

Newsletter

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250,000 Make History In Huge Washington March

Convention Principles



Sen. Douglas



Sen. Javits



Roy Wilkins



Leroy Johnson



Dick Gregory



Samuel Proctor



L. D. Reddick



Rev. Kilgore



Rev. Shuttlesworth



Rev. Abernathy

Largest Convention Expected For SCLC In Richmond Meet

What promises to be the largest and most spirited convention in the six-year history of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference will take place the week of Sept. 23 in Richmond, Virginia, when more than 500 delegates assemble for the four-day meet. The convening body will be comprised mostly of representatives from some 75 affiliate groups, churches and organizations from scattered areas across the U. S.

The theme of this year's convention is "Freedom Now!" Host to the meeting will be the Virginia State Unit of SCLC, whose president is Rev. Curtis Harris. Convention headquarters will be at Virginia Union University where all meetings are scheduled to be held in the Belgian Building.

Outstanding Speakers

Some of the nation's most outstanding speakers are scheduled to address the group during the four-day sessions. Among them are Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) and Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), both of whom have distinguished themselves as crusaders for civil rights. The two political stalwarts will each deliver addresses at the first public meeting scheduled for Wednesday evening, Sept. 25, at 8:00 P.M.

Other notables who will make convention addresses include: Georgia State Senator Leroy Johnson; Samuel DeWitt Proctor, president of A & T College, Greensboro, N. C.; and Roy Wilkins, National Executive Secretary, NAACP.

Awards To Be Made

Highlights of the convention will include the annual Freedom Banquet, which will be held in the Virginia Room of the John Marshall Hotel. During the dinner Comedian Dick Gregory is scheduled to receive SCLC's annual "Merit Award" in recognition of his crusading role in the civil rights struggle. Other award recipients

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Portion of huge crowd in Washington March is shown in this memorable photo.

In one of the most peaceful, orderly, well-disciplined demonstrations ever staged in the history of America, 250,000 persons with a grudge against discrimination and a contempt for bigotry made good to their everlasting credit their boldest of plans to March on Washington the day of Aug. 28.

Amassing an assembly that far surpassed even their most exaggerated beforehand expectations, the leaders of the historic march put together the greatest convention ever of human beings seeking a redress of grievances, and when it was ended they had won the respect and sympathies of millions around the world. Their message was carried the length and breadth of America by some 1,600 newsmen who witnessed the unbelievable sight, and their gigantic parade became an unrehearsed TV spectacular for an estimated 80 million viewers.

New Image For Negroes

All America could rightly be proud. And while it is not yet possible to assess the effect the great show of numbers had in gaining their immediate demands for a full and speedy program of civil rights and equal job opportunity, it can be said

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A 'Dream' Spun In Washington Gives Nation A New Tomorrow

By Ed Clayton

The long hot summer of discontent was moving slowly and uneasily toward an uncertain autumn and the promise of a dark winter, grey with despair and bleak with shattered hope. The fires that had burned hotly across the nation in Birmingham, Alabama; Savannah, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; and in New York and California had become smouldering coals, still crackling and sputtering, their intense heat too alive and dangerous to ignore or risk leaving unattended.

Perhaps it could be cooled in the one giant demonstration—the big March on Washington.

Or would it be fanned suddenly alive again, bursting explosively into a mammoth holocaust of blazing blue-white fire, 10 times hotter than a Birmingham?

Only time would tell—time and the day of August 28.

Some Wished For Failure

There were misgivings, grave doubts, wild and alarming predictions of what might happen. Some openly wished for utter failure. Others silently prayed for it. The nation's newspapers looked at it first from a distance, then moved in closer for a tongue-in-cheek observation. They remembered that many, many years before Maissilon, Ohio's Jacob Coxey's ragged band of 400 followers had been put to rout on the Capitol lawn in 1894 after journeying to Washington in protest of a national depression. They also remembered the ill-fated "Soldiers' Bonus" march of 1932, organized in Portland, Oregon, by one-time army sergeant Walter W. Waters, who hoped to pressure Congress into approving a bill for bonus payments to depression-idled veterans. His dreams too came to an end on the morning of July 28 when Infantry troops, tanks and cavalry under the direction of Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur and Col. Dwight D. Eisenhower, sent them scurrying from Capitol Hill with fixed bayonets, tear gas and gunfire.

Against history's tattered backdrop of such miserable failures what could an army of Negroes expect to gain or hope to accomplish?

No one really knew for certain. Their aims had been outlined in reasonable terms, precise language and clear meaning.

But still there hung an aura of expectancy about the March—an intangible something that could not be pinpointed, a kind of wished-for added attraction that the 10 leaders and organizers had not been able to inject into the plans for the mammoth assembly despite their many meetings and long hours of refining detail.

The nation waited and watched. The press of the world turned its collective eyes toward the marchers.

