The SCLC pledges itself unstintingly to this work. What we have won in blood, toil and sacrifice we must not squander in apathetic complacency.

It is also necessary to say that the bright road opened by the Civil Rights Act is unfortunately not an unobstructed highway to the stars as some press reports imply.

To become a major turning point in American life, extensive and dynamic enforcement by the Justice Department is indispensable. There has been some swift action but on a severely restricted scale. Our experience with the South compels us to say that if the cautious restraint in enforcement persists, much of the purpose of the act can be defeated. On the other hand, by bold enforcement the recalcitrance of the segregationists can be made as impractical as it is illegal and immoral.

Another weakness lies in certain segregationist devices which the Act does not readily reach. Despite the law, Negroes cannot register in substantial numbers where local and state authorities have established registration on but one day a month as in some South Carolina, North Carolina and Alabama counties. In circumstances such as these it will be necessary to resort to mass marches to the court houses to induce the power structure to observe the spirit of the law.

We now have a federal law which can be used, and use it we will. Where it falls short we have our tradition of struggle and the method of nonviolent direct action, and these too, we shall use.

Unemployment and Poverty

Despite the recent slight decline in unemployment, the jobless rate

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This program has been under the able and dedicated guidance of The Rev. Andrew Young, Mrs. Septima Clarke, and Mrs. Dorothy Cotton. Through their expert direction, the Citizenship Education Program was elevated from local into national political and economic relevance. Now that Andy Young's brilliant abilities have elevated him to the executive directorship of SCLC, he will be replaced by Dr. Robert Green, whose academic credentials and experience more than qualify him to continue the phenomenal growth and development of this department.

OPERATION BREADBASKET

One of the most dramatic and creative phases of our program has been the development of what is known as Operation Breadbasket, under the dynamic leadership of The Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Jr. This is a program which has as its aim the securing of more and better jobs for all Negro people. The success of this program grows out of the fact that the Negro is a key factor in the consuming community and that he now has a collective power of about \$0 billion dollars a year. This means that the Negro buying dollar can make the difference between profit and loss in almost any industry in our country. So Operation Breadbasket is a program which calls for support of those businesses that will give a fair share of the jobs, and the 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 dollar, you must respect my person. If you respect my quantitative support, then you must respect the quality of my job. In short, this program says you have a moral obligation to refuse to use your dollars to perpetuate segregation and discrimination.

During the past year, Operation Breadbasket has dealt with some 27 firms and added millions of dollars to the Negro's income by securing new and upgraded jobs which had been previously closed to us.

OPERATION DIALOGUE

One of our newest and most promising programs is the Dialogue Department headed by Harry G. Boyte. The Dialogue Program was established this past year to implement our commitment to seek reconciliation between the diverse and frequently hostile elements within our society and also to bring into alliance Negro and white Americans who share the same aspirations of justice, equality and brotherhood for all mankind. In our quest for such a reconciliation, we have given priority to experimental work in the most economically oppressed white communities. We believe that we can bring these deprived whites into a recognition that their experiences

and those of the Negroes are similar, and bring into being a coalition of these forces so that through joint organized effort the causes can be attacked constructively, transcending all racial factors.

"Group Conversation" Instituted

Through Dialogue we also are engaged in carrying on a program known as "Group Conversation." This "social invention," as it is called by Dr. Margaret Mead, has thus far been directed primarily toward middle class white Americans in the South, the Northeast and the Midwest. Frequently, however, this method of self exploration has drawn into its program groups of interracial composition. In Atlanta, where we have carried on our most intensive experimentation with this technique, more than 1,000 persons have attended 57 work shops and other facets of Dialogue.

As our experience grows with this new department, we are increasingly convinced that this movement into the broader area of "human rights" offers tremendous and challenging opportunities of reaching and finding some answers to our basic human problems. We are going deeply into the root causes of grinding poverty, inadequate medical care, slum housing, educational deficiencies and racial prejudice, while simultaneously demonstrating that the strongest force in all the world is the force of love as proven in its validity in active involvement with other human beings.

