

"Martin Luther King Blvd. - The Pros and Cons"

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EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA'S MINORITY VOICE SINCE 1981

The fine dilemmas of Black leaders

By EARL OFARI
HUTCHINSON
(NNPA)

Nearly a half-century ago, white, Southern-born writer Robert Penn Warren asked, "Who speaks for the Negro?" The question was, and will always be, silly and presumptuous. No one asks who speaks for whites, Latinos or Asians. No one individual or organization can speak for an entire group. The notion of a common leadership for Blacks feeds more than an ageless myth. It exposes major dilemmas confronting Black leaders.

This presents the first major dilemma for Black leaders: class division.

The latent class division has burst into gasping fissures

between two Black Americas. One is poor, desperate and angry, while the other is prosperous, comfortable and complacent. Facing this crisis, many mainstream Black leaders have backpedaled. The NAACP, Urban League and SCLC have replaced the nickels and dimes it received in support from Blacks for decades with corporate and foundation dollars. And they have tailored their programs to accelerate opportunities for business persons and upward mobile professionals. The chase continues for SBA loans, scholarships and grants to pricey universities, corporate managerial positions and suburban homes. Unfortunately, the Black poor are nowhere to be found in that chase.

This presents the second major dilemma for Black leaders: How to win political concessions from Democratic Party (or, if possible, the Republican Party) and for what and for whom should they win them?

The sad truth is that Blacks have narrowed their political options down to essentially one: the Democratic Party. The result is many Black leaders have cradled even more cozily into the Democratic Party and pared their demands down to more party appointments and political offices. Some have become even more mainstream and less responsive to the neediest and most dispossessed in Black communities. These individuals get less rather than more political representation.

This leads to the third major dilemma for many Black leaders: the challenge from Black conservatives. About one-third of Blacks publicly call themselves conservative, and many more privately agree with some, most or all of what conservatives have to say. They also know that the old-line civil rights leadership has been relentlessly battered and bruised during the '80s and '90s by conservative politicians and for failing to mobilize the Black poor around the crisis problems of quality education, health-care, declining public services, police abuse, crime and drug destruction. These leaders have felt the criticism and wrath of many Blacks, who are mortally

disillusioned with two-party politics and convinced that they have not, and cannot, deliver the goods.

This presents the fourth major dilemma for Black leaders: the anointing of the chosen leader. Many leaders have knowingly played along, for personal ego strokes and material gain, with the media game of perpetuating the fraud of the "monolithic Black community." The media shoves a "chosen Black spokesperson" into the spotlight and pretends that issues not sanctioned by the "chosen one" are not issues. It is then free to ignore any and all local leaders, actions, agendas and causes it does not like. When Blacks reduce leadership to star and celebrity gazing, they pay a dear price.

Now, the fifth major dilemma for Black leaders: young Blacks.

Many young Blacks are con-

temptuous of the hypocrisy and corruption of many Black politicians and organizations. They see some of them wrapped in scandals and seemingly endlessly grasping for sex, cash and other creature comforts. Some young Blacks react by drifting into social withdrawal. Others become true menaces to society and prey on their own communities. Many mainstream Black leaders have no answers to their plight.

The economic, social, political and generation schisms among many African-Americans are broad. Mainstream Black leaders, "gangsta" rappers, hip-hop icons and Black conservatives are in an intense hunt to find workable programs and strategies to deal with the crippling internal crisis of Blacks, young and old, rich and poor. Whoever can find them, still will not or cannot answer the question, "Who speaks for the Negro?"

Earl Ofari Hutchinson is the author of "The Crisis in Black and Black."



The Steering Committee...of York Memorial AME Zion Church gather here to welcome all their friends at the 13th Annual Conference which convened at York. (L-R) Les Cox, Yvonne George, Bishop George Battle, Barbara Fenner, and D.D. Garrett.



100 years of age shown above Mr. Wooten who celebrated his 100 year birthday last week shown with brother, daughter and other relations and Mr. John Fraizzell who fought fires for Black folks



Greenville City Council woman, shown at fourm with Black producer of public television Black Forum issues discuss diverse communities in Eastern North Carolina photos by Jim Rouse



The Minority
Voice Inc.



Right Step Academy Faculty and members pause to share a pleasant moment with our roving camera. Got a few spare moments you can share with a young brother or sister...Give Mr. William Pearce a call. Volunteer and mentors are always welcome. (Photo Jim Rouse)

Celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr.

You are cordially invited to a

Sponsored by
The City of Greenville
The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
The Greenville - Pitt County Chamber of Commerce
The Greenville Human Relations Council
The Black Ministers Alliance
East Carolina University's MLK Committee
East Carolina University's Theopians of Diversity
PeopleAct, Putting Community Back in Theater

Sunday, January 17, 1999
6:00 p.m.

Memorial Service at the York
Memorial AMZ Zion Church, 201
Tyson Street. Rev. Joseph George
will be the keynote speaker.

Monday, January 18, 1999
7:30-9:30 a.m.

Community Uity Breakfast
will be held at Rose High School
Auditorium.

10:00 a.m.

Dedication Ceremony held at
the Thomas Foreman Park on the
corner of 5th Street and Memorial
Drive.

12:00-1:00 p.m.

Interdenominational Service
held at Cornerstone Baptist Church,
1095 Allen Rd.

1:00-2:00 p.m.

Youth Program held at AME
Zion Church, 201 Tyson Street.

2:00-3:00 p.m.

"I Have Seen the Mountaintop," a
play about Martin Luther King, Jr.,
performed by People Act at Hendrix
Theater, Mendenhall, East Carolina
University.

4:00 p.m.

Poorman's Feast held at York
Memorial AME Zion Church, 201
Tyson Street.

6:00 p.m.

Candlelight Vigil beginning at
Belk Residence Hall, East Carolina
University.

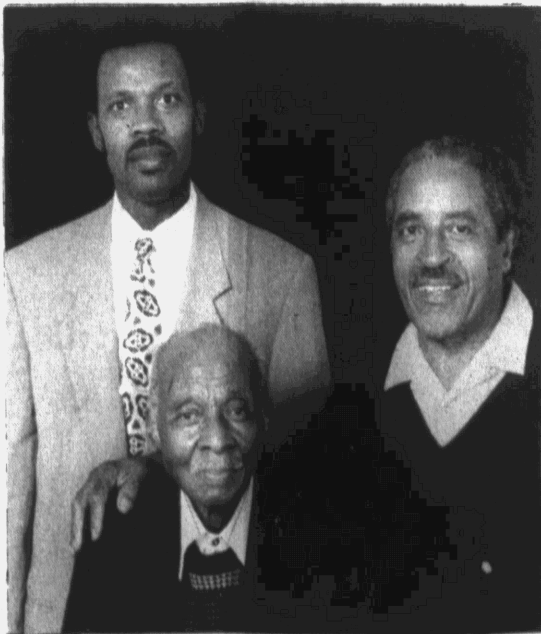
7:00 p.m.

Evening Celebration. An evening
of music, awards, and speakers will
be held at Mendenhall, East
Carolina University.

GLORY, LAUD & HONOR...Praise to whom praise is due...The Annual Honorarium Banquet -- Sponsored by the Mt. Calvary Free Will Baptist Church -- recognizes and pays tribute to church leaders and community leaders for their continued outstanding dedicated service. (Staff Photo: Jim Rouse)



Holly Hill's First Family...Rev. James Tripp and his family wish a wonderful year to all and extend a cordial welcome to come and worship with the Holly Hill Free will Baptist Church. (Photo Jim Rouse)



Remembering George Garrett (shown above) The late Mr. Garrett along with Seargent Chapman with Community Christian Church Pastor James Corbet Hats off to our fathers for opening the doors

The 1999 King Holiday Observance in Atlanta

ATLANTA — The 1999 King Holiday Observance will mark the seventieth birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the thirty-first Annual King Center Program and the fourteenth National Holiday in his

P.M. at the King Center. This special screening event is a animated film inspired by the life of Martin Luther King, Jr. The animated adventure is a story about two boys from modern times who



King Center President Dexter King (second from left) leads a mass march in Atlanta on the 1996 Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, accompanied by (L-R): Mrs. Christine King Farris, vice chair/treasurer of the King Center's Board of Advisors; Richard L. Trumka, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; and King Center Founder, Coretta Scott King.

honor. It is celebrated in over 100 countries around the world.