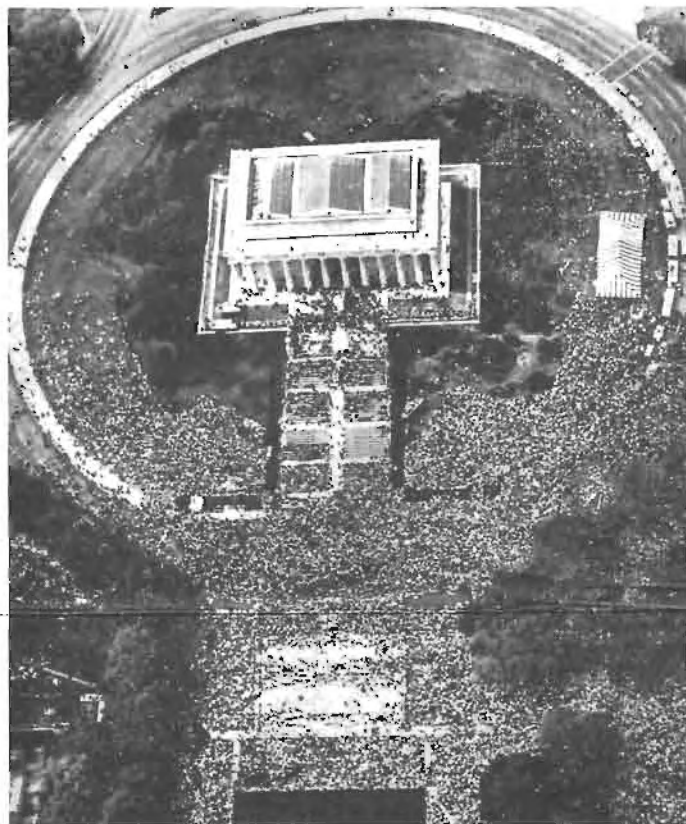
Washington recessed. Downtown businesses opened their doors to shoppers who never came. Office buildings were shuttered and employees told to take the day off.

Disappointing At First

Then the marchers began assembling at the foot of the Washington Monument, slowly at first, disappointingly off the pace predicted by the organizers. Radio and television newscasters began their long vigil, timidly estimating the thin numbers of the slowly gathering transients from America's cities. Their voices reflected the slack, not-too-impressive pace of the massing until one began to wonder if the dream of 100,000 marchers had been only a fantasy of wishful thinking.

Surely in this hour of truth in the search for freedom the

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BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE MARCH—Helicopter photo taken during March on Washington shows huge swarm of humanity around historical memorial. Low-flying planes hovered constantly over crowd to provide press photo coverage and spot checks for officials and authorities.

What JFK Said About March

The following are excerpts from President Kennedy's 400-word message immediately following the March on Washington, Aug. 28:

"We have witnessed today in Washington tens of thousands of Americans — both Negro and white — exercising their right to assemble peaceably and direct the widest possible attention to a great national issue. Efforts to secure equal treatment and equal opportunity for all without regard to race, color, creed or nationality are neither novel nor difficult to understand. What is different today is the intensified and widespread public awareness of the need to move forward in achieving these objectives which are older than this nation.

"Although this summer has seen remarkable progress in translating civil rights from principles into practices, we have a very long way yet to travel. One cannot help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterizes the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our Democratic form of government. The leaders of the organizations sponsoring the March and all who have participated in it deserve appreciation for the detailed preparations that made it possible and for the orderly manner in which it has been conducted.

"The executive branch of the Federal Government will continue its efforts to obtain increased employment practices . . . In addition, our efforts to secure enactment of the legislative proposals made to the Congress will be maintained, including not only the civil rights bill, but also proposals to broaden and strengthen the manpower development and training program, the Youth Employment Bill, amendments to the Vocational Education Program, the establishment of a work-study program for high school age youth, strengthening of the adult basic education provisions in the Administration's education program and the amendments proposed to the public welfare work, relief and tax training program."

CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1)



Rev. Walker



Rev. King

during the convention will be the Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights, which will receive the "Affiliate Of The Year" award, and Fred L. Shuttlesworth, its president, who will be presented the "Rosa Parks Freedom Award." Also receiving a special award will be Sarah Patton Boyle, of Charlottesville, Va., author of *The Desegregated Heart*.

Among officers of SCLC who will make appearances before the conventioners will be Wyatt Tee Walker, SCLC Executive Director, who will deliver the Convention keynote address on Sept. 25; Ralph D. Abernathy, Financial Secretary, who will preside over the Thursday evening public meeting; and L. D. Reddick, SCLC Historian, who will deliver a special address.

On Friday at noon, Rev. Thomas C. Kilgore, director of SCLC's New York office, will deliver the annual conference sermon.

The convention will close with SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. delivering the "Freedom Message" in the final address at the last public meeting.

Music throughout the convention will be furnished by the famous Alabama Christian Movement choir along with the choirs of Virginia Union University, the First Baptist Church of Hampton, Va., the First Baptist Church of Newport News, Va., and the Goodwill Community Chorus of Petersburg, Va.

MARCH

(Continued from Page 1)

that the Negro at least earned a new image for himself.

The newspapers, in their headline and detailed coverage of the March, made repeated references to "neat, well-dressed men in business suits," and the "attractive, equally well-dressed women." It was as if they were discovering for the first time that Negroes could and did make, neat, clean appearances—just like other Americans.

It was, as President Kennedy said, that "the nation can properly be proud of the demonstration that has occurred here today."

Certain it is that 20 million of them can be very, very proud.

THANKS!

SCLC wishes to thank the many readers of its Newsletter who have sent in contributions to help pay the printing costs. If you enjoy it each month and do not receive it in the mail, just send your name and address to us and we will be happy to add you to our mailing list.