AFFILIATE DEPARTMENT

The ever increasing proof of the power of nonviolent direct action and the growing prominence throughout the nation of the nonviolent philosophy have resulted in a profound interest being shown in SCLC as one of the organizations best able to represent those interested in our struggle for freedom. Seizing upon this opportunity, our dynamic Affiliate Director, The Rev. C. T. Vivian, during the past year has continually moved throughout the nation establishing new organizations for SCLC. More than this, during the past year not only has Rev. Vivian added new organizations, but his work has gained the necessary support to establish a new pattern for affiliate organization.

The Affiliate office has shown this interest firstly in expansion; secondly, in community services; and thirdly, in community organization and government programs.

New Tutorial Program in Alabama

The Affiliate Program has been servicing its branches in a new way. It has projected a new program in the area of education called project "Vision," a tutorial program in Alabama which has employed more than 90 tutors in 16 educational centers in nine Alabama cities. More than 575 Negro high school students and recent high school graduates have put aside every summer vacation pleasure to devote 10 weeks to intensive academic study. SCLC has tested; now we are teaching, and eventually we will place every child of "Vision" into college who is willing to learn until he passes college entrance exams.

As a result of our "Vision" Program, SCLC has become a recipient of one of the national programs its energy helped write. Due to the continuing drive of the Affiliate Program, SCLC this week received an Office of Economic Opportunity grant for more than \$60,000. This is our first government grant, and it is being used to service our affiliates and both Negro and white persons who desire to live above the ignorance forced upon them by cultural deprivation in certain areas.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATION

We have put together a complete printing plant with equipment valued in excess of \$20,000. We are now carrying on major civil rights citizenship programs through the channel of printed literature. Since the last convention more than 1,250,000 pieces of related literature have been printed and distributed. A major campaign is anticipated for next year geared to giving back to Negro people their history. This would not be possible without our own publishing facilities which limits our costs to the size of our purse.

The Atlanta office, apart from the regular program areas, has done an effective job of keeping the Justice Department aware of isolated incidents of injustice.

Already we are moving on the business of helping communities and individuals take advantage of federal social legislation. SCLC, through one of its field workers, was instrumental in getting a poverty program for Gadsden, Alabama. Six other poverty programs are at various stages of development. More is anticipated in this regard.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

This, in brief, is an account of SCLC's work over the last year. 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 contented on the laurels of past achievements. Bright yesterdays must be transformed into brighter tomorrows. With all the struggle and all the achievements, the plant of freedom has grown only a bud and not yet a flower. Negroes in 1965 are freer, but they are not free. Negroes in 1965 have more dignity and self-respect than they have known in their history, but they are still far from equal. They are not equal because they are strait-jacketed in society as its most unskilled, most underpaid strata. They constitute the economic legion of the damned to hold the dirty jobs, the most poorly paid jobs; and, when employment diminishes, to be the first without jobs.

Aliens in An Affluent Society

In consequence, Negroes are impoverished aliens in an affluent society. They are too poor even to rise with the society; too impoverished by the ages to be able to ascend by using their own resources.

The Negro, once principally a small farmer, under the impact of contracting agriculture has become a displaced, unskilled, unhoused semi-migrant herded into the ghettos of the cities, themselves unprepared to absorb him. In these conditions of chaotic change his fragile family life has been shattered, his labor wasted or exploited, and thick walls of discrimination crush his hopes and opportunity.

The Negro did not do this himself—it was done for him. For more than half of his American history he was enslaved. Yet he built the spanning bridges, the grand mansions, the sturdy docks and stout factories of the South. His unpaid labor made cotton king and established America as a significant nation in international commerce. Even after his release from chattel slavery the nation grew over him, submerging him. It became the wealthiest, most powerful society in the history of man. But it left the Negro far behind.

So we still have a long, long way to go before we reach the promised land of freedom. We still need some Paul Revere of conscience to alert every hamlet and every village of America that revolution is still at hand. Yes, we need a chart: we need a compass. Indeed, we need some North Star to guide

us into a future shrouded with impenetrable uncertainties. What, then, are the basic issues that the grand alliance must grapple with in order to assure human rights?

