

Newsletter

Volume 2

November-December, 1963

Number 3

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Epitaph And Challenge

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

We stand just a few days removed from one of the most shocking and horrible tragedies that has ever befallen our nation. Men everywhere were stunned into sober confusion at an incredible assassination of John F. Kennedy. It is still difficult to believe that one so saturated with vim, vitality and vigor is no longer in our midst.

As unreal as it seems to our senses, we must face the fact that John Fitzgerald Kennedy *is* dead. Dead, physically, but the posture of his life has written an epitaph that lives beyond the boundaries of death.

The epitaph of John Kennedy reveals that he was a leader unafraid of change. He came to the presidency in one of the most turbulent and cataclysmic periods of human history. A time when the problems of the world were gigantic in intent and chaotic in detail. On the international scene there was the ominous threat of mankind being plunged into the abyss of nuclear annihilation. On the domestic scene the nation was reaping the harvest of its terrible injustice toward the Negro. John Kennedy met these problems with a depth of concern, a breadth of intelligence, and a keen sense of history. He had the courage to be a friend of civil rights and a stalwart advocate of peace. The unmistakable cause of sincere grief expressed by so many millions was more than simple emotion. It revealed that President Kennedy had become a symbol of peoples' yearnings for justice, economic well being and peace.

Our nation should do a great deal of soul-searching as a result of President Kennedy's assassination. The shot that came from the fifth story building cannot be easily dismissed as the isolated act of a madman. Honesty impels us to look beyond the demented mind that executed this dastardly act. While the question "who killed President Kennedy?" is important, the question "what killed him?" is more important. Our late President was assassinated by a morally inclement climate. It is a climate filled with heavy torrents of false accusation, jostling winds of hatred and raging storms of violence.

It is a climate where men cannot disagree without being disagreeable, and where they express dissent through violence and murder. It is the same climate that murdered Medgar Evers in Mississippi and six innocent Negro children in Birmingham, Alabama. So in a sense we are all participants in that horrible act that tarnished the image of our nation. By our silence, by our willingness to compromise principle; by our constant attempt to cure the cancer of racial injustice with the vaseline of graduation; our readiness to allow arms to be purchased at will and fired at whim; by allowing

our movie and television screens to teach our children that the hero is one who masters the art of shooting and the technique of killing; by allowing all of these developments we have created an atmosphere in which violence and hatred have become popular pastimes.

So President Kennedy has something important to say to each of us in his death. He has something to say to every politician who has fed his constituents the stale bread of racism and the spoiled meat of hatred. He has something to say to every clergyman who had observed racial evils and remained silent behind the safe security of stained glass windows. He

has something to say to the devotees of the extreme right who pour out venomous words against the supreme court and the United Nations, and branded everyone a communist with whom they disagree. He has something to say to a misguided philosophy of communism that would teach man that the end justifies means, and that violence and the denial of basic freedom are justifiable methods to achieve the goal of a classic society. He says to all of us that this virus of hate that has seeped into the veins of our nation, if unchecked, will lead inevitably to our moral and spiritual doom.

Thus the epitaph of John Kennedy's life illuminates profound truths that challenge us to set aside our grief of a season and move forward with more determination to rid our nation of the vestiges of racial segregation and discrimination.





Delegates from more than 100 counties in Georgia converged on Macon last month to map plans for 1964. Shown at left and center are SCLC's Fred C. Bennette, Program Director Andrew J. Young and John H. Calhoun. Host for meet was Macon affiliate, William Randall, Pres.

State-wide Georgia Registration Meet Reveals 40,000 New Voters Added in '63

Under sponsorship of SCLC, the State-wide Registration Committee, headed by J. H. Calhoun, of Atlanta, who also is SCLC state director of voter-registration, held its Annual Meeting in Macon, Georgia on October 26. More than 300 youth and adult delegates from 50 counties, attended the sessions in First Baptist and Tremont Temple Baptist churches. The committee conducts a co-ordinated state program and was organized by the Georgia Voters League under the late Grand Master John Wesley Dobbs, in 1956.

16,990 Negroes Registered

Rev. Andrew H. Young, SCLC Director of Citizenship Training and Voter-Registration, joined Rev. Fred C. Bennette, Georgia Field Secretary, Mrs. Septima Clark of the Dorchester Academy Citizenship School and other leaders in supervising eight Congressional Districts and one youth workshop. From these discussions it was revealed that an estimated 16,990 Negroes have been registered in 36 counties which reported. An additional 830 have reported from five more counties of the 7th Congressional District, which was not represented at the meeting, making an estimated total of 17,820 from only 41 counties.

40,000 More Voters In 1963

From a reported 146,000 registered Negro voters in Georgia in 1954, 156,000 in 1958, the last year state records were kept by race, it is estimated that the total now approaches 250,000, with some 30,000 being registered in 1962 alone. Mr. Calhoun, the Georgia director for SCLC, anticipates that when all reports are in, the state will have an increase of 40,000 additional Negro voters for 1963. Atlanta, with its All-Citizens Registration Committee, Jesse Hill, Jr. and Dr. C. A. Bacote, co-chairmen, added approximately 7,000 new Negro voters. Rev. Bennette, SCLC field secretary, has been working full time with the program since April and the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, made a direct grant to the Atlanta committee.

Upwards of 200,000 Negro registered voters in Georgia for 1962 are said to have been the balance of power in electing the present governor, Carl E. Sanders, as well as other state officers last year.

SCLC Hits Louisiana In Determined Vote Drive

Faced with the very determinative gubernatorial race in Louisiana and a sure runoff between the forces of racism and moderation, SCLC rushed a staff of 10 workers into Louisiana to attempt to register voters in time for the December elections.

Our task force of Birmingham students were joined by the local people of Louisiana and launched an intensive effort in Lake Charles, New Iberia, and Plaquemine, where SCLC field secretary Major Johns was a candidate for the state legislature.

The project was conducted in cooperation with CORE, which had maintained a team of workers in Louisiana throughout the summer, and continued to spark the direct action program there.

Place 1,000 On Rolls

Registration rolls in Lake Charles were increased by almost 1,000 Negro voters during the month of November by a team of workers led by SCLC field worker Dan Harrell. Important ground work was laid in the surrounding parishes to enable us to continue our work for months to come.

