'Tremendous, Moving,' They Say of 'Big March'

"A very moving thing ... wonderful to be a part of ... tremendous ... an unforgettable experience!"

These are some of the words Tarrytowners used today in talking about their participation in yesterday's civil rights "march" on Washington ... words they seemed to feel were wholly inadequate to express the depth of their feeling.

'Deeply Impressed'

The Rev. Laurence McGowan, Archbishop Stepinac High School faculty member and preacher at Immaculate Conception Church, North Tarrytown, said he was deeply impressed during the demonstration by the participation of so many whites, and "the obvious feeling of brotherhood which was at work" in the vast crowd.

"I feel sorry for people who were not there, at least in spirit," the priest declared. "With brotherhood, all these problems are already solved."

Ptl. Walter Lawrence of North Tarrytown, on vacation from the Police Dept., served as a marshal at the demonstration. "We had nothing to do!" he declared, amazed at the extreme orderliness of the multitude and the advance organization which helped to achieve this. He said the marshals' only task, aside from

(See MARCH, Page 2)

Find It

Odd One 20

March

(Continued)

directing the huge flow of traffic in and out of the city, was to aid people who fainted from heat or exhaustion, or to corral "lost" youngsters.

Forefront of Audience

As a marshal, Ptl. Lawrence was in the forefront of the vast audience, feeling all the impact of the speakers' words, and near many of the distinguished participants, including Mayor Wagner of New York, whom he greeted "before I even thought about it." As for the spirit of both the demonstration and the trip, shared with others from the community in one of the buses sponsored by Local 664, United Auto Workers, Ptl. Lawrence said it was something he could never forget in a lifetime.

"If the spirit and relationship on the trip were an indication," he declared, "there would be no problem." Citing a speaker's words, that "the worst thing that can happen to anyone is silence," he said the cordiality of fellow citizens of the Tarrytowns who shared the bus he rode helped to foster friendliness and a genuine feeling of brotherhood.

'Unforgettable'

The other side of the coin was expressed by Mrs. John Urbain, one of these participants, who said the opportunity to meet and know negroes in the informality of the trip was fully as wonderful and "unforgettable" an experience as the demonstration itself.

Mrs. Leonard Kolleeny also affirmed the significance of the "march" and the interracial participation as a "genuinely moving appeal" which she thinks cannot fail to be a "great awakening" for many people. "It was wonderful to be a part of it," she declared.

Like all the local participants interviewed, she felt that even if the demonstration fails to change a single Congressional vote on the impending civil rights bill, as several legislators have asserted, it cannot fail to affect profoundly the millions of watchers. Particularly significant, she felt, were the words of one speaker, that Germany, during the Nazi persecution of the Jews, became "a nation of silent onlookers," and that the American people must not become that also. She was also impressed by the closing pledge, reaffirming belief in all the democratic principles to which only lip service has often been paid.

Also among the 30 individuals from the community on the march were Mrs. Lee Hessel of Cobb Lane, and the Rev. William J. Jiles, pastor of Foster Memorial A.M.E. Zion Church.

450 From Local

Some 450 members of Local 664 traveled to Washington in buses leaving from New York City and union headquarters in North Tarrytown. The buses were paid for from International UAW funds, and arranged for by the Fair Employment Practices committee of the local, headed by David Bryant.

Raymond Calore of Tarrytown, president of Local 664, captained one of the buses and worked with others of the local in setting up coffee and rolls from 3:30 a.m. on, for those arriving for the bus loading. The local also furnished box lunches for the riders.

A recording crew from a government agency boarded one of the buses from North Tarrytown part way to the capital, and taped interviews with "marchers."

The only incident marring yesterday's 4:30 a.m. departure, Mr. Calore said, was that one bus, overshooting its destination at the union hall and taking a wrong turn, had to be aided in getting out of a tight place on Hudson St.

October 18, 1963

Mr. Andrew Joplin
1121 Whittier Street
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Joplin:

Your kind and thoughtful comments regarding my speech at the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom are gratefully received.

This was unquestionably one of the most important efforts we will make in our country in emphasizing the crises and the need for immediate action by our Congress to fulfill the hopes and aspirations of a people who celebrate the centennial anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

With individuals such as yourself we can win this great crusade for human rights and human freedom. I would like to suggest that you enlist with us in our "Task Force for Freedom" which requires only that you write a letter to your congressman and senator urging that they give their whole-hearted support toward enactment of the pending civil rights legislation.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

AUG 29 1963

OWUY246 WUA195 SB412 S LLR504 PD
ST LOUIS MO 28 541P CDT
WALTER REUTHER
AFL CIO DET
MR WALTER REUTHER I THANK YOU FOR A BRILLIANT SPEECH TODAY
THE 28TH IN BEHALF OF MY PEOPLE SINCERELY
ANDREW JOPLIN 1121 WHITTIER ST ST LOUIS MO
(10).
634A EST AUG 29 63

October 17, 1963

Miss Ernita R. Singleton
1818 West 6th Street
Chester, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Singleton:

I have your letter of August 28, 1963 and its very kind and thoughtful comments relating to my participation in the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Thanks for your interest, encouragement and dedication in this great cause for human rights. May I suggest that you enlist with us in our "Task Force for Freedom" which requires only that you write a letter to your congressman and senator urging that they give their full support to the pending civil rights legislation.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

1818 N. 6 St
Chester, Penna.
August 28, 1963

SEP 3 1963

Dear Mr. Reuther,

When you read my letter, I hope it finds you of all people well.

Mr. Reuther I know I along with many other Negro citizens in our own humble way salute you today, and many more to come.

If your speech alone didn't open the eyes of our white citizens then only one more like it will do the trick.

I simply had to take time out to express my thanks to you.

(over)

May God Bless Your Every Effort.

Very, Very Sincerely,

A Negro American Citizen

Miss Anita K. Singleton

October 17, 1963

Miss Vera Ford Powell
Corresponding Secretary
The Links, Inc.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Powell:

Thanks for your letter of August 27, 1963 and its kind expressions with regard to our role in the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

You can be assured of our continued devotion toward improving economic opportunities for Negroes and other members of minority groups throughout the country. The pending Federal Fair Employment Practices Bill can well provide a substantial answer to the current problems of employment for these groups.

May I suggest that you enlist with us in our "Task Force for Freedom" which requires only your writing a letter to your congressman and senator urging that they give their wholehearted support and vote in favor of the pending civil rights proposals.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

AUG 30 1963

Philadelphia Chapter

THE LINKS, INC.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

August 27, 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
Vice-President, CIO-AFL
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

We wish to espress our deep appreciation for the great interest you have shown in increading employment opportunities for Negroes throughout the country.

Yours very truly,

THE PHILADELPHIA LINKS, INC.
Vera Ford Powell
Vera Ford Powell, Corresponding Secretary

October 18, 1963

Mr. Daniel P. Starr
Department of History
Canisius College
Buffalo 8, New York

Dear Mr. Starr:

Your thoughtful words of commendation in your letter of September 10, 1963 are herewith acknowledged.

Our Union was, of course, pleased and privileged to participate in the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom which, I believe, represents a fresh new beginning for America to rededicate itself to the cause of human rights and equal liberties.

May I suggest, in view of your interest, that you enlist with us in our "Task Force for Freedom" which requires only that you write a letter to your congressman and senator urging that they give their immediate support and vote to the pending civil rights proposals.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 12 1963

CANISIUS COLLEGE

BUFFALO 8, NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Sep 10, 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
United Auto Workers
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

Please accept my congratulations for your and your union's fine participation in the August 28th March on Washington.

Also my congratulations to you personally for your magnificent speech.