The theme for this years event is: Remember! Celebrate! Act! A Day On, Not A Day Off!!

It reiterates the importance of remembering Dr. King's work and legacy, celebrating his birthday as a national holiday and acting on his teachings and principles of nonviolence and human rights. It also serves as a reminder that the holiday is a day on which community service initiatives should take place, not just a day off from work or school.

Some of the events scheduled to take place on his birthday will be a special screening of, 'Our Friend, Martin, scheduled to be shown in the evening January 15th at 7:30

travel back in time and meet Martin Luther King, Jr. at various points in his life. The first and only animated movie of its kind, Our Friend, Martin combines the colorful animation with actual footage of Dr. King's life, and features an all-star cast of vocal talent including Ed Asner, Angela Bassett, Lucas Black, Theodore Bowers, Levar Burton, Jessica Garcia, Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg, Samuel L. Jackson, James Earl Jones, Ashley Judd, Richard Kind, Dexter Scott King, Yolanda King, Zachary Leigh, Robert Rich'ard, Susan Sarandon, John Travolta, Jaleel White and Oprah Winfrey.

If The Our Friend, Martin Premiere is by invitation only. For More Information Contact:

D'Andrea Bidgood (404) 526-8900

Other events (will) include (d) the Annual Salute to Greatness Awards Dinner which took place on January 16th at Hyatt Regency.

The Annual Dinner was The King Center's primary annual fund-raising initiative. The purpose of the dinner was to recognize national and/or international individuals and organizations that exemplify personal leadership and commitment to the legacy and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Honorees this year included Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee

Artists and civil rights activists A. B. "Pete" Correll, Chairman, CEO and President, Georgia Pacific Corporation.

This event, sponsored by Procter & Gamble, Delta Air Lines, Inc. and the National Education Association, was co-chaired by Jesse Hill, Jr. and former Ambassador Andrew Young.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Annual 1999 was also held at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

There is also a Commemorative Service being held on January 18th. This service has been the hallmark of the official King Holiday Observance. It is then when much of the nation and the world are encouraged to honor the work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The keynote speaker was the likewise illustrious Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town, South Africa and

1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Tutu is currently the Robert W. Woodruff Visiting Professor of Theology at Emory University

Unlike some of the scheduled events, should you be in Atlanta at that time, the Commemorative Service will be open to the public. However seating is limited, but the service will be broadcasted by Atlanta's channel 5 WAGA-TV.

The King Center was originally

established in 1968 by Mrs. Coretta Scott King as a living memorial dedicated to preserving the legacy of her husband, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and promoting the elimination of poverty, racism and war through research, education and training in Kingian nonviolence. As an official non-governmental organization of the United Nations with observer status, The King Center is dedicated to building a world community of justice, peace, brother and sisterhood. In 1995, Dr. and Mrs. King's youngest son, Dexter Scott King succeeded his mother as chair, president and chief executive officer of the King Center. King Center President Dexter King (second from left) leads a mass march in Atlanta on the 1996 Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, accompanied by (L-R): Mrs. Christine King Farris, vice chair/treasurer of the King Center's Board of Advisors; Richard L. Trumka, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; and King Center Founder, Coretta Scott King. photo by Richard Lubrant

THE FREEDOM HALL COMPLEX

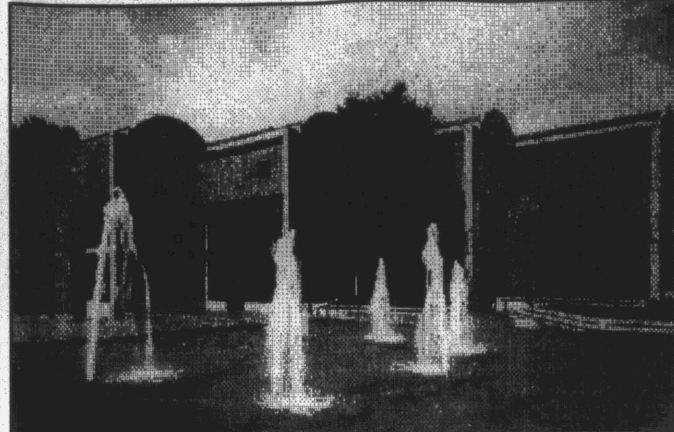
Designed as a living memorial to Dr. King's life and vision, The King Center's Freedom Hall Complex draws more than four million people a year from all over the world. Visitors who come to the King Center pay homage to Dr. King, view unique exhibits of his personal memorabilia, conduct research in The King Library and Archives and participate in diverse programs. Visitors include heads of state, public figures, school children, religious groups and international tourists from all walks of life.

VISITING THE KING CENTER

The King Center is the hub of a unique, 23-acre National Historic Site and Preservation District in downtown Atlanta. The King Historic Site encompasses the comfortable Victorian dwelling where

Dr. King was born (the first birth home of a black American to be placed on the National Historic Register), as well as Ebenezer Baptist Church, where he was co-pastor with his father, the tomb

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s historical importance has been affirmed not only by the creation of a national holiday in his honor, but also by the growing public and scholarly interest in his life and



The Freedom Hill Complex

where Dr. King now rests, and the many homes and shops of "Sweet Auburn," one of America's oldest and most vital black cultural and business districts.

SPECIAL SITES

* Dr. King's Crypt * The Eternal Flame * The Gift Shop * Dr. King's Birth Home * Ebenezer Baptist Church * Freedom Walkway * Freedom Plaza * The Reflecting Pool *

"A RESPONSIBILITY TO HISTORY"

teachings. The King Library and Archives houses and preserves more than two million documents, including Dr. King's personal papers and material related to the American Civil Rights Movement.

The King Papers Project is a 14-volume scholarly collection of Dr. King's speeches, sermons and writings. Three volumes have already been published.

On the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday.....Fly your flag.

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CT ENTERPRISES



Enter to Worship--Depart to Serve---Holding on tight to his Bible, Brother Cleveland Graham (L) is seen here with his pastor, Superintendent Austin Parker (R), as they enter Wells Chapel Church of God in Christ. (Photo: Jim Rouse)

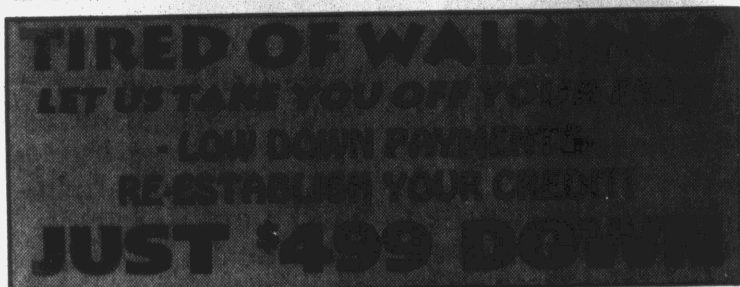
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A Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