PRESIDENT GREETES LEADERS—At conclusion of March on Washington, President Kennedy met with the leaders at the White House for 75 minutes and expressed his happiness that the huge demonstration, which had his blessings, had been so successful. Upon learning that the leaders had not eaten since breakfast, the President promptly sent out for hot hors d'oeuvres.

Richmond Points Of Interest

Richmond, Virginia, the city chosen as the site for SCLC's convention this year, has a historical background that is deeply interwoven in the fibre of America's history. It is not only the capital of the state which has given this nation eight presidents, but once served as the capital of the Confederate States when Virginia seceded from the Union on April 17, 1861.

In other areas of interest, visitors might note the following:

● **THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY** has its headquarters in Richmond in the house occupied by the Robert E. Lee family during the Civil War and its library and portrait gallery in an annex. The library has 100,000 printed items and 500,000 miscellaneous prints, maps, etc. relating to early history. It has original diaries of George Washington and William Byrd, II, letterbooks of Gov. Alex Spotswood and "King" Carter, military papers of Gen. Robert E. Lee and the library of John Randolph of Roanoke. Over 500 paintings include portraits of the Lee and Randolph families. John Marshall (the society's first president), Arthur Lee, and works by Wollaston, Hesselius, Sully and Charles Willson Peale.

● **THE VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF THE FINE ARTS** in Richmond is administered by the Commonwealth of Virginia. It has a comprehensive collection of old masters of the Italian, Dutch, English and French schools, as well as a fine group by American artists, historical and modern.

● **TALLEST BUILDINGS:** Central National Bank Bldg.; height, 282 feet; 24 stories high; and the First National Bank Building; height, 262 feet; 19 stories high.



WEARY ORGANIZER—After weeks of helping work out the tremendous organizational details of the March, SCLC Regional Representative Walter E. Fauntroy (left) of Washington, D. C., pauses reflectively during platform proceedings. Rev. Fauntroy, pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church in Washington, did a yeoman's job in helping coordinate SCLC's participation with other sponsoring organizations.

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AIMS AND PURPOSES OF SCLC

1. To achieve full citizenship rights, and total integration of the Negro in American life.
2. To stimulate non-violent direct mass action to remove the barriers of segregation and discrimination.
3. To disseminate the creative philosophy and techniques of non-violence through local and area workshops.
4. To secure the right and unhampered use of the ballot for every citizen.
5. To reduce the cultural lag through the Citizenship Training Program.

Editorial

Where We Go From Here

The big question that seemed in immediate need of an answer following the colossal success of the March on Washington was: "Where does the Negro go from here?" Critics, of course, were soundly convinced that the marchers at least had proved that the Negro was quite capable of amassing numbers and that his "get-togethers" did not always have to be in the classic stereotype of Saturday night fish fries with flashing razors substituted for dinner knives.

But the question was a large one, and one that deserved answering in crystal clear language.

The placards and signs carried by that gigantic horde of Constitution Avenue paraders spelled out generally their demands: Jobs; Job-upgrading; Open doors to public accommodations; Equal protection under the law; Open occupancy, etc. All are evil and therefore must be eliminated. How soon or how earnestly they will be dealt with can only be determined in the months to come.

The most modest of their requests, however, a simple demand for the right to vote, will command the most zealous attention from many of the

leaders and to these ends they will continue to devote their unrelenting efforts. There will be no relaxing of the voter registration drives throughout the South particularly until even the least of the oppressed and disfranchised shall be granted their birthright of the ballot.

This then is where we go from here—the long march to the ballot box for all of America's citizens.

Quote & Unquote

Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., in a sermon at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, explaining that the leadership in today's freedom struggle is not only for the highly educated: "I ain't no Ph.D.; I'm God's 'D.'"

* * *

The Atlanta Journal, in an editorial comment about the March: "It was the only revolution that ever began with a Catholic invocation and ended with a Baptist benediction."

* * *

Mrs. Hazel Mangle Rivers, Birmingham mother of eight, relating how a white man apologized after stepping on her foot during the Washington March: "That's the first time that has ever happened to me. I believe that was the first time a white person has ever really been nice to me."

* * *

A. Phillip Randolph, telling a Newsweek reporter before the March on Washington about the social change which has engulfed today's Negro: "This is a full-dress revolution, an inevitable outgrowth of the incompleteness of American History."

* * *

Walter Stovall, after disclosing his secret inter-racial marriage to Charlayne Hunter, first Negro graduate of the University of Georgia: "I can now wear my wedding ring all the time. I used to just wear it on weekends."

* * *

Lena Horne, the singer-actress, explaining in a Show Magazine article why she has adopted a stay-at-home attitude since an insult provoked a lamp-throwing incident in Los Angeles: "I don't go out very much simply because I don't like being around a lot of strangers — any one of whom I might have to hit someday."

* * *

Andrew Young, SCLC Program Director, explaining to a Time Magazine reporter the urgent need for passage of Public Accommodations legislation: "I don't know anything that humiliates me more than to be out in the car and have one of my daughters ask to go to the bathroom and have to tell her, 'No, we can't stop at any of these places. Every time one of them wants to go it's a family crisis.'"



Rev. Young

Cartoonists View March

From The Atlanta Constitution



Taking His Place



... That's the Spirit!

From The Washington Star



'A House Divided Against Itself Cannot Stand!'

Full Text of Dr. King's Washington Address

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

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly 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 an appalling condition.

