SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE



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Time Magazine Names Dr. King `Man Of Year'





PROTEST IN ATLANTA—Touching off a protest mood in Atlanta, Ga., because of the city's false image and refusal to meet desegregation demands, a crowd of some 2,500 gathered in freezing weather in Hurt Park on Dec. 16 to hear SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. (in photo at left) tell them that "Negroes are disappointed with Atlanta."

Three SCLC Staff Members Go To Jail In Desegregation Attempt In Atlanta

As direct action against racial injustice began to mount in Atlanta—often referred to as "the model city" in race relations in the South—three staff members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were hauled off to jail the night of Jan. 11 after requesting and being refused service in the restaurant of the Heart of Atlanta Motel.

The three were Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr.; Harry Boyte, special assistant to Dr. King; and John Gibson, Assistant to SCLC's Program Director Andrew Young. They were part of a group which brought a confrontation to the rigid segregationist owner of the motel, Morton Rolleston.

Charged With Trespassing

Others in the group, all arrested under Georgia's questionable anti-trespass statute passed in 1960, were: John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Leon Cox, NAACP State Secretary; Dr. Clinton Warner, prominent Atlanta physician; Rev. John Morris, Executive Director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; Rev. Joseph Boone, Minister of Rush Memorial Congregational Church; Miss Prathia Hall, Mrs. Brady Cooper, Miss Joyce Barrett and Albert Dunn.

As the group sought accommodations in the motel's restaurant, one of the young ladies among them was injured and required hospital treatment when she was struck by an employee of the establishment. She was taken by ambulance to segregated Georgia Baptist Hospital and was at first refused treatment. However, when Dr. Lee R. Shelton, who accompanied her in the ambulance, insisted on her admittance the emergency room clerk hurriedly telephoned the hospital administrator who rushed to the scene and decided to admit the young lady.

Under \$1,000 Bond

All arrested were released Sunday morning, Jan. 12, under the uncommonly high bond of \$1,000 each.

Meanwhile, the sit-in assault continued on eateries in the Dixie city with the so-called

(Continued on Page 2)

SCLC PRESIDENT FIRST NEGRO TO BE SO NAMED IN 37 YEARS

By Ed Clayton

The long distance call was from New York. It was James Keogh, one of two assistant managing editors of Time Magazine.

"Hello?"

"Yes?"

"I'm Jimmy Keogh, one of the assistant managing editors of Time magazine. We're getting ready to do a kind of end-of-the-year story on civil rights and we want to use Dr. King on the cover. The problem is that we'd like to get him to pose for one of our artists, rather than try to paint a picture from a photograph. Think it can be arranged?"

I laughed. "That's really a big order. Dr. King has such a crowded schedule and is always on the go, it's almost impossible to get him to pose for a portrait photograph to say nothing of posing for an artist's portrait. How long do you think he would have to sit?"

"Maybe two or three sittings—say two or (Continued on Page 2)



Time Cover of 'Man of The Year'

20,083 Jailed In 1963 In 930 Demonstrations

Summing up the civil rights picture in 1963, the Southern Regional Council, Inc., released the following information from its Atlanta offices:

"During 1963 an estimated 930 individual public protest demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states.

"More than 20,083 of the persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated, were arrested.

"Thirty-five known bombings have occurred.

"On the positive side some progress toward integration has taken place in an estimated 186 localities in the 11 southern states. In an estimated 102 of these cities, towns and counties, bi-racial committees, with varying degrees of official sanction, are currently working toward the achievement of further integration."

MAN OF YEAR

(Continued from Page 1) three hours each. It can be here, Atlanta, wherever he's going to be. We can send the artist wherever he wants to do it."

"OK. I'll tell him. But like I said, that's really a huge order."

So Dr. King posed. Twice. Both times in Atlanta for periods of three hours each.

No one at SCLC suspected that this would be a history-making Time cover, naming Martin Luther King, Jr. as-the publication's choice for the coveted honor of "Man Of The Year." Perhaps Time's editorial hierarchy knew, even when the phone call was placed, but they weren't letting any of their editorial secrets out of the bag.

'Didn't Believe It'

Quite properly, Dr. King was told, but he too maintained a confidential silence because, as he later put it, "I simply didn't believe it."

His reasons for doubt were justifiable. Never before in the 37 years that the magazine has been bestowing such year-end honors had a Negro been chosen. Since 1927 two years before Dr. King was born—when Charles A. Lindbergh was named as the first to be so honored by Time, only one gentleman of color had achieved this distinction. He was Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie, who was Time's selection in 1935.

On Cover In 1957

For Dr. King the honor is a well-deserved one. He has graced a Time cover before in 1957 when he successfully led the Montgomery bus boycott—but this time, as Time explained it: "... he made it as a man but also as the representative of his people, for whom 1963 was perhaps the most important year in their history."

In a reflection on that year and Dr. King, Time added:

"And there was Birmingham with its bombs and snarling dogs; its shots in the night and death in the streets and in the churches; its lashing fire hoses that washed human beings along slippery avenues without washing away their dignity; its men and women pinned to the ground by officers of the law.

"All this was the Negro revolution. Birmingham was its main battleground, and Martin Luther King, Jr., the leader of the Negroes in Birmingham, became to millions, black and white, in South and North, the symbol of that revolution—and The Man of the Year."

Tribute To Negroes

With his usual modesty and humility, Dr. King graciously accepted the tribute, then adding his own footnote to the honor, made this reflective comment:

"I consider it to be a tribute to the Negro's great and gallant struggle. I would like to think that my selection as Time's 'Man of the Year' was not a personal tribute, but a tribute to the whole freedom movement and to the people who participated and continue to participate.

