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Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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FOR RELEASE:

STATEMENT BY
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

"THE CHICAGO PLAN" -

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS, WE HAVE INVITED YOU HERE TO ANNOUNCE THE LAUNCHING OF THE FIRST SIGNIFICANT NORTHERN FREEDOM MOVEMENT EVER ATTEMPTED BY MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS FORCES. THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE'S FIRST SUSTAINED NORTHERN MOVEMENT WILL BE DIRECTED AGAINST PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS WHICH, OVER THE YEARS, HAVE CREATED INFAMOUS SLUM CONDITIONS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INVOLUNTARY ENSLAVEMENT OF MILLIONS OF BLACK MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

THIS MOVEMENT WILL BE A MULTI-FACET ASSAULT DIRECTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE COORDINATING COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE COMMITTED VETERANS OF SCLC.

OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO BRING ABOUT THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF FORCES DEDICATED TO THE CREATION AND MAINTENANCE OF SLUMS AND ULTIMATELY TO MAKE SLUMS A MORAL AND FINANCIAL LIABILITY UPON THE WHOLE COMMUNITY. WE DO NOT HOLD THAT CHICAGO IS ALONE AMONG CITIES WITH A SLUM PROBLEM, BUT CERTAINLY WE KNOW THAT SLUM CONDITIONS HERE ARE THE PROTOTYPE OF THOSE CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NORTHERN URBAN RACE PROBLEM.

CHICAGO IS A CITY OF MORE THAN A MILLION NEGROES. FOR ALMOST A CENTURY NOW IT HAS BEEN THE NORTHERN LANDING PLACE FOR SOUTHERN MIGRANTS JOURNEYING UP FROM THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA. IT WAS THE PROMISED LAND FOR THOUSANDS WHO SOUGHT TO ESCAPE THE CRUELITIES OF ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI AND TENNESSEE. YET, NOW, IN THE YEAR 1966, THE CYCLE HAS ALMOST REVERSED. FACTORIES MOVING SOUTH, EMPLOYMENT AND OPPORTUNITIES ON THE INCREASE, AND RECENT CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION ARE RAPIDLY DISINTEGRATING THE CRUELITIES OF SEGREGATION.

THE SOUTH IS NOW A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY, WHILE THOSE WHO, GENERATIONS AGO, SANG: "GOING TO CHICAGO, SORRY BUT I CAN'T TAKE YOU," NOW SINK INTO THE DEPTHS OF DESPAIR.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN CHICAGO, WHILE AN IMPROVEMENT OVER MISSISSIPPI, ARE HARDLY ADEQUATE TO PREPARE NEGROES FOR METROPOLITAN LIFE. A LABOR FORCE OF SOME 300,000 HAVE FOUND LITTLE BEYOND LOW PAYING SERVICE OCCUPATIONS OPEN TO THEM, AND THOSE FEW WHO POSSESS SKILLS AND CRAFTS FIND THEIR RANKS RAPIDLY BEING DEPLETED BY AUTOMATION AND FEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT AND PROMOTION.

"THE CHICAGO PLAN" - PAGE TWO

IN 1960, NEGROES, WHO REPRESENTED 23 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION, ACCOUNTED FOR 43 PER CENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED. THIS WAS NOT INCLUDING THE THOUSANDS OF NEW MIGRANTS AND YOUNG ADULT MALES WHO WERE ENTERING THE LABOR MARKET, BUT WHO HAD NOT YET MADE THEIR WAY TO AN UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE, KNOWING FULL WELL IN ADVANCE THAT ONLY A FEW DIRTY JOBS WERE AVAILABLE TO THEM.

THOSE FEW NEGROES WHO ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO ACHIEVE PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL STATUS FIND THEMSELVES VICTIMIZED IN THEIR SEARCH FOR ADEQUATE HOUSING. TWO DISTINCT HOUSING MARKETS MAINTAINED BY CHICAGO REAL ESTATE INTERESTS ARE CAREFULLY SEPARATE AND CONTROLLED; AND THOSE WHO ARE ABLE TO MAKE WHAT SHOULD BE A LIVING WAGE FIND THAT THEY HAVE TO PAY 10 TO 20 PER CENT MORE ON RENTAL OF HOMES, PURCHASE OF PROPERTY, AND INSURANCE AND INTEREST RATES THAN THEIR WHITE COUNTERPARTS.