Louisiana only recently has been the scene of a legal victory by the Justice Department, which struck down as unconstitutional the literacy test which was being administered to Negro voters in a discriminatory fashion. But the segregationists will not be a party to Justice; they immediately began to crack down through a registration application which requires Negro registrants to give their ages in years, months and days.

Independence Comes To Africa's Kenya

On Thursday, December 12th, the Union Jack was lowered in Kenya, East Africa, for the last time and in its stead was raised the black-red-green flag of independence. Once Britain's most prosperous colony, Kenya is the 34th state to receive independence.

With a population of 8,500,000 — 160,000 of them Asians and 65,000, Europeans — it is the big test for Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta was released only last year after spending nearly eight years in jail and under restriction of the British on a conviction of being involved in Mau Mau terrorism.

National Debt

With independence comes responsibility. The new government of Kenya will inherit a national debt of some \$190,000,000, with sterling reserves estimated at only \$45,000,000. Population explosion, export commodities, unemployment, and education are major problems for the new nation.

But *Uhuru* — the Swahili word for independence and freedom has come to Kenya.

Danville Shows Vote Gain Following Direct Action

Seeking to consolidate some of the gains of the summer Direct Action Program, the Danville Christian Progressive Association began to add voters to the registration rolls. Under the guidance of SCLC Virginia field secretary, Herbert Coulton, and aided by the SCLC Birmingham task force, DCPA was able to add 783 voters to the rolls during the past three months. This total represents a 30 per cent increase in the total of Negro voters and was amassed against the obstacle of a poll tax of \$4.84 per person.

Poor Community

Danville is a poor community and many of the labor force is engaged only in seasonal work, so that it was necessary for DCPA and SCLC to raise funds to aid in the payment of Poll Tax. Local Citizens were encouraged to give poll tax as a gift for Christmas, and almost \$500.00 was raised in the community for this purpose. SCLC supplemented the poll tax fund by a grant of \$1,000. This is the high cost of Democracy in Danville.

Elections To Be Crucial

Elections this summer in Danville will be crucial in the determination of the direction of this community's life. Already, the City Council shows a new respect for its Negro citizenry as a result of the combined approach of Demonstrations and Registration. A City Fair Employment Practices Bill was recently enacted by the same City Council that a few months ago refused to talk with Negroes.

Register To Vote!

Make Gains In Danville; With Fair Hiring Policy

Danville, Virginia, scene of the most brutal police action of the present year, continues its determined quest for self-respect and human dignity. Under the aegis of the Danville Christian Progressive Association and supplemented by the forces of SNCC, CORE and NAACP, the siege for Freedom has been maintained since last May. This southwest Virginia textile center produced more legal chicanery than any other comparable situation in the South. One of the several city injunctions now under attack prohibited the singing of "We Shall Overcome," theme song of the Movement. Yet, with no break-through at press time in public accommodations, some gains have been realized.

Fair Hiring Policy

Most significant is the passage of a city ordinance establishing a fair hiring policy in city employment. Any person who feels he has been discriminated against in employment may appeal to the Circuit Court for relief. It is believed that the 5-3 vote of the council for the ordinance is the first of its kind anywhere in the South.

The chart below indicates breadth of gains made during period spanning June 10th - December 10*

Downtown and Shopping		
Centers Jobs	7	30
City Employment	0	1
School Desegregation	0	2
City Council	6-1	5-3
Against Biracial Talks		
For official talks**		
Registered Voters	1596	2976

Resume Demonstrations

The Central Committee of the Danville Movement voted unanimously November 29th to resume limited demonstrations if needed, in order that the community's attention would be focused on the one single area where no progress is yet recognizable.

* Eating facilities in variety stores and shopping centers previously desegregated in 1960.

** Employment ordinance result of series of talks.

Two Kinds of Negroes— Wallace

In his recent speech at Harvard University, Gov. Wallace of Alabama had this unusual observation to make:

"When you speak of the Negro in the North, the image before your eye is probably the mulatto and he constitutes a very small per cent of your population. When we speak of the Negro in the South the image in our minds is that great residue of easy-going, basically happy, unambitious, incapable-of-much-learning African, who constitutes 40 per cent of our population, and who the white man of the South, in addition to educating his own children, has attempted to educate, to furnish public health services and civic protection."



Gospel singer Mahalia Jackson smiles happily as she receives plaque from Dr. King honoring her for her contribution to civil rights struggle. Award was made after her Dec. 1 concert in Atlanta. Looking on are Rev. Ralph Abernathy (l.) and Wyatt Tee Walker (r.).

15 Northern Ministers Jailed In Williamston

After four months of demonstrations in Williamston, N. C., 15 ministers from the Boston area joined local people in that Eastern North Carolina town of 6,000 in their struggle for Human Rights.

On November 12, the Northern ministers, headed by Reverends John Harmond and Paul Chapman, arrived in the town of Williamston to help, as Rev. Harmond put it, show the world that "no one can say they are free unless every man can attest to it".

The ministers participated in a mass march on the City Hall on November 15, in an effort to again bring the problem before the city officials. Some fifty odd participants were jailed.

Refused Bond

The ministers refused bond and subsequently remained in jail for a week. During this time they fasted at intervals.

On the 18th of November, Golden Frinks was sentenced to a six-month term in a state prison. The ministers immediately began looking into the matter, two of them withdrawing from the jail.

In the two weeks following their release, the ministers were caught up in a program of confronting the Williamston towns people with the reasons they had come in a door-to-door, person-to-person effort to help establish lines of communication.

By December 3, the last of the ministers returned to their parishes and congregations after setting the ground work for the Williamstonites to visit Boston for Christmas.

Supervisor's Meeting

About 35 persons will attend a special supervisor's workshop on January 3rd, 4th and 5th at Penn Community Center at Frogmore, S. C. This workshop is designed to train a person in each area who can help organize, develop and supervise adult citizenship schools.

Mahalia Stirs Crowd, Accepts Rights Plaque

On the afternoon of December 1st,

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference presented the third in a series of "Stars For Freedom" concerts by presenting Miss Mahalia Jackson. Appearing with her were the Gospel Harmonettes of Birmingham, Alabama and the Pattersonaires of Atlanta. Miss Jackson's rendition of "Move On Up A Little Higher" brought the audience to its feet.