"You may be against civil rights, but you can't ignore it. Negroes conducted this struggle in a courageous and disciplined manner. This is the real tribute. Although the Negro had been struggling prior to 1963, he prob-

JAIL SCLC STAFF

(Continued from Page 1) "liberal image" where two out of every five persons is a Negro.

The prelude to the restless mood of Atlanta's Negroes was delivered on Dec. 16 by Dr. King in Hurt Park where some 2,500 gathered in the chill of near zero weather following a nonviolent protest march.

Within two weeks, grievances were expressed in a surprise SNCC sit-in at a Dobbs-Toddle House chain restaurant on Atlanta's famed Peachtree Street by nearly 25 Negroes, among them the pregnant wife of Comedian Dick Gregory. In court, it turned out that several of them owned stock in the chain which operates four such diners in Atlanta and 250 across the nation, and whose stock on the New York Stock exchange fluctuates between \$18.25 and \$19.00 per share.

Decide To Integrate

The Dobbs chain later announced, after a stock-holders' meeting in Memphis on Jan. 13, that their restaurants would be operated on a desegregated basis, both in Georgia and in Tennessee.

Others quick to follow suit are the Holiday Inn—Downtown and the Holiday Inn— Northwest, whose management, in a prepared statement, said they were joining with other Atlanta hotels and motels who have recently announced integration of facilities.

This brought to a total of 16 such establishments which have announced an integrated policy, and which have since become targets for picketing by robed Ku Klux Klansmen. Their protest action, however, has been without incident.

ably did more in that year than any other year.

"In that year the Negro subpoenaed the conscience of the nation to appear before the judgment seat of morality on the issue of civil rights. The fact that this happened was a great tribute."

Tribute indeed! To a man of great leadership and to an emerging determined people whose quest for human dignity and a real freedom will not be denied.

1963'S TOP TEN NEWS STORIES

- The November 22nd assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy in Dallas, Texas, followed by the elevation of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson to the Presidency, and the murder of the suspected assassin, Harvey Lee Oswald, by Jack Ruby while the former was in police custody.
- 2.) The September 15th bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, causing the death of four young children and the subsequent slaying of two other children as an aftermath of the bombing.
- 3.) The August 28th March on Washington in which 250,000 persons from all over the country and from all walks of life voiced their plea for civil rights for all citizens.
- 4.) The SCLC-led demonstrations in Birmingham, Ala. last May which resulted in the mass jailing of some 3,300 participants, including SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., and Financial Secretary-Treasurer Ralph D. Abernathy.
- 5.) The midnight ambush slaying of Medgar Evers, Mississippi NAACP secretary, as he entered his home near Jackson, Miss., last June 12.

- 6.) The desegregation of the University of Alabama on June 11, making it the last of the state institutions in United States to desegregate.
- The murder of William Moore, white, postman, as he walked along a lonely Alabama highway en route to Mississippi on a mission of democracy on April 23.
- 8.) President Kennedy's momentous civil rights message, which was televised to the nation and the world in June followed by the introduction in the Congress on June 19 of the most comprehensive civil rights bill in the nation's history. The message is regarded as the most significant and the strongest stand yet taken by a Chief Executive on civil rights.
- 9.) The opening of Free Schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia, after colored school children there had been schoolless for five years.
- 10.) James Meredith gets degree at University of Mississippi as the first known colored graduate at the Oxford institution where he entered after violence in September, 1962.

Stiff Prison Terms Given Albany 5; Appeal Planned

Five leaders of the Albany Movement were given prison sentences on Dec. 23, as a result of picketing of a supermarket in Albany last spring. The formal charge against them was perjury.

There was an immediate protest from the National Committee for the Albany Defendants, headed by SCLC president Martin L. King, Jr., his executive assistant, Wyatt Tee Walker, and Hosea Williams of SCLC's Savannah affiliate.

Those sentenced in U. S. District Court at Macon, Ga., were Slater King, acting president of the Albany Movement, who was given a year and a day in prison; Rev. Samuel B. Wells, a year and a day; Miss Joni Rabinowitz, white Antioch College student, three months to four years, and Thomas Chatmon and Robert Thomas, suspended sentences and five years' probation.

A sixth accused person, Mrs. Elza Jackson, is to be tried Jan. 27. She is the recording secretary of the Albany Movement.

File Appeal

Attorneys immediately filed notice of appeal to the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans. Judge W. A. Bootle set appeal bonds at \$5,000 for King; \$3,000 for Miss Rabinowitz, and \$2,500 apiece for the others.

None had ever been arrested previously except for taking part in integration activities. Albany was the scene of a great upsurge against segregation in 1962, during which it became a symbol of the integration movement throughout the world.

The National Committee for the Albany Defendants declared after the sentencing: "Because of their cumulative good records, it would be interesting to know what method was used in sentencing them and setting the amount of bond required, in that there is such a great discrepancy in the sentences and bonds."

Dr. King Comments

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr. had said: "It is tragic that the only instance in which the Government has moved with vigor has been against Negro leaders who have been working to remove the evil system of segregation."

After he was sentenced, Slater King declared: "I knew from the beginning that it would be an impossibility for all of us who had been very active leaders in the freedom struggle to receive a fair and impartial trial before an all-white Southern jury."



Leaders of the Albany Movement who were sentenced following convictions of Federal charges of perjury at Macon, Ga. are I-r, Slater King, acting president of Albany affiliate, Mrs. Elza Jackson, the Rev. Samuel B. Welles, Thomas B. Chatmon and Robert Thomas. Mrs. Jackson is to be tried Jan. 27.



-Photo Of The Year-



IN THE SHADOW OF VALOR—Of all the photographs shot by SCLC staff members during 1963, this striking photo was taken by Wyatt Tee Walker during the March on Washington merits special recognition as "Photo of the Year." It is an unposed, candid shot of Atlanta's Morehouse College President Dr. Benjamin Mays, a long-time fighter in freedom's struggle, seated beneath the marble statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C.