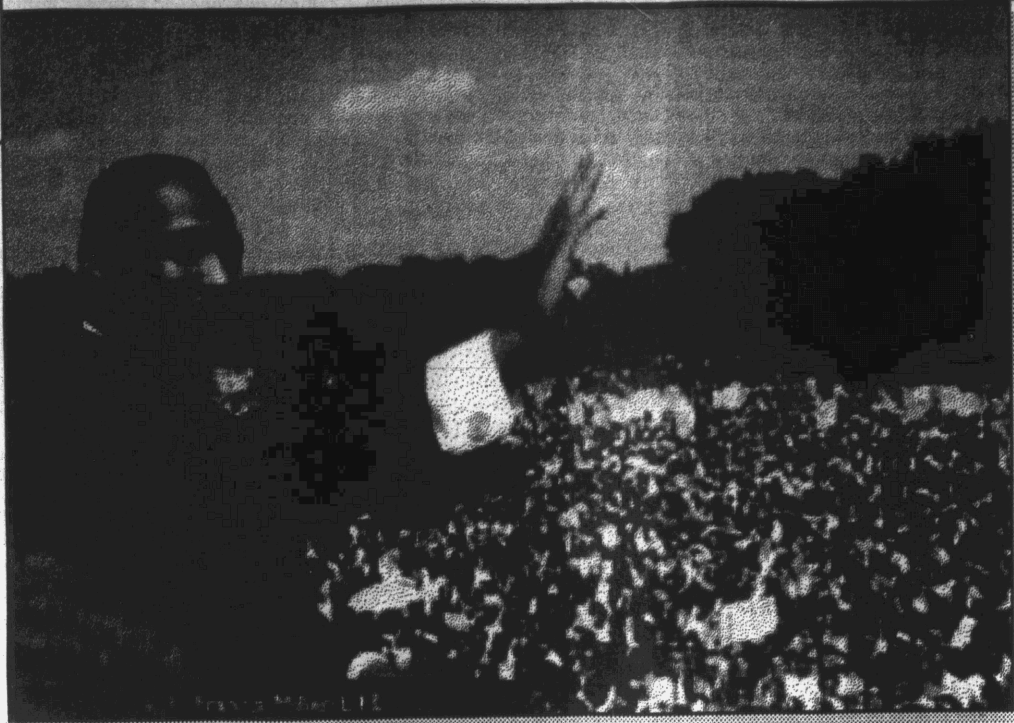
"The Carolina East Mall Staff and Management Proudly Salutes Dr. Martin Luther King on his BIRTHDAY!!"



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The Life and Times of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.



The Day They March on Washington

PREFACE
BMCS(SW) Edward F. DeAngelis of the Naval Air Forces Atlantic, Norfolk, Virginia, participated in the Topical Research Intern Program (TRIP) at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute from August 25-September 23, 1987. Senior Chief DeAngelis worked diligently to gather materials on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s life and work, identifying several major events and themes. Ms. Leslie Wilson, former DEOMI Research Division Chief, wrote this report based on the materials he collected. DEOMI

greatly appreciates Senior Chief DeAngelis' contributions to this report.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. INTRODUCTION

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up, live out the true meaning of its creed, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." Twenty years after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., uttered these words, Public Law 98-144 was enacted, designating the third Monday in January as a Federal holiday commemorating Dr. King's birthday. George Washington is the only other

American whose birthday has been a Federal holiday.

Since the first King holiday on January 20, 1986, the observance has been an occasion for people to remember Dr. King's life and dedicate themselves anew to implementing his dreams.

KING'S EARLY LIFE

Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia.

At a very young age, he was fascinated by watching his father, Martin Luther King, Sr., Pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, and other ministers control audiences with skillfully chosen

words. He longed to follow in their footsteps.

He made words central to his life—weapons of defense and offense. His mother said that she could not recall a time when he was not intrigued by the sound and power of words. He once told her, "I'm going to get me some big words like that."

EDUCATION

In September 1944, when he was only 15 years old, King entered Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. At first, he was undecided as to his course of study. However, his experiences at Morehouse shaped his direction for life.

According to Stephen B. Oates, in his book *Let the Trumpet Sound—The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, King fell under the spell of Dr. Benjamin Mays, the college president. Mays challenged the traditional view of Negro education as "accommodation under protest" and championed it instead as liberation through knowledge.

Education, he told his students, allowed the Negro to be intellectually free; it was an instrument of social and personal renewal. Unlike most other Negro educators, Mays was active in the NAACP and spoke out against racial oppression. He lashed the white church in particular as America's "most conservative and hypocritical institution."

King was enormously impressed. He saw in Mays what he wanted "a real minister to be"—a rational man whose sermons were both spiritually and intellectually stimulating.

a moral man who was socially involved. Thanks largely to Mays, King realized that the ministry could be a respectable force for ideas, even for social protest. And so at seventeen King elected to become a Baptist minister, like his father and maternal grandfather before him.

In 1947, King became an ordained minister and assistant pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church. The following year, when he was 19 years old, he graduated from Morehouse College with a degree in sociology. He then studied for a B.A. degree in divinity at Crozer Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. This was his first experience in a northern, integrated school.

While at Crozer, King attended a lecture by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, who was the president of Howard University in Washington, DC. Dr. Johnson "explained how Gandhi had forged Soul Force—the power of love or truth—into a mighty vehicle for social change." He "argued that the moral power of Gandhian nonviolence could improve race relations in America, too."

King was mesmerized by Gandhi's concepts, and began reading profusely about his life and philosophy.

Nonviolent resistance, Gandhi taught, meant noncooperation with evil, an idea he got from Thoreau, whose essay on civil disobedience "left a deep impression on me." ...Gandhi, for his part, took Thoreau's theory and gave it practical application in the form of strikes, boycotts, and protest marches, all conducted nonviolently and all predicated on love for the oppressor and a belief in divine justice. Gandhi's goal was not to defeat the British in India, but to redeem them through love, so as to avoid a legacy of bitterness.

In fact, in 1929, Gandhi told a group of American Blacks: Let not the 12 million Negroes be ashamed of the fact that they are the grandchildren of slaves. There is no dishonor in being slaves. There is dishonor in being slave owners. But let us not think of honour or dishonor in connection with the past. Let us realize that

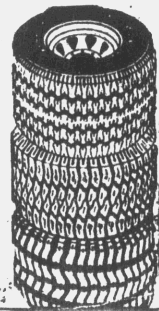
the future is with those who would be truthful, pure and loving. For, as the old wise men have said, truth ever is, untruth never was. Love alone binds and truth and love accrue only to the truly humble.

Later, in a 1935 visit to the United States, Gandhi said, "It may be through the American Negro the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world."

In 1951, King graduated from Crozer as valedictorian. He also received the Peral Plafkner Award for scholarship, \$1,200, and the Lewis Crozer Fellowship to continue his studies.

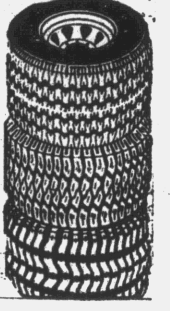
Following Crozer, King enrolled as a Ph.D. student in philosophy at Boston University. Professor L. Harold DeWolf said of "all the doctorate students I have had at Boston University—some fifty in all—I would rate Martin Luther King among the top five."

Despite the heavy demands of his doctoral program, King found time for two other activities—enrolling



Pugh's Tire

Salutes the Legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.



Every October, the University Health Systems of Eastern Carolina's Leo W. Jenkins Cancer Center in Greenville holds a Survivor's Day celebration. And every year, the number of people attending seems to get larger. Frankly, we're not surprised. Because today, thanks to the most advanced technology and the most incredible new treatments, cancer can be managed like never before.

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Not too long ago, people spoke of cancer in hushed tones. Today, we encourage you to scream at it, curse it and threaten it into submission.



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252-816-4526. Or visit us at www.uhseast.com.