Sincerely,

Daniel P. Starr

Daniel P. Starr

October 18, 1963

Mrs. Mabel J. Clark
6402 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C., 20012

Dear Mrs. Clark:

Your letter of August 31st, accompanied by the good wishes contained in your card, is gratefully acknowledged.

The interest and enthusiasm which you have expressed with regard to the recent march is most encouraging. This history making event truly marks the beginning of a new era in our country toward the day when every American will enjoy the fundamental precepts of our constitutional guarantees.

I sincerely hope that our contribution along with the thousands who participated on this occasion will give renewed vigor to millions of Americans in our country and inspire them to join with us in the "Task Force for Freedom" by writing to their congressmen and senators urging early enactment of the President's pending civil rights proposal.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

Mr. Walter P. Reuther,
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Sir:

Just a greeting from one of the Pegro Masses who was thrilled by your message August 28th. May I take the liberty of thanking you for your wonderful words in our behalf.

Sorry this will not reach you on your natal Day - but only read in Bill Gold's column (The Washington Post) today that August 31st is Your Special Day.

With best wishes always, I am,

Most Sincerely,

Mabel J. Clark.

Rev. Laurence McGowan - letter to President Reuther
dated August 30, 1963 - White Plains, N.Y.

Andrew Joplin - wire to President Reuther
dated August 29, 1963 - St. Louis, Mo.

Miss Ernita R. Singleton - letter to President Reuther
dated August 28, 1963 - Chester, Pa.

Miss Vera Ford Powell - letter to President Reuther
dated August 27, 1963 - Philadelphia, Pa.

Daniel P. Starr - letter to President Reuther
dated September 10, 1963 - Buffalo, N.Y.

WHO/dg
oeiu42

enc.

OCT 15 1963

Inter-Office Communication

October 14, 1963

To Irving Bluestone

From William H. Oliver

Subject Telegrams and Letters - March on Washington

Dear Irv:

This is in response to your memorandum of September 17, 1963 requesting that I draft replies for President Reuther's signature to certain of the letters relating to the civil rights position taken by the UAW.

OK
final letters
typed + mailed
10/17 + 10/18/63
M.P.

In compliance with your request I am returning herewith the following draft letters which I believe should be responded to personally by Walter.

Mr. Alfred M. Bacon - letter to President Reuther
dated August 28, 1963 - Brownville, Maine

Mrs. Mabel J. Clark - letter and card of good wishes
to President Reuther
dated September 3, 1963 - Detroit, Michigan

George F. Cole - letter to President Reuther
dated August 29, 1963 - Seattle, Washington

Del Eberhardt - letter to President Reuther
dated August 30, 1963 - Woodmont, Conn.

Robert D. Eckel - letter to President Reuther
dated August 29, 1963 - Glen Mills, Pa.

Carl Erickson - letter to President Reuther
dated August 28, 1963 - North Burnaby,
British Columbia

Elsie Geoghegan - letter to President Reuther
dated September 12, 1963 Salt Lake City, Utah

October 17, 1963

Mr. Alfred M. Bacon
Brownville, Maine

Dear Mr. Bacon:

Your very kind and thoughtful letter of August 28th is deeply appreciated.

I have infinite faith in America and I firmly believe that the overwhelming majority of Americans, like yourself, will contribute much toward our achievement of a country in which all men will enjoy our basic constitutional guarantees.

Sincerely yours,

wpr:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

Brownville, Maine.

August 28, 1963.

Mr. Walter L. Reuther,
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Mr. Walter Reuther,-

I listened, on television, to your address at the Lincoln Memorial, this afternoon.

May I congratulate you on your fine, purposeful and eloquent demonstration of what an eminent American carries, in his head and heart, for the good of our country, in all its classes.

Your words honored the great labor union of which you are the head, and, I feel sure, gave your renewed place in the hearts of Americans.

Very sincerely,

Alfred M. Bacon

October 17, 1963

Mr. Del Eberhardt, Associate Director
Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.
112 Beach Avenue
Woodmont, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Eberhardt:

This is in response to your letter of August 30th expressing your interest in obtaining a copy of my remarks at the recent march in Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963.

You will find enclosed herewith a copy of my statement.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther
President

WPR:mp°
oeiu 42
Encl.

bcc: William H. Oliver

HONORARY PRESIDENTS
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
DR. E. STANLEY JONES
PRESIDENT
DR. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
VICE PRESIDENT
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG
TREASURER
PROF. FOWLER HARPER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DR. JEROME DAVIS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
REV. DEL EBERHARDT
NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD
REV. GEORGE G. ACKERLY
REV. KARL BAEHR
DR. HAROLD A. BOSLEY
NEW YORK CITY
DR. CHARLES F. BOSS, JR.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JAMES B. CAREY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
ELISABETH CHRISTMAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.
PRES. RUFUS E. CLEMENT
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
DR. ALBERT BUCKNER COE
BOSTON
DR. HENRY H. CRANE
DETROIT
DR. ABRAHAM CRONBACH
CINCINNATI
DR. KERMIT EBY
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ALBERT V. DANIELSEN
WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS.
PROF. THOMAS I. EMERSON
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
IRVING H. FLAMM
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.
PROF. JOSEPH FLETCHER
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
REV. KENNETH B. FORBES
PHILADELPHIA
OTTO E. GEPPERT
CHICAGO
RABBI ROBERT E. GOLDBURG
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
REV. EMERSON G. HANGEN
LONG BEACH, CALIF.
PROF. S. RALPH HARLOW
SMITH COLLEGE
KIVIE KAPLAN
BOSTON
PROF. JOHN C. KENNEDY
OBERLIN, OHIO
DONALD KEYS
NEW YORK CITY
DR. JOSEPH F. KING
OBERLIN, OHIO
REV. JOHN H. LATHROP
BERKELEY, CALIF.
RABBI EUGENE J. LIPMAN
NEW YORK CITY
PRES. BENJAMIN E. MAYS
MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ROY McCORKEL
SWATHMORE, PA.
REV. JACK R. McMICHAEL
STOCKTON, CALIF.
DR. ALEYANDER MEIKLEJOHN
BERKERLY, CALIF.
DR. CLYDE R. MILLER
NEW YORK CITY
DR. THORNTON W. MERRIAM
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
DEAN WALTER G. MUELDER
BOSTON, MASS.
DR. SCOTT NEARING
HARBORSIDE, MAINE
DR. CLAUD D. NELSON
NEW YORK CITY
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
NYACK, N. Y.
REV. GEORGE L. PAINE
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
DR. RALPH W. SOCKMAN
NEW YORK CITY
REV. CARL SOULE
NEW YORK CITY
REV. CALVIN SUTHERLIN
BERKELEY, CALIF.
DR. ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR.
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
REV. GEORGE TEAGUE
GLEN FALLS, N. Y.
REV. WALLACE VIETS
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
REV. WALTER E. ULRICH
PLATTE, S. DAKOTA
DR. GOODWIN WATSON
NEW YORK CITY
AUBREY W. WILLIAMS
MONTGOMERY, ALA.
REV. LOYD D. WORLEY
MILFORD, CONN.
LOUIS ZEMEL
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES
ENGLAND
GERALD BAILEY
FRANCE
REV. HENRY ROSER
JAPAN
HACHIRO YUASA
INDIA
K. K. CHANDY

SEP 3 1963

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE, Inc.