LANGSTON HUGHES ASKS, "WHAT HAPPENS TO A DREAM DEFERRED?". BUT THESE DREAMS WERE NOT DEFERRED, THEY WERE DENIED AND REPUDIATED BY VICIOUS THOUGH SUBTLE PATTERNS OF EXPLOITATION, SO THE DREAMS DO NOT "DRY UP LIKE RAISENS IN THE SUN." THEY DECAY LIKE SUN-RIPENED ORANGES THAT ARE DEVoured BY WORMS AND BIRDS UNTIL THEY FALL TO THE GROUND, CREATING A ROTTEN MESS. BUT CENTURIES AGO, VICTOR HUGO PROCLAIMED THAT: "WHEN MEN ARE IN DARKNESS, THERE WILL BE CRIME; BUT THOSE WHO HAVE PLACED THEM IN DARKNESS ARE AS MUCH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRIME AS THOSE WHO COMMIT IT."

AND SO THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF OUR REPUDIATED DREAMS, DENIED OPPORTUNITIES AND FRUSTRATED ASPIRATIONS ARE VERY MUCH PRESENT.

DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS THERE HAS BEEN A CONSCIENTIOUS AND CREATIVE ATTEMPT TO DRAMATIZE THE EVILS OF THIS SYSTEM OF NORTHERN SEGREGATION. CCCO AND ITS MEMBER GROUPS HAVE WORKED IN A UNITED ACTION PROGRAM AND THROUGH INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE VARIOUS SORE SPOTS IN CHICAGO SOCIETY. NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITH THE SCHOOL BOARD, CITY OFFICIALS, LABOR MOVEMENT, REAL ESTATE INTERESTS AND MANY OTHER POINTS OF POWER IN THE HIGH COMMAND OF CHICAGO METROPOLITAN LIFE. THESE EFFORTS REPRESENT THE FOUNDATION STONES UPON WHICH ANY MOVEMENT MUST BUILD. THE CCCO "GET RID OF WILLIS CAMPAIGN" IS AS SIGNIFICANT AS ANY CAMPAIGN EVERY ORGANIZED IN THIS COUNTRY. A SIMILAR CAMPAIGN HELD IN FORT WAYNE, INDIANA, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, OR ATLANTA, GEORGIA, WOULD HAVE INDEED MET WITH UNPARALLELED SUCCESS IN THE AREA OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION; BUT BEFORE THE GOLIATH OF CHICAGO, THEIR EFFORTS MADE ONLY LIMITED IMPACT.

THE PROBLEMS OF CHICAGO, INDEED THE PROBLEMS OF THE NORTHERN CITY, DEMAND SOMETHING NEW.

IN OUR WORK IN THE SOUTH, TWO PRINCIPLES HAVE EMERGED. ONE, THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF ISSUES, AND TWO, THE CONCENTRATION OF ACTION.

IN BIRMINGHAM, WE CONFRONTED THE CITADEL OF SOUTHERN SEGREGATION. IN 1963 NOT ONE ASPECT OF BIRMINGHAM COMMUNITY LIFE WAS DESEGREGATED. IN APPROACHING THIS COMPLEX SEGREGATED SOCIETY, THE ISSUE WAS SIMPLIFIED DELIBERATELY TO: SEGREGATION. EARLY NEWSPAPER CRITIQUES CHALLENGED THE SIMPLIFICATION AND OFFERED A THOUSAND RATIONALIZATIONS AS TO WHY SUCH COMPLEX PROBLEMS COULD NOT BE DEALT WITH SO SIMPLY AND SUGGESTED A HUNDRED MORE "MODERATE, RESPONSIBLE" METHODS OF DEALING WITH OUR GRIEVANCES. YET, IT WAS THE SIMPLIFICATION OF THE ISSUE TO THE POINT WHERE EVERY CITIZEN OF GOOD WILL, BLACK AND WHITE, NORTH AND SOUTH, COULD RESPOND AND IDENTIFY THAT ULTIMATELY MADE BIRMINGHAM THE WATERSHED MOVEMENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE.

