

Who is sponsoring the March to Washington for Jobs and Freedom?

The official call for the March was issued on July 12 by the following national leaders:

James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality

Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Whitney Young, Executive Director of the Urban League

Labor and religious organizations are being asked to join with the above in sponsoring the March. A full list will be issued in due course.

What is the purpose of the March?

The purpose of the March is, by a massive, peaceful, and democratic demonstration in the nation's capital, to provide evidence of the need for the Federal Government to take effective and immediate action to deal with the national crisis of civil rights and jobs that all of us, Negro and white, are facing.

What are the demands of the March?

I The Civil Rights demands include:

Passage by the Congress of effective and meaningful civil rights legislation in the present session, without filibuster.

Immediate desegregation of the nation's schools.

An end to police brutality directed against citizens using their constitutional right of peaceful demonstration.

II The Job demands include:

A massive Federal Public Works Program to provide jobs for all the unemployed, and Federal legislation to promote an expanding economy.

A Federal Fair Employment Practices Act to bar job discrimination by Federal, State, and Municipal governments, and by private employers, contractors, employment agencies and trade unions.

Broadening of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to include the uncovered areas of employment where Negroes and other minorities work at slave wages; and the establishment of a national minimum wage of not less than \$2.00 per hour.

Who is invited to participate in the March?

Politically the March is non-partisan; that is, neither funds nor organized participation will be accepted from political parties. We expressly reject the aid or participation of totalitarian or subversive groups of all persuasions. Organizational participation is invited from only the established civil rights organizations, from major religious and fraternal groups, and from labor unions. Such groups are invited to form committees, to sponsor the March, and to send delegations to Washington in their own names.

Other groups are invited to publicize the March, to raise funds for it and to send groups to Washington under the banner of the March on Washington itself. These would include, for example, student and youth organizations, settlement houses, committees and other organizations of the unemployed, professional organizations (doctors, teachers, etc.), and Greek Letter organizations.

What literature is available for publicizing the March?

The National Office of the March will provide you, free of charge, with as many copies as you need of the following:

#### THE MARCH CALL

This folder, entitled "The Time is Now," gives detailed information on the aims and sponsorship of the March.

#### LEAFLET

One-page flyer entitled "To All Americans: Join the March for Jobs and Freedom," designed for mass distribution.

Additional copies of this organizing manual are also available. Other material will be put out by the March Office and sent to you as it appears.

What are the immediate tasks of participating organizations and groups?

#### 1. PUBLICIZE THE MARCH

Our time is short! Our first and most urgent task is to make the March known. Get to the press, to church services, to union meetings; take our literature into the streets, distribute it outside movie houses, at the ball game. Make the March known.

#### 2. ORGANIZE TRANSPORTATION

Our time is short! We have to get thousands of people to Washington on short notice. Set up your transportation committee at once and have a hardworking and reliable person head it up. Investigate carefully the possibility of bringing your group by train - it is a little more expensive, but special rates are available, and the more who come by rail, the less congestion there will be on the roads. If you come by bus make sure that you have a written contract issued in advance and that the bus company has a group insurance policy in effect that covers all members of the group.

Coordinate your activities with other groups in your area. It will, in some cases, save time if several groups can make joint transportation arrangements.

The National Office will not make transportation arrangements for local groups. Notify the National Office by mail of the progress of your work in organizing your March groups.

#### 3. ORGANIZE THE UNEMPLOYED FOR THE MARCH

It will serve no purpose to hold a March for Jobs and Freedom if unemployed people are not able to come and add their voices and presence to the demonstration. Organizations must make it a main task to get the news of the March to the unemployed and to encourage the unemployed, where possible, to establish their own March Committees.

Organizations may further guarantee the presence in Washington of the unemployed by (a) assigning a given number of seats in buses and trains to the unemployed, and (b) raising funds to pay for these assigned seats. Make it your goal to send one unemployed person to Washington for every three who can pay their way. We hope that not a bus will go, nor train start, that does not have its quota of the unemployed.

If there are no unemployed in your area, raise funds for the transportation of unemployed persons elsewhere, and transmit the money to the National Office (see under National Office below).

#### 4. HAVE THE COMMUNITY RECOGNIZE AND SET ASIDE THE DAY

Ask the Governor of your State, and the City Fathers, to proclaim August 28 as FREEDOM DAY. Ask ministers and rabbis to offer special prayers August 24-25 for the success of the March. Approach employers with the request that they close their plants on August 28 and grant workers paid vacation on that day in honor of the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil Rights movement.

How should funds be sent to the National Office of the March?

While your fundamental task is mobilizing people to Washington, bear in mind that the National Office has to meet heavy expenses in preparation for the March. Any funds that may be sent by local organizations for this purpose will be welcome. In addition you are asked to solicit, where possible, special contributions to defray the expenses of unemployed persons, which funds we will administer at our discretion in accordance with need. Make your checks payable to MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

We ask you also to sell a March Button that will help publicize the March, and to transmit the proceeds to us. The button is 2 1/2" in diameter, emblem is a black and white handclasp, and the title, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. August 28. Price of each button is 25 cents. Order from the National Office. Send checks, not cash. Shipping costs will be borne by the Office.

How will the March be organized in Washington?

All persons coming to Washington, whether by bus, train or plane, who are being sent by organizations, must be under the leadership of captains appointed locally before departure. (Private cars create confusion and traffic problems, their use is discouraged.) Captains will be responsible for the group en route and in moving around Washington. Further details on the role and function of the March leadership at this level will be forthcoming in the next manual.

The March will provide its own police to maintain order and internal security among the marchers in Washington. These marshals are specially trained and will be in constant contact with captains and marchers. The Washington police and the U. S. Government have promised full cooperation in controlling traffic, maintaining order, providing comfort and first-aid stations for the marchers.

Marchers from the 50 States and the District of Columbia will be assigned specific assembly points where they are to gather on arrival in Washington.

Further information about these assembly points will be provided in due course. All persons are expected to report at the assembly points not later than 10:00 A. M. on August 28th.

Meetings will be held at the Assembly points - in most cases they will be churches - for two purposes: 1) To meet with Congressmen and Senators, who will be invited to meet with the delegations at the Assembly points and to report their positions on pending legislation and to answer questions from their constituents. 2) To select representatives who will proceed to Capitol Hill seeing those legislators who did not respond to our invitation to meet with their constituents. These representatives will be accompanied by representatives of the six civil rights organizations sponsoring the March.

A massive demonstration will be held at the White House. A statement will be issued making clear to the President, the Congress, and the Nation our view that the job problem for Negro citizens cannot be solved unless the problems of all the unemployed are tackled. The delegation will call for the immediate inauguration of a Federal Public Works Program adequate to cope with the deepening economic crisis.

Later the Marchers will assemble for a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. The parade will dramatize our demands for Jobs and Civil Rights and will commemorate Medgar Evers of the NAACP, William Moore of CORE, Herbert Lee of SNCC, and the thousands of nameless heroes of the freedom movement who have given their lives in the struggle for full equality. The procession shall sing "We Shall Overcome" to the accompaniment of bands and choirs for the entire line of march.

All placards to be used on the March will be provided by the National Office.

No other slogans will be permitted.

In the afternoon there will be a mass meeting at the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation and to voice our needs and demands.

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What arrangements are there for staying in Washington and for refreshments?

**THIS IS A ONE-DAY DEMONSTRATION.**

The size and scope of this March make it imperative that all participants come in and go out on the same day - August 28th. All organizations are urged to see to it that participants come provided with box lunches and suppers, and especially that groups furnish themselves with ample water. You are strongly advised not to bring children under 14; children over 14 should be accompanied by a parent or guardian.

In the event of a filibuster before August 28th, March machinery will be used to send daily waves of approximately 1000 people to Washington for the duration of the filibuster. If the filibuster has not begun by August 28th, March participants will be asked to return to Washington at the time of the filibuster in waves of 2000.

enclosures: 1 Call  
1 Leaflet

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**ORDER - BLANK**

PLEASE SEND \_\_\_\_\_ Calls "The Time is Now"  
No. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Leaflets "To all Americans...."  
No. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Buttons at 25 cents (CHECK  
No. FOR FULL PURCHASE  
PRICE MUST BE INCLUDED)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_

National Office  
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom  
170 West 130th Street  
New York 27, New York  
Filmore 8-1900

The White House News Photographers' Association, representing all TV Networks, News-reels, Photo Media, and Magazines, would like to make the following proposal for the media coverage of the August 28th Civil Rights march:

1. Washington Monument Grounds:

- A. The following positions will be required - Seven platforms.  
(SEE ATTACHED "A")
- B. AC power will be required for the reels at the center platform facing the stage.
- C. A position at the top of the Monument is desirable. The networks have agreed to a one camera pool. Reels and Stills will get their pictures on a rotation basis. It is recommended that the Monument be closed for the duration of the march program.

2. Constitution Avenue- Recommendations have been made to the Rev. Fauntroy that up until the start of the parade, a barricade be erected on the east side of 17th Street across Constitution Avenue.