A Non-Profit, Non-Political, Religious and Educational Organization

112 BEACH AVENUE
WOODMONT, CONNECTICUT
PHONE TRINITY 8-4769

Aug 30, 1963

Mr. Walter P. Ruether
AFL-CIO Auto Workers Union
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Ruether:

On Wednesday, August 28th, I listened to your speech in Washington, D.C. the New York Times did not carry the entire text. I am interested in reading your speech in its entirity. Would you have a copy available? You made some comments bearing upon the larger issue of international peace which were of particular interest to me.

Yours sincerely,

Del Eberhardt

Del Eberhardt,
Associate Director

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE, INC.

October 18, 1963

Mr. Robert D. Eckel
Box 179, RD #1
Glen Mills, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Eckel:

I have your letter of August 29th with its warm words of commendation about the participation of our union in the recent Washington march.

I was, of course, pleased to learn that you were among the thousands of members from the trade union movement who demonstrated their loyalty and dedication to the cause of human rights and freedom. We, in the UAW, are firmly of the opinion that where men and women march for freedom; we, by virtue of our character, our historic birth, and dedication to human rights, must of necessity be a part of any such human crusade.

I do not need to point out to you that the task of winning new allies to our mutual cause in a great measure rests with us as individuals, and especially in your case as a college student. You can unquestionably, through your dedication to the cause of human rights, give continuing impetus to the struggle for freedom and justice. We hope that you will work to persuade and mobilize as many as possible to the urgency and need to give the broadest possible support for the pending civil rights legislation.

We suggest that you enlist with us in the "Task Force for Freedom" which requires only that you write a letter to your congressman and senator urging that he give his wholehearted support toward the passage of the pending civil rights legislation. Your effort in this regard will contribute immeasurably to the fulfillment of the labor movement's great mission for economic, political and social justice.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
President, United Automobile Workers
Detroit, Michigan.

August 29, 1963

Dear Brother,

It gives me the utmost pleasure to be able to write this letter. I was in Washington, D.C. on August 28, 1963, and I was truly proud to see such whole-hearted support of the March for Freedom and Jobs by the Auto Workers. As a college student and one who is aware of the struggles that the working class has engaged in it is truly gratifying to see that some segment of a formerly oppressed class has not forgotten the oppression and degradation being faced by others fully one hundred years after their "emancipation".

As a member of the Construction Laborers I am disappointed by the apperent lack of concern on the parts of some of the craft unions and the lack of support for civil rights by my own union. Your union's action, being among the more influential ones, has given me encouragement that I had lost for the labor movement. I am aware of the caliber of your personal integrity, devotion to both humanity and unionism, and your own unceasing efforts and personal sacrifice to freedom, democracy, and a brighter tomorrow for society. To you and your membership I offer the deepest respect and highest praise, and my encouragement to your in your work for your cause is common with justice and humanity.

Sincerely yours,
Robert D. Eckel
Robert D. Eckel
Box 179, RD#1
Glen Mills, Penna.

October 18, 1963

Mr. Carl Erickson
4167 Parker Street
North Burnaby, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Dear Mr. Erickson:

How kind and considerate of you to forward your views in your letter of August 28th regarding the March for Jobs and Freedom.

It is exceedingly gratifying to have such kind words of commendation from a citizen of our neighboring country who is a part of the labor movement. We hope that our efforts represent an impressive and meaningful beginning to a fulfillment of the guarantees of our Bill of Rights and Constitution to millions of American Negroes who now commemorate the 100th Anniversary of our Emancipation Proclamation.

With respect to your request, I am pleased to enclose herewith one of the "pledge cards" used in connection with the march along with a copy of my speech.

Fraternally yours,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42
Encls. (2)

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

CARL ERICKSON
4167 PARKER ST., NORTH BURNABY, B.C.

August 28th, 1963

Mr. Walther P. Reuther, President,
United Auto Workers,
8000 East Jefferson Ave.
Detroit 14, Michigan...

Dear Mr. Reuther:

Watching on television almost across the continent, I was deeply touched by the great civil rights demonstration in Washington, and your fine participation. As I am both a trade unionist and a trade union official I was pleased and proud that you took part in this demonstration for democracy and civil rights for the Negros of your great country, and I hope that this is the start towards bringing them full equality which was so ably put by yourself and many other fine speakers today.

I would be very pleased if you would send me a copy of your speech, and if you would have time to sign one of the pledge cards and send it to me I would be much obliged, as it gave me a feeling of deep satisfaction to see that despite oppression from McCarthyism and other pressure groups, the spirit of peaceful revolution is still burning in the American soul, and to have your autograph would bring it even here.

With best regards...

Fraternally yours

Carl Erickson

Carl Erickson....

October 18, 1963

Miss Elsie Geoghegan
583 E. Street
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Miss Geoghegan:

I was exceedingly pleased to receive your kind expressions of commendation in your letter of September 12th regarding my participation in the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Your thoughtful impressions of the march give me new hope and inspiration in the fundamental belief that there are millions of Americans like yourself who are eager to see our country succeed in guaranteeing to every American our basic constitutional rights and liberties.

We, as individuals, can do much toward strengthening the forces of democracy in what I believe is a most effective and meaningful way. This would involve an expression from you to your congressman and senator urging their support of the pending civil rights proposals. I should be pleased if you would join with us by conveying your thoughts to them on these vital issues.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: WilliamH. Oliver

Sept 12

SEP 16 1963

Mr Walter Ruether

Bill Oliver

Dear Mr Ruether -

Congratulations on your fine + courageous stand in behalf of our Negro citizens.

I watched the "March" on T.V. + was very impressed. I thought they did a beautiful job - you should be very proud of the part you played. (Though no doubt you have been criticized by the narrow-minded)

Elsie Geoghegan (white)

583 E. 1st.

Salt Lake City -

No answer expected

SEP 3 1963

6329 N.E. Radford Drive
Seattle, Washington 98115
August 29, 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
United Automobile Workers
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Mr. Reuther,

I wish to express my appreciation to you for trying to uphold the ideals of American labor in regard to civil rights. The disappointing and embarassing refusal of organized labor to support the March for Jobs and Freedom can only be interpreted as an indication of the increased conservative response of labor to the social problems of our time.

Here in Seattle, organized labor has not given support to the civil rights organizations. Efforts to improve job opportunities for Negroes has been met by either silence or hostility from the unions involved.

In a "sympathy march" held to coincide with the March on Washington, over one thousand persons heard speakers lash out against the local labor leaders.

May I urge you to personally take a larger role in the activities of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Your foresighted leadership is needed to replace the apparent conservative complexion of the board.

Yours truly,

George F. Cole

George F. Cole

TODAY'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

CONTENTS

	Page
Pres. Reuther introduces A. Philip Randolph	3
"Today's Civil Rights Revolution," Address delivered by A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president	5
IUD Civil Rights Resolution	15
Remarks by Pres. Reuther at the August 28, 1963, March on Washington	21

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

WALTER P. REUTHER, *President*
JAMES B. CAREY, *Secretary-Treasurer*
JACK CONWAY, *Executive Director*

Vice-Presidents

I. W. Abel
J. A. Beirne
George Burdon
Joseph Curran
Karl Feller
Max Greenberg
A. F. Hartung
Albert J. Hayes
Ralph Helstein
O. A. Knight
Walter L. Mitchell
Paul L. Phillips
William Pollock
Frank Rosenblum
Louis Stulberg
Arnold Zander

"A Man Like Phil Randolph"

Walter P. Reuther, president of the Industrial Union Dept., introduced A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, to the delegates to the IUD's Fifth Constitutional Convention.

I NOW have the pleasure of welcoming to this convention of the Industrial Union Department our good friend Philip Randolph. Phil Randolph is a great trade unionist who has devoted many, many long years of an active life to the pursuit of the objectives of the free world labor movement. He is a dedicated humanitarian. He is one of the great moral leaders of the civil rights movement in this great country of ours.