Demonstrations

The SCLC must reaffirm its allegiance to the time honored tactics and strategies that have served us so well in the past 10 years. As long as injustice is around, demonstrations will be necessary. So when it is appropriate, we will encourage sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, boycotts, picket lines, marches, civil disobedience and any form of protest and demonstrations that are nonviolently 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. For that reason before a protest can be approved by responsible leadership they must answer the following questions:

1. Do we have a just grievance, or is our purpose merely to create confusion for its own sake as a form of revenge?
2. Have we first used every form of normal means to eliminate the problem by negotiation, petition and appropriate approach to authority?
3. Having found these channels useless or forcibly closed to us when we embark upon any type of lawbreaking, are we prepared to accept the consequences society will inflict and to maintain, even under punishment, a sense of brotherhood?
4. Do we have a clear program to relieve injustice which does not inflict injustice upon others, and is that program reasonable and grounded in the ethics and best traditions of our society?

Responsibility Must Be Met

In establishing these prerequisite conditions before employing direct action, the civil rights movement meets its responsibility to society and fulfills its obligations to democratic principles.

I am happy to report that, by and large, the civil rights movement has followed this course, and for this reason we in the nonviolent movement have enlarged the rights of all. It might be useful to review the advantages all Americans have derived from the growth of nonviolent direct action in civil rights.

When Negroes took to the streets to demand job opportunities for themselves they helped to stimulate a broad "war on poverty" concept which ultimately will benefit more whites than Negroes. When Negroes by direct action sought to participate in the electoral process they awakened the apathetic white who so took his rights for granted that he neglected to use them. When Negroes boycotted schools they did more than reveal classroom discrimination. They brought to the fore such criticisms as those of Dr. Conant, who had long charged we were seeking to utilize 19th century educational methods in conditions of 20th century urbanization. Pushing through the issue of desegregation, there emerged a new and startling question of paramount importance to the whole population. What is quality education and how is it attained for all, under conditions of population growth, automation and the redistribution of the population in sprawling cities?

When Negroes sought allies they stimulated an historic church unity. It is a striking fact that after the failure of brotherhood banquets to achieve results, and after the futile efforts to achieve ecumenicity by discussion and conferences, there was the greatest and warmest expression of religious

among Negroes remains more than double that of whites, and there are no immediate prospects for a dramatic improvement in this situation. Indeed, if the staggering unemployment rate among Negro youth—as high as 70 per cent in some urban centers—is any indication of what the future holds, the crisis is deepening.

High unemployment is a main reason why two thirds of all the Negro families in the United States live in poverty and deprivation. Indeed, among all of the American poor, 40 per cent have been victims of unemployment during the past year. The administration's War on Poverty, which the SCLC applauds as a fine beginning, will fail to achieve its objectives if it substitutes a "welfare" approach for much-needed economic reforms aimed at the creation of more jobs. In the absence of such reforms, black and white workers at the bottom of the economic ladder will be thrown into fierce competition for disappearing jobs, giving rise to destructive racial tensions and perhaps violence. For this reason alone, unemployment and poverty are civil rights concerns.

An increase in minimum wages, even when combined with a reduction of the work week and double pay for overtime, would still probably leave a residue of unemployment, for the technological revolution makes possible the production of increasing goods and services with fewer workers. Left to itself, the private sector of the economy cannot generate enough jobs to match the growth in the labor force and disemployment through automation. In plain fact, most of the new jobs created in the past decade have been on the public payrolls (e.g. teachers).

Rebuilding America

We urge that the federal government recognize its responsibility for carrying out the mandate of the Employment Act of 1946, whose purpose is the achievement of full employment. We urge the federal government to initiate massive public works programs to fill the nation's crying needs for decent housing, schools, hospitals, mass transit, urban renewal, parks and recreation centers. We contend that such a program, undertaken on a large scale, does not constitute "make-work" but the rebuilding of America. It would, at the same time, create hundreds of thousands of jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Combined with a greatly expanded program of education and training, it would lay the physical and moral foundations for the great society. A public works program, moreover, would stimulate the private economy toward more useful investments. And, for the Negro community in particular, such a federal initiative would set the context in which self-help would be realistic and meaningful.

A full program as all-encompassing as the foregoing would justly deserve the title of a "War on Poverty." It would open opportunity, stimulate hope, and release an abundance of creative energies, all of which are presently crushed under a mountain of disabilities. It would not be a financial burden to the nation but a source of new wealth and purchasing power.

Violence of Poverty

The Negro's nonviolent movement is as much directed against the violence of poverty, which destroys the soul and bodies of people, as it is directed against the violence of segregation.