The Life and Times of Dr. Martin Luther King

Continues from Page 3

South because that's where I'm needed. King received offers to become a pastor from several churches, including his father's Ebenezer Baptist Church. However, he accepted the pastorate of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1954. **MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA** Montgomery could not or would not be the same after December 1 [1955]... It was the day that Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress was arrested for refusing to obey the bus driver's order to move from the seat in which she was sitting to let a white passenger sit down. Mrs. Parks was returning home from work and after being tired from standing all day, she sat in the first available seat, which happened to be reserved for white riders. Since Mrs. Parks refused to move, she was arrested. Mrs. Parks was later tried in Montgomery City Court, charged with and found guilty of violating a state law mandating segregation. She was fined \$10. Her attorney appealed the conviction. Coincident with Mrs. Parks' trial was a one day boycott of the buses by many members of Montgomery's Black community. As a result of this, an organization was established, the "Montgomery Improvement Association" (MIA) to orchestrate a complete and ongoing response to Montgomery's segregation. Dr. King was chosen president, and announced: We have no alternative but to protest. For many years we have shown an amazing patience. We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were being treated. But we came here tonight to be saved from that patience that makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice. King drew heavily on Gandhi's philosophies, and espoused: One of the great glories of American democracy is that we have the right to protest for rights...This is a

nonviolent protest. We are depending on moral and spiritual forces, using the method of passive resistance. And this is resistance, he [Gandhi] would insist, it is not stagnant passivity, a "do-nothing" method. It is not passive nonresistance to evil, it is active nonviolent resistance to evil. And it is not a method for cowards. Gandhi said that if somebody uses it because he's afraid, he's not truly nonviolent. Really, nonviolence is the way of the strong. We have to resist because freedom is never given to anybody. For the oppressor has you in domination because he plans to keep you there. He never voluntarily gives it up. And that is where the strong resistance comes. We've got to keep on keepin' on, in order to gain freedom. It is not done voluntarily. It is done through the pressure that comes about from people who are oppressed. The MIA was encouraged by Dr. King's words. It agreed that instead of staging just a one-day bus boycott, the boycott would last until: (1) Courteous treatment by the bus operators was guaranteed. (2) Passengers were seated on a first-come, first-served basis--Negroes seated from the back of the bus toward the front while whites seated from the front toward the back. (3) That Negro bus operators be employed on predominantly Negro routes. Lerone Bennett, Jr., in *What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 1929-1968, observed: The one-day boycott stretched out to 382 days. The 382 days changed the spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr., and King, thus transformed, helped to change the face and the heart of the Negro, of the white man, and of America. Viewed thus, as a sensitizing social symbol, the Montgomery bus boycott was a myth-event comparable, in a different era and on a smaller scale, to the French Revolution, of

which Kant prophetically said: "Such a phenomenon in history can never be forgotten, inasmuch as it has disclosed in human nature the rudiment of and the capacity for better things which, prior to this, no student of political science had deduced from the previous course of events." With Montgomery, an epoch came to an end. To be sure, a new epoch did not begin immediately. There was an interregnum, a period of diffuse groping and stumbling. No one knew then, not even King, which road to take, but it was clear to many that one road, the road of submission and accommodation, had been closed, perhaps forever. The boycott was reportedly costing the Montgomery City Lines, the bus company, \$3,000 a day. Even a fare increase did not adequately compensate for the lost revenues due to the boycott. The bus company was worried. The response of the White community turned violent. There were threatening telephone calls and harassment of Blacks. Dr. King's home was bombed. He was arrested and jailed for allegedly driving 30 miles per hour in a 25-mile-per-hour zone. On November 13, 1956, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of a special U.S. District Court which declared Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. Dr. King instructed his followers: to go back to the buses with humility and meekness. I would be truly disappointed if any of you go back to the buses bragging we, the Negroes, won a victory over the white people... Our experience and growth during this past year of nonviolent protest has been such that we cannot be satisfied with a court "victory" over our white brothers. We must respond to the decision with an understanding of those who have oppressed us and with an appreciation of the new adjustments that the court order poses for them...We must act in such a way as to make possible a coming together of white people and colored people on the basis of a real

harmony of interests and understanding. We seek an integration based on mutual respect...We must now move from protest to reconciliation. On December 21, 1956, Montgomery City Lines resumed full service on all of its routes. At 5:45 a.m., [Ralph] Abernathy, [E.D.] Nixon, Mrs. Parks, and [Glenn] Smiley gathered at the King home on South Jackson. Ten minutes later, when the first bus of the day pulled up at a nearby corner, Martin Luther King, Jr., was the first passenger to the door. He paid his fare and selected a seat toward the front of the bus. Glenn Smiley, the white Texan, sat down next to him. As news photographers snapped pictures, the bus pulled away from the curb. Black Montgomery, after 382 days of mass effort, had achieved its goal. A White taxi driver remarked about King, "Don't let anyone fool you. That young colored preacher has got more brains in his little finger than the City Commissioners and all the politicians in this town put together." **THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)** The Supreme Court decision in the Montgomery bus case was hardly the end of the battle. There was much violence in the aftermath of the legal integration of the buses. As a result, on January 10-11, 1957, 60 Black leaders from 10 Southern states met at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta and founded the Southern Conference on Transportation and Non-violent Integration. Its original agenda

concerned "segregation in transportation facilities and voter registration." In February 1957, the organization elected Dr. King as President and changed its name to the Southern Leadership Conference (SLC). Its goal, as stated by Bayard Rustin, was to refuse "to accept Jim Crow in specific areas...[which] challenge...the entire social, political and economic order that has kept us second class citizens." (8:85) To demonstrate this, Dr. King proposed a "Pilgrimage To Washington" if President Eisenhower refused to publicly denounce segregation. King spoke of how the Pilgrimage would be an appeal to the nation, and the Congress, to pass a civil rights bill that would give the Justice Department the power to file law suits against discriminatory registration and voting practices anywhere in the South. On May 17, 1957, a smaller group than anticipated convened at the Lincoln Memorial. Dr. King spoke, and was catapulted into the national spotlight. Give us the ballot and we will no longer plead--we will write the proper laws on the books. Give us the ballot and we will fill the legislature with men of goodwill...Give us the ballot and we will transform the salient misdeeds of the bloodthirsty mobs into the calculated good deeds of orderly citizens. President Eisenhower did not change his behavior following the Pilgrimage. He still would not meet with Black leaders. In August 1957, the organization

changed its name to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and launched a massive voter registration effort entitled the "Crusade for Citizenship." At the time only one and a quarter million Blacks were registered in the South. The drive sought to register five million new minority voters. The first civil rights legislation since reconstruction was passed in 1957, establishing a Civil Rights Commission and allowing the Justice Department to file lawsuits when voting rights were abridged. **LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS** In 1957, violence erupted during an attempt to integrate Little Rock's Central High School under Federal court order. Governor Orval Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to keep Blacks from attending the school. President Eisenhower, "faced with the most serious challenge to Federal authority since the Civil War," was blighted to nationalize the Arkansas National Guard and dispatch a thousand regular army paratroopers to Little Rock. With white parents shouting and waving Confederate flags, U.S. soldiers escorted Elizabeth Eckford and eight other Negro students into the school and through the corridors to their classes. Thanks to southern white intransigence, Eisenhower became the first President since Reconstruction to send federal troops to enforce Negro rights in Dixie, a move that enraged the white South and polarized the