Dr. King Presents Plaque

Prior to intermission, Dr. King presented a bronze plaque to Miss Jackson in recognition of her outstanding work in Civil Rights in which she has performed all over the country for the Civil Rights Movement.



FIRST IN PETERSBURG—Bernard Bland, first Negro driver of Petersburg, Va. Transit Co. is ready to roll after recent hiring through efforts of local affiliate and determined work of Milton Reid, SCLC's Regional Representative and Field Secretary, Herbert V. Coulton.

SCLC Newsletter

Publisher, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
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 non-violent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.
3. To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of non-violence 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 Insensitive Deep South

This writer is convinced that the hard-core racist in the Deep South will remain inflexible in his social attitudes until death. There were times previous to Mr. Kennedy's assassination when I believed optimistically that the evidence of harsh and vitriolic attitudes was for the most part, a sham, a facade, ingeniously devised to bide for a little more time. However, my optimism has been considerably dimmed in the wake of President Kennedy's murder.

I was on a plane to the West Coast, out of New Orleans when word came from the Captain that Mr. Kennedy had been shot. One-half hour later we were informed that the President was dead. It seemed as if the whole plane was stunned into sober silence. One man alone, spoke audibly. "Good God! You wouldn't think this could happen in America." But it had. In my own heart, I groped to grasp the factuality of the message. In desperation, I thought: "If it is true (but it can't be) maybe it had to happen to shake this country out of its moral degeneracy."

The words of my keynote address at the Annual SCLC convention drifted back to me. I was trying to say then that if hatred and bigotry could snuff out the lives of four little black girls in Sunday School, then nobody is really safe. Now the President of the United States was slain by the same hatred and bigotry that twisted a tortured

Lee Oswald. *This Nation is sick!* Maybe this will shake us to our senses. Perhaps now we will realize that the spread of poison in our nation's bloodstream must be checked. This must be the meaning of John Kennedy's death for the course of history.

But it seems I was wrong. Scarcely had Mr. Kennedy been entombed on the hillside at Arlington than the press echoed the venom and hate of the two Senators from Georgia — Russell and Talmadge. They described the Civil Rights Legislation called for by the new President as "cruel" and "vicious."

A minister in Dallas reported fourth grade children cheering at the news of Kennedy's death and then went into seclusion for fear of his life. But the *coup de grace* came late Sunday night in Southwest Georgia. Carolyn Daniels, a teacher in SCLC's Citizenship Program, and landlady of several SNCC workers was tumbled from bed by the staccato bursts of an automatic rifle.

This is the same section of Georgia where three houses of worship were leveled by racist arsonists. Now with the President assassinated only two weeks ago, how could we still be hell-bent with bombing and burning and murder and mayhem? Does not the Deep South have any sensitivity at all to the impending tragedy that threatens to destroy this nation internally? America needs to get down on her knees and pray to God to save us from ourselves.

—wtw

Much Ado About Nothing

It seems shamefully pathetic at times when men of high appointment must spend their energies in pursuits that belie the loftiness of the positions bestowed upon them. Alabama's Governor Wallace appears to be such a man. His great concern about Dr. King's being transported to Selma, Ala. from Birmingham in a car rented by an employee of the Justice Department and the subsequent furor it has stirred up hardly seems worth all the bother. The simple facts are that Dr. King was driven a distance of about 100 miles in a rented car by a friend after his life had been threatened.

The aftermath developed into this: 1.) bold and continued headlines in the press after Wallace revealed that he had knowledge of the trip; 2.) the firing of the justice department employee who had rented the car; and 3.) a full grand jury investigation of the entire matter.

Upon analysis it appears that all of this is so ridiculously inconsequential when one considers that the trip in question could hardly cost more than the munificent sum of \$33. Yet, on the other hand it usually costs about \$15,000 to convene a grand jury of some 23 persons who are paid \$8 per day for a period of two months.

If \$33 is a waste of the taxpayers' money, as Gov. Wallace would want to claim, such a waste is barely more than the scraps left over from a family dinner when placed against the towering sum of \$15,000.

I now know how Shakespeare must have felt when he put his pen to these words: "Much Ado About Nothing."

—ETC

The Cartoonist's View

'Mr. President . . . Only The Chair Has Changed'



Baldy in the Atlanta Constitution



Burck in Chicago Sun Times

Lock Step



Mauldin in the Chicago Sun Times

Letters To SCLC

The Image Of Birmingham

Dear Martin:

Our hearts are heavy as once again Birmingham looms back into the headlines of every newspaper in Central and Southern Africa, but this time the news is more tragic than ever. If there is any doubt as to the image that is being conveyed to this part of the world, I think it might be seen in the words of a new neighbor. After exchanging introductions she naturally inquired as to where I came from. When I replied, "Birmingham, Alabama", a strange look came over her face. She reached over the fence, grabbed my hand, and while vigorously pumping it up and down, blurted out, "Shake hands, brother! Keep the nigger down!" This is what Birmingham is now known for.

May the strength of the witness to justice and peace which you and thousands of others there in Birmingham are making wipe out this picture of oppression and terror and establish in its place those precedents which we so desperately need in places such as Southern Rhodesia. The whole world is looking over your shoulders.

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES

Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia

Professor Wants To Help

Dear Rev. King:

I am an Assistant Professor of Chemistry here at the University of Georgia, born and bred in Chicago, Illinois. In the past, my work has required about 60 hours per week, but I feel that some of this should be spent, if possible, working for the cause which you, and others like you, have brought to the forefront of the American Conscience.

It is difficult to put down my feelings about the matter without making it appear either pompous or insincere, so I won't try to do so. I know that you are acquainted

with many others who, sensing a common guilt for the situation as it exists today, want to do something, however small, to help assuage that guilt.

What can be done here? The Southern propensity to be oblivious to the obvious has hidden many wrongs from view, but even the most ardent civic supporter can not overlook the fact that the lot of the Negro in Athens is hardly what could be called satisfactory.

I want to be a part of changing this lot. What can I do? Whom should I contact to find out? My first responsibility is, of course, that I discharge the duties of my profession. But I do not intend that the security of my position be allowed to interfere with my conscience.

Finally, I want to offer you the hospitality of our home, should you ever be in Athens. I realize that others more highly placed than I must have done so too, but even so, we would be honored to have you as our guest.

DR. THOMAS D. WALSH

Athens, Georgia

Teach Racial Equality

Dear Reverend King:

I want to write a letter of congratulations and encouragement to you, but I do not know actually where to begin.