In a sense we have 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 would 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 that 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 open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. **Now** is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now 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 granted 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 that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into 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 and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall 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 a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a 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, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment 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 desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and 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 the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

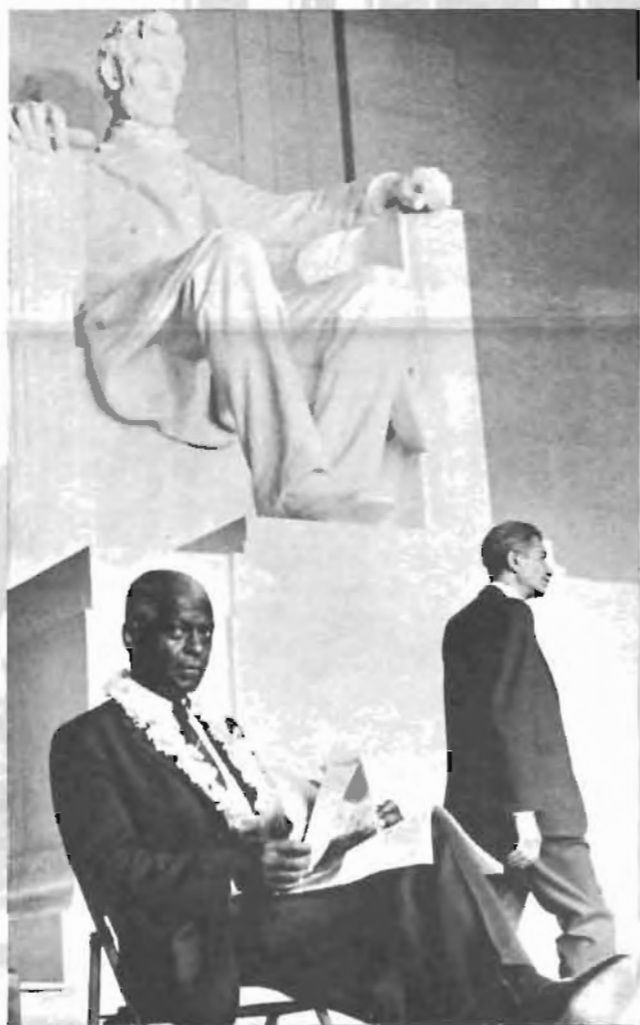
I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough

(Continued on Page 8)

Historic March On Washington Capital



Unbelievable sight, stretching as far as the eye could see from the foot of the Lincoln Memorial to the base of the Washington Monument four-fifths of a mile away, afforded photographers an historic picture that would be remembered for generations to come.



Morehouse College president Bennie Mays presented striking photo while seated beneath the Lincoln statue. Camera also caught Chicago Urban League Executive Secretary "Bill" Berry walking in the background.

Photos These Pages
By
SCLC Executive
Director
Wyatt Tee Walker



Aboard plane for Washington, Dr. King adds finishing touches to draft of speech.

Close-up view of marchers gathering at Washington Monument showed a varied display of placards and signs noting civil rights ills marchers wanted corrected.



tured By SCLC Lensman



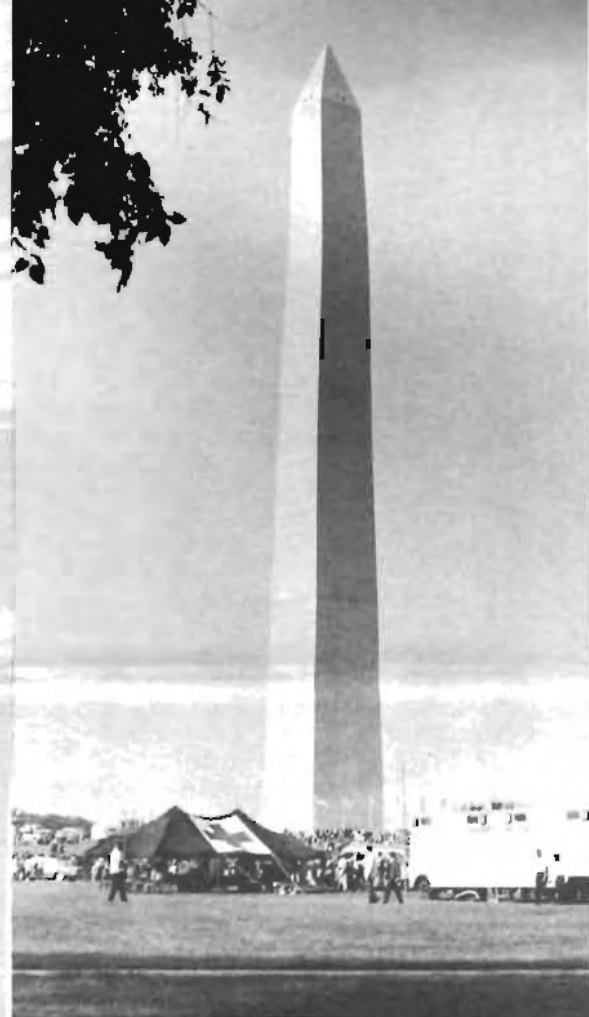
As huge crowd of marchers began to gather before start of program, Dr. King was hoisted aloft TV scaffold to wave to orderly throng. Crowd was in a holiday mood.