A society which has sinned has redemptive obligations as urgent as those confronting individuals who have lived immorally. When the government recognizes its duties and rises fully to meet them, its moral stature will grow and its integrity will be strengthened.

NEGRO-WHITE ALLIANCE

A small but vociferous current of opinion has urged Negroes to shun alliances with whites. It argues that whites as a group cannot have genuine or sincere concern for Negro progress, and therefore their main interest in collaborative effort is to diminish Negro militancy and deflect it from constructive goals.

Undeniably, there are some white elements with these purposes, and no militant movement can afford to relax its vigilance against half-hearted associates or conscious betrayers. Yet, the history of the contemporary movement reveals that Negro-white alliances have played a powerfully constructive role, especially in recent years.

Common Needs with the Negro

While Negro initiative, courage and imagination precipitated the Birmingham and Selma confrontations and revealed the harrowing injustice of segregated life, the organized strength of Negroes alone would have been insufficient to move Congress and the administration without the weight of the aroused conscience of white America.

In the period ahead, in seeking the profound changes full integration will involve, Negroes will need the continued support of the white majority. Ten percent of the population cannot by tensions alone induce 90 per cent to change a way of life.

The white majority need not be coerced into support. Within the majority there exists a substantial group of white Americans who cherish democratic principles above privilege and who demonstrated a will to fight with the Negro against injustice. Another more substantial group is composed of those having common needs with the Negro and who will benefit equally with him in the achievement of social progress. There are, in fact, more poor white Americans than there are Negro. Their need for a war on poverty is no less desperate than the Negro's. In the South they have been deluded by race prejudice and largely remained aloof from common action. Ironically, with this posture they were fighting not only the Negro but themselves. Yet there are already signs of change. Without formal alliances Negroes and whites have supported the same candidates in many de facto electoral alliances in the South because each, sufficiently, served his own needs.

The alliance of Negro and white based on the solid ground of honest conscience and proper self-interest can continue to grow in scope and influence. It can attain the strength to democratically alter basic institutions. Negro isolation can never even approach this goal.

The ability of Negroes to enter alliances is a mark of their growing strength, not weakness. In entering an alliance, the Negro is not relying on white leadership or ideology, he is taking his place as an equal partner in a common endeavor. His organized strength and his new independence pave the way for alliances. Far from losing independence in an alliance, he is using it for constructive and multiplied gains.

Every alliance must be studied for its specific features. Negroes may reject some and embrace others. They may walk out of alliances where their interests are in peril of betrayal. All of these experiences are normal in alliance relationships. They do not justify the rejection of the principle of Negro-White alliance.

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Negroes must shun the very narrowmindedness that has so long been the source of their own afflictions. They have reached the stage of organized strength and independence to securely work in alliances. History has demonstrated with major victories the effectiveness, wisdom and moral soundness of Negro-White alliances.

NONVIOLENCE

The SCLC must urge its affiliates and co-workers to undertake programs of education and training to deepen the commitment to nonviolence as a means of struggle for social justice. Our movement's adherence to nonviolence had been a major factor in the creation of a moral climate that has made progress possible. This climate may well be dissipated not only by acts of violence but by the threats of it verbalized by those who equate it with militancy.

The frustration and despair that encourage violent response are no less tragic for being understandable. The fact is, neither our numbers nor the opposition's capacity for violence can justify, if only on tactical grounds, our resort to it. Given the objective circumstances in which civil rights workers find themselves, the advocacy or use of organized violence as a method of achieving justice becomes a counter-progressive force. Moreover, violence while producing no progress, undermines the moral appeal of the movement. Nonviolence is still a most powerful and just weapon. It cuts without wounding. It is a sword that heals.

In reaffirming our commitment to nonviolent struggle, however, we must demand that state and national governments afford full protection to individual citizens seeking to exercise their constitutional rights. It is no concession to the proponents of violence to point out that nonviolent discipline is severely strained when racist bombings, beatings and murders go unpunished, or when police authorities withhold protection from civil rights demonstrators.

These, then, are the basic issues which our movement must face. This is the road we must travel from this juncture in our on-going struggle.

Divine Dissatisfaction

Let us, therefore, resolve to be engaged in a sort of divine dissatisfaction until the American dream is a reality.