The following positions are requested for the Constitution Avenue coverage:

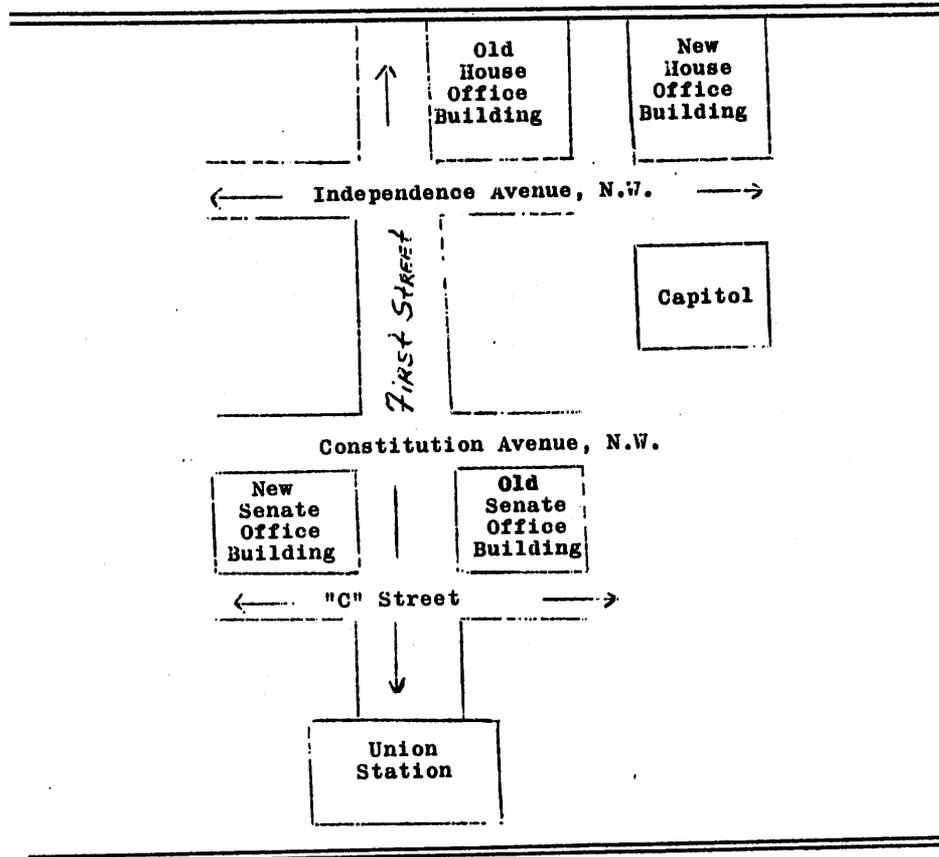
- A. 5 moving units behind the barricade (Still trucks and mobile units);
- B. Stand at northwest corner of 17th and Constitution for all media;
- C. Platform in front of Federal Reserve Building;
- D. Micro Wave tower on Constitution at Bacon Drive - behind flat bed trucks.  
(SEE ATTACHED "B")

3. Lincoln Memorial --

- A. Four double platforms as shown in attached item "C".
- B. It is recommended the proposed stage be abandoned since it would create the necessity of increasing the height of the center platform to compensate for the stage height. Also, pictorially and esthetically it will be distracting to the overall impact of the Memorial scene.

Decisions and recommendations on these proposals are requested as quickly as possible and should be directed to: George R. Gaylin, United Press International Newspictures, 1013 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

**Building Guide for NAACP Convention Delegates Visiting Washington to Support Civil Rights Legislation, July 12, 1961**



The above map is a guide to the buildings where your Congressman and Senators have their offices. Please be careful to note whether your Congressman is in the old or the new building. Also, be sure to note whether your Senator is in the old or new building. Both of these buildings are in easy walking distance from Union Station.

Senator Joseph Clark, Senator Jacob Javits and Congressman Emanuel Celler are to speak on the status of civil rights legislation in the auditorium of the New Senate Office Building at 11:00 a.m. Senator Paul Douglas will address the group at noon. The majority and minority leaders of the House and Senate and the majority and minority whips in the Senate will also meet with group at a time to be announced.

There are two cafeterias in the New Senate Office Building. One of these is for Senate employees, the other is for the public. The public cafeteria is nearest the "C" and First Street entrance of the New building. Lunch is served from noon until 2:00 p.m.

A group of volunteer hosts and hostess' will aid in directing state delegations to the offices of senators and congressmen. There will be a host or hostess for your state. For information about meals, use of public transportation or other Washington matters of interest, check with your host or hostess.

This is What the NAACP Wants Congress to Do

NAACP delegates who ride to Washington on the Freedom train have their big opportunity to help get action on the civil rights resolution that we passed at our convention in 1960. These are the things you are urged to ask your senators and congressman to support.

Senate Rules Change

We want to end filibusters by changing Senate Rule Twenty-two so that a majority of senators may invoke cloture. At present there is a considerable amount of talk in Washington about changing the rule in a manner that will require sixty per cent of the entire Senate to invoke cloture. The office of Senator Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) has prepared a statement which shows that there were twenty-three attempts to halt filibusters by cloture between 1917 and 1960. Four were successful. On civil rights matters, there have been nine attempts to stop filibusters by cloture. Not one of these was successful. If the rules had required that sixty per cent of the entire Senate approve cloture, the result would have been the same. If a simple majority had been required to invoke cloture, four major anti-civil rights filibusters would have been broken.

There is also some consideration of a rules change that would permit sixty per cent of the senators present and voting to invoke cloture. If this had been the rule between 1917 and 1960, only two anti-civil rights filibusters would have been broken. Therefore, it is obvious that the best rules change would be one that would permit a majority to invoke cloture. Urge your senators to work for majority rule.

Part III of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill

In 1961, colored people have been arrested for trying to read books in the public library. They have been jailed for sitting on benches in public parks, fined for walking into the so-called white waiting rooms of bus stations and there is continued wholesale defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the school desegregation cases. The Federal Government would have clear authority to correct these evils by injunction if Part III of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill had not been killed. Urge your senators and congressman to support Part III.

FEPC Legislation

Although the Federal Government is making some attack on discrimination in employment under executive order, we still need a Federal fair employment practice law with enforcement powers. Urge your senators and congressman to pledge their support for FEPC with enforcement powers.

Education

Urge your senators and congressman to support legislation that will grant technical and financial assistance to speed up school desegregation. More than two billion dollars a year of Federal funds go for educational purposes and to educational institutions. Yet, the Senate passed the Federal Aid to Education Bill this year without any safeguards against racial discrimination. Urge your congressman to support an anti-segregation amendment to the Federal Aid to Education Bill when it comes to the floor for a vote.

- 2 -

Anti-Lynching Legislation

Congress must pass legislation outlawing the crime of lynching and guaranteeing Federal protection for all citizens, particularly, in those areas of the Nation where each policeman and each sheriff is a potential mob leader or a potential collaborator with hoodlums. The brutality and violence which the state of Alabama tolerated during the mob assaults on Freedom riders points up the need for strong Federal laws against mob violence.

Anti-Segregation Amendments

Congress must include anti-segregation safeguards in all laws providing Federal aid for schools, housing, hospitals, recreation or for any purpose. One of the most flagrant examples of state abuse of Federal grants is found in airport construction. Millions of dollars have been taken out of the U.S. Treasury and handed to state officials who, in turn, have used it to build airports with segregated restaurants, segregated rest rooms and segregated drinking fountains. In short, by a clever system of manipulation, the money collected from taxpayers in New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania has helped to make jim crow facilities possible in Alabama and Mississippi.

Anti-Poll Tax Legislation

We must have Federal legislation outlawing the poll tax.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

At this time the five top men on the House Committee in the District of Columbia are John L. McMillan of South Carolina, Thomas G. Abernathy of Mississippi, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, James C. Davis of Georgia and James H. Morrison of Louisiana. These men play a large part in stifling civil rights progress in Washington. They also use the race issue to kill important and vital legislation affecting the general welfare of Washington. The Capital needs effective home rule legislation that will give the residents of Washington a chance to vote for those who control the local government. Urge your senators and congressmen to support home rule for the District of Columbia.

Civil Rights Commission

President Kennedy has asked that the Civil Rights Commission be made a permanent agency. Congress has taken no action on this request. Unless Congress acts, the Commission will expire this year.

The work of the Civil Rights Commission is being hampered because the Senate has not confirmed two new appointees, Dean Spottswood Robinson of the Howard University Law School, and Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School. These nominations must be approved by Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee.

Urge your senators and congressmen to take action on the bill to make the Civil Rights Commission permanent. Ask your senators to help get the Civil Rights Commission nominations out of the Judiciary Committee.

Washington Bureau, NAACP  
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington 1, D.C.  
National 8-5794  
July 12, 1961

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Washington Bureau, NAACP  
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington 1, D.C.  
National 8-5794  
July 12, 1961

## SENATE VOTES ON INVOKING CLOTURE RULE\*-

Congress Session, and Date	Subject	Senator Offering Motion	Yeas	Nays	C.R. Vol., Page	Cloture
1. 11-15-19 (66:1)	Treaty of Versailles	Lodge	76 (82.6%)	16	58- 8555,6	Yes
2. 2-2-21 (66:3)	Emergency tariff	Penrose	36 (50.7%)	35	60- 2432	No
3. 7-7-22 (67:2)	Fordney-McCumber tariff	McCumber	45 (56.2%)	35	68- 10040	No
4. 1-25-26 (69:1)	World Court	Lenroot	68 (72.3%)	26	67- 2678,9	Yes
5. 6-1-26 (69:1)	Migratory-bird refuges	Norbeck	46 (58.2%)	33	67- 10392	No
6. 2-15-27 (69:2)	Branch banking	Pepper	65 (78.3%)	18	68- 3824	Yes
7. 2-26-27	Disabled WWI officers retirement	Tyson	51 (58.6%)	36	68- 4901	No
8. 2-26-27	Colorado River development	Johnson	32 (35.1%)	59	68- 4900	No
9. 2-28-27	Public buildings in District of Columbia	Lenroot	52 (62.6%)	31	68- 4985	No
10. 2-28-27	Customs and Prohibition Bureau's Creation	Jones (Wash)	55 (67%)	27	68- 4986	Yes
11. 1-19-33 (72:2)	Banking Act		58 (65.9%)	30	76- 2077	No
12. 1-27-38 (75:3)	Anti-lynching (CR #1)	Neely	37 (42%)	51	83- 1166	No
13. 2-16-38	Anti-lynching (CR #2)	Wagner	42 (47.7%)	46	83- 2007	No
14. 11-23-42 (77:2)	Anti-poll tax (CR #3)	Barkley	37 (47.4%)	41	88- 9065	No
15. 5-15-44 (78:2)	Anti-poll tax (CR #4)	Barkley	36 (45%)	44	90- 2550,1	No
16. 2-9-46 (79:2)	F.E.P.C. (C.R. #5)	Barkley	48 (57.1%)	36	92- 1219	No
17. 5-7-46	British loan	Ball	41 (50%)	41	92- 4539	No
18. 5-25-46	Labor disputes	Knowland	3 (3.7%)	77	92- 5714	No
19. 7-31-46	Anti-poll tax (CR #6)	Barkley	39 (54.1%)	33	92- 10512	No
20. 5-19-50 (81:2)	F.E.P.C. (C.R. #7)	Lucas	52 (61.9%)	32	96- 7300	No
21. 7-12-50	F.E.P.C. (CR #8)	Lucas	55 (62.5%)	33	96- 9982	No
22. 7-26-54 (83:2)	Atomic Energy Act	Knowland	44 (51.2%)	42	100- 11942	No
23. 3-10-60 (86:2)	Civil rights (CR #9)	Douglas	42 (44.2%)	53	106- 4763(daily)	No

\* Many cloture petitions have also been withdrawn or held out of order since 1917.