First off, I am a Jesuit novice in my second year here at Jesuit College. I have tried to follow "Freedom Summer" as closely as I am able, and now I want to do my part.

My part, however, can consist only in small things, like this letter to you and my coming attempt to teach racial equality to fourth graders in a small, near-by town. I plan to center my first class around the parable of the Good Samaritan. I will change "a certain man who was robbed" to a Negro man, and the city of Jericho to Birmingham or Minneapolis.

Nevertheless, I think that I am helping the most in a small, third way: I am including your personal success and the success of the whole summer in my daily prayers.

Hoping to join someday in this cause, I remain

LARRY BRANCH,

NOVICE S. J.

Jesuit College

St. Bonifacius, Minnesota

Distance A Barrier

Dear Sir:

I watched your very moving 'March on Washington' on television. I know that many people in Britain would like to help you but distance is the barrier. However, if you could get someone to send a list of U.S.A. newspapers which would give a hearing to any letters from the British Isles supporting your Equal Rights Campaign, then perhaps we, in Britain, could be of some small help.

Any information on your Campaign would be useful as we have to rely upon press reports for information. Wishing you every success.

JOHN GARbutt

Newcastle upon Tyne
England

DIS 'N DATA

Did You Know . . . that **Frank Sinatra** staged a Benefit Concert for C.O.R.E., N.A.A.C.P., and S.C.L.C. which provided a \$60,000 contribution to the three groups on the night before his son was kidnapped? . . . That **Mrs.**



Mrs. Clark

Septima P. Clark, Supervisor of the Citizenship Schools for S.C.L.C. recently was honored by the **National Council of Negro Women** for her many years of dedicated service in the field of Civil Rights? . . . That **Wyatt T. Walker**,

executive assistant to **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was elected to the executive board of the **National Association of Intergroup Relations Organizations** at its annual conference in November? . . . Or that **Sammy Davis, Jr.** will appear at Atlanta Municipal Auditorium on May 9th in a Benefit Concert.

• • •

Have You Heard? . . . About the November 29th Issue of **Life Magazine** which has the late **President John F. Kennedy** on the cover? The issue in its entirety is a **Memorial Tribute** to our beloved late President. **The Associated Press** also has produced a book that covers the week's events evolving around the assassination of the late President . . . **Jet Magazine**, however, was the first major weekly magazine to hit the streets with complete coverage on the assassination from cover to cover. The issue was an excellent job.

• • •

Have You Seen? . . . The clever child's coloring book, **Color Me Brown** by **L. H. Giles**. It's very picturesque, containing pictures of Negroes who have helped build America through outstanding contributions. The **Chicago Board of Education** is evaluating it presently for its potential usefulness in the Public Schools. In addition to providing hours of stimulating recreational activity for the child, it also points up the accomplishments of many of America's most outstanding Negroes.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

(street)

(city & state)

Amount of Contribution.....

Send to: SCLC

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

From Burned Ruins

By Jackie Robinson



Jackie Robinson

From the charred remains of three rural Baptist churches there now rise the concrete walls of fitting monuments to the Negro community's determination to be free. During the late summer of 1962, three churches, two of which that had been SNCC centers for Voter Registration activity in rural Terrell and Lee County, Georgia were tragically destroyed by fire. The Shady Grove Baptist Church in Lee County was bombed and/or burned in the early morning hours of August 15. This was believed to be reprisal against the SNCC voter registration activity and the then enthusiastic Albany Movement. Two weeks later on Sunday morning the Mt. Olive and Mt. Mary Baptist churches were burned to the ground. By coincidence, I happened to be enroute to Albany for a Voter Registration Rally. Wyatt Tee Walker met me in Atlanta and we flew to Albany together, going by car immediately to the site of the churches.

Let's Rebuild

While I stood there, sick to my stomach, looking at those burned churches, Wyatt suggested that we ought to show the people who did this that burning our churches wouldn't stop us. Impulsively, I replied, that we ought to rebuild them and I'd start a fund with \$100.00. Later that day Dr. King called from the West Coast and asked would I serve as National Chairman for an SCLC Rebuilding Fund. I readily accepted.

Gov. Rockefeller Helps

Since that time, we have raised nearly \$50,000. Bill Black, my boss at Chock Full-O-Nuts contributed the first \$5,000, Frank Shiffman of the Apollo Theatre in New York gave another \$1,000 and Governor Rockefeller gave \$10,000. We received gifts from all over the nation and in every denomination from \$1.00 up.

Our work has been supplemented by the Atlanta Constitution Fund and monies collected by the Georgia Council of Churches, the United Church of Christ and other smaller groups. The Trappist Monks at the monastery in Conyers, Georgia, have made the stained-glass windows for all three churches. The Toombs Amisano and Wells architectural firm in cooperation with Georgia Institute of Architects have drawn, blue-printed and supervised the rebuilding program.

Still Need \$20,000

We are anxiously looking forward to the completion of the churches. The cost of construction is \$95,000 exclusive of furniture and equipment. This means with approximately \$50,000 in SCLC's fund and another \$25,000.00 in other funds and insurances, we are still \$20,000.00 shy of the funds needed to clear construction costs completely. We are hoping that our many readers who may not have contributed to the church re-building fund will supplement the deficit we now face. Checks may be made payable (tax deductible) to Mt. Olive Baptist Church Rebuilding Fund, c/o Jackie Robinson — 425 Lexington Avenue, New York City or direct to the SCLC home office in Atlanta.



VANDALISM BEFORE COMPLETION—Although construction of churches is still going on, vandals already have tried to halt their completion. Thirty-foot pier like that shown above was yanked down recently during night at Mount Mary Church in Terrell County, Georgia.



VIEWING RUINS—Pastor of Mount Mary, Rev. William Boyd, views the crumpled heap of rock and debris after learning of vandalism. Some who have viewed wreckage theorize that a bulldozer equipped with strong chains might have been used to pull down the towering pier.



STILL INTACT—Mount Olive church, also in Terrell County, has not had its construction hampered (at least not at press time) and is an example of what stage of development construction has reached. Here, SCLC's Wyatt Tee Walker studies the picturesque site.