Let us be dissatisfied until every socially oppressive ghetto and rat infested slum is plowed into the junk heaps of our nation and Negroes and whites live side by side in decent, safe and sanitary housing. Let us be dissatisfied until every vestige of segregated and inferior education will become a thing of the dark past and Negro and white children study side by side in the socially healing context of the classroom.

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Rocky Places of Frustration

The road ahead will not always be smooth. There will still be rocky places of frustration and points of bewilderment. There will be inevitable setbacks and the buoyancy of hope will at times be transformed into the fatigue of despair. We may again, with tear drenched eyes, have to stand before the bier of some courageous civil rights worker whose life had been snuffed out by blood thirsty mobs. But difficult and painful as it is, we must walk on in the days ahead with an audacious faith in the future.

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LESS: CASH PAYMENTS (see detail below)	\$1,429,787.27
MISCELLANEOUS BANK CHARGES	<u>1,318.37</u>
	<u>\$1,431,105.64</u>
CASH BALANCE AS OF JUNE 30, 1965	\$ 151,686.75

SCHEDULE OF CASH PAYMENTS

DIRECT ACTION PROGRAMS	\$ 804,960.57
Voter Registration and SCOPE	\$ 333,744.89
Direct Action, Marches, Etc.	115,394.16
Aid to Affiliates	61,481.84
Operation Dialogue	5,383.03
Operation Breadbasket	7,488.07
Allocation for Future Voter Registration and Education Projects	281,268.58
FUND RAISING AND SPECIAL PROMOTION	130,648.98
OPERATIONAL COSTS	450,518.44
Salaries	244,363.96
Rent Expense, Maintenance of Building Repairs and Expansion of Office Space	17,921.10
Repairs and Maintenance of Office Equipment	3,754.82
Office Equipment	19,102.79
Postage	21,197.92
Telephone and Telegraph	6,371.40
Printing	28,654.13
Office Supplies	33,611.41
Travel	28,154.28
Convention and Workshops	23,420.69
Payroll Taxes	9,919.29
Group Insurance Premium	1,548.71
Accounting and Auditing	3,362.50
Public Relations, News Letter Etc.	9,135.44
SUNDRY ITEMS	43,659.28
Reimbursement of Funds for Burned Churches, and Jackson-Liuizzo Funds	27,097.45
Handling Expenses—Books for Resale	5,981.52
Tuition and Scholarship	3,289.78
Petty Cash	656.00
Repayment of Loan	4,000.00
Miscellaneous	2,634.53
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SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
A non-profit, non-sectarian agency
334 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President

RALPH ABERNATHY
Vice Pres.-Treas.

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DIRECT ACTION PROGRAMS		\$ 804,960.57
Voter Registration and SCOPE	\$ 333,744.89	
Direct Action, Marches, Etc.	115,394.16	
Aid to Affiliates	61,483.84	
Operation Dialogue	5,383.03	
Operation Breadbasket	7,488.07	
Allocation for Future Voter Registration and Education Projects	281,268.58	
FUND RAISING AND SPECIAL PROMOTION		130,648.98
OPERATIONAL COSTS		450,516.44
Salaries	244,363.96	
Rent Expense, Maintenance of Building Repairs and Expansion of Office Space	17,921.10	
Repairs and Maintenance of Office Equipment	3,754.82	
Office Equipment	19,102.79	
Postage	21,197.92	
Telephone and Telegraph	6,371.40	
Printing	28,654.13	
Office Supplies	33,611.41	
Travel	28,154.28	
Convention and Workshops	23,420.69	
Payroll Taxes	9,919.29	
Group Insurance Premium	1,548.71	
Accounting and Auditing	3,362.50	
Public Relations, News Letter Etc.	9,135.44	
SUNDEY ITEMS		43,639.28
Re-transmittal of Funds for Burned Churches, and Jackson-Lizzzo Funds	27,097.45	
Handling Expenses—Books for Resale	5,981.52	
Tuition and Scholarship	3,289.78	
Petty Cash	456.00	
Repayment of Loan	4,000.00	
Miscellaneous	2,634.53	
TOTAL CASH PAYMENTS		<u>\$1,429,787.27</u>

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
A non-profit, non-sectarian agency
334 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
President

RALPH ABERNATHY
Vice Pres.-Treas.