Sociolgist Says Negro Exodus From South Will Lead To Upset In Civil Rights Gains

By the year 1980, if present migration trends and rates of natural increase continue, 54 per cent of nearly 30 million American Negroes will be living outside the 11 states of the old Confederacy, according to Dr. Horace Hamilton of North Carolina State College. Addressing the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Cleveland, Ohio, the sociologist predicted that continuing heavy migration of Negroes out of the South will upset present timetables for social and economic adjustment.

He noted that by the year 2000 or earlier, only 28 per cent of the Negro population would still be living in the South, 21 per cent in the Northeast states, 25 per cent in the north-central region and 26 per cent in the West. Three million Negroes moved from the South between 1940 and 1960, he said.

Most Negroes have been moving into cities, and city crowding will mean movement into the suburbs which heretofore have been exclusively white, he continued. In the last 20 years the number of Negroes in middle- and upper-class occupations has increased around 300 per cent. "And this trend can be expected to continue," Dr. Hamilton added.

SCLC Newsletter

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AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

- 1. To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.
- 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

A Civil Rights Bill In '64

It seems to be a foregone conclusion among even some of the most segregationist Southerners in Congress that there will be a civil rights bill passed this year. Some have made open declarations of this opinion, always being careful, of course, to tack on their hopes of the bill (H.R. 7152 and S. 1731) being further watered down and suggesting that it will be met with stout opposition, if not a full-dress filibuster.

Whether or not it will be passed still remains to be determined.

Two things, however, are abundantly clear: 1.) the mood of the Negro today is not of such a temperament to allow a "talkathon" in Congress to rob him of the rights he seeks; and 2.) that section of the bill considered the thorniest by opposers—the public accommodations section—will not bring Negroes en masse descending upon those hallowed segregated hotels, motels and restaurants which whites have kept off limits.

This section, without a doubt, has raised the loudest cry from racists whose principal argument is that to outlaw discriminatory practices among businesses serving the public is to deny

proprietors the *right* to choose their clientele.

They need not have any fears. Even if a civil rights bill is passed, the majority of the customers patronizing the better class restaurants, hotels, etc. will will still be white. Their overwhelming majority of population dictates this just as much as the Negro's overwhelming emptiness of pocketbook dictates that he stay at home. In any case, it will be business as usual for the most part until that section of the bill dealing with Equal Employment Opportunity becomes a reality.

Ham hocks, anyone?-ETC

About The \$805,000 March

Alabama politicians, who seem to have a fondness for probing into financial matters, particularly as they relate to cost to the taxpayer, have now worked out an over-all cost of the March on Washington. In this instance Alabama Representative George Huddleston, Jr. requested and got from the Comptroller General a nice round figure of \$805,000 as the total cost of the March.

It was broken down in this manner: costs to the District of Columbia and the Department of Defense, \$225,000 in addition to \$550,000 in administrative leave time cost to government agencies. Besides this \$805,000 total, Huddleston estimated losses of between \$36,000 and \$45,000 to District merchants in sales tax revenue, and parking meter losses at \$2,300.

Now that's a right goodly sum for the taxpayers to be out of, but when you mull over it for a little while it's not such a huge amount after all when you consider how much dignity and respect it bought for 250,000 persons — about \$3.75 each roughly.

How To Put Over A Point

In the book, *Peachtree Street*, U.S.A. by Celestine Sibley (Doubleday, \$4.50), some idea of how the Negro revolution has embraced all levels of Negro classes is illustrated thus by the author:

"A well-to-do Negro woman built a new home and had it decorated—to the tune of many thousands of dollars—by a local Atlanta store. When the bill came and the customary courtesy title, Mrs., was missing from the envelope, she called the store and sent everything back."

Democracy Must Give...

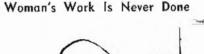
The right to equal employment The right to equal justice The right to adequate housing The right to vote The right to equal treatment The right to equal learning

The Cartoonist's View

A Happy, Happy New Year!



Melvin Tapley In The Amsterdom News





Burck In The Chicago Sun Times

Bigger The Hand, Smaller The Issue



Bruce Russell In The Los Angeles Times

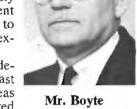
Georgia City Needs Nonviolent 'Surgery'

By Harry Boyte Special Assistant To Dr. King

The Caucasian Syndrome of racial injustice which pervades the climate of Atlanta has needed corrective nonviolent surgery over a span of years too long to contemplate. This cleansing process has been delayed repeatedly with the vain hope that the patient would take the needed medication to eradicate the malignancy of racial exploitation.

Inspired by faith in the inate decency of man, Negroes of this city last October detailed in a booklet the areas where affirmative action was required

as well as by mail.



to bring into being a community where true Brotherhood of Man would prevail. Three months have passed since this document, containing 31 items requiring action, was distributed throughout the community through numerous personal conferences with public officials and business leaders

Mayor Without Power

Results, sad to say, have in effect, been nil. Resolutions, assurances that "just ahead lies great promise of change," and other verbal supportive comments have been made. But, still, no effective action. The Mayor has said he is without power to act. The Chamber of Commerce President, speaking for its board, has called for non-discriminatory employment among its members. But the President of the Chamber and the board members continue their traditional practices. Restaurants and hotels which last summer agreed to adopt an "open door" policy, have reverted to their rigid position of racial exclusion in the majority of places.

Atlanta's Negro community has found its initial hopes for good-faith changes were not justified. Now the patient is being prepared for nonviolent treatment. The highly encouraging developments of recent days have been the signs of unity prevailing among the organizations which will assume the responsibility for the treatment. Atlanta's "image" so long falsely projected throughout the nation as one of racial enlightenment, now promises to become a true reflection. Nonviolent direct action will remove the malignancy and at last enable Atlanta to hold high her head on a level of morality which hitherto has been impossible.