With March concluded and an unquestionable tremendous success, its coordinator, Bayard Rustin, leaves the Lincoln Memorial at the end of his long and weary job.

Giving radio interview are Henry Schwarzschild of ADL, New York, (left) and Author James Baldwin.

Typifying festive mood of the marchers was singer-actress Lena Horne.



Imposing Washington Monument shaft towered over early arrivals for March.

Viewing the proceedings are Ralph Bunche of the UN and celebrated entertainer Josephine Baker.



Dr. King's Address

(Continued from Page 5)

places will be made plains, 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 with which I return to the South. 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 pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, 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 curvacious peaks 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 mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and 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!"

A 'Dream' Spun

(Continued from Page 2)

Negro had not lost hope. Surely the call to mass in great strength of numbers as one colossal battalion of witnesses for freedom had not gone unheeded.

Yet one wondered. One could not help but wonder—yet still hope.

Then, as if on cue, from some unseen starter, the legions of men and women, some black some white, began to grow larger, swelling by the seconds and unmistakably increasing with every minute. Wave after wave began joining the growing multitude, and even as the announcers tried to keep tally by guessing at their ballooning numbers, one still could only be satisfied with an estimate and awed by reports that buses were transporting still more marchers into the city through the Baltimore tunnel at the rate of 100 buses per hour.

There could be little doubt, even to the harshest critic, that the March, in terms of numbers, was going to be a spectacular success.

In orderly fashion, smiling yet serious-faced, jovial yet determined, festive yet sure of purpose, they walked the distance of four-fifths of a mile from the monument erected to the founding father of America to the shrine of the man who had toiled to save it from self-destruction. Again at his feet an unheeded minority, an oppressed and abused

orphan, had come to dramatize his dream of belonging to this nation that held freedom above all else and its promise of unqualified equality a sacred heritage.

Walked 4,224 Feet

So they had come, happily walking the distance of 4,224 feet from the base of that monumental, marble-faced shaft stretching skyward 555 feet in tribute to George Washington to the foot of another marble memorial honoring a man whose humble beginnings in a log cabin were not at all unlike that of their ancestors.

Their cause was freedom and he was symbolic of that cause.

Indeed marching had been enough. Indeed mobilizing a great army of human beings, standing shoulder to shoulder, stretching in solid flesh from one monument to the other, ringing to overflowing the outer edges of the Reflection Pool in between and content to remain standing in sweltering 83-degree heat for three and one-half hours was enough.

But there had to be more. The hoped-for had not yet reached its fullest expression.

With fervor they had sung, "We Shall Overcome." With obedience they had seen to it that not one single marcher in their overwhelming multitude of nearly 250,000 had caused one unpleasant incident. With amazing patience they had listened respectfully to the platform proceedings under an unmerciful sun that gradually took its toll as here and there some began to faint and had to be passed overhead, hand-over-hand, to stretcher bearers unable to dent the crowd.

End Draws Near

Finally, the end drew near. A booming voice, resonantly clear, fatherly in intonation and eloquently melodious began an introduction. It was A. Phillip Randolph, the long dreamer of the march. His words of introduction of the next speaker fell electric over the mighty throng.

"... a man who personifies the moral leadership ..."

He didn't finish. The multitude burst into, "hip, hip, hooray" with a spontaneity that did not have the privilege of choosing what could best be the kind of rousing ovation they wished to bestow upon Martin Luther King, Jr.

When the clamor had subsided, Dr. King, the leader, the minister, collected his thoughts at the microphone. He had a prepared speech—one he had composed in longhand in the wee hours of the morning the night before, one he had not completed until almost four o'clock that same morning. He was weary, and although the day had been an exciting and fulfilling one, he was at the point of exhaustion.

With familiar intonation he began the delivery of his address. The great multitude listened in hushed silence.

Then, as he stood there, his voice rising and falling with the inflections of sincere, hypnotic oratory, one began to let one's mind wander with him back through the corridors of history, through the decades and time lapses of which he spoke.

One could begin to imagine that as he stood there looking out across that awesome swell of humanity that his eyes no longer fell upon the shimmering shaft of the Washington monument in the Reflection Pool. Instead, he saw before him in his mind's eye the restless, tortured soul of Negro history, doomed and forever cast into a living hell by an inconsiderate America which once had climbed upon the backs of bonded black men and women to reach an economic might the world had never known.

Anguished Souls

Before him, mirrored in that long and limpid basin of water, must have suddenly appeared a restless, writhing history, reaching to him with outstretched hands, pleading for redemption and a justice tempered with love and kind-

ness. In that moment there must have appeared the anguished souls of more than 3,000 black men and women who had suffered death at the murderous hands of America's lynch mobs. And in that moment there must have been heard the feeble voices of more than a million blacks of a century ago who bore the tortures and scars of human bondage, among them the numberless black women who had been forced to submit to the depravities and drunken desires of their brutal masters.

Generations Of Despair

Surely, Martin Luther King, Jr. must have looked beyond the sea of faces before him and seen in their midst the countless generations of despair and heard the low murmurs of hopelessness echoing down the ancient corridors of unfulfilled dreams.

And within him all the hope of his ancestors, all the shattered dreams of long generations ago were once again vibrantly alive and outpouring, determined to be heard.