## COMMENTS:

Number of cloture votes 1917-1960: 23

Number of successful cloture efforts: 4 (last time: 2/28/27)

If the cloture rule had permitted debate limitation by simple majority action instead of two-thirds, cloture would have been invoked 15 times; if the rule had required a constitutional majority - 9 times; if the rule had required 60% of those present and voting - 8 times; 60% of all Senators - 5 times; 55% of those present and voting - 12 times.

Number of civil rights cloture efforts: 2; Successful: zero.

If the rule had required a simple majority, 4 civil rights cloture efforts would have been successful; if a constitutional majority had been required - 2; if 60% of those present and voting - 2; if 60% of all Senators - zero.

(Above material furnished courtesy office of  
Senator Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania)

**Special Suggestions to NAACP Delegates Visiting Washington for  
Civil Rights Legislation July 12, 1961**

1. You have a diagram showing the location of the Senate and House Office Buildings. These are a very short walk from the Union Station. It is hoped that all delegates will walk to the buildings from the station. For those unable to walk for any reason, we have two buses at the station. The buses will carry delegates to the office buildings.
2. The NAACP Washington Bureau is located on the second floor of the Humphries Building at 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. which is on the corner of Massachusetts and New Jersey Avenues. The telephone numbers are NATIONAL 8-5794 and NATIONAL 8-2508.
3. We have obtained the services of a number of volunteers who will help you find the offices of your senators and congressmen. They will be wearing badges marked Host or Hostess with the name of your state. They will be happy to give you information about public transportation or other matters.
4. The best results in conferences with senators and congressmen are obtained when you have designated a spokesman for the group. Here are some things to remember:
  - a. Most of the meetings with congressmen and senators will be held in their offices. For best results and for your own comfort it is suggested that you try to limit the number in each group to not more than ten. If you wish to keep the entire state delegation together instead of breaking up into small groups, ask your senator or congressman to hold the meeting in a room large enough to accommodate the entire group.
  - b. If the House and Senate are in session on July 12, be sure to get gallery passes from the office of your congressman (for the House) and your Senator (for the Senate). It is necessary to have these for admission.
  - c. We have attempted to arrange as many appointments as possible. The Host or Hostess for your state will have these. If you lose the information, call the Washington Bureau. We have a copy there. If no appointment is made, we suggest that you go directly to the office of your senator or congressman. Staff people in these offices are usually very happy to see constituents from the home state or district. They will be glad to arrange an appointment during the day.
5. By law restaurants, hotels, places of amusement and other public facilities are open to all persons without regard to race.

NOW - after The March:

*Get  
Pills*

WRITE A LETTER  
to  
YOUR CONGRESSMAN

Please tell your Congressman how you feel about civil rights and racial discrimination.

Ask him to vote for a strong civil rights bill including a fair employment section and one giving the Justice Department the authority to protect demonstrators from police brutality.

If your Congressman is a member of the House Judiciary Committee (see names below) which will report a bill to the full House, ask him to vote in Committee for the strongest possible bill. If you live in your Congressman's home city, ask for an appointment the next time he is in town. Tell him your story.

The Marchers have marched.

The demonstrators are demonstrating in their home towns.

What happens to a civil rights bill in Congress depends upon what you do about getting through to your Congressman.

Stop wishing.

Start writing.

- 2 -

**TODAY!**

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
 20 West 40th Street New York 18, New York

House Judiciary Committee

Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman

Donald Edwards (D., Calif.)  
 Michael A. Feighan (D., Ohio)  
 Frank Chelf (D., Ky.)  
 Edwin E. Willis (D., La.)  
 Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (D., N. J.)  
 E. L. Forrester (D., Ga.)  
 Byron G. Rogers (D., Colo.)  
 Harold D. Donohue (D., Mass.)  
 Jack Brooks (D., Texas)  
 William M. Tuck (D., Va.)  
 Robert T. Ashmore (D., S. C.)  
 John Dowdy (D., Texas)  
 Basil L. Whitener (D., N. C.)  
 Roland V. Libonati (D., Ill.)  
 Herman Toll (D., Penna.)  
 Robert W. Kastenmeier (D., Wisc.)  
 Jacob H. Gilbert (D., N.Y.)

James G. Gorman (D., Calif.)  
 William L. St. Onge (D., Conn.)  
 George F. Senner, Jr. (D., Ariz.)  
 William M. McCulloch (R., Ohio)  
 William E. Miller (R., N. Y.)  
 Richard H. Poff (R., Va.)  
 William C. Cramer (R., Fla.)  
 Arch A. Moore, Jr. (R., W. Va.)  
 George Meader (R., Mich.)  
 John V. Lindsay (R., N. Y.)  
 William T. Cahill (R., N. J.)  
 Garner E. Shriver (R., Kansas)  
 Clark MacGregor (R., Minn.)  
 Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R., Md.)  
 James E. Bromwell (R., Iowa)  
 Carleton J. King (R., N. Y.)  
 Pat Minor Martin (R., Calif.)

The address of all Congressmen is:

House Office Building  
 Washington 25, D. C.

11-4-63

King Of Slick *True*

There are Negro leaders, clinging to the mentality of slaves, who are consciously or unconsciously destroying freedom for all, in seeking entrance to a society where entrance is not freely given. A man cannot know that in which he has never participated. As the Vandals destroyed the arts of Rome, he destroys a complex structure he does not understand. He becomes the natural ally of those who would eliminate diversity, set up a crushing central power, and plan people. He joins a united front.

**Before Political Puberty**

Martin Luther King was never born of woman. There *was* a child born in 1929 who was called Michael Luther King Jr. One day in 1935 the Rev. Michael Sr. had a man-to-man talk with his son. For several years, young Mike had been playing with the white grocer's son across the street; and suddenly the grocer refused to let his son come out any more. Young Mike was just as surprised as many Northern "liberals" would be who hold it as a matter of dogmatic litany that Southern whites hate the less-developed race, who would be amazed that Negroes sometimes live across the road from Whites without burning crosses, and who would be stunned to find children of both races playing together at all.

Six-year-old Mike was told (as no doubt the grocer's boy had been told the day before) that there comes a time, about the advent of the age of reason, when the social ways of the races separate. The grocer no doubt emphasized what his eyes and ears told him: That the ways of the Negroes he knew, whatever the reason, indicated a lesser accomplishment in the social graces and in intellectual attainment, and a higher accomplishment in welfare dependency,

crime, and immorality. And while the grocer may have been cruelly indifferent to the welfare of young Mike, he was certainly not indifferent to the welfare of his young son. While it has been seen that King is not overly careful of his own associates, apparently the grocer was not of the same mentality.

Michael Sr. emphasized to Young Mike, and quite rightly, that all God's chill'un were equal in His eyes, and that Mike Jr. should never consider himself inferior. He then talked about his unbounded admiration for Martin Luther, the symbol of protest. And he told young Mike that, henceforth, both of them would have a mission of protest. They would both be called Martin Luther King.

From this time on, the seed of protest was carefully nurtured. The grandson of a sharecropper, who had had to



King was a featured speaker at Highlander. The "school" included many top Communists.

### King Of Slick

scramble for a mouthful, Martin was annoyed with the lot he was "given." He could never adjust to segregation, he says, "partly because the separate was always unequal, and partly because the very idea of separation did something to my sense of dignity and self-respect." Or as the 1954 Supreme Court decision put it so uncharitably in the school question, even when facilities were equal, the cultural motivation of the Negro was so low that segregated education was "inherently unequal."

#### To The Morehouse And Beyond

When Martin grew up he was ready for Morehouse College, one of the inherently unequal Negro colleges of the South which is short on intellectual achievement and long on social studies. One of the old NAACP radicals was President of that house of strange rep. His name was Dr. Benjamin E. Mays. King contends that Mays was "one of the great influences of my life." Dr. Mays sent Martin on to Crozer Theological Seminary, where he was filled full of Walter Rauschenbusch, the old "social gospel" preacher who read out of Matthew, Marx, Luke, and John. Dr. King writes that he found Marx rather materialistic, and "challenging":

*But in spite of the shortcomings of his analysis, Marx had raised some basic questions. I was deeply concerned from my early teen days about the gulf between superfluous wealth and abject poverty, and my reading of Marx made me even more conscious of this gulf. Although modern American capitalism has greatly reduced the gap through social reforms, there was still need for a better distribution of the wealth. Moreover, Marx had revealed the danger of the profit motive as*

*the sole basis of an economic system . . . .*

*In short, I read Marx as I read all of the influential historical thinkers— from a dialectical point of view, combining a partial yea and a partial no . . . . My readings of Marx convinced me that truth is found neither in Marxism nor in traditional capitalism. Each represents a partial truth. Historically capitalism failed to see truth in collective enterprise and Marxism failed to see the truth in individual enterprise . . . . The Kingdom of God is neither the thesis of individual enterprise nor the antithesis of collective enterprise, but a synthesis which reconciles the truths of both.*

King obviously reads philosophers with the absent-minded swipe of a man at the hors d'oeuvres tray of a cocktail party, sloshing everything with homogenized cheese dip. The Socialist theory of organized robbery and redistribution was never swallowed so readily. The everlasting yea demands a commitment to a Christian conscience, and the Kingdom of God is not of this world!

Later on, before getting his Ph.D. at Boston University, Dr. King got consumed in the burning-ghat of Gandhism, lit by Gandhi's friend, Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Federally-supported Howard University.

Dr. King soon learned to sipper in the best cliches of the Socialist guru:

*Gandhi was probably the first person in history to live the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. Love for Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation.*

But love, for Dr. King, became a fanatic sadism, deliberately provoking

### King Of Slick



In the foreground is Abner Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Right to left: King, Aubrey Williams, and Myles Horton.

violence for the shock-propaganda value of suffering. It was a word hardly mentioned at the 1963 convention of SCLC, where speakers demanded that their followers be ready to die for non-violence when they marched by the hundreds into fear-ridden cities. It was a strange love that, in the name of civil disobedience, hoped to paralyze whole cities, then states, and the nation in order to impose the will of a minority upon a majority.