Spring To Bring Promise

Spring promises to bring to this city a new warmth, not only of sunshine, but of racial justice. Creative tension will bring into the open the latent hostility and resistance which thus far has been submerged. And only when this confrontation brings into the open these latent frustrations can meaningful progress be accomplished through forthright recognition of these emotional barriers.

Wow! That Big Negro Market!

According to the Gibson Report, published monthly by the Marketing and Public Relations Firm of D. Parke Gibson Associates in New York, the Negro consumer, though only 11 per cent of the nation's population, accounts for the following:

"Negroes . . . consume over 17 per cent of the soft drinks sold; buy over 40 per cent of the scotch whiskey imported into the U. S.; buy over 23 per cent of the shoes sold; spend over \$900 million annually on home furnishings and household equipment; and spend over \$72 million a year for products sold in jewelry stores."

Fulfillment Of Three Dreams

By Sarah Patton Boyle

Happy New Year! And by this I mean fulfilled New Year. I wish for all of us the fulfillment of three dreams.

The first is the Southern dream. We of the white South were taught to believe that here more than anywhere people have integrity, high principle and warm hearts; that nowhere else are people so honest, brave, kind and full of love for all people. Now that we have achingly awakened, I wish for us that we will try to make it true.



Mrs. Boyle

American Dream

The second is the American dream.

Recently I was distressed by a television program which implied that the American dream was only "a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage." If this were so, we could never have them, for like other good things, prosperity is a byproduct of dreams which transcend it.

The American dream is that all men—all, not some shall have an equal opportunity for fulfillment. One need be only slightly wise to know that no one can be fulfilled unless he is given a sense of belonging. Facilities are not enough. Acceptance is necessary.

Christian Dream

The third is the Christian dream. The themes of the others were drawn from this. It is the dream that through loving God we shall find strength to obey His difficult commandments, courage to ignore our fears, tenderness to love one another with all our faults, humility to admit that we are no better than anyone else, and wisdom to see that what we do for others we do for God Himself.

In 1964 may the Lord bless, keep and forgive us, and make His face so to shine upon us that we shall see where to place our feet on the way of love and shall even be able to shine a little, too.

Letter From A Citizenship School Teacher

Dear Mrs. Cotton:

I began my SCLC Citizenship School tonight, December 3, 1963. Let me begin by saying it was a very interesting thing. Our first class got underway nicely. We spent most of our time getting acquainted with SCLC and its purpose.

After this we had a lesson in writing. One of my students went away thrilled to know that there was a difference in making letters. He knows how to write precious little, and therefore didn't know we use capital letters and small letters. The other lady didn't know how to hold a pencil. When she left she could trace the letter "A", and she knew what it was. She said: "When I get home and my grandchildren ask me what I learned, I'll just point to this letter and say it's a capital "A".

This may not seem important, but I was glad to know I had reached someone on my first night.

This community has been very well canvassed. Our only problem is getting those who can't read and write to learn how.

I certainly enjoyed my stay (at the training workshop); also, I'm delighted to have met such wonderfully nice people as SCLC has on its Educational Staff.

> Respectfully yours, MAJORIE A. BYRD

1963 In Retrospect: A Year Of History, D



DETROIT MARCH—Preview of what was to come in the way of demonstrations occurred in Detroit on June 28 when 125,000 staged "Freedom Walk."



DOGS OF BIRMINGHAM—Police resistance to demonstrations in Birmingham, Ala., led to use of vicious dogs against children and adults.



HISTORY-MAKING MARCH—In one of the most spectacular protest demonstrations ever staged in history, some 250,000 persons gathered in Washington, D. C., on August 28 to dramatize their demands for an end to discrimination. The orderly, nonviolent 'March' was telecast around the world.

Drama and Tragedy



FIRE HOSES OF BIRMINGHAM—The full fury of fire hoses against demonstrators was ordered by Police Commissioner "Bull" Conner.



JAIL IN BIRMINGHAM—Among the 3,300 arrested in Birmingham were SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. and Treasurer Ralph Abernathy.



TRAGEDY IN DALLAS—A stunned nation received the unbelievably tragic news that Pres. Kennedy had been assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

The Negro Revolution In 1964

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

As I look toward 1964, one fact is unmistakably clear: the thrust of the Negro toward full emancipation will *increase* rather than *decrease*. The immediate assessment against the backdrop of the summer of 1963 could easily be one that anticipates less activity because some measurable gains have been made in hundreds of individual communities as well as across the nation. However, closer scrutiny of the Negro revolution will reveal that the awareness of his gains has only whetted his



Dr. King

appetite for more gains and more quickly. An ancillary force is the fact that whereas a year ago, only a sprinkling of cities, South and North, had been involved in demonstrations, picketing, etc., there are now nearly one thousand cities where, under the banner of nonviolence, some baptism of fire has taken place. The Negro, as a community, has increased his skills tremendously in quantity and quality.

Intense Focus

The civil rights legislation now before Congress will feel the intense focus of Negro interest. It was born in the streets of Birmingham amid snarling dogs and the battering of fire hoses. It was fashioned in the jail cells of the South and by the marching feet in the North. It became the order of the day at the great March on Washington last summer. The Negro and his compa-triots for self-respect and human dignity will not be denied. If a filibuster occurs, the nation might well fasten its safety belt. Once the bill is written into law, there will still be the matter of implementation, state by state and community by community. Then, of course, there is the matter of wider use of the technique of selective patronage as popularized in Philadelphia and Atlanta. There is at this moment an elaborate plan to broaden the base of selective buying in order that the power of the Negro consumer market can be used as a lever to pry open the door to wider employment opportunities. The Negro has learned his lesson well: "If you respect my dollar, then you must also respect my person." The advent of monstrous automation coupled with the Negro comprising the largest segment of America's semi-skilled and unskilled labor force, makes equal employment opportunities one of the priority concerns of the Negro community in 1964. The innovation for this year will be large-scale selective buying programs aimed at the giants in the consumer industry.