King's Life Story
Continues on Page 5

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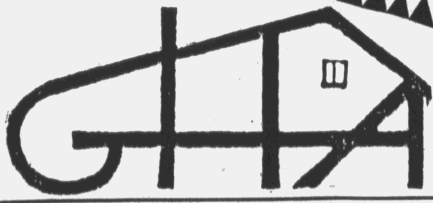
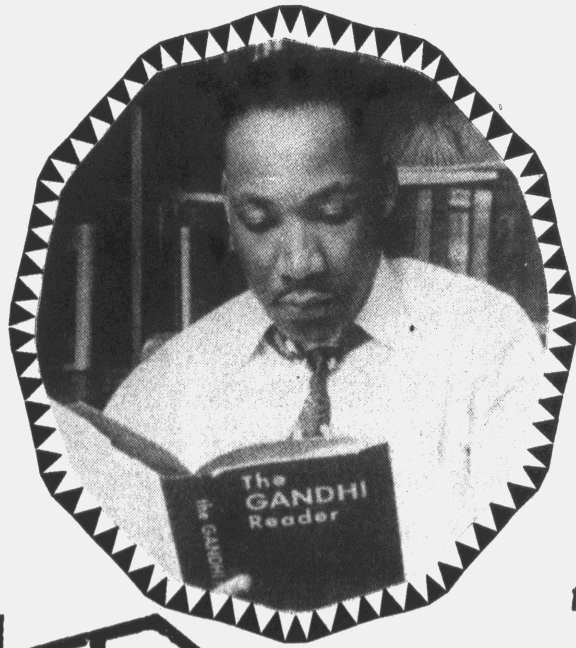
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The King Story

Continues from Page 4

white South and polarized the region. Following these actions, King posed the question, "What American politician had done the most to promote integration the last five years?" According to King, it was Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus, who had instigated the crisis at Little Rock. His irresponsible actions brought the issue to the forefront of the conscience of the nation as nothing else had, and allowed people to see the futility of attempting to close the public school.

THE SIT-INS

On February 1, 1960, four young black men who were students at

North Carolina A & T College sat down at the lunch counter in a Greensboro F. W. Woolworth's store and refused to leave when they were denied service. Only white patrons were served at the counter. Word of their act spread among fellow students, and the next day, more than two dozen occupied the lunch counter, doing schoolwork when they also were refused service. Over the following four days the numbers grew larger and larger. A few white participants joined in, while other whites heckled the protesters. The effort spread to other Greensboro lunch counters until, by the end of the week, all such facilities were closed. With

those spontaneous actions, the "sit-ins" began. "Sit-ins" began to spread throughout the South. Dr. King invited the students to become a youth arm of SCLC, but they declined. Instead, they formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

FREEDOM RIDES

Although the U.S. Supreme Court had banned segregation on interstate buses and trains in 1946, and extended the bans to bus terminals as well, in 1961 segregation was still a reality in the South. As a result, in May, 1961, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) implemented the "Freedom Rides." Under CORE's auspices, interracial groups boarded two buses in Washington, D.C., and set out on a circuitous journey toward New Orleans, testing terminal facilities as they went.

Initially, King did not participate in the Freedom Rides. Since it was CORE sponsored, he felt CORE should receive the recognition. However, SCLC bought the tickets for the Freedom Riders and was prepared to assist if necessary. And necessary it was.

In Alabama, the Freedom Riders turned into a nightmare. On Mother's Day, May 14, an armed mob surrounded the first bus just outside of Anniston and set the vehicle afire. The passengers narrowly escaped before the bus exploded in a shower of flames, a scene that newsmen captured in photographs that were widely publicized. The second bus managed to escape the Anniston mob and raced on to Birmingham.

But as the Freedom Riders stepped off the bus there, a gang of Klansmen, promised fifteen minutes of immunity by the local police, beat them mercilessly with lead pipes, baseball bats, and bicycle chains.

In Montgomery, Alabama, mobs assaulted the Freedom Riders. Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent 400 U.S. Marshals to calm the situation. Dr. King went to Montgomery and spoke.

The ultimate responsibility for the hideous action in Alabama last

week must be placed at the door step of the governor of the state. We hear the familiar cry that morals cannot be legislated. This may be true, but behavior can be regulated. The law may not be able to make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me.

The Freedom Riders met in the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, where a White mob congregated outside. The Governor declared a state of martial law and called in the National Guard.

The governor then called Attorney General Kennedy to inform him of his troop dispositions. The governor said pointedly, however, that Major General Henry Graham, the guard commander, could not guarantee the safety of Martin Luther King, Jr. "Have the general call me," Robert F. Kennedy snapped back. "I want him to say it to me. I want to hear a general of the U.S. Army say he can't protect Martin Luther King, Jr." Faced with an angry, determined attorney general, the Alabama governor retreated, admitting that it was he, not the general, who did not believe King could be protected.

Not only King but also the tattered nonviolent army of which he was the symbolic leader was protected.

The Freedom Riders moved on to Jackson, Mississippi, the following day, under heavy guard. The Interstate Commerce Commission issued a ban on segregation in transportation, buses, and related facilities.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

According to King, in 1963 Birmingham was "the most thoroughly segregated city in the country," an American Johannesburg that was ruled by fear and plagued by hate.

SCLC's plan for Birmingham, expressed in the "Birmingham Manifesto," involved strong boycott by Blacks of White stores around the Easter shopping season. SCLC hoped that such economic deprivation would force Birmingham to adopt SCLC's goals of desegregation of the store facilities; adoption of fair hiring practices by those stores; dismissal of all charges from

previous protests; equal employment opportunities for blacks with the city government; reopening on a desegregated basis of Birmingham's closed municipal recreation facilities; and establishment of a biracial committee to pursue further desegregation.

SCLC met considerable resistance from both Blacks and Whites in Birmingham, which diminished the success of the plan. Many accused King of being an "outsider."

A court order placed an injunction against any type of protest activity imaginable. King defied the order and was arrested and placed in jail.

It was from his jail cell in Birmingham that Dr. King wrote a very famous letter, in which he addressed the criticism of his activities.

I am here, along with several members of my staff, because we were invited here. I am here because I have basic organizational ties here. Beyond this, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. We have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and non-violent pressure. History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups are more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed...

For years now I have heard the word "Wait." It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has always meant "Never." It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment only to give birth to an ill formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights...

The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws:

There are just laws and there are unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law...

We can never forget that everything Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal."

The next phase of the Birmingham stage turned to the children. High school students, along with their younger brothers and sisters, took to the streets in protest. Police arrested more than 900 children in a day, carting them in school buses to jail. "One police captain was deeply troubled by that sight," Evans, he told another officer, "ten or fifteen years from THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE"

Perhaps the ultimate recognition of Dr. King's crusade to secure equal rights for all came on December 10, 1964, when, at age 35, he was the youngest person ever to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Some months earlier, right after he had been nominated, Dr. King told a friend that Time's "Man of the Year" award was nothing special, that he had two hundred plaques at home, and what's one more? But the Nobel Peace Prize was different. This was not simply a personal award, but the most significant international endorsement possible of the civil rights struggle. This was not a prize being given to one individual...but the "foremost of earthly honors" being accorded the movement he had come to symbolize.

Accordingly, all of the prize money was distributed among several major civil rights organizations.

SELMA, ALABAMA

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference selected Selma,

King's Life Story
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The King Story

Continues from Page 5

Alabama, as the site to demonstrate that, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 notwithstanding, equal opportunity to vote did not exist for Blacks.

Figures from the 1960 Census showed 29,515 voting-age people in Selma—14,400 Whites and 15,115 Blacks. On January 18, 1965, when SCLC's voter registration campaign began, there were only 335 Blacks among the 9,877 registered voters in Selma. Between May 1962 and August 1964, although 795 Blacks tried to register to vote, only 93 (11.7 percent) were allowed to register. During the same period, 945 (76.7 percent) of the 1,232 Whites who applied to register were registered. Selma officials used any means, both legal and illegal, to prevent Black voter registration.

Lenwood G. Davis in *I Have A Dream...The Life and Times of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, described some of the tactics used.

Some Negroes stood in line, approximately six hours a day, waiting to enter the courthouse to register. Only 95 persons got in during the two weeks period since only one applicant was admitted at a time. Each had to answer long series of confusing biographical questions. Next they had to provide written answers to a twenty-page test on the Constitution, federal, state and local governments. To prove literacy, each applicant had to write a passage from the Constitution read to him by the registrar. The registrar was the sole judge of whether the applicant's writing was passable, and whether he had given the correct answers. These complicated registration procedures were so unjust that even some college professors could not "pass" the literacy test.