'I Have A Dream'

"I have a dream, today," he thundered, and the great mass of humanity before him knew and understood that dream. The eloquent words were lifted beyond their importance of the moment, for not only were they heard by the dedicated legion of 250,000 who had come to hear them, but they were carried across the nation to the ears of some 80 million television viewers, and again bounced off Telstar in outer space to the vast networks of Europe.

The dream for the first time was beginning to be shared by mighty numbers.

And as the dreamer's voice rolled on to great heights of divine and impassioned pleadings, the dream-sharers seemed suddenly awakened to a new awareness and sympathetic understanding.

Hope again had been rekindled.

Wept Unashamedly

When the leader finally had finished men and women alike wept unashamedly. They wept where they stood in that mighty throng, and they wept as they huddled in sidewalk knots watching television sets in store windows across America's cities.

The moment for which the marchers had come to Washington now seemed completely fulfilled. The missing ingredient had at last been cast into the day's superb extravaganza of human drama.

Tomorrow would not be the same. Neither would many of the tomorrows yet to come. For there was no mistaking that the Negro, with a great, solemn, dignified show of overwhelming numbers had knocked loudly at the front door of the land of his birth-right and heritage.

And there seemed to be little doubt that at last the door would now be opened, although the welcome might yet be only a trifle lukewarm.



BENEFIT CONCERT—Participants in the first of the "Stars For Freedom" benefit concerts for SCLC got together on stage at Atlanta's City Auditorium with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at end of star-packed variety show on August 20. Shown from left are: Mimic George Kirby, Dr. King, Yolande Bavan, star Lena Horne and Jon Hendricks.



CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS—The Belgian Building on the campus of Virginia Union University in Richmond will be headquarters for all public meetings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which is scheduled for Sept. 24-27. At left of photo is Robert Vann Tower, named in honor of the late Pittsburgh Courier editor.

Highlights Of SCLC Convention

DATE	TIME	EVENT	SPEAKER
Sept. 24	8:00 P.M.	Banquet	Sen. Leroy Johnson, (Ga.) Dick Gregory
Sept. 25	12:30 P.M.	Kyenote Address	Wyatt Tee Walker
	12:30 P.M.	Public Meeting	Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) Sen. Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.)
Sept. 26	12:30 P.M.	Address	Samuel Dewitt Procter, U. S. Peace Corps
	8:00 P.M.	Public Meeting	Roy Wilkins, NAACP Fred Shuttlesworth
Sept. 27	12:30 P.M.	Conference Sermon	Thomas C. Kilgore, NYC
	8:00 P.M.	Freedom Rally	Martin Luther King, Jr. Ralph D. Abernathy



ALBUM OF SPEECH—Barry Gordy (left), president of Motown Record Co. in Detroit, presents Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. the first album of the speech he delivered during the mammoth Detroit rally last June 23. Gordy flew to Atlanta to make the presentation while singer-actress Lena Horne (right) was appearing there in a benefit concert for SCLC. Gordy's firm also will issue a recording of Dr. King's address in Washington.

Atlanta Ministers Boycott Coca Cola

The Negro Ministers of Atlanta, an organization devoted to securing more and better jobs for Negroes, has launched a boycott of Coca-Cola Bottling Co. in Atlanta and vicinity after four months of negotiations with the soft drink firm failed to meet their employment demands.

Minimum Request

The ministers' group, of which SCLC's financial secretary Ralph D. Abernathy serves as Call Man, made a minimum request for employment or job-upgrading of 16 Negroes after noting that almost all jobs held by Negroes with the Atlanta firm were either manual or menial. The beverage company employs about 45 per cent Negro help and 55 per cent white.

Negotiations with the Atlanta bottling plant were conducted by a committee headed by Rev. Oliver W. Holmes and Rev. E. H. Dorsey. Assistant Call Men in mounting the boycott are Reverends John A. Middleton and J. D. Grier.

Employees Segregated

The ministers' organization, in calling for the boycott, also noted that the plant has segregated facilities for its Negro employees and are asking that this be eliminated. Specifically, they have asked for employment of Negroes in the following categories: 1.) Sales Dept. (one assistant to the sales manager and eight route salesmen); 2.) Premix Dept. (one route salesman); 3.) Cooler Dept. (one service man); 4.) Garage (one full mechanic); 5.) Advertising Dept. (one person); 6.) Factory (two general promotions—either a forklift operator or a loading and unloading foreman); 7.) Office (one clerk typist).

Letters concerning the boycott have been circulated by the ministers asking that congregations be urged not to drink any Coca-Cola products which include Sprite, Tab and fountain orange and grape.

Community reaction in Negro areas has been that many establishments are telling customers they are no longer selling Cokes and some have posted signs saying, "No Cokes For Sale."

SCLC Man 'Winner' In Miss. Mock Vote

Coahoma County Negroes participated in a mock *Freedom Ballot Campaign* in Clarksdale, Miss., on August 27, with some 5,121 unregistered Negroes casting ballots. This was done in Churches, business establishments and at block precincts set up for this purpose.

Of the 5,121 votes cast, 5,047 of them favored Aaron E. Henry, SCLC Board member and president of the Coahoma County Branch NAACP. Thirty-three votes were cast for Paul Johnson and 41 for J. P. Coleman, both white candidates. The vote difference between Johnson and Coleman indicated the unpopularity of both candidates in the Negro community.

The balloting by Negroes was by unregistered Negroes, largely in protest for not being able to register and vote in "elections that count". Coahoma County is a typical Mississippi county.