"THE CHICAGO PLAN" - PAGE THREE

THE SECOND POINT WAS THE CONCENTRATION OF ACTION, AND WE CHOSE LUNCH COUNTERS, A TARGET WHICH SEEMED TO MOST SOCIAL ANALYSTS THE LEAST SIGNIFICANT, BUT ONE TO WHICH MOST PEOPLE COULD RALLY. IT WAS A TARGET WHEREIN ONE MIGHT ACHIEVE SOME MEASURE OF CHANGE, YET WHICH SUFFICIENTLY INVOLVED THE LINES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POWER TO A POINT BEYOND ITSELF -- TO THE LARGER PROBLEM.

THE CONCENTRATION OF ACTION LED TO AN IMMEDIATE LOCAL VICTORY AT THE LEVEL OF THE LUNCH COUNTER, BUT POINTED BEYOND THE LUNCH COUNTER TO THE TOTAL PROBLEM OF SOUTHERN SEGREGATION AND PRODUCED A TENTH-TITLE LEGISLATIVE VICTORY ON A NATIONAL LEVEL IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

FOR THE PAST MONTHS THE SCLC STAFF HAS BEEN WORKING IN CHICAGO TRYING TO APPLY THE SCLC NONVIOLENT PHILOSOPHY TO THE PROBLEMS OF CHICAGO. THEIR WORK HAS BEEN CONCERNED WITH STRENGTHENING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND RECRUITING NEW FORCES TO JOIN IN A NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT, BUT THEY HAVE ALSO GIVEN A GREAT DEAL OF THOUGHT TO THE CRYSTALLIZATION AND DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM IN CHICAGO IN TERMS WHICH CAN BE COMMUNICATED TO THE MAN ON THE STREET, WHO IS MOST AFFECTED.

THE CHICAGO PROBLEM IS SIMPLY A MATTER OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION. EVERY CONDITION EXISTS SIMPLY BECAUSE SOMEONE PROFITS BY ITS EXISTENCE. THIS ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION IS CRYSTALLIZED IN THE SLUM.

A SLUM IS ANY AREA WHICH IS EXPLOITED BY THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE OR AN AREA WHERE FREE TRADE AND EXCHANGE OF CULTURE AND RESOURCES IS NOT ALLOWED TO EXIST. IN A SLUM, PEOPLE DO NOT RECEIVE COMPARABLE CARE AND SERVICES FOR THE AMOUNT OF RENT PAID ON A DWELLING. THEY ARE FORCED TO PURCHASE PROPERTY AT INFLATED REAL ESTATE VALUE. THEY PAY TAXES, BUT THEIR CHILDREN DO NOT RECEIVE AN EQUITABLE SHARE OF THOSE TAXES IN EDUCATIONAL, RECREATIONAL AND CIVIC SERVICES. THEY MAY LEAVE THE COMMUNITY AND ACQUIRE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING, SKILLS, OR CRAFTS, BUT SELDOM ARE THEY ABLE TO FIND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES COMMENSURATE WITH THESE SKILLS. AND IN THE RARE OCCASIONS WHEN THEY DO, OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT AND PROMOTION ARE RESTRICTED. THIS MEANS THAT IN PROPORTION TO THE LABOR, MONEY AND INTELLECT WHICH THE SLUM POURS INTO THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE, ONLY A SMALL PORTION IS RECEIVED IN RETURN BENEFITS. THE REV. JAMES BEVEL AND OUR CHICAGO STAFF HAVE COME TO SEE THIS AS A SYSTEM OF INTERNAL COLONIALISM, NOT UNLIKE THE EXPLOITATION OF THE CONGO BY BELGIUM.

THIS SITUATION IS TRUE ONLY FOR NEGROES. A NEIGHBORHOOD OF POLISH CITIZENS MIGHT LIVE TOGETHER IN A GIVEN GEOGRAPHIC AREA, BUT THAT GEOGRAPHIC AREA ENTERS INTO FREE EXCHANGE WITH THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE; AND AT ANY TIME SERVICES IN THAT AREA DETERIORATE, THE CITIZENS ARE FREE TO MOVE TO OTHER AREAS WHERE STANDARDS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT ARE MAINTAINED.