It appears as though Selma officials recognized the truth in Dr. King's message of what would happen when Blacks were able to vote in Alabama. Dr. King said: when we get the right to vote, we will send to the State House not men who will stand in the doorway of universities to keep Negroes out but men who will uphold the cause of

Congress men who will sign not a manifesto for segregation but a manifesto for justice.

The demonstrations in Selma sent Dr. King to jail once again. This time he wrote a letter to the New York Times, pointing out the ironies of his situation. When the King of Norway participated in awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to me, he surely did not think that in less than sixty days I would be in jail. He, and almost all the world opinion will be shocked because they are little aware of the unfinished business in the South...

THIS IS SELMA, ALABAMA. (sic) THERE ARE MORE NEGROES IN JAIL WITH ME THAN THERE ARE ON THE VOTING ROLLS. While in jail Dr. King received word of U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas' order that Alabama had to cease using its voter registration form, stop rejecting applicants because of minor errors on their forms, and process 100 applicants each day the registrars met. However, the situation turned more

violent, and once again, the irony was driven home. ABC Network interrupted Judgment at Nuremberg, a movie about Nazi atrocities, to broadcast film of Alabama State Troopers' bloody assault on peaceful Black marchers. "Bloody Sunday," as it came to be called, prompted President Johnson's comments.

What happened in Selma was an American tragedy. The blows that were received, the blood that was shed, the life of the good man that was lost, must strengthen the determination of each of us to bring full and equal and exact justice to all of our people...

It is wrong to do violence to peaceful citizens in the street of their town. It is wrong to deny Americans the right to vote. It is wrong to deny any person full equality because of the color of his skin.

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT
The actions of Selma and other southern cities to disenfranchise Blacks prompted the Johnson administration, on March 17, 1965, to

submit the 1965 Voting Rights Act to Congress. It passed, and the President signed it into law on August 6.

While previous civil rights legislation provided remedy through individual legal suits, the Voting Rights Act authorized direct Federal action in Alabama, Alaska, three counties in Arizona, Georgia, one county in Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, 28 counties in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Major provisions of the law included banning the use of literacy tests; giving the Attorney General authority to supervise voter registration in areas where a literacy test was in use as of November 1, 1964, or "where fewer than 50 percent of the voting age residents were registered to vote on that date or actually voted in the 1964 Presidential election," providing for criminal penalties for those who interfered with voting rights; and authorizing the Attorney General to prohibit the use of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting. During the first five months of the law, close to 240,000 Blacks were added to the voter rolls in the South.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
In early 1968, Memphis, Tennessee's sanitation workers, most of whom were Black, organ-

ized their own chapter of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. They requested recognition from the city, along with a contract providing for higher wages and better working conditions. The city refused, and on February 12, 1968, most of the 1,300 Black sanitation workers went on strike.

A big march was scheduled, and then rescheduled (due to the weather) for March 28, 1968. Dr. King went to Memphis to lead the march. However, some militant groups turned the march violent, prompting Dr. King to announce over a bullhorn to the crowd, "I will never lead a violent march so, please, call it off."

Afterwards, King was very distraught that someone was killed during a march in which he was involved. He promised to return to Memphis in early April to lead a nonviolent march.

Dr. King returned to Memphis on April 3, 1968. The following night, on the balcony outside of room 306 at the Lorraine Motel, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated at the age of 39 by James Earl Ray, Jr.

The proponent of nonviolence lost his life by violence.

EPILOGUE
In a sermon he delivered on February 4, 1968, Dr. King told the congregation at Ebenezer Baptist Church: If any of you are around when I have to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get

somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell him not to talk too long...Tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize. That isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have three or four hundred other awards. That's not important. Tell them not to mention where I went to school. I'd like somebody to mention that day, that Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to give his life serving others. I'd like for somebody to say that day, that Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to love somebody. I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. I want you to be able to say that day, that I did try to feed the hungry. And I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. I want you to say on that day, that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity. Indeed, this is our challenge, too, as we commemorate the birth of a man who dedicated his life to gaining civil rights for all.

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Chief Writing Credits

BMCS(SW) Edward F. DeAngelis of the Naval Air Forces Atlantic, Norfolk, Virginia, participated in the Topical Research Intern Program (TRIP) at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute from August 25-September 23, 1987. Senior Chief DeAngelis worked diligently to gather materials on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s life and work, identifying several major events and themes. Ms. Leslie Wilson, former DEOMI Research Division Chief, wrote this report based on the materials he collected. DEOMI greatly appreciates Senior Chief DeAngelis' contributions to this report.

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from the Desk of Mrs. Beatrice Maye



Mrs. Beatrice Maye
BEATRICE MAYE'S MESSAGE
TO HER READERS

After several years, I still find myself writing this column immensely rewarding.

My column has provided me with an opportunity to share a spotlight on subjects that are revealing, thoughtful, challenging, spiritual as well as healthful and perhaps many ideas you were not in agreement of ---that's good, too. I am well aware that mine is an enormous responsibility, and I try

hard, every issue, never to let you down.

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So, if you need to unburden yourself, blow your top, register a gripe or tell me off, I'm as close as your mailbox.

God bless each of you. Pray for good health and an open heart so you can love your neighbor, even though he or she may not be lovable. I hope 1999 will be your best year ever.

Beatrice Maye

FROM: LIFE'S LITTLE INSTRUCTION BOOK

1. Overpay good baby sitters.
2. Never refuse jury duty. It is your civic responsibility, and you'll learn a lot.
3. When you feel terrific, notify your face.
4. Open the car door for your wife and always help her with her coat.
5. Discipline with a gentle hand.
6. When reconvening after a conference break, choose a chair in a different part of the room.

ference break, choose a chair in a different part of the room.

7. Volunteer. Sometimes the jobs no one wants conceal big opportunities.
8. Never drive while holding a cup of hot coffee between your knees.
9. Carry hand wipes in your glove compartment.
10. Have a professional photo of yourself made. Update it every three years.
11. Sign all warranty cards and mail them in promptly.
12. Create a little signal only your wife knows so that you can show her you love her across a crowded room.
13. Never be the first to break a family tradition.
14. Park next to the end curb in parking lots. Your car doors will have half the chance of getting dented.
15. Keep a dairy of your accomplishments at work. Then when you ask for a raise, you'll have the information you need to back it up.
16. Never sign contracts with blank

spaces.

17. Drive as you wish your kids would. Never speed or drive recklessly with children in the car.
18. In disagreements, fight fairly. No name calling.
19. Never take the last piece of fried chicken.
20. Ask about a store's policy when you purchase an item that costs more than \$50.00.
21. When you go to borrow money, dress as if you have plenty of it.
22. Don't judge people by their relatives.
23. When traveling, leave the good jewelry at home.
24. Put your address inside your luggage as well as on the outside.
25. Talk slow but think quick.

CHURCH ETIQUETTE
What we got out of a service depends to a great extent upon our preparation for it. Be punctual, be reverent, be worshipful. If you must wiser in church, whisper a prayer.

GO OUT ON A LIMB.
"Don't be afraid to go out on a

limb--- that's where the fruit is."

Must: "I must do something" will always solve more problems than "something must be done."

Time: "A sure way to get there on time is to leave early."

Maya Angelo, critically acclaimed author, recalls the most important thing her mother taught her: "Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst. Life is shocking, but you must never appear shocked. For no matter how bad it is, it could be worse; and no matter how good it is, it could be better."

Time: Time may be a great healer, but it's a rotten beautifier.

Being fat: Being fat is often a tell-tale sign that control is lacking.