VEP Assigns SCLC Four Key Areas

The Southwide Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, which seeks to administer Foundation Funds through the five major civil rights organizations recently granted SCLC funds to conduct projects in four key areas during coming months. Grants were made for Savannah and Albany, Georgia; Danville and Petersburg, Virginia.

SCLC also provides staff help in other areas for communities which have received direct grants from VEP. Ben Mack of South Carolina provides staff assistance for a VEP program in the First and Second Congressional Districts of that State, and Rev. Fred C. Bennette has given leadership to the VEP project in Atlanta.

SCLC continues to work through its 150 affiliates in encouraging voter registration locally and aiding in the financial burden.

SCLC Worker Shot; Home Bombed After Taking Group To Register

A 36-year-old citizenship school teacher, trained and maintained by SCLC, was wounded on December 7, when "night-riders" attacked her southwest Georgia home in "infamous" Terrell County.

Mrs. Carolyn Daniels was in her Dawson, Georgia home late on a Saturday night, when some 30 rounds from an automatic rifle were fired into the house. Mrs. Daniel was struck in the left foot and right leg by the barrage of rifle fire.

When Mrs. Daniel went for medical attention, the house was destroyed by a bomb blast.

That same weekend, Mrs. Daniels had accompanied 33 people to the voter registration office, 30 of whom completed registration.

Second Incident

This was the second time Mrs. Daniels' home had been fired on by night riders within 15 months. The first time was on September 6, 1962, and the blast wounded SNCC workers Jack Chatfield, Prathia Hall and Chris Allen.

It was in Terrell County, in July of 1962, that Sheriff Z. T. Matthews and 12 armed whites broke into a church where a voter education meeting was in progress. This Sasser, Georgia incident brought national attention to the conditions which existed there. In September, 1962, three churches used for voter education meetings were burned to the ground not long after SNCC workers were driven away from the area.



Mrs. Daniels points to bomb-wrecked ruins of her home after attack, but has vowed to keep on working in the freedom struggle.



SCLC PREXY IN DANVILLE—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and staff aide, Bernard Lee, are shown being greeted by Danville's SCLC leaders; l-r, Reverends L. G. Campbell, Hildreth McGhee, L. W. Chase and A. I. Dunlap (behind Lee).

On Earth—A New Minority

(Mrs. Boyle, a frequent contributor to SCLC's Newsletter is author of the book, "The Desegregated Heart.")

By Sarah Patton Boyle

We are in the midst of what is now nationally and internationally recognized as a major American revolution. Let us realize that marches, sit-ins and all the rest provide a constructive, harmless outlet for the revolutionists' mounting tension, frustration and increasingly molten wrath. If the revolution is to remain a peaceful one, abundant peaceful demonstrations must be allowed.

In the South particularly, we fail to grasp the depth of Negro determination to win freedom and equality. Indeed few of us even know that colored citizens are not free. We cannot see over the segregation wall we have erected and into their hearts, minds, lives. We view the wall only from the white side, which is the outside.

Prison Wall

We do not know that on the inside — the Negro side — it is a prison wall. Segregation has placed colored Americans in what to them amounts to a concentration camp — at best a prison, at worst a torture chamber — from which hundreds of thousands are now willing to pay any price necessary to escape.

We must realize that our nation's history is repeating itself. Negro Americans are feeling as Jeffersonian Americans once did. We oppress Negroes much as the British oppressed our colonists, and their inner reaction is like that of the colonists. But, by God's grace, their tactics have not been the same. Negro Americans are achieving by legal and other effective but unconstructive means what white Americans achieved less nobly. Even suffragettes used more violence than have colored demonstrators.

Increase Demonstrations

It ill befits us, who boast of our Boston Tea Party and celebrate our freedom won with swords and guns, to rebuke Negro citizens for their orderly, controlled pressure to gain at last rights and privileges which long ago we so dearly bought — supposedly for every American.

Pain and fear fill me when I see our foolhardy efforts to reduce demonstrations which so innocently dramatize and publicize injustices that too long we have ignored. Far from hoping that they cease, let us pray that these valuable safety valves increase in scope and number until they peacefully wrest their goals from a too-indifferent nation.

Volcano May Explode

Else the rumbling volcano upon which we sit may explode and teach us through suffering that colored Americans can no longer be thought of as "our Negroes." On this contracted globe, they have become merely one segment of a vast colored population which identifies with their plight. Perhaps only one more page in history will be turned before we discover the truth that on our little planet Earth, we whites are the minority.



Mrs. Boyle

The SCLC

Bookshelf

New & Current



» *She Walks in Beauty* by J. A. Rogers. A first novel by the Negro historian and columnist is the story of Eva Langston, a 19th century Quadroon, and her rise to First-Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen of France. The book won for Mr. Rogers The Distinguished Author Medal, an award given to encourage significant contributions to the literary field. Western Publishers.

» *Follow The Free Wind* by Leigh Brackett. The life of James Beckwourth, legendary Negro hero of the Old West, is the basis of this western. "Bloody Arm," as he was called by the Snake Indians, was respected for his skill and courage and feared for his bloody ruthlessness. Although he was a half-breed, he favored neither side. Legend says that he had a hundred scalps in his Tee Pee, over half of which were white. Publishers are Doubleday & Co.

» *The Ochre People* by Noni Jabavu. The rich culture and traditions of the author's South African Bantu background comes alive as the problem of the old ways versus the new ways arises. Within her own distinguished, highly educated, westernized family are those who cling to old customs. Now the wife of an English film director, and living in England, Miss Jabavu describes visits to her father's home and to Transkei and also to Johannesburg where the family matriarch "Big Mother" lives. St. Martin's Press, Publishers.

» *Ahdoolo!* by Floyd Miller. This is a biography of Matthew A. Henson, the Negro servant of Commodore Robert E. Peary, explorer. When Peary became the first man to reach the North Pole, he was glorified and praised while Henson remained unnoticed. Because of pressures put upon Congress, Henson received a belated medal for "outstanding service to the government of the United States in the field of science," for his part in the expedition. *Ahdoolo!*, a word created by Henson, means hope and courage which he personified. Publishers are Dutton & Company.

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. Publishers: 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

Quote & Unquote

Rev. Richard E. Matera of Berea, Ohio, in a sermon on "Racial Justice Now": "We have kept the Negro out of everywhere from our pews to our pulpits . . . He has been denied everything from banana splits to the study of Plato."