Perhaps this is why, in the wake of Dr. King's non-violent riots, the Northern Christian Leadership Conference in Chicago disbanded, along with similar affiliates in the East and West. The President of NCLC, the Rev. Dr. C. William Billingslea, sent Dr. King a telegram this summer:

*The board members [of the Northern Conference] offer you the*

*charter of NCLC, thus giving you control over all Christian leadership conferences.*

*They also express the hope that you will, along with them, re-enter the pulpit and teach more of Christ and less of Gandhi, being concerned with the religious responsibilities that will provide the superstructure for future direct action movements.*

#### Stride Toward Accomplishment

Wherever Dr. King brought his riot squads, the opposition hardened. Montgomery, for instance, had already been improved once; but when Dr. King brought in the Freedom Riders, in 1961, the first of the nasty bottle-throwing riots developed among the whites, who couldn't see the non-violence for the National Guardsmen. Montgomery hardened. In Albany Dr. King had a terrible time staying in jail. But there

### King Of Slick

were two full-scale riots, this time among the Negroes. Albany hardened. In Birmingham, when SCLC was in dire need of funds, Dr. King hastened to get riots going before a more moderate regime took over. And, with King's help, even the more moderate regime hardened like the permafrost.

It was Dr. King's personal *style* that nettled the opposition as much as anything. In Montgomery there was a whole platoon of bodyguard government rifles to demonstrate the power of non-violence. When he finally got in jail in Albany it was the night before his national TV slot on *Meet The Press*. Of course he refused bail, because he needed the suffering; but a local leader, also in jail, seemed not to require as much suffering. He was bailed out for TV. And when Dr. King was offered the role of the Senator from Georgia for the film *Advise and Consent*, there was the scandal of his taking a whole day and a half to say no.

All this time, as Dr. King became the most famous of American law-breakers, he developed a curious attitude toward the law. "An unjust law is no law at all," he repeated over and over again, parodying St. Augustine. Unlike St. Augustine, he also claimed the privilege of being a judge in his own cause. He developed such special refinements that, when his views were upheld by the declining American courts system, *then*, it was the duty of all Americans to obey them. But when judges showed themselves to be prejudiced by archaic concepts of law it became the duty of all Americans to exercise mass disobedience. In a more subtle moment, he even argued that more convicted Negro rapists should go free, because many alleged white rapists were acquitted.

It was 1961 when the tax auditor of

Alabama pointed out that Dr. King listed his 1956 income as \$9,150, whereas, by prudent economy, he had managed to make bank deposits in his name that year of \$16,182.42. When confronted with the evidence, Dr. King cheerfully paid the additional \$318.81 in assessed taxes. A perjury charge for false declaration was later rejected by an all-white jury, mainly on the ground that Alabamans thought it a dangerous precedent to convict a man for tax perjury, a thing that had never happened before. Tax dodgers, like rapists, should get equal treatment.

Another legal problem arose in Atlanta in 1960 when police stopped a car which carried expired license plates, then discovered that the driver, who claimed to live in Georgia, could produce only an out-of-state license. Dr. King, for lo it was he, was given a minor fine of \$25 by a sympathetic court, and placed on a year's probation. A few months later, King was busy applying his human rights: The right to break laws that strike him as humiliating or inconvenient. He was thrown into jail in Atlanta, as he had sought. But, when his case came up in court, the judge held that Dr. King had violated a law; and that breaking a law is, willy nilly, a violation of probation. Four months at Georgia State Prison. Next case.

The judge, however, made the mistake of reading the law instead of the tea leaves. In those days, the country was in the ferment of a national political campaign. One fine campaign day Senator Kennedy and Bobby put through a long distance call to Mrs. King to inquire about her husband's health, and did he want some soup? On the next day Dr. King was free on bond. And a week later the humanitarian Senator Kennedy was elected President of the

### King Of Slick

United States.

On November third, a group of Negro professional men thought the ferment had gone sour. They said that Dr. King was engaged in a "clear-cut, unholy, diabolic conspiracy to help the Democratic party." But if the truth were known, Dr. King did not even vote for his benefactor. He was so busy conducting voter registration drives that he forgot to exercise an important civil right. He forgot to pay his poll tax.

#### The Red Blush

When Bayard Rustin nominally left SCLC in 1960, Dr. King did not lose his contacts with the progressive Left. Later in the year he hired a so-called "technician," presumably not of the Cuban variety, by the name (most of the time) of Hunter Pitts O'Dell. O'Dell, who had the best references, had been working for the Bronx Citizens Committee for Kennedy. He brought in hand a letter of recommendation from Robert Morgenthau, U.S. District Attorney for New York, and a part of the underground Kennedy Network. Mr. Morgenthau is the distinguished son of the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury who took as his personal secretary the distinguished Communist, Harry Dexter White.

O'Dell worked on voter registration for SCLC, and, according to reliable reports that were denied, as a District Director. Until June of 1963, he was Administrator of the New York office. O'Dell got fired several times, whenever newspapers pointed out that he had been cited as a Communist as late as 1958. At one time, State anti-subversive agents in New Orleans found his rooms full of the plans, maps, and specifications to Communize the whole South. In 1958, when O'Dell was living in Montgomery, he declined to answer,

on grounds etc.

O'Dell did a lot of work for the SCLC's Dorchester Center near Savannah, Georgia. Here the old Myles Horton crowd was busy spending a \$250,000 grant from the Marshall Field Foundation [Yes, *that* Marshall Field—Ed.] and the United Church of Christ, Dr. King's denomination. The same people under slightly different hats ran several SCLC fronts out of an office in Savannah: the office of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. Even the Subversive Activities Control Board, after a five-year study, had declared the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union "Communist infiltrated." The Board said nothing about it being infiltrated by the SCLC.

Dr. King has admitted that O'Dell "may have had some connections in the past, but we were convinced that he had renounced them and had become com-



Dr. King's associate, Aubrey Williams, is shown as he makes an important point. The audience includes many Communists in addition to King.

### King Of Slick

mitted to the Christian philosophy of non-violence in dealing with America's social injustices." He even had O'Dell investigated.

Now it is well known that Dr. King and his close associates, Messrs. Fred Shuttlesworth and Wyatt Tee Talker, have been very active in the Communist-ordered campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. And it may just be that in their irrational prejudice against that Committee they overlooked its excellent two-volume study published last year, *Structure and Organization of the Communist Party of the United States*.

For there, on Page 576, was the information that Dr. King sought without success. In the list of those elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., as known to HCUA in November 1961, was none other than Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

#### Initial Idiocy

The Chairman of the cited Communist front, The National Committee to Abolish HUAC (whatever HUAC is), is Dr. King's squirming friend from Highlander days, Aubrey Williams. Mr. Williams has been so busy this year that he stepped down from the Presidency of a group called the Southern Conference Education Fund, SCEF, not to be confused with SCLC. And it's easy for SCEF to be confused with SCLC, because Williams' successor to the Presidency was the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Secretary of SCLC. It might also be borne in mind that SCEF is a hybrid that blossomed at the same address and the same telephone number as the old Southern Conference on Human Welfare, a cited Communist front.

Now Fred Shuttlesworth's Field Director is a man with wide experience in race protest. For Carl Braden and

his wife Anne were indicted in an interestingly seditious plot in Louisville, Kentucky. They bought a new house in a white neighborhood and conveyed it to some Negro friends of theirs. And immediately things began to happen, even before the neighborhood met the new owners: The Negro couple built up an arsenal of eighteen firearms to defend themselves. A cross was burned, although no one saw who did it. A couple of rocks were tossed, although no one saw who did it. A few shots went through the door, although no one saw who did it.

A committee of the usual Communist-fronters turned up to defend the rights of the Negroes, including a well-experienced thug by the name of Vernon Baun. Mr. Baun had learned his trade on the Communist side of the civil war in Spain and, as chance would have it, he was a demolition expert. Fortunately, when the explosion went off, the children had been sent to grandma's, and the occupants had stepped out to the back porch for a little air.

The fact that Carl and Anne Braden were identified Communists might have escaped the average reader as he perused the account of Carl's conviction which the *New York Times* ran on Page 26. Anne never came to trial, of course, because the Supreme Court obligingly ruled in another famous 1954 case that Federal laws pre-empted States sedition laws. Carl lost his job on the copy desk of the *Courier-Journal*, which freed him for other activities. But when he and Anne and Dr. King arrived in Danville, Virginia, *this* spring, they got there too late. The demonstrators' arsenal had been confiscated the month before.

#### Peanut Butter

The Negro revolution spreads across

**Page missing in original**

*March -  
on - Wash.*

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LEADERS OF THE  
"MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JCBS AND FREEDOM"

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS: RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ

Rabbi Joachim Prinz of Newark, New Jersey; 61, President of the American Jewish Congress, is a veteran fighter against racism. As a rabbi in Berlin, Germany, he preached against Hitlerism and was expelled from Germany in 1937 for his anti-Nazi activities. As head of the American Jewish Congress, he leads the organization's programs utilizing law and social action to achieve "full equality in a free society for all Americans".

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY: JAMES FARMER

James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality, is a pioneer in the development of non-violent, direct-action methods. He was one of the founders of CORE in 1942 and served as the organization's first national chairman. He led the original 1961 Freedom Ride and spent forty days in various Mississippi prisons.

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO: WALTER P. REUTHER

Walter P. Reuther, 56, has been an eminent leader of American labor since 1935. He attended the founding session of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in London (1949) as chairman of the CIO delegation. He serves as co-director of the Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department of the United Automobile Workers which he has headed since 1936. Frequently an advisor to the federal government, and having served on numerous commissions, Mr. Reuther has helped develop some of the most progressive labor-management concepts.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE: ROY WILKINS

Roy Wilkins, 62, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Chairman, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Joined NAACP in 1931. University of Minnesota graduate and former managing editor, Kansas City (Mo.) Call. Elected Executive Secretary in 1955, after having been assistant secretary, administrator and editor of The Crisis.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE:  
MATHEW AHMANN

Mathew Ahmann, 31, of Chicago, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, served as organizer and Executive Secretary of the National Conference on Religion and Race in Chicago last summer. A graduate of St. John's University of Minnesota, he is the author of "The New Negro" and "Race: Challenge to Religion." He is married and the father of four children.

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NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE: WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., has been the Executive Director of the National Urban League since October 1, 1961. He serves on many committees, including the President's Committee on Youth Employment and the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. In recognition of his work in the civil rights field and similar activities, he received the 1959 Florina Lasker Award (\$1,000) for outstanding achievement in the field of social work; the 1960 Outstanding Alumni Award from the University of Minnesota, and an honorary Doctorate (L.L.D.) from North Carolina A & T College in June, 1961.