Mark It: Mark It! When God forgives---He forgets.

Family: The family is the cornerstone of all we are, so stay in school. Let's turn to each other, not on each other.

(Joseph Lowery, National President, SCLC).

Hard work, persistence, faith will help you overcome many obstacles.

Criticism: Criticism, in a way, is a compliment; it shows you did something too important for the critics to ignore.

Keep aiming high. Good examples are in short supply.

Basketball Star, Dean Tolson said, "Don't just stay in school, learn while you're there. Education is the only sure road to success. If I can beat illiteracy, you can too."

Graduates: Make God first in everything you do. If you just trust and never doubt what He says, all good things will be added unto you. Claire Hustable of the Bill Cosby Show.

If you walk with the Lord, you'll never be out of step.

The person who does not read is no better than the person who can't read.

When you lay down the dogs, you'll get up with fleas.

Some people aren't happy unless they can complain.

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PART TIME SECRETARY

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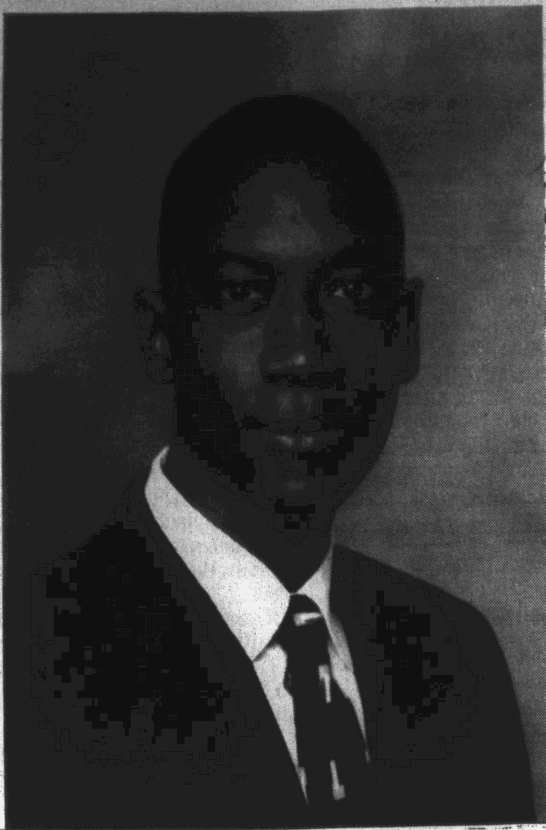
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Greenville ,North Carolina -Frank Hunter has been named Branch Sales Manager of the East Carolina Bank 's [ECB] Walmart supercenter Branch in Greenville Hunter Joined ECB in Febuary 1996 as a sales associate at the bank's in-store Walmart location. A Pitt County Native , Hunter is a graduate of East Carolina unerverty having earned a degree in Business administration .

AS Branch Sales Manager , Hunter will be responsible for desposit and loan growth as well as the sales promotion activities for the Walmart location . The Walmart Branch is open extended hours and features an ATM machine for customer convenience.

Headquartered in Englehard ,North Carolina ,The East Carolina Bank is a 78 year old state -chartered , independent , community bank insured by the FDIC. ECB provides a full range of financial services through 15 branches in Eastern North Carolina .The minority Voice to congratulate Mr Hunter and wish him many years of success and growth

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If you have any questions or would like additional information, please contact Millenia Community Bank (*Proposed*) at (252) 695-0077. On January 18, 1999 at 6:00pm the Executive Committee will host a Question and Answer Session at the Greenville Hilton.



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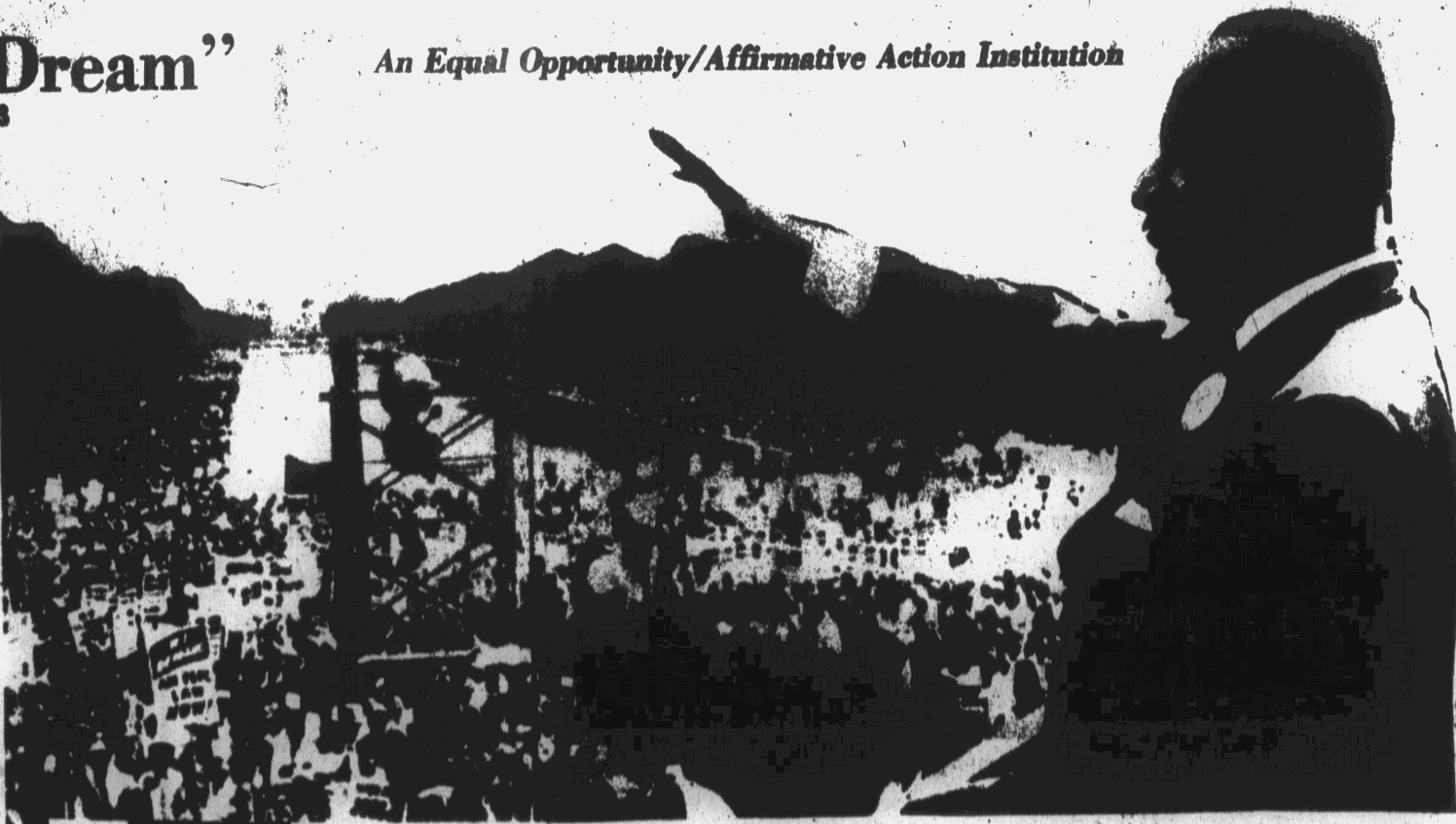
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Muhammad At-Large Avowed Racists in Congress

There are many of us in the Black community to whom the word "conservative" is synonymous with "racist." Whether its justices on the Supreme Court with a dismal record of appointing Black law clerk, or if its governors or others dismantling "welfare as we know it," or if its legislators who have set out to dismantle both "affirmative action" and anything resembling effective equal opportunity enforcement authority, it's all done under the rubric of conservatism, rather than because the guilty subscribe to any sort of "racist agenda."