The March on Washington was more the product of the determination and will of Philip Randolph than any other single man. He proposed the March on Washington in the spirit of the highest democratic traditions of our country which historically has provided that any citizen, or any group of citizens, may join together and come to their capital city to petition for redress of grievances. So Randolph realized that the March on Washington could not deal only with the struggle to achieve freedom. He knew that it had to be coupled with a struggle to win jobs because freedom without a job is an empty kind of freedom.

I share the view that the American people ought to be grateful that in the midst of this great social revolution about civil rights, about equal opportunity, about first-class citizenship for all Americans, there has come out of the Negro community men of the stature and responsibility and understanding of Philip Randolph.

I am not sure, and there is no way of knowing, whether white Americans would have waited for a hundred years, or whether having waited

a hundred years they would follow the leadership of men like Philip Randolph and Dr. Martin Luther King. No one can be sure of that because there is among the Negro people a special kind of religious quality that perhaps makes them willing to follow a struggle which is essentially framed and based upon the concepts of a Mahatma Gandhi, a struggle to achieve their objectives within the framework of a free society with the weapon of nonviolence.

Why have the American Negroes listened to Philip Randolph? It is because they believe as Philip Randolph believes, that there is enough basic good will in America and enough sense of national purpose so, despite the hundred years of neglect, we can find the answers.

Phil Randolph knows, as we all need to know, that there is no halfway house on the way to freedom; there is no tokenism that will satisfy people who ask nothing more than the dignity and the privileges and the rights that only full freedom can give you. But we are fortunate that we can join hands with men like Philip Randolph and together call upon men of good will in every religion, every race, every group, every political persuasion and say, "Let us join in the spirit of brotherhood, let us search together in the light of reason, let us work together to implement responsibility and rational action so that we can bring to fulfillment the dream of an America in which all citizens enjoy the blessings of full citizenship rights."

But what we need to understand is that, unless we work together in the spirit of good will and take rational and responsible action, the vacuums created by our failures will be filled by the apostles of hatred, and reason will yield to riots and brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed, and we will shatter the very fabric of our free society. Therefore the great choice in America is not whether we are going to solve the civil rights revolution. The great question is how. Will we do it by good will and cooperation and understanding, and will we wrap up all the things that we need to do within the framework of the concept of human brotherhood, or will we merely give lip service to these things and then let the apostles of hatred fill the vacuum?

I believe that men of good will can find the answers, and I believe that men like Philip Randolph are making a great contribution in helping American democracy find those answers in the light of reason.

Therefore, it is a great privilege and a distinct pleasure for me to present to you a friend, a great trade unionist, and one of the great leaders of the civil rights revolution, Philip Randolph.

TODAY'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

an address

by

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

and vice-president of the AFL-CIO

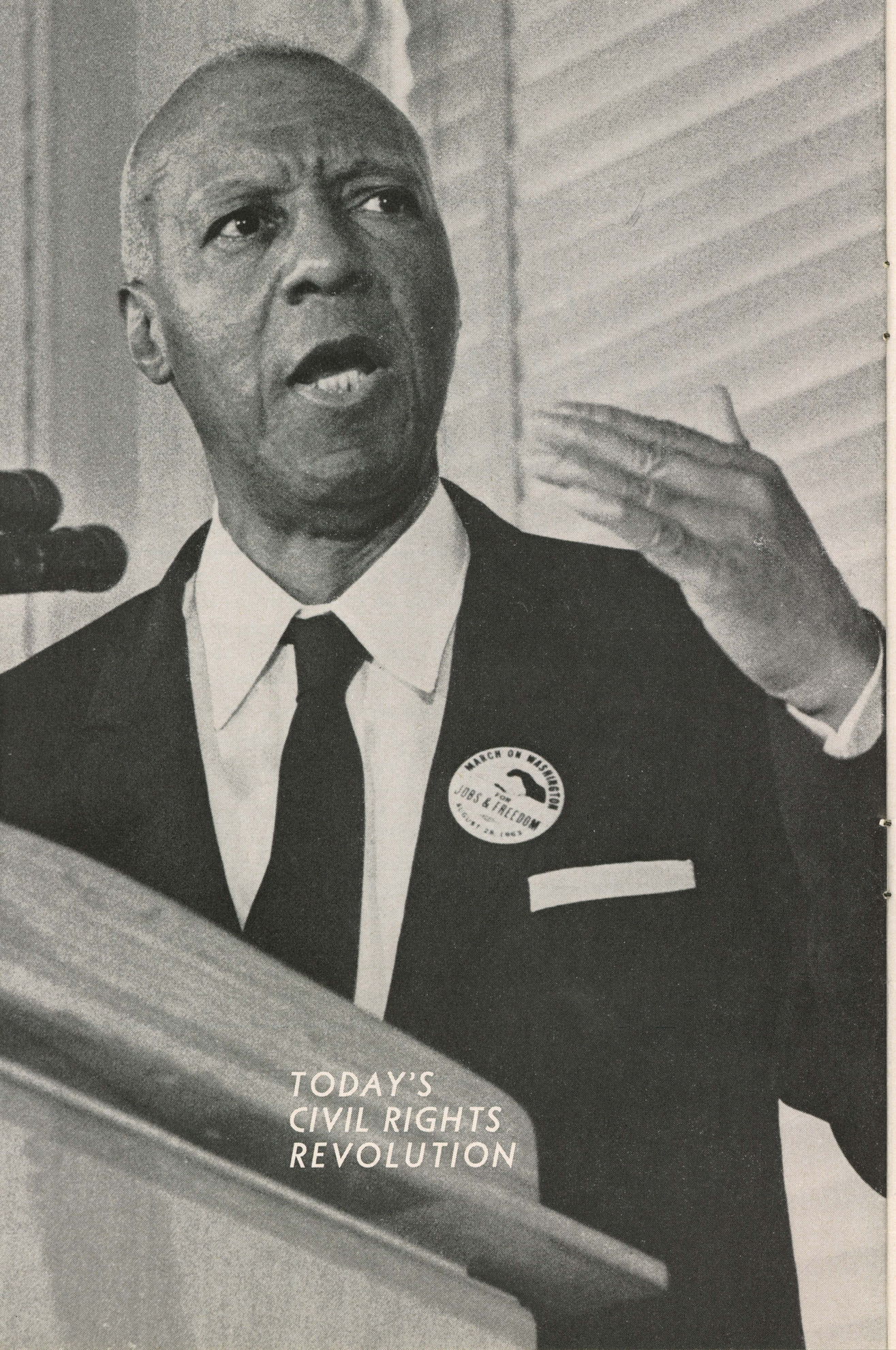
Before the

FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

of the

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

November 8, 1963



THANK you, Walter Reuther, distinguished president of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. My good friend Jim Carey, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Union Department, and officers and delegates to this great convention:

I want to assure you of my great appreciation and delight for the invitation to share in the fellowship of this occasion. I am glad to have the opportunity to see you and mingle with you because of the tremendous program you have adopted in the interest of advancing the cause of labor and civil rights in this country.

I want to congratulate this convention on the resolution which was just read. It is perhaps the most comprehensive, the most constructive and far-reaching resolution on the subject I have listened to. It will have tremendous educational significance if it is widely distributed and circulated in various areas of the country.

Now, brothers and sisters, we are in the midst of a full dress civil rights revolution. This revolution is concerned with the transition of black Americans from second class to first class citizenship. That is a revolution. And all revolutions create and devise their own patterns of behavior.