Articles and addresses by Whitney Young have appeared in professional journals and periodicals. A World War II veteran, he is married and the father of two daughters.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA:  
DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, of Philadelphia, Pa., Vice Chairman, Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, and Stated Clerk (executive head), United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., is one of the nation's outstanding Churchmen and a ranking spokesman of the ecumenical (interchurch) movement. A former president of the 31-denomination National Council of Churches, he has held key posts in the World Council of Churches as well.

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NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

A. Philip Randolph, President, Negro American Labor Council, is the single Negro member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. He is International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He proposed the first civil rights "March on Washington" in 1940-41. He was co-chairman of the 1957 "Prayer Pilgrimage" in Washington and in 1958 and 1959 led "Youth Marches for Integrated Schools."

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Martin Luther King, Jr., 34, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is a foremost advocate of the non-violent, passive resistance philosophy. Born in Atlanta, Georgia, where he is co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Dr. King has become world renowned for his civil rights leadership. He was the leader of the 1955-56 Montgomery bus boycott and leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association. He holds the Ph.D. in Systematic Theology (Boston University 1955) and has written extensively. Dr. King is married and the father of four children.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE: JOHN LEWIS

John Lewis, 25, is Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. A graduate of American Baptist Seminary, he is now pursuing a degree in Philosophy at Fiske University. Often arrested in non-violent demonstrations, Lewis has led sit-ins and other activities throughout the hard-core states of the Deep South.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF WOMEN BEING  
HONORED FOR THEIR LEADERSHIP

The following six women are being honored for their leadership in the civil rights struggle:

MRS. DAISY BATES of Little Rock, Arkansas, was formerly NAACP president in her state. Inspirer and counselor of the "Little Rock Nine" who desegregated Central High School in her city in 1957.

MRS. DIANE NASH BEVEL, Mississippi Field Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was a leader and participant in the student sit-in demonstrations in Nashville, 1960, and the Freedom Rides, 1961.

MRS. MYRTLE EVERS, of Jackson, Mississippi, is the widow of Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary for Mississippi who was assassinated on June 12, 1963.

MRS. HERBERT LEE, widow of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Field Secretary who was slain while conducting a voter registration drive in Mississippi in 1961.

MRS. ROSA PARKS, Detroit, Michigan, a former Secretary of the NAACP, Montgomery, Alabama, branch, whose refusal to yield her bus seat to a white man set off the year-long Montgomery bus protest movement, 1955.

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MRS. GLORIA RICHARDSON, Cambridge, Maryland, organizer and leader of desegregation demonstrations in her home city, 1963; and member of the Executive Committee of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

**LEADERS' ITINERARY FOR AUGUST 28 MARCH**

**8:30 am.** Leave Station Hilton Hotel, 11th St. and 1st St. for Capitol by following routes:

Down K St. to Massachusetts Avenue, right to 2nd St., left on Constitution Avenue

**9:00** Meet with Senator Mike Mansfield - Room 115, Old Senate Office Building.

Car will be parked at Constitution Ave. and 2nd St. entrance. After meeting with Mansfield go back to entrance of Constitution Ave. and 1st St., drive to the steps of the Senate side of the Capitol.

**9:30** Meet with Senator Everett Dirksen - Room 4 300, in the Capitol Building.

After meeting with Dirksen, go to House side on foot to Speaker's Room for meeting with McGovern.

**10:00** Speaker's Room - Meet Speaker John McCormack, Congressman Carl Albert and Congressman Charles Malloch.

Meeting car proceeds along to House side steps where it will pick up leaders at end of meeting.

**10:45** Depart Capitol by following routes:

Down Pennsylvania Avenue to B St., left on B St. to 17th St., left on 17th St. to corner of Constitution Avenue and 17th St.

**11:00** Begin march down Constitution Avenue towards Lincoln Memorial.

**1:45 - 2:00** Program begins at Lincoln Memorial.

**4:30** Depart from Lincoln Memorial for the White House by following route: (Leaders will walk on the same level of speakers' platform around and in back of Memorial, down flight of stairs to a car or bus that is parked on the grounds at the Lincoln Memorial, for departure to the White House)

Down 3rd Street, to E Street, to State Place to S. W. entrance of White House.

**6:00** Meet with the President.

Depart from S.W. gate of the White House for TV appearance.

**NOTE:** After leaders have been delivered to starting point at 17th and Constitution Avenue, leaders will leave car or bus to march. The car then will turn around, go back north on 17th Street to E Street, left on E Street to 3rd Street, left on 3rd Street to back of Memorial.

# MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

AUGUST 28, 1963

## LINCOLN MEMORIAL PROGRAM

1. The National Anthem *Led by Marian Anderson.*
2. Invocation *The Very Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington.*
3. Opening Remarks *A. Philip Randolph, Director March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.*
4. Remarks *Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.; Vice Chairman, Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.*
5. Tribute to Negro Women Fighters for Freedom  
Daisy Bates  
Diane Nash Bevel  
Mrs. Medgar Evers  
Mrs. Herbert Lee  
Rosa Parks  
Gloria Richardson  
*Mrs. Medgar Evers*  

6. Remarks *John Lewis, National Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.*
7. Remarks *Walter Reuther, President, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO; Chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.*
8. Remarks *James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.*  
*Eva Jessye Choir*
9. Selection
10. Prayer *Rabbi Uri Miller, President Synagogue Council of America.*
11. Remarks *Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.*
12. Remarks *Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.*
13. Remarks *Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*
14. Selection *Miss Mahalia Jackson*
15. Remarks *Rabbi Joachim Prinz, President American Jewish Congress.*
16. Remarks *The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.*  
*A Philip Randolph*
17. The Pledge
18. Benediction *Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College.*

**"WE SHALL OVERCOME"**

*Statement by the heads of the ten organizations calling for discipline in connection with the Washington March of August 28, 1963:*

"The Washington March of August 28th is more than just a demonstration.

"It was conceived as an outpouring of the deep feeling of millions of white and colored American citizens that the time has come for the government of the United States of America, and particularly for the Congress of that government, to grant and guarantee complete equality in citizenship to the Negro minority of our population.

"As such, the Washington March is a living petition—in the flesh—of the scores of thousands of citizens of both races who will be present from all parts of our country.

"It will be orderly, but not subservient. It will be proud, but not arrogant. It will be non-violent, but not timid. It will be unified in purposes and behavior, not splintered into groups and individual competitors. It will be outspoken, but not raucous.

"It will have the dignity befitting a demonstration in behalf of the human rights of twenty millions of people, with the eye and the judgment of the world focused upon Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963.

"In a neighborhood dispute there may be stunts, rough words and even hot insults; but when a whole people speaks to its government, the dialogue and the action must be on a level reflecting the worth of that people and the responsibility of that government.

"We, the undersigned, who see the Washington March as wrapping up the dreams, hopes, ambitions, tears, and prayers of millions who have lived for this day, call upon the members, followers and wellwishers of our several organizations to make the March a disciplined and purposeful demonstration.

"We call upon them all, black and white, to resist provocations to disorder and to violence.

"We ask them to remember that evil persons are determined to smear this March and to discredit the cause of equality by deliberate efforts to stir disorder.

"We call for self-discipline, so that no one in our own ranks, however enthusiastic, shall be the spark for disorder.

"We call for resistance to the efforts of those who, while not enemies of the March as such, might seek to use it to advance causes not dedicated primarily to civil rights or to the welfare of our country.

"We ask each and every one in attendance in Washington or in spiritual attendance back home to place the Cause above all else.

"Do not permit a few irresponsible people to hang a new problem around our necks as we return home. Let's do what we came to do—place the national human rights problem squarely on the doorstep of the national Congress and of the Federal Government.

"Let's win at Washington."

SIGNED:

Mathew Ahmann, *Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.*

Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, *Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.*

James Farmer, *National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality.*

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., *President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.*

John Lewis, *Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.*

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, *President of the American Jewish Congress.*

A. Philip Randolph, *President of the Negro American Labor Council.*

Walter Reuther, *President of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and Chairman,*

*Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.*

Roy Wilkins, *Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*

Whitney M. Young, Jr., *Executive Director of the National Urban League.*

*In addition, the March has been endorsed by major religious, fraternal, labor and civil rights organizations. A full list, too long to include here, will be published.*

## WHAT WE DEMAND\*

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans

access to all public accommodations  
decent housing  
adequate and integrated education  
the right to vote

2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.

3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.

4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment—reducing Congressional representation of states where citizens are disfranchised.

5. A new Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by federal funds.

6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.

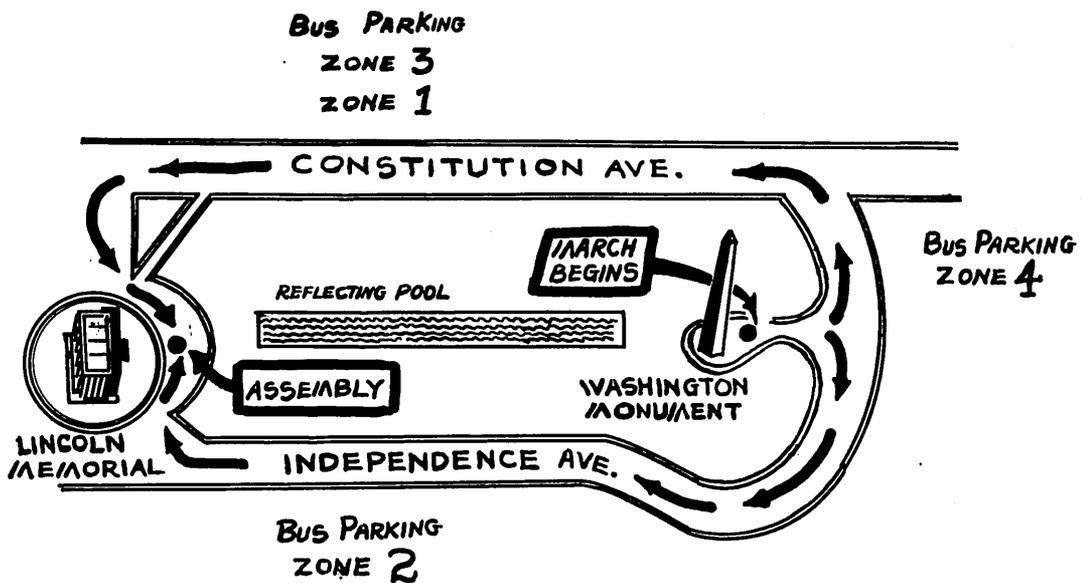
7. A massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.