* * *

R. L. Mabe, leader of a newly-organized branch of the Ku Klux Klan in Winston Salem, N. C.: "I can honestly say it is a fine organization, and we don't go for violence."

* * *

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at Yale University, commenting on a recent attempt by the school's administration to prevent Alabama's Governor Wallace from speaking there: "We would even welcome him at one of our mass meetings to present what I feel are his ridiculous views."

* * *

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., after being asked if civil rights for Negroes can be achieved through legislation: "Perhaps morality cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. Legislation cannot change the heart, but it can control the heartless."

* * *

James W. Silver, of the University of Mississippi, discussing his home state in an address before the Southern Historical Association in Asheville, N. C.: "What respect can there be for the legal process when one standard of justice prevails when a Negro commits a crime against a Negro, another when a Negro commits a crime against a white, still another when a white commits a crime against a white, and a fourth when a white commits a crime against a Negro."

* * *

Bob Ingram, staff writer for the Montgomery Advertiser, in an article on Alabama Governor Wallace's appearance at Harvard University: "More than two dozen students polled as they left the auditorium expressed the almost identical sentiment that Wallace was substantially more intelligent than they had anticipated."

* * *

Louis Lomax, the author, in a speech at Atlanta University, urging Negroes to be prepared for new job openings: "We can't find qualified Negroes for the jobs available now. Whatever else you do, stage a study-in and be ready to do the job."

* * *

Mahalia Jackson, the gospel singer, discussing race relations during an appearance in New Haven, Conn.: "Some folks seem to hate you on general principles. I can't understand why white folks don't ever really talk to Negroes. If they got to talking to us, then they might be able to understand what we're all about."



Miss Jackson

A Call to Faith and Freedom

by

Martin Luther King, Jr.



Men, women and children have been quickened to pray, to march, to suffer imprisonment—even to face death—for the ideals and beliefs preached by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Now, in his new book, Dr. King shares the convictions that guide his life and are inspiring a second revolution in America today. Don't miss this "Emancipation Proclamation" for our time.

STRENGTH TO LOVE

\$3.50

HARPER & ROW, Publishers

Stride Toward Freedom Passes Million Mark; Now Gold-Bound

A gold-bound edition of *Stride Toward Freedom* was sent to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. by the publishers, Harper and Brothers, indicating that the book had sold over one million copies since it was first published in 1958. It was Dr. King's first book, and told the story of the successful Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

The Poet's Pen

Because I Have A Colored Face

Because I Have a Colored Face,
This very much is true,
All the millions of my race
Are judged by what I do.

Because I have a colored face,
Some think I should bow in shame
But, I am very proud
Of the Negroes' noble name.

Because I have a colored face,
You wonder why I am so proud?
Because from the trampled dust my people
rose

Never, never more to bow.

Because I have a colored face,
This I will try to do,
Fight this racial hate that says
"Slow your pace, Colored face."

WILLIE L. JONES
BRONX, NEW YORK

A WHITE YOUTH SPEAKS OF FREEDOM

By John Newman



John Newman

Four days at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Annual Convention taught me that America may see greater reforms than the tangible ones of civil rights for Negroes. I believe that the SCLC leaders know this and intend it, but I doubt that many Americans, Negro or white, grasp the full consequences of the Revolution. If I outline how my understanding has changed, it may clarify the thoughts of others.

Like typical Northern white students, I backed the freedom rides, sit-ins, demonstrations and voter registration campaigns as methods of political and economic coercion to knock down racial walls. I thought the movement could accomplish two things. First, by the direct pressure on local merchants and politicians, local changes might be made. Second, national publicity would show the Federal Government, big business, educational institutions and other local, state and national institutions that reform is needed and will be demanded.

Results Not Significant

All this has happened and will continue. In communities where civil rights workers are active, desegregation of schools, lunch counters and other public facilities show some success in applying local pressure. The civil rights package and general increase in public awareness demonstrate the effect of national publicity. On a national scale, the results are still not too significant, however.

But I was only looking at part of the picture. Men make a great America, not their institutions. Only when I listened, in astonishment, to dedicated, competent leader after leader describing his local civil rights struggle, did I realize that this movement is bringing new life to individual men. Only when I heard an unschooled man from Greenwood, Mississippi, say that it "didn't matter" that he suffered in prison, did I begin to see a blinding light. All this man had thought about, in his jail cell, was: "Are they going to the courthouse?" "Are others swallowing their fear and trying to register?" Only then did I see that the redemptive power of unmerited suffering in non-violent resistance is infusing a new spirit into men in ways that my college-style theorizing about non-violence could never describe. Only then did I see that the people of America, black and white, are the most important target, not the institutions. Most of us don't understand the larger dimensions of the freedom movement, because we have not asked the question "How can the movement change the minds and hearts of men?"

New Dimension

This movement, in the first place, symbolizes a broad attempt to free black men from the "slave psychology" imposed upon them by their white brothers. C. T. Vivian, SCLC staff member, made clear to me this new dimension of the non-violent protests. He argued that to get out and stump for Negro voters, important as that may be, is not enough. The Negro who doesn't care enough to register must get up and get moving. But, before he can do this, he must develop more respect for himself. He must believe that he is worth more than his white boss says he is. The sit-ins, freedom rides and demonstrations have been dramatic examples of Negroes making their claim for their worth as men. This witness of a few gives every Negro a new sense of importance. Dick Gregory understood this as he pronounced that the demonstrations in the South would free the Negro in the North. Because Negroes in Birmingham faced the police dogs and filled the jails, Negroes all over America took a new look at their skin and hair and said, perhaps for the first time: "I'm proud to be a Negro."



Wyatt Walker Photo

SIGN OF THE TIMES—Civil rights enthusiasts in Albany, Georgia are waging psychological warfare on their foes by stenciling "SEGREGATION" on nearly every Stop sign in sight.

Freedom Star Rises Higher

A member of Birmingham's Freedom Choir recently signed a lucrative singing contract with 20th Century Fox. She is Miss Cleo Kennedy, acclaimed as one of the great undiscovered talents of our time, by officials of the contracting agency. Miss Kennedy has been a member of the Alabama Christian Movements for Human Rights choir for several months.