Why do we have this civil rights revolution? We have it because Negroes in America are not yet fully free. They are not free to go to the schools they may wish to attend. They are not free to live in the areas of the country they may desire. They are not free to get the jobs they may be capable of performing. As a matter of fact, they do not have the attributes of citizenship. For the attributes of citizenship include the right of freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech; the right of petition, the right of *habeas corpus*; freedom from illegal search and seizure, and the right to vote. If an individual does not have these attributes he is not a full citizen. Negroes don't have them. Consequently we have this revolution.

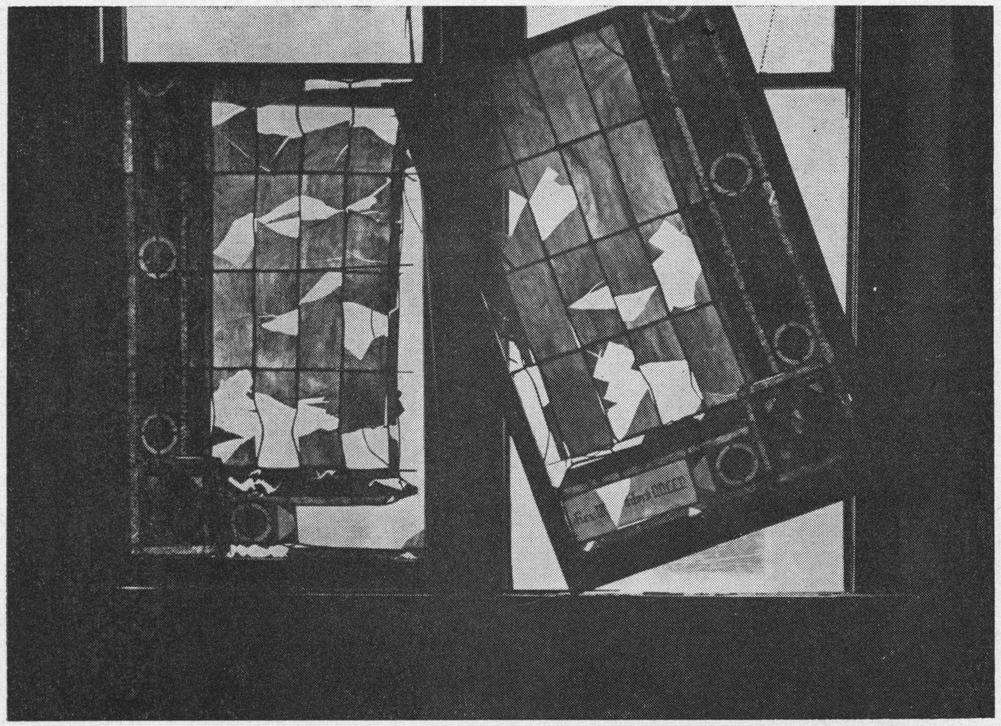
Why is it that Negroes don't have these attributes? The reason is that the Civil War revolution was never fully completed. The Civil War revolution did stop the Confederate Army. The Civil War revolution overthrew the Confederate Government, and it abolished chattel slavery. But the Civil War revolution did not go much further than that, from the point of view of the slave.

The Civil War revolution was one of the classical, liberal revolutions of the world, and the purposes of such revolutions are: first, to centralize

political power in a strong national or federal governmental system; and second, to effect the national economic unification of the country. Of course, at the very beginning these revolutions are designed to break the chains of serfdom and slavery, and to bring about a transformation of the serf or slave into a free and independent worker. Now, when you break the chains of slavery, the former serf or slave must be prepared to live in the new world. Consequently, there should be a free public school system, an integrated public school system. He should also be invested with the right of suffrage. And, as a matter of history, the revolutions of the past have provided some land for serfs and slaves.

But what happened following the Civil War? The Thirteenth Amendment abolishing chattel slavery was enacted in 1865. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 was designed to give Negroes the status of citizenship. The Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 sought to guarantee their right to vote. But promptly these amendments were enacted, a counter revolution set in, and this counter revolution was designed to nullify and negate the various achievements of the Civil War revolution.

In 1875 the great Civil Rights Act—outlawing segregation and discrimination in public accommodations—was passed as a result of the work of Thaddeus Stevens, the great commoner, in the House of Repre-



Four children died for freedom in this Birmingham church.

sentatives, and Charles Sumner, the great leader in the Senate. But in 1883 this civil rights law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. And in 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson,* the Supreme Court promulgated the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine, which established the legal foundation of segregation in America.

HERE, then, you see the rising tide of a counter-revolution breaking down the democratic achievements of a Civil War revolution, a revolution which had only begun.

As Negroes began to participate in governmental activities the nation was plunged into the historic election of 1876 between Hayes and Tilden. The result of this election was the great betrayal of the freedmen. The electoral votes of four states were in dispute. But beneath this dispute were contending political and economic forces. The Republican Party, which represented very largely the extension of the national revolution begun in 1776, sought control of the government in order to effect a strong national political organization in the interest of carrying forward the forces of American capitalism. To achieve their goal, it was essential that their candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes, be elected.

The Republicans struck a deal with the Tilden forces. The terms were that the disputed electoral votes would go to Hayes in return for his promise to remove the last remaining federal troops from the South and to support federal economic aid for Southern "improvements." Hayes was elected, and when he withdrew the federal troops from the South, the freedmen were left to the mercy of their former masters. In other words, the Reconstruction Democracy came to an end. It died in 1877 as the result of a deal made between the Republican party and a rising, new industrial regime in the South.

But the road to 1877 had been paved in advance. By the early 70s, the Ku Klux Klan had arisen and began to drive the Negroes from the ballot boxes with shot guns. Why? For the purpose of enabling the former slaveowners to re-establish control over the state machinery throughout the South. President Grant and his successors failed to quell the violence of the Klan and other terrorist groups. Thus, the betrayal of 1877 only formalized the federal government's growing indifference to the Negro and its eventual abandonment of him to the Southern oligarchy. Instead of being transformed into genuinely free workers, the ex-slaves became sharecroppers, tenant farmers. The former slaves were landless, voteless, moneyless, and friendless. They had nothing, and con-

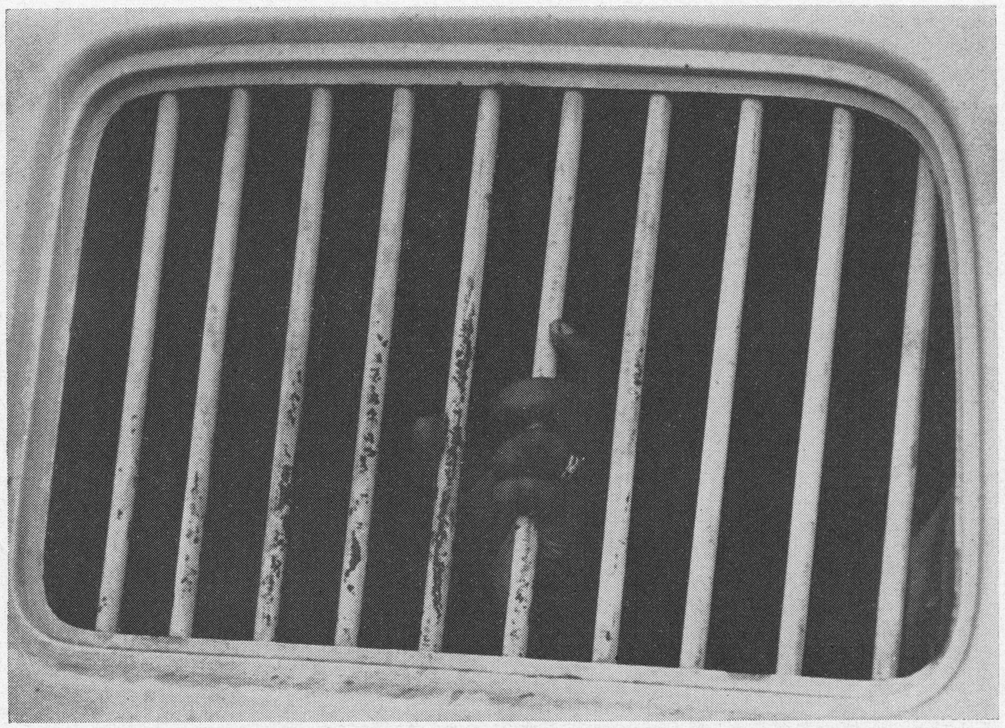
sequently they were easily victimized by the commissary system set up by the plantation owners. By this system, the freedmen obtained supplies on credit, to be paid for when the crops were harvested. But, knowing little arithmetic and denied access to the planters' books, the freedmen soon found themselves deeply in debt. Moreover, whenever a freedman was seen on the street, he was adjudged a vagrant, and as a vagrant he was put into prison. Then the plantation master would come along and pay the fine with the provision that the freedman would work out the cost of the fine on his plantation. As late as 1925 there were instances of peonage in various states of the South.