AS WE DEFINE AND INTERPRET THE DYNAMICS OF THE SLUM, WE SEE THE TOTAL PATTERN OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION UNDER WHICH NEGROES SUFFER IN CHICAGO AND OTHER NORTHERN CITIES.

1) EDUCATION:

\$266 PER YEAR IS THE AVERAGE INVESTMENT PER NEGRO CHILD; PER WHITE PUPIL IT IS \$366 IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO. SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES SPEND ANYWHERE FROM \$450 TO \$900 PER PUPIL ANNUALLY. HENCE, SLUM EDUCATION IS DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE THE INFERIOR STATUS OF SLUM CHILDREN AND PREPARE THEM ONLY FOR MENIAL JOBS IN MUCH THE SAME WAY THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY DOES FOR THE AFRICAN.

2) BUILDING TRADES UNIONS;

BUILDING TRADES UNIONS BAR NEGROES FROM MANY EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES WHICH COULD EASILY BE LEARNED BY PERSONS WITH LIMITED ACADEMIC TRAINING.

3) REAL ESTATE:

REAL ESTATE BOARDS RESTRICT THE SUPPLY OF HOUSING AVAILABLE TO NEGROES TO THE RESULT THAT NEGRO FAMILIES PAY AN AVERAGE \$20 PER MONTH MORE IN RENT AND RECEIVE FEWER SERVICES THAN PERSONS IN OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS.

4) BANKS AND MORTGAGE COMPANIES:

BANKS AND MORTGAGE COMPANIES CHARGE HIGHER INTEREST RATES AND IN MANY INSTANCES EVEN REFUSE TO FINANCE REAL ESTATE IN SLUM COMMUNITIES AND TRANSITIONAL COMMUNITIES, MAKING THE AREA EASY PREY FOR LOAN SHARKS.

5. SLUM LANDLORDS:

SLUM LANDLORDS FIND A MOST LUCRATIVE RETURN ON A MINIMUM INVESTMENT DUE TO INEFFICIENT ENFORCEMENT OF CITY BUILDING CODES AS WELL AS INADEQUATE BUILDING CODES, OVER-CROWDING OF LIVING SPACE, AND A TAX STRUCTURE ON SLUM PROPERTY WHICH MEANS THE MORE YOU LET THE BUILDING RUN DOWN, THE LESS YOU PAY IN TAXES.

6) THE WELFARE SYSTEM:

THE WELFARE SYSTEM CONTRIBUTES TO THE BREAKDOWN OF FAMILY LIFE BY MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN MONEY IF THE FATHER IS IN THE HOUSEHOLD AND SUBJECTS FAMILIES TO A DEHUMANIZED EXISTENCE AT THE HANDS OF AN IMPERSONAL, SELF-PERPETUATING BUREAUCRACY.

7) FEDERAL HOUSING AGENCIES:

FEDERAL HOUSING AGENCIES WILL NOT INSURE LOANS FOR PURCHASING REAL ESTATE IN NEGRO COMMUNITIES AND MAKE LITTLE OR NO MONEY AVAILABLE FOR FINANCING ANY LOW-COST HOUSING OR RENOVATION OF PRESENT HOUSING.

8) THE COURTS:

THE COURTS ARE ORGANIZED AS A TOOL OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL MACHINE. MANY JUDGES ARE POLITICAL APPOINTEES AND SUBJECT TO POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

9) THE POLICE:

THE POLICE ARE LITTLE MORE THAN "ENFORCERS" OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION AND OFTEN DEMONSTRATE PARTICULAR CONTEMPT FOR POOR NEGROES, SO THAT THEY ARE DEPRIVED OF ANY SENSE OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND THE STATUS OF CITIZENSHIP IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY BE CONTROLLED AND "KEPT IN LINE."