Throw Off Past

I have believed too long that the only way to overcome the inertia produced by 300 years of training a group to think they are inferior is by many long years of re-training. I am slowly seeing how vastly I have underestimated the strength of the human spirit — the ability to throw off its past and say: "I'm free now." My devotion to the methods of non-violent resistance to evil is growing because I have seen that men rise to meet the challenge of radical dedication to just action.

But I'm not finished. America needs more than just freedom from racial discrimination and segregation. She needs freedom from conformity and materialism . . . a return to her revolutionary traditions. As Wyatt Tee Walker said, keynoting the conference: "Somewhere, we must find the courage and very, very soon, to substitute *courageous* morality for *conventional* morality."

'A Nation Of Sheep'

I believe not only that this Revolution can free the Negro from institutional and psychological handcuffs — and free the segregationist whites, but that it can free all Americans from the delusion that conventional morality is adequate for our times. Too long we have been a "nation of sheep." Too long we have acted as if our role in government is limited to an unstudied vote, now and then. Too long the majority of Americans have not spoken publicly on controversial issues because of the fear of criticism. The direct action campaigns can be a shot in the arm for all of us. They can remind us that we are a country now, because in 1776, we refused to cooperate with unjust practices of the English Parliament. They can remind us that peace and tranquility are only valuable so long as our society is just. They can remind us that some men still believe it is more important to do what is right than to be safe and free of criticism.

90,000 Negroes Vote in Mississippi Mock Election

By Annell Ponder

Over 90,000 disfranchised Negroes in Mississippi voted for the first time this past November in the Council of Federated Organizations' Freedom Ballot Campaign. The Council, composed of local civil rights groups and the four civil rights organizations — SCLC, SNCC, CORE, NAACP — ran two native Mississippi candidates, Dr. Aaron Henry (Negro) and Rev. Edwin King (White), for the office of governor and lieutenant governor respectively.

The Freedom Vote platform covered freedom, voting and justice for Negroes and called special attention to the need for:

- long-term, low-interest loans for farms less than 300 acres in size.
- government assistance in the creation of cooperatives for small farmers.
- public works programs to relieve unemployment and improve communities.
- minimum wages of \$1.25 an hour and a maximum work-week of 40 hours.
- fair employment practices in hiring, with penalties for those not complying.

Ballots At Pool Halls

The campaign, which saw citizens casting ballots at private homes, pool halls, cafes, churches, fraternal meeting halls, and stores over a three-day period, illustrated dramatically that the Negroes of the state know how and are willing to vote when permitted to do so. That so many participated despite more than 200 cases of harassment and violence underscores the urgency and the impatience of Mississippi Negroes for "Freedom Now."

BOOTSIE By Ollie Harrington



"And while you gentlemen was wastin' yo' time talkin' about givin' the Nigras civil rights . . . they went and did away with Santa Claus!"

FREEDOM HOUSE AWARD SHARED WITH MARTYR—Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, both 1963 honorees of Freedom House in New York City, look on as Dr. Harry Gideonse, Freedom House president, makes posthumous award to Mrs. Myrlie Evers, widow of Medgar Evers, Mississippi NAACP official slain last summer by a sniper in Jackson.



Birmingham Airport Motel Ordered Open To Negroes

The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in Birmingham, an affiliate of SCLC, engineered another long struggle victory when Birmingham's lush Airport Motel opened its doors to Negroes.

When the legal battle ended, Attorney in charge Oscar W. Adams asked that a permanent injunction be issued against the motel for operating with a policy of segregation. Judge H. H. Grooms, United States District Court, issued the injunction.

SCLC stalwarts came into Birmingham to tell how they had been denied accommodations. Rev. Otis Moss, Cincinnati, Ohio testified that he had been sent a telegram stating his reservations were confirmed.

SCLC staffer, Rev. C. T. Vivian, also testified.

Citizenship School Helps

Citizenship school staff and students participated throughout the campaign by helping to organize local drives, teaching and instruction, manning ballot boxes and canvassing, as well as running as candidates for local offices.

The freedom vote campaign saw some reversals in the direction of the tide of fear which has played so great a role in the stultifying paralysis of growth in the state.

It saw policemen shake and sheriffs tremble.

'Never Turn Back'

Citizenship staff and students distributed through the mails and through the classes thousands of statements setting forth the purpose and objectives of COFO activities. Reiterating COFO's determination to "never turn back," these statements went to key Negro and white citizens and called upon these persons and through them all of the people of the state to help make the present social revolution both *nonviolent* and *successful*. We believe that this interpretation helped to encourage many Negroes to vote and discouraged some of the violence that might have occurred.

300 Demonstrate At VOA In N. Carolina

Some three hundred people gathered in a demonstration at the site of the Voice of America transmitters in Washington County, North Carolina, on Sunday, December 15.

A spokesman for the group, John Gibson, assistant to the program director of SCLC, said that the demonstration was not aimed at the Voice itself, but "simply used the VOA as a symbol to tell the Nation and the world that racial segregation in Williamston and Eastern North Carolina could no longer be tolerated by the people of Carolina."

Crowds In Fields

The crowd which gathered in the fields of this VOA installation between Williamston, Greenville and Washington, N. C. was comprised of representatives from the whole state.

Addressing the crowd was Attorney F. B. McKissick, national president of the Congress on Racial Equality, Rev. Arthur Thomas of the National Council of Churches, Rev. Lavert Taylor, field secretary of SCLC, and Mrs. Sarah Small, president of the Williamston Unit of SCLC.

SCLC Field Secretary Given Six-Month Term



Golden Frinks

Golden A. Frinks, SCLC field secretary and anti-segregation leader in Eastern North Carolina, was given a six-month prison term on November 8, in Edenton, N. C.

In November, 1962, Frinks was sentenced for delaying and obstructing an officer. It was suspended on condition he pay a fine and not violate a state law for one year.

Judge Chester A. Morris invoked the sentence after Frinks pleaded guilty to issuing a worthless check in September and later that month was found guilty of speeding in a North Carolina county.



HELPING STAMP OUT ILLITERACY—In a demonstration writing-lesson class, Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton, Citizenship School director, teaches an illiterate student to recognize the letters in her own name by placing a circle around them. Later she will attempt to join them in the correct letter order as they appear in her name. Such classes have done much to help wipe out illiteracy among some 10 million in U. S. today.