AND so, a counter-revolution to the Civil War revolution had emerged in the form of a Confederate counter-revolution. Since then a new revolution has emerged to overthrow the Confederate counter-revolution. That revolution is now underway—the civil rights revolution.

In 1909 W.E.B. DuBois, one of the great intellects of the Western world, a Negro, founded the Niagara Movement. Then, in 1910, he helped set up the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization went to the courts for the purpose of establishing the illegality of racial discrimination and segregation. It has scored tremendous successes. It was able to knock down some of the poll taxes in various states through legal action. And so, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People became the voice and spearhead of this new revolution. Of course, the NAACP won that monumental and momentous decision from the United States Supreme Court in 1954 for the desegregation and integration of public schools.

Simultaneously however, there appeared new voices calling upon the people to make haste, to move with greater rapidity. In Montgomery Alabama, a massive bus boycott was led by Dr. Martin Luther King in the philosophy of nonviolent resistance. In 1960, from Greensboro, North Carolina, came the sit-in movement of courageous young Negro students. And then there were the Freedom Rides, and demonstrations began to spread throughout the nation, demonstrations for human dignity, for equality, for freedom, for social justice and racial justice. These demonstrations will continue.

It is important, my brothers and sisters, to realize that it has been over a hundred years since the Negro was supposedly freed. No one can blame these people for the demonstrations they are conducting throughout the nation. And we must understand that these demonstra-



"How long, O Lord, how long?"

tions will not fit any preconceived pattern of human behavior. These demonstrations will be adjusted to the social changes they face from day to day.

In every revolution there are phases of irrationality, phases of irresponsibility. This has been true of every revolution in the history of the world. Therefore, we must not expect that the civil rights revolution is going to be meticulously beautiful and worked out according to certain niceties. Negroes have suffered too long, too much, and too sharply to look at this question in terms of niceties. An issue is either right or wrong. Negroes don't have time to make the fine distinctions that come with exposition and logical analysis. They are working towards one end, the abolition of racial bias, the abolition of racial discrimination. They are working for the abolition of racism in every area of American life, and they are pointing to where it lies.

This, my dear brothers and sisters, is the manner in which this great struggle, one of the greatest events in the history of this country, is now surging forth. And the labor movement has a tremendous stake in this event, this civil rights revolution.

LABOR had its revolution, too, beginning around the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Nor did the labor revolution move along a path of particular niceties. Not at all. You had the Haymarket riot in 1886. You had the Homestead strike in 1892. Then you had the great railroad strike in 1877; the whole nation was in the grip of that strike. Then you had the Ludlow Massacre in 1913 and 1914. Why did these labor struggles take place? Because labor, seeking to win dignity and first class citizenship, demanded the right of self-organization, the right to designate their leaders without intimidation, coercion, or interference.

Thus the path of labor has been moistened with blood and tears. How can you expect a revolution of any other group under the heel of oppression and exploitation to be different?

Labor was not the only segment of American society to revolt. There was an Agrarian Revolt between 1870 and 1896. William Jennings Bryan was the standard bearer of the Democratic Party in 1896, but he was supported by the Populists, and the Populists were opposing the railroad rebates, high interest on loans, and so forth. As a matter of fact, the country was so split as a result of the contest between the Eastern bankers and the farmers of the West and South that the nation was shaken to its very foundation. This revolution of the small farmers made the first inroads in this country into the "free enterprise" system. They demanded government intervention to protect Americans from the abuses of freewheeling Eastern capitalists.

And so, our nation is no stranger to revolutions. Now you have the Negro stepping upon the stage of history to change his position. He believes confidently that this position will be changed, and he knows that he must take the leadership in changing this position. He must be willing to suffer. He must be willing temporarily to give up his freedom in a jail cell. He must be willing to give up his life in order that his children might live as a free men. This is the spirit of the civil rights revolution.

I want to express my appreciation for the observations made by Brother Reuther concerning the civil rights organizations and also for the comment made by Brother Meany that Communists did not inspire these demonstrations. Suffering and anguish, agony of heart and soul—these were at the bottom of the demonstrations. If there had never been a Khrushchev, if there had never been a Bolshevik revolution, there would still have been an uprising of black people in America against insult and humiliation, against discrimination and exploitation. These

The view from a Negro ghetto window.

great masses of black people are rising because they want to be free. They want to be free men in a free country. They will never rest until they are fully free.

I ALSO want to take this opportunity to say a word on behalf of the Committee of Ten that directed the great March on Washington movement, of which your distinguished president Walter Reuther was a member. Here was an organization of Negro leaders, Jewish leaders, Protestant leaders, and Catholic leaders—all concerned with mapping out and carrying forward a great program set out meticulously and analytically in the interest of achieving a great objective. And the labor movement played a tremendous role. Our good friend Jack Conway was a tower of strength in that committee. The UAW and ILGWU picked up the tab for the elaborate sound equipment needed for the great March.

And so, although labor did not endorse the March, labor certainly supported the March. For this we are grateful. The March on Washington was a great moral crusade in the interest of human dignity, not for black men alone but for all men—because the great masses of white

people in America are not fully free either. The March on Washington movement was a massive expression of the people, struggling to register their conviction and dedication to the great ideal of freedom and justice to which our country has been committed through the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The March on Washington movement helps to make this country free, to keep it free; to make it strong and keep it strong; to make it great and keep it great.

Thank you very much.

'Jobs And Freedom For All'

The following resolution on civil rights was adopted unanimously by delegates to the IUD Convention:

THE discovery of an enslaved Negro sharecropper in South Carolina last week is a dramatic reminder, as we meet in convention, that the bonds of slavery have not been fully struck from nearly 20 million Americans.

The August 28 March on Washington, in which thousands of union members participated, was, we remember, a march for jobs and freedom. Jobs and freedom for all Americans is still the foremost concern of all of us who want to see an American democracy that lives and flourishes. The labor movement's own struggle for these two inseparable goals gives us a special sympathy for the present struggle of Negro Americans.