10) THE POLITICAL SYSTEM:

THE ESTABLISHED POLITICAL SYSTEM DEPRIVES NEGROES OF POLITICAL POWER AND, THROUGH PATRONAGE AND PRESSURE, ROBS THE COMMUNITY OF ITS DEMOCRATIC VOICE.

"THE CHICAGO PLAN" - PAGE FIVE

11) THE CITY ADMINISTRATION:

THE CITY ADMINISTRATION REFUSES TO RENDER ADEQUATE SERVICES TO THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. STREET CLEANING, GARBAGE COLLECTION AND POLICE PROTECTION ARE OFFERED MENIALLY, IF AT ALL.

12) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO INITIATE A CREATIVE ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF MEGALOPOLITAN LIFE AND THE RESULTS OF THE PAST THREE CENTURIES OF SLAVERY AND SEGREGATION ON NEGROES.

THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE WAYS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE SLUM: ONE WOULD BE TO FOCUS ON A SINGLE ISSUE, BUT CCCO AND SCLC CHOSE TO CONCENTRATE ALL OF OUR FORCES AND MOVE IN CONCERT WITH A NONVIOLENT ARMY ON EACH AND EVERY ISSUE.

IN CHICAGO, WE ARE FACED WITH THE PROBABILITY OF A READY ACCOMMODATION TO MANY OF THE ISSUES IN SOME TOKEN MANNER, MERELY TO CURTAIL THE MASSING OF FORCES AND PUBLIC OPINION AROUND THOSE ISSUES. THEREFORE, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONCENTRATE ALL OF OUR FORCES AROUND ANY AND ALL ISSUES.

PRESENTLY OUR MOVEMENT CONSTITUTES THE MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS OF CCCO AND THE STAFF RESOURCES OF SCLC. SOME TIME HAS BEEN SPENT STRENGTHENING AND ORIENTING THESE PRESENT FORCES, BUT THEY MUST BE SUPPLEMENTED IMMEDIATELY BY ADDITIONAL POWER FACTORS WHICH WILL HELP US ORGANIZE AND RAISE ISSUES BEFORE THE ENTIRE CHICAGO COMMUNITY.

FOREMOST AMONG THESE POWER FACTORS IS THE CHURCH. THE CHURCH CONSTITUTES A READY ALLY FOR A NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT, BECAUSE BASICALLY WE ARE RAISING QUESTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THOSE WHO ARE NUMBERED AMONG THE CHILDREN OF GOD BUT WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED THESE RIGHTS BY THE STRUCTURES OF OUR SOCIETY.

PHASE ONE OF OUR MULTI-FACET ASSAULT IS BASED UPON THE PRINCIPLE THAT BEFORE PEOPLE CAN BE COUNTED ON TO ACT, THEY MUST HAVE A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF THE "SLUM COLONY" AND THE RESULTING SLUM PSYCHOLOGY, WHICH LULLS US INTO A SOMNOLENCE OF DESPAIR.

THUS, OUR PROGRAM DURING THE NEXT TWO MONTHS IS GEARED TOWARD DEFINING THE PROBLEM OF SLUMS TO AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE, CREATING IN THEM THE DEPTH OF UNDERSTANDING AND THE PERSONAL COMMITMENT WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO ACT.

DURING THE MONTH OF JANUARY, AN EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO INVOLVE EVERY MINISTER IN THE CITY IN AT LEAST AN INFORMATIONAL MEETING CONCERNING THE PLANS FOR A NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT IN CHICAGO. THIS WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH MEETINGS WITH EXISTING MINISTERS CONFERENCES, CONVOCATIONS AT SEMINARIES IN THE AREA, AND SPECIAL EFFORTS TO REACH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC COMMUNITY THROUGH THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL AND THE OFFICES OF THE INTERRACIAL COUNCIL AND THE OFFICES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE.

NEGRO MINISTERS WILL BE INTRODUCED TO SCLC'S OPERATION BREADBASKET CONCEPT, WHICH, IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, ALONE, HAS ADDED FIFTEEN MILLION DOLLARS TO THE NEGRO COMMUNITY'S PURCHASING POWER BY OBTAINING JOBS. THE BREADBASKET CONCEPT IS A SIMPLE ONE, IN WHICH A NEGRO MINISTER PUTS PRESSURE ON EMPLOYERS TO HIRE AND UPGRADE MORE NEGROES, ESPECIALLY MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN CONGREGATIONS.