8. A national minimum wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living. (Government surveys show that anything less than \$2.00 an hour fails to do this.)

9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.

10. A federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by federal, state, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.

\*Support of the March does not necessarily indicate endorsement of every demand listed. Some organizations have not had an opportunity to take an official position on all of the demands advocated here.



the time is NOW  
for ALL Americans to join the . . .

LB 8/21/63

# MARCH ON WASHINGTON

★ FOR JOBS and FREEDOM ★

## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28th, 1963

America faces a crisis . . .

Millions of Negroes are denied freedom . . . .

Millions of citizens, black and white, are unemployed . . . .

The twin evils of discrimination and economic deprivation plague the Nation and rob all people, Negro and White, of dignity and self-respect. As long as black workers are voteless, exploited, ill-housed, denied education and underpaid the fight of the white workers for decent wages and working conditions will fail.

### We Are Marching . . . for freedom

- To demand the passage of effective civil rights legislation in the present session which will guarantee to all:
  - decent housing*
  - access to all accommodations*
  - immediate desegregation of the Nation's schools*
  - the right to vote*
- An end to police brutality directed against citizens using constitutional right of peaceful demonstration.
- To prevent compromise or filibuster against such legislation.

### for jobs

- To demand a Federal massive works and training program that puts all unemployed workers, black and white, back to work
- To demand an FEP Act which bars discrimination by Federal, state and municipal governments, by private employers, by contractors, employment agencies and trade unions
- To demand a national minimum wage of not less than \$2.00 per hour which covers all workers

Ride the Chicago **FREEDOM TRAIN**

Special rate \$27.00 per passenger — round trip

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**MARCH ON WASHINGTON**  
FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

4859 South Wabash Avenue

Chicago 15, Illinois

Phone 624-1810

(see other side for reservation form)

Chicago Committee  
**MARCH ON WASHINGTON**  
**FOR JOBS and FREEDOM**

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FORM B

# **SPEECHES BY THE LEADERS**

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH • ROY WILKINS • JAMES FARMER  
Rev. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE • RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ  
WHITNEY M. YOUNG • Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.  
MATHEW AHMANN • JOHN LEWIS • WALTER REUTHER

## **The MARCH on WASHINGTON for Jobs and Freedom**

**AUGUST 28, 1963**

PRINTED AS A PUBLIC SERVICE BY

**The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**  
20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

Statement by the heads of the ten organizations calling for discipline in connection with the Washington March of August 28, 1963:

"The Washington March of August 28th is more than just a demonstration.

"It was conceived as an outpouring of the deep feeling of millions of white and colored American citizens that the time has come for the government of the United States of America, and particularly for the Congress of that government, to grant and guarantee complete equality in citizenship to the Negro minority of our population.

"As such, the Washington March is a living petition--in the flesh--of the scores of thousands of citizens of both races who will be present from all parts of our country.

"It will be orderly, but not subservient. It will be proud, but not arrogant. It will be non-violent, but not timid. It will be unified in purposes and behavior, not splintered into groups and individual competitors. It will be outspoken, but not raucous.

"It will have the dignity befitting a demonstration in behalf of the human rights of twenty millions of people, with the eye and the judgment of the world focused upon Washington, D. C. , on August 28, 1963.

"In a neighborhood dispute there may be stunts, rough words and even hot insults; but when a whole people speaks to its government, the dialogue and the action must be on a level reflecting the worth of that people and the responsibility of that government.

"We, the undersigned, who see the Washington March as wrapping up the dreams, hopes, ambitions, tears, and prayers of millions who have lived for this day, call upon the members, followers and wellwishers of our several organizations to make the March a disciplined and purposeful demonstration.

"We call upon them all, black and white, to resist provocations to disorder and to violence.

"We ask them to remember that evil persons are determined to smear this March and to discredit the cause of equality by deliberate efforts to stir disorder.

"We call for self-discipline, so that no one in our own ranks, however enthusiastic, shall be the spark for disorder.

"We call for resistance to the efforts of those who, while not enemies of the March as such, might seek to use it to advance causes not dedicated primarily to civil rights or to the welfare of our country.

"We ask each and every one in attendance in Washington or in spiritual attendance back home to place the Cause above all else.

"Do not permit a few irresponsible people to hang a new problem around our necks as we return home. Let's do what we came to do--place the national human rights problem squarely on the doorstep of the national Congress and of the Federal Government.

"Let's win at Washington. "

SIGNED:

Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. , President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, President of the American Jewish Congress.

A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council.

Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and Chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Whitney M. Young, Jr. , Executive Director of the National Urban League.

In addition, the March has been endorsed by major religious, fraternal, labor and civil rights organizations.

**A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**

Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group. We are not an organization or a group of organizations. We are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited. But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not and we know that we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a fair employment practices act but what good will it do if profit-g geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers, black and white. We want integrated public schools but that means we also want federal aid to education -- all forms of education. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now, we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this profit priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits -- for we are the worse victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

And so we have taken our struggle into the streets as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitudes through the streets of Judea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the Federal government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the Freedom Riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1946 Supreme Court decision banning discrimination in interstate travel was enforced and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tensions than enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will bring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle but a new beginning not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of federal aid to education and there you will find the enemy of the Negro -- the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seeks to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and technique that built the labor movement, founded churches and now guide the civil rights revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave it will be to carry the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land and we shall return again and again to Washington in ever growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength and faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.

**Rev. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE**

I wish, indeed, that I were able to speak for all Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox Christians as I speak here today in behalf of full justice and freedom for all who are born or living under the American flag. But that is precisely the point. If all the members and all the ministers of the constituency I represent here today were ready to stand and march with you for jobs and freedom for the Negro community together with those of the Roman Catholic Church and of the synagogues in America, then the battle for full civil rights and dignity would be already won.

I do, however, in fact represent officially the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. And I am honored to be here in the highest tradition of that council and of the churches that constitute it, thus to represent one of the sponsoring bodies of this march for jobs and freedom.

For many years now the National Council of Churches and most of its constituent communions have said all the right things about civil rights. Our official pronouncements for years have called for a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society but as of August 28, 1963, we have achieved neither a non-segregated church nor a non-segregated society and it is partly because the churches of America have failed to put their own houses in order, that 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, 175 years after the adoption of the Constitution, 173 years after the adoption of the Bill of Rights, the United States of America still faces a racial crisis.

We do not, therefore, come to this Lincoln Memorial in any arrogant spirit of moral or spiritual superiority to set the Congress or the nation straight or to judge or to denounce the American people in whole or in part. Rather we come--late, late we come--in the reconciling and repentent spirit in which Abraham Lincoln of Illinois once replied to a delegation of morally arrogant churchmen who came to see him. He said: "Never say God is on our side, rather pray that we may be found on God's side." We come in the fear of God that moved Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, whose memorial stands across the lagoon, once to say: "Indeed I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just."

Yes, we come to march behind and with these amazingly able leaders of the Negro American who, to the shame of almost every white American, have alone and without us mirrored the suffering of the cross of Jesus Christ. They have offered their bodies to arrest and violence, to the hurt and indignity of firehoses and dogs, of derisions and of poverty and some death for this just cause.

We come and late we come, but we come to present ourselves this day, our souls and bodies, to be a living sacrifice holy and acceptable to God which is our reasonable service in a kind of tangible, visible sacrament which alone in times like these can manifest to a troubled world the grace that is available at communion table or high altar. We come in prayer that we in our time may be more worthy to bear the name our tongues so fluently profess. We come in faith that the God who made us and gave His Son for us and for our salvation will overrule the fears and hatred that so far have prevented the establishment of full racial justice in our beloved country. We come in hope that those who have marched today are but a token of a new and massive, high determination of all men of religion and of patriotism to win in this nation under God liberty and justice for all. And we come--late we come--we come in that love revealed in Jesus Christ which reconciles into true community all men of every color, race and nation who respond in faith and obedience to Him.

**JOHN LEWIS**

We march today for jobs and freedom but we have nothing to be proud of, for hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here -- for they're receiving starvation wages or no wages at all. While we stand here there are sharecroppers in the Delta of Mississippi who are in the fields working for less than \$3.00 a day, 12 hours a day.

While we stand here there are students in jails on trumped-up charges. Our brother, James Farmer, along with many others, is also in jail. We come here today with a great sense of misgiving. It is true that we support the Administration's civil rights bill. We support it with great reservations, however. Unless Title III is put in this bill, there's nothing to protect the young children and old women who must face police dogs and fire hoses in the South while they engage in peaceful demonstrations.

In its present form, this bill will not protect the citizens of Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear of a police state. It will not protect the hundreds and thousands of people that have been arrested upon trumped-up charges. What about the three young men, SNCC field secretaries in Americus, Georgia, who face a death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

As it stands now, the voting section of the bill will not help the thousands of black people who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama and Georgia who are qualified to vote but lack a sixth grade education.

"One man, one vote", is the African cry. It is ours too. It must be ours. We must have legislation that will protect the Mississippi sharecropper who has been put off his farm because he dared to register to vote. We need a bill that will provide for the homeless and starving people of this nation. We need a bill that will insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose whole income is \$100,000 a year. We must have a good FEPC bill.

My friends, let us not forget that we are involved in a serious social revolution. By and large, American politics is dominated by political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation.

There are exceptions, of course. We salute those. But what political leader can stand up and say, "my party is a party of principles." For the party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party? Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to march on Washington? Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to march in the streets of Birmingham? Where is the political party that will protect the citizen of Albany, Georgia?

Do you know that in Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted not by the Dixiecrats but by the Federal Government for peaceful protest? But what did the Federal Government do when Albany's deputy sheriff beat Attorney C.B. King and left him half dead? What did the Federal Government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King and she lost her baby?

To those who say "be patient and wait," we must say that we cannot be patient. We do not want our freedom gradually, but we want to be free now. We are tired. We are tired of being beaten by policemen. We are tired of seeing our people locked up in jail over and over again, and then you holler be patient. How long can we be patient? We want our freedom and we want it now. We do not want to go to jail but we will go to jail if this is the price we must pay for love, brotherhood and true peace.