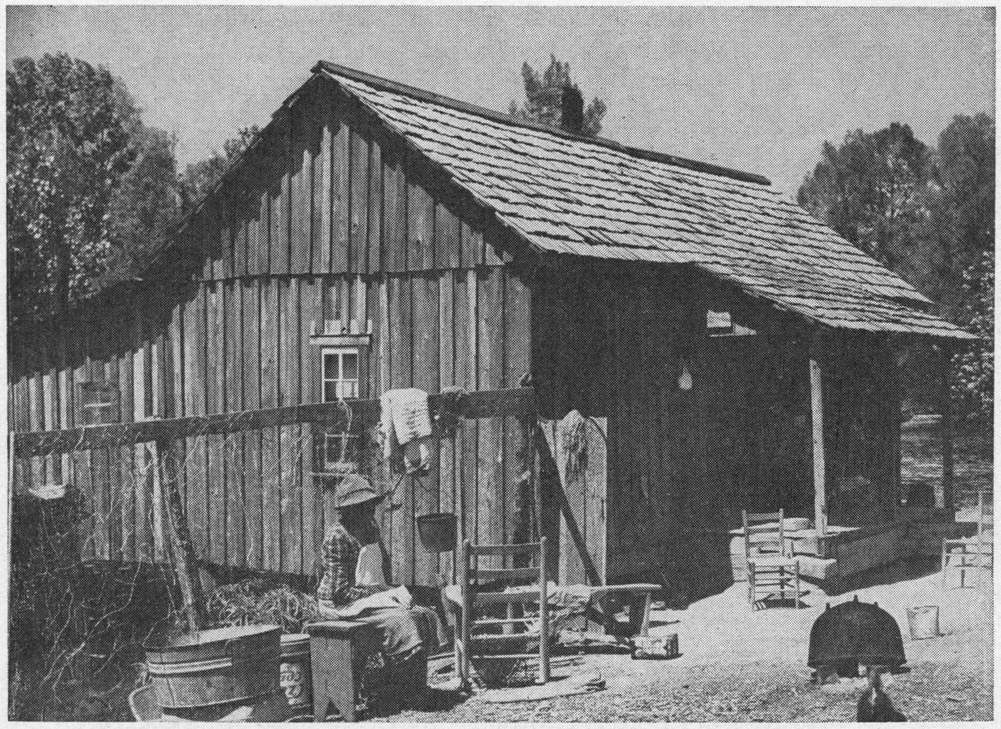
IUD's commitment to this endeavor was expressed at the March by its president, Walter P. Reuther, one of the convenors of that historic event. "It is the responsibility of every American to share the impatience of Negro Americans," he said at the Lincoln Memorial. "We need to join together, to march together, and to work together until we've bridged the moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights."

Today, as then, we see the civil rights question as a moral question, transcending partisan politics. This convention is another opportunity to pledge ourselves to "the total effort to mobilize the moral conscience of America."

We begin by recognizing, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the enormous disadvantages that still confront American citizens who happen to be colored .

In employment, "the hard central fact," as Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz has pointed out, "is that among male family breadwinners, the unemployment rate today among nonwhites is three times what it is among whites." Even more alarming is the realization that Negroes are falling behind in getting jobs and that the unemployment rate is increasing at a faster rate for them than it is for whites.

The Labor Department finds that nonwhite workers recover from unemployment at a slower rate than white workers do and increasingly



Eighty-three percent of all rural Negroes live in poverty.

bear the burden of involuntary part-time work. Among younger workers, opportunities for advancement and for participation in apprenticeship and vocational training programs are still too often blocked by race.

The U. S. Civil Rights Commission, in its latest report, finds that government programs enacted to deal with unemployment have benefited Negro workers only slightly. About 70 per cent of the Negroes hired through these programs were hired as laborers. Few have received skilled and white collar jobs. And while they have been helped by job retraining programs, their participation in the vocational opportunities opening up is, the Commission says, "meager."

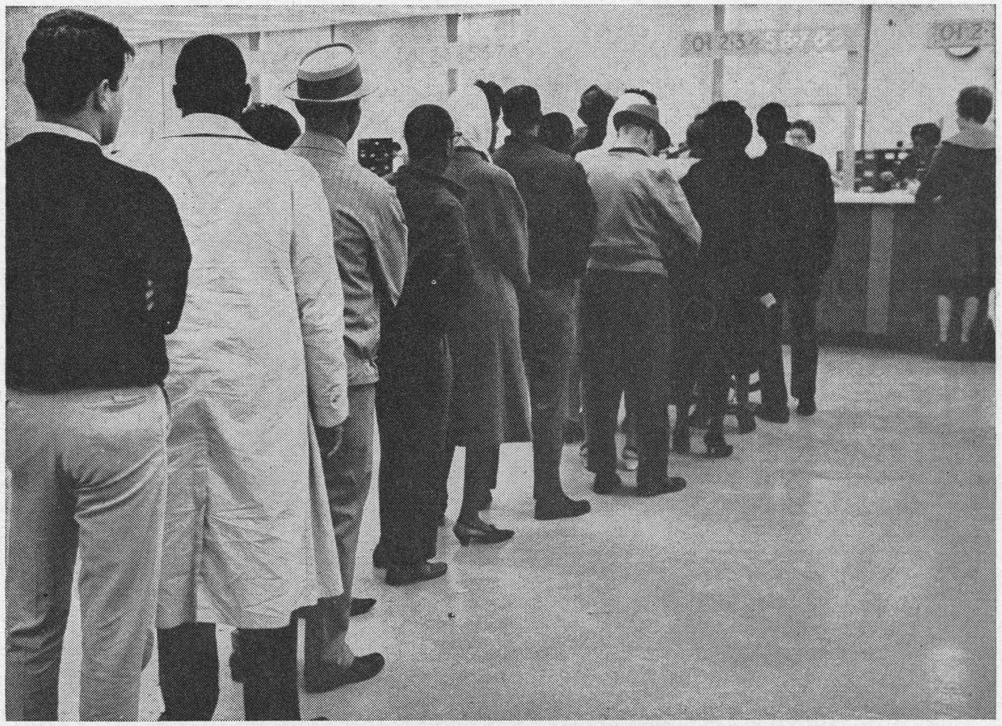
In education, Negroes still bear the brunt, both North and South, of poor schools and overcrowded schools. Nearly 10 years after the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, most American children still attend segregated public schools. Only eight per cent of the Negro pupils in the 17 Southern and border states are presently attending school with white children. In the 11 states that have been most resistant, 98 per cent of the Negroes in desegregated districts still go to all-Negro schools.

The situation is scarcely better in the North, where the flight of white families to suburbs that are closed to Negroes has been steadily resegregating urban schools. In New York City, for instance, 40 per cent of the students attending public school are either Negro or Puerto Rican, an increase of about 10 per cent in the last five years.

Remedial help for those who suffer from deprived backgrounds is still inadequate and there are many institutions of higher learning to which Negroes are still denied access.

In public accommodations, more than in any other area of our daily lives, discrimination manifests itself in its plainest and ugliest form. From the time Negroes leave home in the morning, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP observed in Congressional testimony earlier this year, "en route to school or to work, to shopping or to visiting, until they return home at night, humiliation stalks them." A simple auto trip becomes a harrowing experience, fraught with nightmarish hazards when the Negro traveler hunts for a place to eat or sleep or faces the prospect of traveling hundreds of miles to find the ordinary convenience of a rest room.

In voting, in spite of the enactment of the civil rights laws of 1957 and 1960, the latest Commission report finds "little inroad has been made



Negro breadwinners suffer twice the white unemployment rate.

in doing something about establishing voting rights" and that "abridgment of the right to vote on the grounds of race persists in the United States in direct violation of the Constitution."