"THE CHICAGO PLAN" - PAGE SIX

OTHER ORIENTATION AND INDOCTRINATION METHODS SHALL INCLUDE:

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIONS TO END SLUMS. THESE NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS WILL SERVE AS A NETWORK OF PROTECTION AGAINST INJUSTICE IN HOUSING, AND AS A POTENTIAL SOURCE OF ECONOMIC POWER. THE UNIONS TO END SLUMS ARE BEING ORGANIZED ON A DOOR-TO-DOOR BASIS TO BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY WITH LANDLORDS AND THE CITY IN AN EFFORT TO CHANGE THE CONDITIONS WHICH CREATE SLUMS. ULTIMATELY THEY WILL PROVIDE PROTECTION AGAINST EVICTION AND EXPLOITATION AND HELP RESOLVE MANY IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS. THEIR MAIN FUNCTION HOWEVER, IS TO BAND TOGETHER TO DEMAND THAT THE CONDITIONS WHICH CREATE SLUMS BE ENDED. THIS ALSO WILL BE A TREMENDOUS POWER IN DEALING WITH BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS WHICH AFFECT LIFE IN THE SLUMS.

EXPLORATIONS ARE ALREADY UNDER WAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNIONS IN LONGDALE, EAST GARFIELD PARK, KENWOOD AND ENGLEWOOD.

STUDENTS IN THE 51 COLLEGES IN THE CHICAGO AREA ARE ANOTHER POTENTIAL FORCE FOR THE MOVEMENT. WE CONSIDER THE ENTIRE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION AS AN AVAILABLE FORCE TO BE MOBILIZED. THIS MOBILIZATION WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY CONCENTRATING FIRST ON KEY AREA SCHOOLS (AREAS TO BE DEFINED) WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT CONTACTS ARE BEING MADE IN OTHER SCHOOLS WHO MAY BE ORGANIZED FOR SUPPORTING ACTION IN A FEW DAYS TIME.

THERE ARE SOME 100,000 UNEMPLOYED NEGROES IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO. A CONSIDERABLE PERCENTAGE OF THESE ARE YOUNG MEN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 16 AND 25. MANY OF THESE ARE IN GANGS OR ARE DRIFTING IDLY FROM CORNER TO CORNER. THIS GROUP MUST BE MOBILIZED INTO AN ACTION UNIT, PREPARED TO DEMONSTRATE WHENEVER THE OCCASION SEEMS TACTICALLY IMPORTANT. THEIR ORGANIZATION MUST BE IN THEIR OWN BEHALF AND MUST FOCUS ON MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH WHICH THEY MIGHT ACHIEVE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN OUR SOCIETY.

IN OUR PRESENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF SLUMS AND THE NATURE OF A MOVEMENT, THE TASK OF DEVELOPING AN ACTION PROGRAM WHICH INVOLVES THE WHOLE OF CHICAGO AND ENCOMPASSES MANY ISSUES SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT. FROM THE BASES OF POWER, ENCOMPASSED IN A VIABLE NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT, WE WILL HAVE FORCES WHICH CAN BE MOBILIZED TO DRAMATIZE ISSUES AS THEY OCCUR.

DURING THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT, ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION ARE THE PRIMARY PURPOSES. THIS WILL BE DONE LARGELY THROUGH MASS MEETINGS, NEIGHBORHOOD RALLIES AND WORKSHOPS, AND SHOULD CONTINUE THROUGH THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY. DEMONSTRATIONS MUST BE THOUGHT OF AS EDUCATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL TOOLS, AND THERE MAY BE SOME OCCASIONS WHICH CALL FOR DEMONSTRATIONS. WHEN THIS IS THE CASE, IT MUST BE CLEAR THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE DEMONSTRATION IS TO DRAMATIZE AND SO DEFINE THIS INCIDENT AS ONE LINK IN THE CHAIN OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION WHICH OCCURS IN SLUM LIFE.