No Turn To Violence

I do not forsee any wide-spread turning of the Negro to violence. This will perhaps be a glowing commentary on the success of the nonviolent method in bringing about social transformation that produces tangible results. The last year's record has demonstrated that nonviolence is more than pious injunctions to do good for evil, that it is a practical technique that has maintained a sense of hope in the American Negro community that America can realize the dreams of the founding fathers. 1964 should compound the gains realized in 1963.

7





New & Current

Solution Runaway to Heaven by Johanna Johnston is the story of the life and times of Harriet Beecher Stowe. She was the author of the contrversal bestseller, Uncle Tom's Cabin. There is much more to the life of Mrs. Stowe and her family than their struggle against slavery. Doubleday Publishers.

>> Jazz and the White Americans by Neil Leonard. This book is not aimed at the ordinary jazz enthusiast, but to those who are interested in jazz from the sociological approach. The impact of jazz upon the American culture is the primary concern of the author. University of Chicago Press.

Negro Slavery in Louisiana by Joe Gray Taylor. An interesting, well-researched, and generally objective book produces a good account of slavery in the state. Although much of the more brutal aspects of the institution is overlooked, no attempt is made to discount the devices used to keep Negroes enslaved.

An African Explains Apartheid by Jordan K. Ngubane. The doctrine by which the South African government enforces the separation of its black and white citizens is critically analyzed by the author. He warns the world of racial tensions and further bloodshed. The greatest national powers are those united by moral values and not by race. Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers.

The Adventure of America edited by John Tobias and Savir Hoffecker. Although this supplementary history text was written primarily for schools,, it is a good book to be included in any home with children. Its most distinguishing feature is that it has exemplified the trend toward the inclusion of minority groups. Publishers are Bernard Geis Associates.

Available At SCLC

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

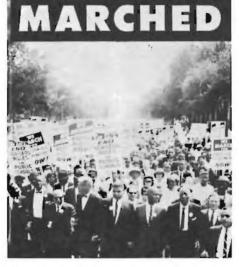
Stride Toward Freedom by Martin Luther King, Jr. Publishers: Harper & Brothers Co. Price: \$2.95

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



THE DAY THEY

Cover Photo of booklet shows leaders at head of huge march on historic day of Aug. 28.

Booklet On 'March' Nears Sellout Mark

The 88-page, hard-paper-back pictorial booklet published by Johnson Publishing Co. on The March On Washington has reached a near sellout, and copies are being exhausted rapidly, it was disclosed in Chicago by Ebony-Jet Publisher John H. Johnson.

The booklet, entitled The Day They Marched, also on sale at the Atlanta offices of SCLC, has had similar brisk sales through SCLC's facilities, necessitating a re-order. More than 500 copies of the historical booklet were sold within a week after the first order was received.

Mostly Photos

The keepsake volume, which sells for \$1.00, was edited by Mrs. Doris Saunders, librarian and director of the Book Division of Johnson Publishing Co. It is comprised mostly of candid photographs taken during the history-making August 28 March, in addition to an introduction by Ebony Senior Editor Lerone Bennett, author of the best seller, *Before The Mayflower*, and the memorable speech delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Limited copies are still available at SCLC and may be obtained by writing the Atlanta offices at 334 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Oops! We Goofed

The last edition of the SCLC Newsletter carried a story that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s book, *Stride Toward Freedom*, had sold over a million copies since it was published in 1958. This is an incorrect figure. The book's total sales are over the 50,000 mark in hard-back cover in addition to more than a quarter-million sales in the paper-back edition, and Dr. King has received a goldtooled edition of the book, signifying this milestone in sales. The million mark was confused with the gold record which is indicative of this sales volume. The editors regret the error.

The Poet's Pen

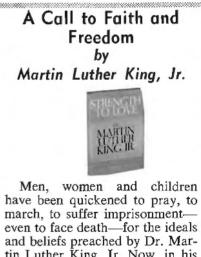
Challenge

Arise all black Americans Assert your rights today. Let not the threats of violence Your courage cast away. The dye is cast; the time is now Your shackles break in two. So stand and sit and kneel Like fearless warriors who, Are bent upon a labored task To break the fettered chains Placed there by greed and avarice Another to restrain. Stand now and bear no guilt or shame And claim your rightful due. Fight dauntlessly with courage now! For right must see you through.

> ROWENA SMITH MONTGOMERY Cleveland, Ohio

New King Book Set For Spring

The forthcoming book by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., entitled, Why We Can't Wait, which had been planned for publication in 1963, has now been scheduled for Spring publication by Harper & Row. The book, an expansion of his now classic "Letter From Birmingham Jail," necessitated revision following the church bombing in Birmingham in which four children lost their lives. It will be Dr. King's third book in connection with the civil rights struggle.



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

Quote & Unquote

Dr. James W. Silver, professor of history at the University of Mississippi, commenting on outgoing Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett in a forum speech at Atlanta University: "No man ever went into public office as ignorant as he did, and no man ever stayed in office for four years and is coming out as ignorant as he is."

Louis Cummings, commenting in a Look Magazine article on Cleveland, Ohio's ghetto housing pattern for Negroes: "You have to live where the white man leaves space for you. There isn't a piece of land in this city where a white man will let a black man buy like a man, even though the laws on

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* * *

the books are as right as the Bible."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, in an address before the Harvard Business Club: "Too many northerners have fallen victim to the myth that Negroes are pushing too hard, going too fast. All you need to do is look at your own business establishments to see how few dark faces you have in your offices."