I appeal to all of you to get into this great revolution that is sweeping this nation. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and hamlet of this nation until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete. We must get in this revolution and complete the revolution, for in the Delta of Mississippi, in Southwest Georgia, in the black belt of Alabama, in Harlem, in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and all over this nation the black masses are on the march for jobs and for freedom. Talking about slow down and stop! We will not stop! All of the forces of Eastland, Barnett, Wallace and Thurmond will not stop this revolution.

If we do not get meaningful legislation out of this Congress, the time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the streets of Jackson, through the streets of Danville, through the streets of Cambridge, through the streets of Birmingham. But we will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today. By the force of our demands, our determination and our numbers, we shall splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them together in an image of God and democracy.

We must say wake up America, wake up, for we cannot stop and we will not and cannot be patient.

#### WALTER REUTHER

Brother Randolph, fellow Americans and friends. I am here today with you because with you I share the view that the struggle for civil rights and the struggle for equal opportunity is not the struggle of Negro Americans but the struggle for every American to join in.

For 100 years the Negro people have searched for first-class citizenship and I believe that they cannot and should not wait until some distant tomorrow. They should demand freedom now. Here and now.

It is the responsibility of every American to share the impatience of the Negro American. And we need to join together, to march together and to work together until we have bridged the moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights. American democracy has been too long on pious platitudes and too short on practical performance in this important area.

Now one of the problems is that there is too much high octane hypocrisy in America. There is a lot of noble talk about brotherhood and some Americans drop the brother and keep the hood. To me the civil rights question is a moral question. It transcends partisan politics. And this rally today is the first step in a total effort to mobilize the moral conscience of America and to ask the people in Congress of both parties to rise above their partisan differences and enact civil rights legislation now.

Now the President, President Kennedy, has offered a comprehensive but moderate bill. That bill is the first meaningful step. It needs to be strengthened. It needs FEPC and other strong provisions and the job question is crucial because we will not solve education or housing or public accommodations as long as millions of Americans, Negroes, are treated as second-class economic citizens and denied jobs. And as one American I take the position, if we can have full employment and full production for the negative end of war then why can't we have a job for every American in the pursuit of peace. And so our slogan has got to be fair employment but fair employment within the framework of full employment so that every American can have a job.

I am for civil rights as a matter of human decency, as a matter of common morality but I am also for civil rights because I believe that freedom is an indivisible value, that no one can be free unto himself. And when Bull Connor, with his police dogs and fire hoses, destroys freedom in Birmingham, he destroys my freedom in Detroit. And let us keep in mind, since we are the strongest of the free nations of the world, since you cannot make your freedom secure except as we make freedom universal so that all may enjoy its blessings, let us understand that we cannot defend freedom in Berlin as long as we deny freedom in Birmingham.

This rally is not the end, it is the beginning. It is the beginning of a great moral crusade to arouse Americans to the unfinished work of American democracy. The Congress has to act and after they act we have much work to do in the vineyards of American democracy in every community. Men of good will must join together, men of all races and creeds and colors and political persuasion and

motivated by the spirit of human brotherhood. We must search for the answer in the light of reason through rational and responsible action because if we fail, the vacuum of our failure will be filled by the apostles of hatred who will search in the darkened night and reason will yield to riot and brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed and we will tear asunder the fabric of American democracy.

So, let this be the beginning of that great crusade to mobilize the moral conscience of America so that we can win freedom and justice and equality and first-class citizenship for every American not just for certain Americans, not only in certain parts of America but in every part of America, from Boston to Birmingham, from New York to New Orleans and from Michigan to Mississippi. Thank you.

**JAMES FARMER\***

The message that I shall give to you today was written by Jim Farmer from a Plaquemine jail and I shall quote his message now.

"From a South Louisiana parish jail, I salute the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Two hundred thirty-two freedom fighters jailed with me in Plaquemine, Louisiana, also send their greetings. I wanted to be with you with all my heart on this great day. My imprisoned brothers and sisters wanted to be there too. I cannot come out of jail while they are still in, for their crime was the same as mine, demanding freedom now, and most of them will not come out of jail until the charges are dropped or their sentences served. I cannot let the heroic Negro citizens of Plaquemine down by leaving them now when they are behind bars. I know that you will understand my absence. So we cannot be with you today in body but we are with you in spirit.

"By marching on Washington, your tramping feet have spoken the message--the message of our struggle in Louisiana. You have given notice of the struggles of our people in Mississippi and Alabama, too, and in California and in New York and Chicago and in Brooklyn. You have come from all the nation and in one mighty voice you have spoken to the nation. You have also spoken to the world. You have said to the world by your presence here, as our successful direct action in numberless cities have said, that in the age of thermonuclear bombs violence is outmoded as the solution to the problems of men. It is a truth that needs to be shouted loudly and no one else anywhere in the world is saying it as well as the American Negroes through their non-violent direct action.

"The teargas and the electric cattle prods of Plaquemine, Louisiana, like the fire hoses and dogs of Birmingham are giving to the world a card in ugly message of terror and brutality and hate. There is a message of pitiful hopelessness from little and unimaginative men to a world that fears for its life. It is not they to whom the world is listening today, it is to American Negroes.

"Our direct action method is breaking down barriers all over the country in jobs, in housing, in schools, in public places is giving hope to the world to peoples who are weary of warfare and who see extinction hovering over the future like an omnibus mushroom cloud. If we can solve our problem and remove the heavy heel of oppression from our necks with our methods, then man has no problems anywhere in the world which cannot be solved without death.

"So we are fighting not only for our rights and our freedom, we are fighting not only to make our nation safe for the democracy it preaches, we are fighting also to give our whole world a fighting chance for survival. We are fighting to give millions of babies yet unborn, black, white, yellow and

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\* delivered by Floyd McKissick, chairman, Congress of Racial Equality

brown, a chance to see day and to carry on the battle to remove the night of hate, hunger and disease from the world.

"You, thus, are at the center of the world's stage. Play well your roles in your struggle for freedom. In the thousands of communities from which you have come throughout the land act with valor and dignity and act without fear. Some of us may die, like William L. Moore or Medgar Evers, but our war is for life not for death and we will not stop our demands for freedom now. We will not slow down. We will not stop our militant peaceful demonstrations.

"We will not come off of the streets until we can work at a job befitting of our skills in any place in the land. We will not stop our marching feet until our kids have enough to eat and their minds can study a wide range without being cramped in Jim Crow schools. Until we live wherever we choose and can eat and play with no closed doors blocking our way, we will not stop the dogs that are biting us in the South and the rats that are biting in the North. We will not stop until the heavy weight of centuries of oppression is removed from our backs and like proud men everywhere we can stand tall together again."

That is Jim Farmer's message. May I add that may this day be a day of beginning for us and may we rededicate ourselves to the most effective weapon that we have and that we have achieved success by--that is the weapon of direct non-violent action. Go back to your homes, do not be misled and carry on the fight to free all Americans, black and white.

#### WHITNEY M. YOUNG

Brother Randolph, fellow Americans. The National Urban League is honored to be a participant in this historic occasion. Our presence here not only reflects the civil rights community's increased respect for and awareness of the Urban League's role but, most important, it says, and I hope loud and clear, that while intelligence, maturity and strategy dictate that as civil rights agencies we use different methods we are all united as never before on the goal of first-class citizenship for all Americans now.

That we meet here today in common cause, not as white people nor as black people nor as members of any particular group, is a tribute to those Americans who dare to live up to and practice our democratic ideals and our religious heritage. That we meet here today is a tribute also to all black Americans who for 100 years have continued in peaceful and orderly protest to bear witness to our deep faith in America and in this method of protest to effect change. That we meet here at all, however, is to the shame of some who have always blocked the progress of the brown American, and to the shame of those who would make deals with watered-down civil rights legislation or take cowardly refuge in technical details around elementary human rights and who would even now delay until after Christmas the consideration of these bills before Congress.

One should not seek here to atone for his past failures as a responsible citizen of the majority group. The evils of the past and the guilts about it cannot be erased by a one-day pilgrimage, however magnificent. Nor can this pilgrimage substitute for an obligation to tomorrow by these same citizens. And so this march must go beyond this historic moment, for the true test of the rededication and the commitment which should flow from this meeting will be in recognition that however impressed or however incensed our congressional representatives are by this demonstration they will not act because of it alone.

We must support the strong, we must give courage to the timid, we must remind the indifferent and we must warn the opposed. Civil rights which are God-given and constitutionally guaranteed are not negotiable in 1963. Furthermore, we must work together even more closely back home where the job must be done to see that Negro Americans are accepted as first-class citizens and that they are enabled to do some more marching.

They must march from the rat-infested, overcrowded ghettos to decent, wholesome, unrestricted, residential areas dispersed throughout our cities. They must march from the relief rolls to the

established re-training centers, from under-employment as unskilled workers to higher occupations commensurate with our skills. They must march from the cemeteries where our young, our newborn, die three times sooner and our parents die seven years earlier. They must march from there to establish health and welfare centers. They must march from the congested, ill-equipped schools which breed drop-outs and which smother motivation, to the well-equipped, integrated facilities throughout the city. They must march from the play areas in crowded and unsafe streets to the newly opened areas in the parks and recreational centers. And, finally, they must march from a present feeling of despair and hopelessness, despair and frustration, to a renewed faith and confidence due to intangible programs and visible changes made possible only by walking together to the PTA meetings, to the libraries, to the decision-making bodies, to the schools and the colleges, to the adult education centers for all age groups, to the voter registration booths.

The hour is late, the gap is widening. The rumble of the drums of discontent resounding throughout this land are heard in all parts of the world. The missions which we sent there to keep the world safe for democracy are shallow symbols unless with them goes the living testament that this country practices at home the doctrine which it seeks to promote abroad. How serious our national leaders are will be measured not by words but by the speed and sincerity with which they pass necessary legislation, with which they admit to the tragic injustice that has been done our country and its Negro citizens by historic discrimination and rejection and until they have taken intensive remedial steps to correct the damage in order to give true meaning to the words "equal opportunity." This is the real significance of our march today, August 28, 1963. Our march is a march for America. It is a march just begun.

#### MATHEW AHMANN

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Who can call himself a man, say he is created by God and at the same time take part in a system of segregation which destroys the livelihood, the citizenship, the family life and the very heart of the Negro citizens of the United States? Who can call himself a man and take part in a system of segregation which frightens the white man into denying what he knows to be right, into denying the law of his God? The wind of the racial revolution has finally bent the reeds of the conscience of our people. Never before has the direction we must take been so clear, yet many bend before the winds of injustice and confusion. The balance yet lies with the silent and fearful American. It is he who sees the direction of the future dimly before his conscience who must act if a wholesome and integrated community of Negro and white Americans is to be built without violence and without rending this country's spirit.