PHASE TWO: BY THE FIRST OF MARCH, COMMUNITY RESPONSE AND LIVE ISSUES SHOULD HAVE EVOLVED TO THE POINT WHERE SOME CONSENSUS HAS BEEN REACHED AROUND SPECIFIC TARGETS. AT THIS POINT, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO DEVELOP THE DETAILED DAY-BY-DAY STRATEGY WHICH WOULD SEEK TO DEMONSTRATE THE TOTAL CHAIN WHICH ENSLAVES US. DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD BE SCHEDULED AT POINTS WHICH SHOULD REVEAL THE AGENTS OF EXPLOITATION AND PAINT A PORTRAIT OF THE EVILS WHICH BESET US IN SUCH A MANNER THAT IT IS CLEAR THE WORLD OVER WHAT MAKES UP A SLUM AND WHAT IT IS THAT DESTROYS THE PEOPLE WHO ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN A SLUM.

"THE CHICAGO PLAN" - PAGE SEVEN

PHASE THREE: BY THE FIRST OF MAY WE SHOULD BE READY TO LAUNCH THE PHASES OF MASSIVE ACTION, BUT JUST AS NO ONE KNEW ON JANUARY 2, 1965, THAT THERE WOULD BE A MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY BY MARCH OF THAT YEAR, SO NOW WE ARE IN NO POSITION TO KNOW WHAT FORM MASSIVE ACTION MIGHT TAKE IN CHICAGO, HOWEVER, AS WE BEGIN TO DRAMATIZE THE SITUATION, WE WILL BE LED INTO FORMS OF DEMONSTRATION WHICH WILL CREATE THE KIND OF COALITION OF CONSCIENCE WHICH IS NECESSARY TO PRODUCE CHANGE IN THIS COUNTRY.

OUR OBJECTIVES IN THIS MOVEMENT ARE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL. ON THE FEDERAL LEVEL WE WOULD HOPE TO GET THE KIND OF COMPREHENSIVE LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD MEET THE PROBLEMS OF SLUM LIFE ACROSS THE NATION. AT THE STATE LEVEL, WE SHOULD EXPECT THE KINDS OF TAX REFORMS, UPDATING OF BUILDING CODES, OPEN OCCUPANCY LEGISLATION AND ENFORCEMENT OF EXISTING STATUTES FOR THE PROTECTION OF OUR CITIZENS.

ON THE LOCAL LEVEL WE WOULD HOPE TO CREATE THE KIND OF AWARENESS IN PEOPLE THAT WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO BE ENSLAVED OR ABUSED AND CREATE FOR THEM THE KIND OF DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO CONTINUALLY DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF SLUM LIFE. AMONG THESE WOULD BE ACTIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, A COORDINATED AND POWERFUL CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE PREPARED TO MINISTER TO PERSONS IN URBAN SOCIETY AS WELL AS TO THE STRUCTURES OF THAT SOCIETY. WE WOULD ALSO HOPE THAT FROM THIS WOULD EMERGE SEVERAL PILOT PROJECTS AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE OF SOME PERMANENT SIGNIFICANCE.

THERE ARE VERY FEW CULTURAL, RECREATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO YOUTH IN THIS COUNTRY TO MATCH THE KINDS OF SPORTS PAVILIONS WHICH EXIST IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. ONE NEED ONLY THINK OF WHAT IT WOULD HAVE MEANT TO NEW YORK CITY'S HARLEM AND THE WHOLE WORLD HAD NEW YORK'S LINCOLN CENTER BEEN CONSTRUCTED BETWEEN CENTRAL PARK AND 125TH STREET. A WHOLE REGION WOULD HAVE BEEN RECLAIMED. PERHAPS THE CITY OF CHICAGO MIGHT BE INFLUENCED TO DEVOTE A SIMILAR PORTION OF ITS RESOURCES TO THE CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL LIFE OF ITS UNDERPRIVILEGED YOUTH AND CENTERS LIKE LINCOLN CENTER IN NEW YORK OR OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS OF PHILADELPHIA MIGHT BE OUTGROWTHS OF OUR YEARS OF MOVEMENT IN CHICAGO.

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