Democracy In The South

Justice Dept. Vs. Officers Of Winona, Mississippi

By Septima P. Clark

I'm sitting through this trial of the six Negro men and women who were brutally beaten in jail in Winona, Mississippi, because they tried to eat and use the rest rooms at the bus station after riding all day and night on a Continental Trailway bus on June 9, 1963.

The witnesses testified that there were no signs of white or colored on the doors of the restaurant or rest rooms. A highway patrolman ordered them arrested. One of the patrolmen was off duty when he participated in the brutality.

Excuse All Negroes

You should have seen the way the jury was selected. There were four Negroes among them, but all were excused for frivolous reasons such as, knowing the officers beforehand, and assuming that they were members of the NAACP, CORE, or SNNC. For them to disown membership meant nothing. They were excused anyway.

The judge in referring to the jury said repeatedly: "Remember these are members of the Negro race, people against whom these alleged offenses have occurred, and all defenders are officers of the State of Mississippi."

The seven clients of the Justice Department were put on the stand with an additional set of FBI investigators, three Negro prisoners and two photographers.

Jurors Hilarious

The men of the jury were hilarious in the beginning, but as the truth unfolded, they became red as a beet in the face and silent.

The young people testifying for the Justice Department were all asked educational achievement, means of support, organizational affiliation, and were forced to write

statements dictated by the highway patrolman while in custody.

The Justice Department was able to put on the witness stand three Negro prisoners who were in custody on June 9th. These men testified seeing Highway patrolman Basinger slap Annell Ponder ten times in the face. They also said that the sheriff gave two of them a pint of moonshine whiskey and handed them a black jack to beat a 19-year-old young man and a 44-year-old woman. They beat the young man until he lapsed into unconsciousness.

Blood-Soaked Garments

The beaten prisoners were photographed by the FBI. These pictures revealed the brutality inflicted upon them. Two dresses and a brassiere were shown as evidence. One was torn into shreds and the other two garments were blood-soaked. The FBI measured the cut in the head and under the chin of the 15-year-old girl. The police officers stoutly denied doing any of it. They claimed the women and men were non-violent all the time they were in the booking room, but when they brought them from the cell a second time to question them, they became violent. One prisoner testified that he was sent to wipe up blood in one of the women's cell. Still, the officers denied striking anyone with a black jack.

Mr. Barrett for the Justice Department, in summing up and making his plea to the jury, told the story of the beatings, the taking of statements and falsifying of testimony. He charged the officers with conspiring to arrest and beat these workers in voter registration.

Fellow Citizens

Mr. Wells and Mr. Jackson for the defendants said to the jury: "You sit here with the great responsibility draped on your shoulders of five of your fellow citizens. Don't play with these men's freedom! Don't

temporize with this oath! That Ponder woman carried these young people to an island in South Carolina to be taught by a white man called 'Robert' from that infamous Highlander Folk School in Knoxville, Tennessee. Then you heard her say that she did not trust the FBI here nor in Atlanta, so Martin Luther King, the worst demagogue that has come out of the South, paid her way to Washington. When he pops his finger, a button jumps and the whole Justice Department goes into action. Gentlemen of the jury, you have agitators on one hand, and elected officials on the other, who shall you believe? Gentlemen, you have a serious task before you. It's your right to require that they prove the facts by qualified persons."

Individual Freedom

Mr. H. M. Ray for the Justice Department said, "Thank God we live in a country where there is a trial by jury. If you acquit these men, you will allow an ideology to creep in that will destroy us all. This is a case against individuals. This country has been made great by individual freedom. This trial has been a great lesson to you. It shows what has been going on in Mississippi."

Judge Claude F. Clayton said to the jury: "Jurors, determine facts; the judge determines the law and no opinions are valid. I'll explain to you the word 'conspiracy'. A combination of understanding to accomplish some unlawful purpose or lawful purpose in an unlawful way. If one of these men are found guilty, all are guilty in a conspiracy. An overt act means any act committed by one or more conspirators to carry out a conspiracy. Under the color of the law means a misuse of power. Marshal, you may now escort the jurors to the jury room."

They stayed one and one-half hours and came back with a NOT GUILTY verdict.

In Memoriam

Cynthia Wesley

Denise McNair

Addie Mae Collins

Carole Robertson

Virgil Ware

Johnnie Robinson

John F. Kennedy

LEST WE FORGET BIRMINGHAM AND DALLAS

SCLC's Christmas Plan

There have been many genuine mixed feelings about the oft-proposed Christmas boycott to memorialize the Birmingham children and the late John F. Kennedy. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has devised a plan it feels is workable and suited to almost any individual's civil rights appetite. The basic idea began in SCLC with Wyatt Tee Walker's keynote address at the Annual Convention in Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Walker, unaware at the moment that Ossie Davis, John Killens and Louis Lomax had projected a similar idea a few days earlier, declared: "The rationale (for an economic withdrawal at Christmas) could be: 'Since there's no Christmas for the Birmingham children, as a mark of my penitence and commitment, there'll be no Christmas at my house.'"

Response Varied

The response around the nation was varied and the great numbers of civil rights devotees expressed concern as to exactly what would be the national program in this regard. The Unity Council for Civil Rights embarked on a Holiday Card Fund which solicited funds for the member civil rights organizations in memory of the Birmingham dead. Some sentiment expressed in the South generally felt this was too soft and did not get to the heart of the problem. It was then that Dr. King's executive assistant proposed an SCLC Christmas Memorial Plan that subsequently Dr. King approved as official. Dr. King felt that the genius of this plan is that it provides

each individual family the choice of how involved they become in the Christmas boycott idea.

The Plans

1. **MAXIMUM PARTICIPATION—** No Christmas tree, no cards, no decorations, no gifts, etc.
2. **MAJOR PARTICIPATION—** Christmas tree, cards, decorations, and gifts within family only.
3. **PARTIAL PARTICIPATION—** Same as (2) but with unlimited gift giving though no gift is to cost more than \$5.00.
4. **MINIMAL PARTICIPATION—** Normal Christmas celebration with special gift to civil rights struggle, church of your choice or favorite charity.

Give To Civil Rights Groups

Monies normally spent (1, 2, & 3) for Christmas may be forwarded to Civil Rights Struggle through SCLC, NAACP, SNCC CORE or National Urban League or directed to the church of your choice or favorite charity as a memorial to the dead of Birmingham and the late John F. Kennedy. This would indeed make for a memorable Christmas.

SCLC *Newsletter*

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