* : :

A white man in Cleveland, Ohio, discussing his views on integration: "The white man can live off the Negro, he can get every last dollar off them, but he can't live with them. They just don't come together. I believe this, and I've been around them for 15 years. I don't fight with them. I do business with them. I'm with them more than I am with my own family. But if one of them moved next door to me, I would run with my family. I would run every time they got close to me. I wouldn't stop running."

* * *

John Durante Cooke, in a letter to the New York Daily News: "I am sick and tired of reading [that] the Negro 'improve himself' before he dares demand the full equality that is his right. What we need in this country is some improvement in our white citizens, more than half of whom never graduated from high school."

Sec. 120

Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in a Washington, D. C., address: "We in civil rights have made a grievous error in soft-pedaling the inter-marriage issue as it relates to the inte-



gration struggle. We must honestly face the fact that integration will bring inter-marriage. If we who are a part of the 'corpus' of Christ have reservations about it, prejudice is still in the throne room of our hearts. To oppose inter-marriage on any grounds is to deny the basic humanity of the Negro."

Food Firm Taps Negro Market For The First Time In South

A marketing program, designed to

reach the Southern

Negro consumer of

food products, has

been launched for the

first time in the South

by the Best Foods

Division of Corn

Products Co. through

its representative,

Herman T. Smith

Associates, Inc. of

Washington, D. C.

Best Foods is the



Mr. Smith

world's largest food processors with 26 plants located throughout the world.

Smith, whose marketing-consultant firm has represented the company for more than a year, has launched his consumer program in Atlanta with a crew of four making visits to churches and ministerial groups to step up interest in Best Food products which include a variety of items from shoe polish to salad dressing. Some of the firm's food and consumer items are: Hellman's Mayonnaise, Skippy Peanut Butter, Mazola Corn Oil, Argo Corn Starches, Shinola Shoe Polish and Rit Tints and Dyes.

Smith is a pioneer among Negroes in the marketing consultant field and has had more than two decades of experience in representing firms manufacturing consumer products. He is under contract to Best Foods individually in addition to the firm which he heads.

Labor Dept. Outlaws Bias In Apprenticeship Programs In 22 States As Of Jan. 17

The U. S. Labor Department has issued the third and final draft of rules outlawing racial discrimination in apprenticeship training programs, and effective January 17, the rules will apply directly in 22 states where the department's apprenticeship bureau registers the programs.

Indirectly, they will apply in the twentyeight states, including New York, that have state apprenticeship agencies recognized by the Federal Government.

Three Methods

The rules allow three methods of picking apprentices for training:

1.) On the basis of qualification alone.

2.) In any manner in which equality of opportunity is demonstrated.

3.) By racial composition of the apprenticeship group, although no specific quotas are set.

The standards also provide a procedure under which any applicant or apprentice who believes he has been discriminated against may file a complaint with the bureau.

DIS 'N DATA

DID YOU KNOW . . . that the

present civil rights bill pending in Congress has been in committee twice as long as it took for the Constitution of the U. S. to be written? At least that's what **Rep. Charles Weltner** of Atlanta claims, explaining that it only required four months to write the Constitution and that the civil rights bill has been tied up now for more than eight months

... Or that Atlanta's Negro population has now increased to an estimated 40.1 per cent of the city's nearly 500,000 population, but that no Negro has a seat on the 17-member city council ... And that 1963 was a record-breaking year for the passage of anti-discrimination laws among states. The American Jewish Congress issued a 25-page report stating that 25 states adopted a total of 45 bills and three constitutional provisions aimed at outlawing discrimination.

IE VOUL UE LOD

HAVE YOU HEARD . . . that Los Angeles' Dr. A. A. Peters, president of the local chapter of the Western Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC's affiliate, has been fortunate enough to

engage the famed gospel singer-evangelist Cleophus Robinson from St. Louis to conduct his revival services the week of Feb. 2-7 at his Los Angeles Victory Baptist Church? Rev. Robinson recently was given two hours to leave the Mississippi town of Inverness af-



Rev. Robinson

ter whites overheard him placing a long distance call to the Atlanta offices of **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

. . . .

HAVE YOU READ . . . that report

by SCLC's Regional Representative Dr. Milton A. Reid in Petersburg, Va., on how he happened to get defeated in his bid for the Virginia Senate in the Eighth Senatorial District. It contains such irregularities as this noted by Reid: "During the early morning hours a blue box was set up for Negro ballots; a white box was set up for white voters. By the time Dr. Reid arrived in Blackstone, the blue box, including the ballots, had disappeared. When the ballots were counted, the blue box was still absent."



With the Affiliates

C. T. Vivian, Director

Suffolk, Virginia

The Independent Voters League, the SCLC affiliate in Suffolk and Nansemond County, voted to support the Riddick brothers morally, politically and financially.

Moses A. Riddick, executive secretary of the SCLC affiliate, was elected to the board of supervisors and formally seated on December 29, 1963. As a result the city is split politically. The present situation revolves around two points: 1.) The five-man board could not agree on a chairman. The faction opposing Negro support could not get a three-to-two vote against the Riddick faction. 2.) John Riddick, the first deputy sheriff in Virginia, was removed from office by the police chief. Negroes interpret this as a relaliatory political move against the popular Negro family.

The Independent Voters League is considering a recall of the fired sheriff, and have pledged themselves not to re-elect the city treasurer in 1967.

There are 22,000 Negroes and only 11,000 whites in the county. They need money for poll taxes. That is the only thing that keeps Negroes from having a greater part in the politics of Suffolk and Nansemond County. Supporting affiliates, and friends are asked to send special poll tax contributions.