We are gathered a long 100 years after Lincoln declared slavery at an end in the United States. Yet, slavery is all too close to us as we demonstrate for equality and freedom today. We live together in a country which has shown remarkable capacity for social change, an ability to absorb people from all over the world and produce out of their unified efforts a strong economic order, glistening ideals, an ability to operate its spirit, its resources, its sons, for the freedom of all mankind. Yet we have tolerated a great blindspot, we have permitted racial discrimination to remain with us too long. The United States of America is a country which produced the Marshall Plan, helped resurrect the spirit and economy of Europe with great dedication and billions of dollars. We have come to the aid of the refugees of the world. What man can say that this great country with its democratic ideals, its vital and resilient spirit, its sophisticated resources, cannot bring an end to racial discrimination at home now and within a decade or two and the other disabilities under which for so long so many Negro citizens have labored?

We dedicate ourselves today to secure federal civil rights legislation which will guarantee every man a job based on his talents and training, legislation which will do away with the myth that the ownership of a public place of business carries the moral or legal right to reject a customer because of the color of his hair or of his skin. We dedicate ourselves to guarantee by legislation that all American citizens have integrated education and the right to vote on reaching legal age. We dedicate ourselves today to secure a minimum wage which will guarantee a man or a woman the resources for a vital and healthy family life, unencumbered by uncertainty and by racial discrim-

ination. A good job for every man is a just demand and it becomes our motto. But we are gathered, too, to dedicate ourselves to building a people, a nation, a world, which is free of the sin of discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin, a world of the sons of God, equal in all important respects, a world dedicated to justice and to fraternal bonds between men.

These are goals the Catholic community shares with all other Americans. Those of us who are gathered here before the Lincoln Memorial and those of us gathered in witness around the nation pledge ourselves that now is the time to respond to the demands of our conscience, pledge ourselves that now is the time we grasp the ideals our faith and our Constitution hold before us. There is no turning back. In a decade or less we will have done our utmost to have secured a community of justice and fraternity and love among us or we will have laid the seeds of our own destruction.

### ROY WILKINS

Thank you, thank you, Mr. Randolph.

First of all, I want to thank all of you for coming here today because you saved me from being a liar. I told them you would be here. They didn't believe me because you always make up your mind at the last minute, and you had me scared. But isn't it a great day? I want some of you to help me win a bet. I want everybody out here in the open to keep quiet and I want to hear a yell and a thunder from all those people out there under the trees. Let's hear you. There is one of them in the tree! I just want to let you know those of you who are sitting down front here that there are a whole lot of people out there under the trees.

My friends, we are here today because we want the Congress of the United States to hear from us in person what many of us have been telling our public officials back home and, that is, WE WANT FREEDOM NOW! We came here to petition our lawmakers to be as brave as our sit-ins and our marchers, to be as daring as James Meredith, to be as unafraid as the nine children of Little Rock, and to be as forthright as the Governor of North Carolina, and to be as dedicated as the Archbishop of St. Louis. We came to speak to our Congress, to those men and women who speak here for us in that marble forum over yonder on the Hill. They know from their vantage point here of the greatness of this whole nation, of its reservoirs of strength and of the sicknesses which threaten always to sap the strength and to erode in one or another selfish and stealthy and specious fashion the precious liberty of the individual which is the hallmark of our country among the nations of the earth.

We have come asking the enactment of legislation that will affirm the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and that will place the resources and the honor of the government of all the people behind the pledge of equality in the Declaration of Independence. We want employment and with it we want the pride and responsibility and self-respect that goes with equal access to jobs--therefore, we want an FEPC bill as a part of the legislative package.

Now for nine years our parents and their children have been met with either a flat refusal or a token action in school desegregation. Every added year of such treatment is a leg iron upon our men and women of 1980. The civil rights bill now under consideration in the Congress must give new powers to the Justice Department to enable it to speed the end of Jim Crow schools, South and North. We are sick of those jokes about public accommodations. We think, for example, that if Mrs. Murphy, rugged individualist as she must be, has taken her chances with the public thus far, she can get along without the solicitous protection of the august Senate of the United States. It is true, of course, that Mrs. Murphy might get a Negro traveler here and there in her boarding house, or in her tourist home, but then we must remember this, she might get a white procurer, or a white embezzler too. So the Congress must require non-discriminatory accommodations.

Now, my friends, all over this land and especially in parts of the Deep South, we are beaten and kicked and maltreated and shot and killed by local and state law enforcement officers. It is simply incomprehensible to us here today and to millions of others far from this spot that the U.S. government

which can regulate the contents of a pill apparently is powerless to prevent the physical abuse of citizens within its own borders. The Attorney General must be empowered to act on his own initiative in the denial of any civil rights, not just one or two, but any civil rights in order to wipe out this shameful situation.

Now the President's proposal represents so moderate an approach that if it is weakened or eliminated the remainder will be little more than sugar water. Indeed, as it stands today, the package needs strengthening and the President should join us in fighting to be sure that we get something more than pap.

And finally, we hear talk of protocol and procedures and rules, including the Senate filibuster rule. Well, we have a thought on that. We declare that rules are made to enable the Congress to legislate and not to keep it from legislating and we are tired of hearing rules cited as a reason why they can't act. Now we expect the passage of an effective civil rights bill. We commend those Republicans in both Houses who are working for it. We salute those Democrats in both Houses who are working for it. In fact, we even salute those from the South who want to vote for it but don't dare do so and we say to those people, just give us a little time and one of these days we will emancipate you! It will get to the place where they can come to a civil rights rally too. If those who support the bill will fight for it as hard and as skillfully as the southern opposition fights against it, victory will be ours.

Just by your presence here today we have spoken loudly and eloquently to our legislature. When we return home, keep up the speaking by letters and telegrams and telephone and, wherever possible, by personal visit. Remember that this has been a long fight. We were reminded of it by the news of the death yesterday in Africa of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. Now, regardless of the fact that in his later years Dr. DuBois chose another path, it is incontrovertible that at the dawn of the 20th Century his was the voice that was calling to you to gather here today in this cause. If you want to read something that applies to 1963 go back and get a volume of "The Souls of Black Folk" by DuBois published in 1903.

Well, my friends, you got religion here today. Don't backslide tomorrow. Remember Luke's account of the warning that was given to us all: "No man", he wrote, "having put his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the Kingdom of God."

Thank you.

#### **RABBI JOACHIM PRINZ**

I speak to you as an American Jew. As Americans we share the profound concern of millions of people about the shame and disgrace of inequality and injustice which make a mockery of the great American idea.

As Jews we bring to this great demonstration, in which thousands of us proudly participate, a twofold experience -- one of the spirit and one of our history.

In the realm of the spirit, our fathers taught us thousands of years ago that when God created man, he created him as everybody's neighbor. Neighbor is not a geographic term. It is a moral concept. It means our collective responsibility for the preservation of man's dignity and integrity.

From our Jewish historic experience of three and a half thousand years we say:

Our ancient history began with slavery and the yearning for freedom. During the Middle Ages my people lived for a thousand years in the ghettos of Europe. Our modern history begins with a proclamation of emancipation.

It is for these reasons that it is not merely sympathy and compassion for the black people of America that motivates us. It is above all and beyond all such sympathies and emotions a sense of complete identification and solidarity born of our own painful historic experience.

When I was the rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing that I learned under those tragic circumstances was that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence.

A great people which had created a great civilization had become a nation of silent on-lookers. They remained silent in the face of hate, in the face of brutality and in the face of mass murder.

America must not become a nation of onlookers. America must not remain silent. Not merely black America, but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the President down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, not for the sake of the black community but for the sake of the image, the dream, the idea and the aspiration of America itself.

Our children, yours and mine, in every school across the land, every morning pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands and then, they, the children, speak fervently and innocently of this land as the land of "liberty and justice for all."

The time, I believe, has come to work together -- for it is not enough to hope together, and it is not enough to pray together -- to work together that this children's oath, pronounced every morning from Maine to California, from North to South, that this oath will become a glorious, unshakeable reality in a morally renewed and united America.

#### **REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as the great beacon light of hope for millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as the joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But 100 years later the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still badly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize the shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our Nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, should be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people

a bad check, a check which has come back marked "Insufficient Funds." But we refuse to believe the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand, the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now.

This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end but a beginning. Those who hoped that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will not be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is guaranteed his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads them to the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. They have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights: "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and the Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations, some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells, some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

I say to you today, my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification -- one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

"My country 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing:  
Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the pilgrims' pride,  
From every mountain-side  
Let Freedom ring."

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So, let freedom ring from the prodigious hill tops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado. Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that, let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring. And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village, from every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last! free at last! thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

WHAT WE DEMAND

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress--without compromise or filibuster--to guarantee all Americans:
  - access to all public accommodations
  - decent housing
  - adequate and integrated education
  - the right to vote
2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.
3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.
4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment--reducing Congressional representation of states where citizens are disfranchised.
5. A new Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by Federal funds.
6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.
7. A massive Federal program to train and place all unemployed workers--Negro and white--on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.
8. A national minimum wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living. (Government surveys show that anything less than \$2.00 an hour fails to do this.)
9. A broadened Fair Labor Standard Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.
10. A Federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by federal, state, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.

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**PLEDGE** Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August, in the Centennial Year of Emancipation, I affirm my complete personal commitment to the struggle for Jobs and Freedom for all Americans.

To fulfill that commitment, I pledge that I will not relax until victory is won.

I pledge that I will join and support all actions undertaken in good faith in accord with the time-honored democratic tradition of non-violent protest, of peaceful assembly and petition, and of redress through the courts and the legislative process.

I pledge to carry the message of the March to my friends and neighbors back home and to arouse them to an equal commitment and an equal effort. I will march and I will write letters. I will demonstrate and I will vote. I will work to make sure that my voice and those of my brothers ring clear and determined from every corner of our land.

I pledge my heart and my mind and my body, unequivocally and without regard to personal sacrifice, to the achievement of social peace through social justice.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Street and number or R.D. box number.)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ 1963  
 (City or town) (zone) (State)