But now, despite their best efforts to distance themselves, two influential conservative Republicans—Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.), and Rep. Bob Barr (R-Ga.)—have been firmly and unmistakably linked to a racist organization which argues that whites are genetically superior to Blacks' has ties to the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi parties in Europe, and which named the late Lester Maddox, an arch-segregationist and former Governor of Georgia, its "Patriot of the Century."

Within one week of his first claiming "no firsthand knowledge" of the controversial Council of Conservative Citizens (C of CC), the media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) revealed copies of the organization's newsletter, picturing and reporting that in 1992, the powerful Senate Majority Leader told the group's members—who are staunch proponents of preserving the white race from immigration, intermarriage and the "dark forces" are overwhelming America—that "the people in this room stand for the right principles and the right philosophy."

Rep. Barr, who was charged with using rhetoric laced with "bigotry" and "racism" by Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz during the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings against President Bill Clinton in December, is also linked to the group. He addressed the C of CC's national conference last June, and was pictured in the group's newsletter—Citizens Informer—addressing the group's board and posing with its leaders.

For his part, Sen. Lott renounced the organization and said through a spokesman that he has nothing to do with them. "This group harbors views which Senator Lott firmly rejects," the senator's spokesman said in statement after the Informer articles were made public. "He has absolutely no involvement with them either now or in the future."

But yet another report emerged this time in The Washington Post revealing a 1997 picture from the Citizens Informer featuring a smiling Trent Lott, "meeting in his Washington office with C of CC National officers."

The Council of Conservative Citizens intends "to serve as a voice and as an active advocate for the no-longer silent



**MUHAMMAD
AT LARGE**

BY ASKIA MUHAMMAD

conservative majority," says Gordon Lee Baum, its CEO.

Of the label "white supremacist," Mr. Baum says "We reject that title. We do nothing that could be construed as, nor do we advocate the oppression, or exploitation of other races or ethnic groups. We are unabashedly a group that primarily speaks out for white, European civilization, faith and form of government. But that doesn't necessarily relate to being 'anti' anyone, and it certainly doesn't say that whites are supreme, or that we are even segregationists."

Critics of the group such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, point to comments in the group's publications and on its website that "genocide via the bedroom is just as long lasting

as genocide via the gas chamber," that "whether it's Clinton blowing some Jazz on his sax or starting a race conference that bashes whites, or in having black Vernon Jordan as one of his closest friends or in having black Betty Currie as his secretary, or in having Jesse Jackson over to watch the Super Bowl, the picture of Bill Clinton that emerges is one of a liberal black who doesn't like whites very much...One wonders if perhaps Mr. Clinton isn't America's first black president. His beliefs are actually a result of his inner black culture. Call him an Oreo turned inside out."

The critics suggest that such sentiments are those of an "out-and-out racist" and "white supremacist" group calling the group a modern version of the Citizens Council of America — better known as the White Citizens Council, the so-called "white-collar Ku Klux Klan."

Mr. Baum insists that such articles merely represent an expression of First Amendment freedom, rather than any official racist disposition by the group itself. "The fact of the matter is, the white Europeans are the smallest of the groups on the face of the earth. And the way it is going with their low birth-rate, and with the fact that even in Europe 10 percent of England is now non-white—in the not-too-distant future, it's conceivable that the white race will become extinct. Now is there something really horrendous about saying what is true?"

Rep. Cynthia McKinney (D-Ga.), who like Rep. Barr represents the State of Georgia in Congress, condemns the hypocrisy of her legislative colleagues, Rep. Barr and Sen. Lott. "Now this is very clear. You can talk in code words all you want, and we can be nice and politically correct, but the bottom line is that these are neo-Confederates. They are racists. These are not the people who stood trying to help all Americans achieve the right to participate in the American Dream. These are the people that the good thinking people of America from the North and the South were fighting against," said Rep. McKinney.

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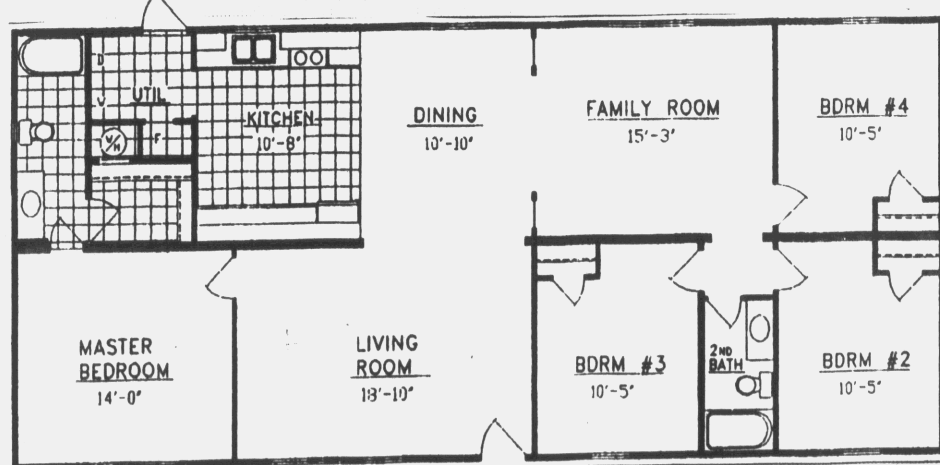
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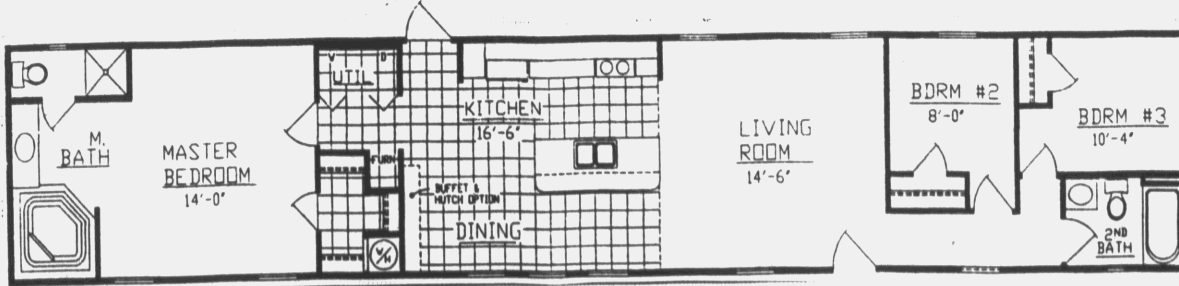
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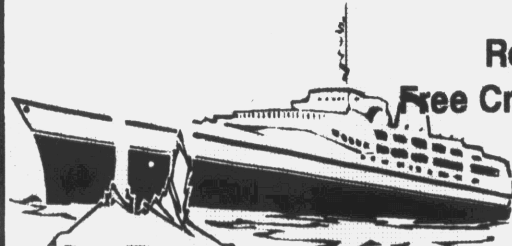


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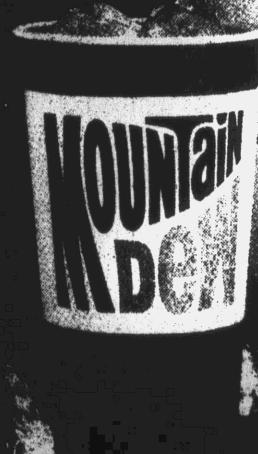
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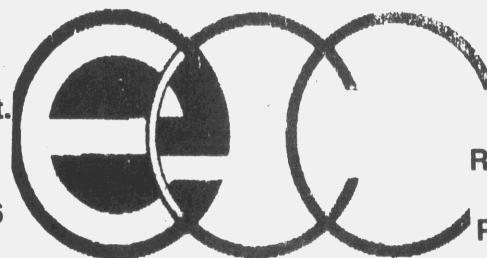
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