Savannah, Georgia

Once in the national headlines, this city continues to move at an ever-increasing pace. Our SCLC affiliate, headed by Hosea L. Williams, is working on jobs, voter registration, citizenship education, selective buying, and is planning an 18-county non-violent workshop.

The push of the movement and a selective buying program by the Chatham County Crusade For Voters was able to gain 62 jobs for Negroes. They were hired by stores in sales positions.

The Georgia Unit has plans for 6,000 new voters. Hosea Williams and Ben Clark work on the fact that votes change things. They figure the 6,000 will offset "conservatives and John Birchers, and make Chatham County the finest in Georgia."

The Reverend James Pryne from Illinois State Teachers College led an inter-racial, instructional group of college students on a goodwill voter registration tour. SCLC introduced Rev. Pryne to C.C.C.V.

Every organization is asked to hold a non-violent workshop using the services of SCLC specialist Reverend James Lawson. C.C.C.V. is drawing people from 18 counties and will meet at Dorchester Center.

South Hill, Virginia

Resegregation was prevented. They call it the "Miracle of South Hill." Outside of a town and in a county considered one of the worst in Virginia, 14 Negroes walked off their jobs, and, with friends, picketed a Horne's restaurant. The entire crew moved as one because the manager resegregated the restaurant.

As a result of their action, Mr. Edward Oberstar, of the national Horne's chain, said they would serve and seat all Negroes. The manager, however, refused to rehire the crew. Negroes throughout the county organized, picketed and began the reorganization of Mecklenburg County.

Dr. Milton Reid, SCLC Regional Representative, almost singlehandedly negotiated the situation to victory. Over half the crew was put to work immediately and all others are expected to be back in a few weeks.

During the first week the Reverend Curtis Harris, state president, and I were on the scene and helped encourage, organize and picket.

Hopewell, Virginia

This city has been involved in an economic withdrawal since before Christmas. The trade is being sent to Richmond until the merchants hire Negroes. The citizens have cooperated and results are expected soon.

Negro History Week Should Make Note: 'A War Fought With Love Can Be Won'

By Carole Hoover

As we approach National Negro History Week (Feb. 9-16) we must take an evaluative look at our past, a keen look at the present and an interrogative look at the future. As we look at our past, present and future, the name, Martin Luther King, Jr., makes an indelible mark. We realize subconsciously that our forefathers in the past were laying the foundation for a Martin Luther King, Jr. They were not aware of the fact that our "20th century Moses" would carry the name. However, they did have an awareness that someone would deliver enslaved persons, both black and white, from the bondage of segregation.

As we look at the present in our approach to the observance of National Negro History Week, we see the beliefs of Martin Luther King in action. We see Negroes en masse in a mammoth March on Washington—a quarter of a million Negroes gathered in the interest of Freedom, the kind of freedom for which our forefathers worked. On the day of August 28th, individuals of all nationalities and faiths gathered to hear the moral Leader of the Civil Rights struggle speak of a dream—an American Dream.

Part Of Our History

Indeed, this is a part of our Negro History. It is an intricate part of the history that we are making prior to the "Washington March" in the Johannesburg of the South—Birmingham, Alabama. There we are able to see some 3,300 individuals fill the jails and transform dingy cells into havens of dignity. Under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., we see civil rights devotees from all parts of America stand in readiness to venture into the Southland to help break the vicious circle of segregation in one of the most hate-filled cities in the world. This is our present.

We are involved in a tremendous struggle which has many ramifications. And out of all of the dilemmas of 1963, after losing seven or more lives for the civil rights struggle, we are still able to hear a voice, a very distinct voice say: "Love Your Enemy." We hear this same voice clearly say meet physical force with soul force. Love is both the imperative and ultimate factor in this struggle for human dignity.

Envision Freedom

As we look at our future with an interrogative stare we are able to envision complete freedom. We will be able to fully realize what nonviolence and passive resistance really mean. We will be able to see that a war fought with love can be won. In our future we will be able to experience the freedom and brotherhood for which our forefathers fought—that same freedom that Martin Luther King, Jr., is leading us to through a great nonviolent revolution.

This is our lot. As we look at our heritage and achievements we are able to see why we have a history of significance.



CONFERENCE SPEAKER—After addressing a joint session of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and the National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice, SCLC's Wyatt Tee Walker chats with several of groups' leaders during Washington, D. C. meet. They are from left: Raymond Hilliard, NCCIJ president, the late Rev. John LaFarge of New York, and Mother Teresa of Danville, Va.



Wyatt Walker Photo

BALTIMORE HOLDS RECORD RALLY—With more than 8,000 persons in attendance at the new city auditorium in Baltimore, Maryland, on Dec. 19, a new record attendance mark was set for the South at a civil rights rally. Here, Dr. King addresses the huge mass meeting, which was sponsored by the local clergy, community civic groups and principally the Prince Hall Masons.

SCLC Makes Gains In Williamston, N.C.; Desegregation Reached On Eight Fronts

After almost six months of Demonstrations in Williamston, North Carolina, demands for desegregation of public facilities were partially met at year's end by this city's administration, which agreed to abolish discrimination against Negroes in eight specific areas.

The demonstrations, which began on June 30th under the leadership of Southern Christian Leadership Conference Field Secretary Golden A. Frinks and Regional Representative F. H. LeGarde, ultimately led to an economic boycott by the city's Negroes who constitute more than 50 per cent of the population of this coastal city of some 6,000 persons. This, according to leaders in the area, was a major factor in causing the city to make desegregation changes.