The total vote cast in the actual Democratic Primary (those actually voting and votes counted) were 4,517. Coleman received 2,671 and Johnson 1,796. If the 5,121 votes cast by unregistered Negro voters in the *Freedom Vote Campaign* could have qualified as registered votes, the outcome of the election obviously would have been different.

Foreign Newsmen Visit

The Atlanta headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was host to visiting newspapermen from two foreign countries last month who were making their first tour of the South.

Kinji Ishizaka, foreign news editor of the Sankei Shimbun newspaper in Tokyo, Japan, was gathering data for his daily which has a two million circulation and prints 15 editions each day. He was accompanied by a U. S. State Department interpreter, Yoshitada Yamagami.

The other newsman was Emil Sip, correspondent for the daily newspaper, Rude Pravo, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, who was preparing a series of articles for his paper.

DIS 'N DATA

Did You Know . . . that SCLC's home office in Atlanta received a letter addressed simply: "Integration Department, U.S.A."? It wasn't a practical joke either. The letter was from a young lady in Canada who was trying to determine the whereabouts of her husband. She wanted to reach the Immigration Dept., but somehow got it confused with integration. The letter was resealed and forwarded. . . . Also, are you aware that one-time Larry Steele singer **Marian Bruce** (now Mrs. Marian Logan) became the first Negro to register at Atlanta's Americana Hotel when she came South for the **Lena Horne** benefit concert for SCLC? The hotel didn't have a definite policy regarding Negroes, and when others later called to make reservations for traveling friends, there was still confusion as to whether or not they would be accepted. Moral: become a celebrity.

Have you Read . . . the September **Show Magazine** cover story by **Lena Horne** entitled, "I Just Want To Be Myself"? Many will be surprised to learn that Lena wrote every word of the expertly-written article, getting an assist only from daughter **Gail**, who helped with punctuation and proof reading. . . . The big, 236-page issue of **Ebony Magazine** for September, which is a "special issue" devoted to 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation. It deserves only a one word comment: "Bravo!"

Have You Heard . . . about the recreation that was sandwiched in between sessions of the two-day SCLC staff and field meeting at **Dorchester Center** in McIntosh, Georgia on Sept. 5-6? It all began when someone produced a ball and bat, which later led to a two-day softball "series" with **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.** choosing and heading one team, and his executive assistant, **Wyatt Tee Walker**, heading the other. Walker pitched his team to victories on both days in the "after-lunch" competition, winning 5-3 in the opener, and taking the finale 7-5. The losing pitcher was P.R. Director **Ed Clayton** for the team captained by **Dr. King**, who proved as adept at first base as he is at making soul-stirring speeches. The lop-sided victories, of course, had nothing to do with the decisions made by first-base umpire **Ralph Abernathy** or game umpire **C. K. Steele** of Tallahassee, Fla. Or did they? Some still wonder.

Success Of SCLC Citizenship School Seen In 50,000 New Registered Voters

By Septima P. Clark

Supervisor Teacher Training Program



Mrs. Clark

The achievements of the Citizenship Education Program have been numerically measured by the number of men and women from Eastern Texas to Northern Virginia who have registered to vote in the past two years. Up to now there are approximately 50,000. Some 10,000 of these were students and community people influenced by the students of C.E.P.

The others were sparked by voter Leagues and other Civil Rights Organizations which used the services of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Citizenship Education Program.

17 New Schools

It can safely be said that in South Carolina, 63 schools have been operated with 17 new schools started since the workshop last month at Dorchester Center. The schools and the people-to-people tour led by Dr. King in April, 1962, increased Negro voters from 57,000 to 90,000 in June, 1962, and 110,000 by November 6, 1962, when the new South Carolina Governor, Donald Russell, was elected.

Today, both Senators J. Strom Thurmond and Olin D. Johnston, in television speeches before and after the March on Washington, boasted of South Carolina's 150,000 registered Negroes.

Gets \$4,000 Check

In Huntsville, Alabama, an illiterate laborer at the arsenal was wounded and incapacitated for life. He laid in the hospital several months, but while recuperating attended a Citizenship school at his church. He learned how to file an application for disability. His first check, over a two-year period, brought him more than \$4,000. He joyfully related the story of the service given him by his pastor, then a teacher in the Citizenship School.

There are many stories of the individual changing from a violent to a non-violent person, but the greatest and most rewarding achievements have been the consideration of world problems and the place of strong families in building a secure nation and world and the service rendered to other organizations. The Program has given absolute meaning to the Biblical admonition: "Let every man seek another's and not his own welfare." More than 700 teachers are giving four hours each week of their time to provide the basic human needs of recognition, individual worth and respect to the forgotten man. Real issues, not historical prejudices, are the immediate concerns.

Help By SCLC

On February 16, 1963, in Newberry, S. C. 15 teachers, 83 students from seven counties made known to that community the concern for freedom of S.C.L.C. students in South Carolina and the help S.C.L.C. has available.

The students said:

- 1) "I learned to read in three months."
- 2) "I voted during the school term."