Mayor A Target

The agreed-upon changes, as announced by Mayor N. C. Greene, himself a target of the city's Negro discontent, are as follows:

- 1.) Integration of Hospitals (wards, employment, etc.).
- 2.) Discontinue annual \$3,000 allocation to private library with aim of building a public library for use by all citizens.
- 3.) Businesses to adopt fair employment practice (Three department stores already have hired Negro clerks.)
- 4.) Courtesy titles to be used in addressing Negroes.
- 5.) Tax books to be integrated.
- 6.) Vocational Training-Industrial school to be integrated (one Negro, John Smalls, already has been enrolled.)
- 7.) Public schools to be integrated by September.
- All "colored-white" signs to be removed from public places.

700 Demonstrators

The major thrust of SCLC's efforts to desegregate Williamston was provided by the Williamston chapter of the organization whose president is Mrs. Sarah Small. At various times the SCLC chapter was able to muster as many as 700 demonstrators in their nonviolent protest marches, which were resisted by the city's police who almost immediately resorted to brutality with the use of clubs against children and adults.

National attention was focused on the coastal city on November 12th when fifteen ministers from the Boston, Massachusetts area joined the demonstrators in a mass march on city hall, which resulted in the jailing of 50 participants. The ministers refused bond, subsequently fasted at intervals to punctuate their earnestness before finally being released in early December.

Frinks Jailed

Meanwhile, SCLC Field Secretary Golden A. Frinks, who had spearheaded the antisegregation movement in the eastern North Carolina City, was given a six-month jail sentence on a "worthless check" charge. Previously he had been given a suspended sentence on charges of delaying and obstructing an officer in addition to a speeding charge.

Frinks remained in jail over the Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays, but is scheduled to come up for a hearing in Washington, N. C., shortly on a Habeas Corpus writ prepared by SCLC attorneys. It is expected that he will then be freed.

Students Denied Service; 14 Walk Off Diner Jobs

Fourteen of 16 employees of the Horne's Restaurant in South Hill, Va., walked off their jobs on Sunday, January 5, after four Negro college students were refused service. The facility had been desegregated July 3, 1963, at the intervention of Milton A. Reid, State Regional Representative for SCLC and Curtis W. Harris, SCLC State President.

No plans had been made by the employees and no organization was behind their actions. (See 'With The Affiliates', Page 10)

Lest We Forget In 1964

(Editor's Note: With the civil rights bill still upcoming in Congress, it might be well to reflect on a portion of the late President Kennedy's defense of civil rights in his memorable speech delivered in June of 1963.)

He said:

"If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with counsels of patience and delay?"

Letters To SCLC

Finds Fear; Learns Love

Dear Sirs:

After six days in Williamston, North Carolina, two main impressions remain. The first is fear as I have never experienced it. The second is love. Never before have I been a part of a group which was more acceptive and supportive. I was immediately taken into the redemptive fellowship of the movement, as were all of its members, and made to feel the power of forgiving love. The fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ as it is expressed in churches today can be disillusioning and discouraging. At times I have wondered if there is any relationship at all. Now I know what can be. I met, sang, talked and prayed with a congregation of people who had been beaten, jailed, shot at, and in every possible way abused, but when they met together, their songs and talk were of joy, and freedom, and love. It is these moments which carried people through the terrific tensions and fears of day-to-day living in Williamston.

It doesn't make sense. But, to those who were *outside*, neither did the early church. More than anything else, in Williamston I found a meaning in a living body of Christians.

What does this mean? What answers does this provide? I am not at all sure I have any idea even of what questions it really raises. I may say that until church members are jailed and beaten and persecuted this fellowship cannot exist. It may mean that we should have Christians in jail in Indianapolis and Boston; that we should stand apart from the society which engulfs us. Possibly the church will have to disassociate itself from

SCLC Newsletter

334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga. 30303 the split-level and the two-car garage. Or possibly none of these. It might even mean that young seminary students who insist on writing letters about such things should do a little genuine sacrificing themselves. I honestly am not sure of the final meaning of all of this.

LARRY ROOD Andover Newton Theological Seminary Newton Center, Mass.

'Daughter Can Marry A Negro'

Dear Friends,

Some of my friends in the organizations working toward peace have charged that the leaders of the Soviet Union are also imbued with instincts for racial superiority, that though they preach racial equality and political equality regardless of skin color; that in their individual relations with colored races this indefinite pride for possession of white skin is apparent to those who have colored skins.

I am skeptical of this charge since I believe that economic determinism is at the root of racial segregation and is the causative factor in the process of racial segregation. I am of Finnish origin, and though not ashamed of that derivation, neither do I feel that my white skin is of any significance in a determination of my human qualifications.

To me, personally, skin color is a very unimportant consideration. I have been asked countless times, "Would you have your daughter marry a Negro?" And I have always replied, "Why of course. That is a matter for her to decide. No business at all of mine." I would, myself, have married a Negro had I found one who wanted me and found me acceptable as a life's partner. Colored folk happen to be very attractive to me, and I consider it a matter of individual taste entirely, and not worthy of political debate. JOHN KANGAS

Cornish Star Rt. Windsor, Vermont

Speech To Help Community

Dear Rev. King: I am a junior at Old Town High School. For my junior exhibition speech and fater for the state contest, if I am chosen, I would like to present the speech which you made in Washington during the March on Washington.

Let me explain that the students and some of the citizens of our community are not really concerned with the problem that you are facing in helping your people. I would like to bring an awareness of the problem through presenting your speech. I am keenly interested in your approach to the problem.

STEVE COFFIN

Stillwater, Maine

Hopes For Progress

Dear Rev. King:

I hope the New Year will bring new progress towards the dissolution of racial hate in the United States. Your movement, to me, offers the most promise to this nation in the attainment of this objective.

May the God who sustains you and gives you faith in your struggle against prejudice and irrational bigotry be unstinting in His assistance to you during this New Year.

ELLIOTT B. POLLOCK Moderne Palace Hotel Paris, France

CONTRIBUTIONS

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

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