- 3) "I went down to the registrar's office with a neighbor. The neighbor registered."
- 4) "Our class helped our community to unify."
- 5) "We learned about new things (social security)."
- 6) "We did not know there was so much to learn. We are not satisfied with second-class citizenship."
- 7) "I have not missed a night. I learned to write."
- 8) "The class helped me to become a Christian practising Christianity."
- 9) "I received my registration card in two weeks."
- 10) A young high school student said, "I drove my father to school every night. Attending the citizenship school helped me to learn the contributions made by Negroes. I am a senior in Richland County High School and never heard of Benjamin Banneker, Harriett Tubman or Sojourner Truth."
- 11) A parent from Bamberg County learned how to obtain help for her mentally-retarded child. The girl is now in the State's mentally-retarded school.

Organizations have found that the kind of America we need depends chiefly on the type of courage each of us displays. Physical courage in assuming individual responsibility for our own personal welfare, intellectual courage to fight for principles of justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue on which the blessings of liberty depend; spiritual courage to stand uncompromisingly for the religious concept of the dignity and worth and moral responsibility of the individual soul in the eyes of a sovereign God.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is giving this service, Human Relations councils, NAACP chapter presidents, labor unions, members from CORE and SNCC are accepting the service.

"Do come over to Mississippi, and help us train these people to fill in the application blank for registration", said the field secretary for SNCC.

"Come give us a hand in getting dirt farmers to a job-training conference," says the executive secretary of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. "Please give the council a shot in the arm while here and tell them of the Citizenship School Program."

"Please send a member of your staff to help organize the youth in this community and teach them the Freedom Songs. We also need help in the planning of a voter registration campaign." This plea has come from a CORE representative in New Orleans.

"May I bring my NAACP members to a training session", said the chapter president in North Carolina. Our members need your help."

"Do you have films that I can use in the Union Hall?" asks a representative from the Tobacco workers. "Will you bring it and show it?"

The acceptance of these services by other civil rights organizations says that great designs are based on method not madness.



SCLC BOARD MEMBER ON GARBAGE DETAIL—Jailed along with 86 other persons protesting racial discrimination and bigotry in Clarksdale, Miss., SCLC Board Member Aaron Henry (right) suffered the added indignity of being assigned to work on a garbage truck detail. Henry is also president of the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP.

Letters To SCLC

March Reaction

Dear Sirs:

Congratulations on the March. I doubt that any immediate political objectives will be won. The real success was that it demonstrated to all America that the Civil Rights movement is non-violent. Infrequent violence contradicts this—and some people oppose you because of violent reactions from all sectors. (They say any movement that directly or indirectly causes violence is unethical.) I think these people are rationalizing their preconceived positions.

I have a hope that you might well consider. I wish the Civil Rights movement would incorporate the American Indian and the Mexican in Texas. The living conditions of the Navajo, the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne, and the Mexican in the Southwest are just as bad as the Negro's in Mississippi. On the "Rosebud" in Montana many Indians live in tents and tarpaper shacks in the midst of 30° below weather. There are still very many signs "No dogs or Indians allowed." Their main immediate problem is jobs too.

I have this hope that someday the Negro Civil Rights movement will be a National Human Rights movement. Please say a word every now and then for the Indian and Mexican, just as you have incorporated the Puerto Rican in New York.

HOWARD COHEN

Yonkers, New York

Dear Dr. King:

I am one of those white clergymen described by Rev. Blake in his address to the Marchers. My conscience has finally spoken

but it is terribly late. The only hope for me, and many others like me, is that God will lead us to repentance, and you to forgive.

I shall do what I can to become a part of the current struggle for freedom, knowing that not only my Negro brothers need freedom, but that we whites need it too. I have enclosed a check for the Conference, and will continue to send a check to you each month as long as the present struggle continues, and such assistance can be used. May the Lord keep you safe, and true as you labor each day.

EDSON T. LEWIS, JR., MINISTER

MONSEY CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH
Monsey, New York

'Letter' Solves Issue

Dear Sirs:

At a United Nations conference which I attended early this summer I was amazed at the attitudes of some of my fellow Northern whites representing the Christian church. As we argued back and forth about the best way to alleviate segregation the discussion became quite heated. Finally an excerpt of Dr. King's letter (letter from Birmingham Jail) was presented to the teenage group. I believe this resolved the discussion. It was obvious that the Negro cannot be asked to "wait". I thought you might be interested in the effect in one situation of this profound letter.

JOLLY CONINE

Alma Michigan

Ashamed Of History

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the recent copy of the SCLC Newsletter. I enjoyed reading it and would like to receive future copies as issued.

May I say that as a "white" person I am ashamed of the history of our country inasmuch as one group of people has suppressed another. I think all people—"white", "black", "yellow", etc.—have reason to be proud to be part of the human race which

More Civil Rights On TV

Two television networks, continuing in the programming of shows concerned with civil rights issues, have scheduled the following shows for future viewing:

NBC-TV, Thursday, Sept. 26, 10:00-11:00 P.M. EDT—"The Washington Negro". An in-depth appraisal by Chet Huntley of race relations in the nation's Capital.

ABC-TV, Monday, Oct. 23, 7:30-8:30 P.M. NYT—"Behind a Presidential Commitment." The human drama involving top levels of decision-making by Federal and Alabama State governments during the integration crisis at the University of Alabama.

includes that dignified and noble expression of the human spirit in the nonviolent movement of the SCLC.

My husband and I don't contribute much to organizations, as he is a student and we don't have much money beyond our immediate needs, but we are sending a small amount in addition to what we sent to you some months ago.

ELIZABETH THORNDIKE

New York, N. Y.

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

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