In housing, in spite of the President's Executive Order of last year, millions of new suburban homes are still closed to Negro homeseekers, either through subterfuge or through the inadequacies of the directive. Even good older neighborhoods in many parts of our cities are closed to Negroes through the tacit understanding of white homeowners and white real estate dealers. Thousands of Negroes who can afford better housing are often penned up by discrimination, in the deteriorating ghettoes of the central cities. Millions caught in this trap find themselves condemned, through the shortage of good public housing and the connivance of unscrupulous landlords, to live in squalor.

In the administration of justice, race is too often weighed in the balance against the Negro defendant. The long list of unsolved bombings in Birmingham, the police attacks on peaceful demonstrators in Albany and Plaquemine and in dozens of places in the South deprive Negro citizens of any hope of ordinary protection from the forces of law and order and any hope of justice from the courts. Yet we dare to ask them to observe law and order when their oppressors do not.

In health facilities and services, Negroes as patients and doctors, still face discrimination in many hospitals receiving federal aid.

The terrible disadvantages from which Negro Americans suffer work to the disadvantage of all of us. Discrimination is a grave hindrance to the economic growth of the country. The President's Council of Economic Advisers estimates that because of inefficient use of the labor force and failure to develop potential skills, our economy loses between $13 and $17 billion a year in national income and product.

Worse than the economic loss is the gulf between white and nonwhite Americans. That creates a situation in which all of us become susceptible to the poisons of fear and distrust; the promise of our democracy is often negated; and we are made hypocrites by a system that makes it difficult and often impossible for us to live according to what we profess to believe.

We earnestly resolve to do whatever is within our power to tear down the barriers between us:

IN UNIONS—Trade unions were formed to secure social justice for workers. The reason for our being is to build a free society dedicated to human dignity and happiness. The achievement of this goal is predicated on equality and brotherhood. Thus, our history and our very

purpose demand that we be in the forefront of the struggle to assure first class citizenship to all people—to all colors; to all creeds; to all citizens, without regard to national ancestry.

We call upon all union members in our ranks to search out and eradicate all vestiges of discrimination and segregation in the labor movement. Labor can hardly point a finger of scorn at others when there are still segregated locals and when Negroes and other minorities are barred from apprenticeships because of race.

Time is of the essence! We cannot wait any longer.

IN CONGRESS—The moral crisis in American race relations grows worse. The President warned in June that "continued federal legislative inaction" will result in increased "tension, disorder and division." We call this warning again to the attention of Congress and urge Congressmen to redouble their efforts to enact a broad comprehensive civil rights bill in the remaining weeks of this session.

While the bill approved on October 29 by the House Judiciary Committee contains significant improvements over the original bill proposed by the Administration, it can still be strengthened. While we are gratified to see an FEPC provision in the bill, we want a Commission with more power, one that could issue its own final orders, enforceable in the courts. We pledge ourselves to work for the strengthening of the FEPC provision as well as for provisions that will open *all* places of public accommodation to all citizens and give the Justice Department greater power than the compromise bill does, to protect peaceful demonstrators and workers for constitutional rights from harassment and police brutality.

THE EXECUTIVE—We note with satisfaction that President Kennedy and the Administration through executive action have pursued an affirmative and aggressive policy and program of achieving equality for all Americans. We applaud this achievement of the President and his Administration, but there is much more to be done. Therefore we urge the President to extend Executive Order 11063 so that it covers not only FHA and VA-insured mortgages but also conventional mortgage activities of such federally-assisted lenders as banks insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or federally-insured savings and loan companies. We also urge him to establish by Executive Order, a Community Relations Service such as he originally pledged to do in his Civil Rights message of June 19. The fact that the Service has been deleted from the bill approved by the House Judiciary Committee puts an additional obligation upon the President to establish a service that would

seek voluntary solutions of community relations problems arising out of discrimination.

IN THE NATION—We call upon all individuals in and out of the labor movement to speak out against discrimination and to act in their daily lives to end it. Only the hourly, daily actions of millions of us will make a brotherhood more than a platitude and launch, at last, "a great moral crusade to arouse America to the unfinished work of American democracy to the end that all Americans may enjoy the privileges of first class citizenship in all phases of our national life."

'Freedom . . . Here And Now'

Walter P. Reuther gave the following address at the Lincoln Memorial to participants in the August 28, 1963, March on Washington.

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.

After a hundred years, nonviolence is still the weapon.

BOX 577 - 13

For Additional Copies, Please Write:

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 33

PUBLICATION NO. 57

Printed in U.S.A.

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

Called by:

Mathew Ahmann
Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
Joachin Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

Administrative Committee:

Cleveland Robinson
Chairman

Courtland Cox
Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rev. George Lawrence
James McCain
Gloster Current
Guichard Parris
Erwin Suall

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
FI 8-1900

A. Philip Randolph, *Director*
Bayard Rustin, *Deputy Director*

Southern Administrators

Dr. Aaron Henry
Worth Long
Att. Floyd McKissick
Rev. Wyatt Walker

70

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 WEST 130th STREET
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

the time is NOW

for all Americans
Black and White
to join the March
on Washington
for Jobs and
Freedom

A call to action by

JAMES FARMER
MARTIN LUTHER KING
JOHN LEWIS
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
ROY WILKINS
WHITNEY YOUNG

Wednesday, August 28, 1963

America faces a crisis... Millions of citizens are unemployed... Millions are denied freedom...

The twin evils of discrimination and economic deprivation plague the nation. They rob all people, Negro and white, of dignity, self-respect and freedom. They impose a special burden upon the Negro who is denied the right to vote, refused access to public accommodations, forced to accept inferior education and relegated to sub-standard ghetto housing.

One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the American Negro still bears the brunt of economic exploitation, the indignity of second-class citizenship, and ignominy of slave wages.

The rate of Negro unemployment is almost three times higher than that of white workers, breeding misery, frustration and degradation in every community — North and South.

Discrimination in education and in apprenticeship training renders Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities helpless in our mechanized, industrial society. Shunted to relief, to charity, or to living by their wits, the jobless are driven to despair, to crime, to hatred and to violence.

Yet, despite this crisis . . .

Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans in Congress are still working to defeat any effective civil rights legislation. They fight against the rights of all workers and minority groups. They are the sworn enemies of freedom and justice. They proclaim states rights in order to destroy human rights.

The Southern Democrats came to power by disenfranchising the Negro people. They know that as long as black workers are voteless, exploited, depressed and underpaid the fight of white workers for decent wages and working conditions will fail. They know that semi-slavery for one means semi-slavery for all.

We oppose these forces. We appeal for unity to destroy this century-long hoax.

**WE CALL UPON ALL AMERICANS,
REGARDLESS OF RACE OR CREED,
TO JOIN
THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON**

for freedom

- **To demand that Congress pass a civil rights bill that will restore the constitutional rights now denied the Negro people.**
- **To assure neither watering down, nor compromise, nor filibuster against civil rights legislation by either political party.**
- **To offer a great witness to the basic moral principle of human equality and brotherhood.**

**WE CALL UPON ALL AMERICANS,
REGARDLESS OF RACE OR CREED,
TO JOIN
THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON**

for jobs

- **In their historic non-violent revolt for freedom, the Negro people are demanding the right to decent jobs — recognizing that their struggle is inextricably linked with the struggle for decent jobs for all Americans.**
- **They know that, in the long run, there is no way for Negroes to win and hold jobs unless the problems of automation, a stagnant economy, and discrimination are solved; therefore, the Federal government must establish a massive works program to train and employ all Americans at decent wages and at meaningful and dignified labor.**

We call upon you and upon all organizations — churches, fraternal societies, labor unions, civil groups, youth groups and professional associations — to accelerate the dynamic, non-violent thrust of the civil rights revolution by joining

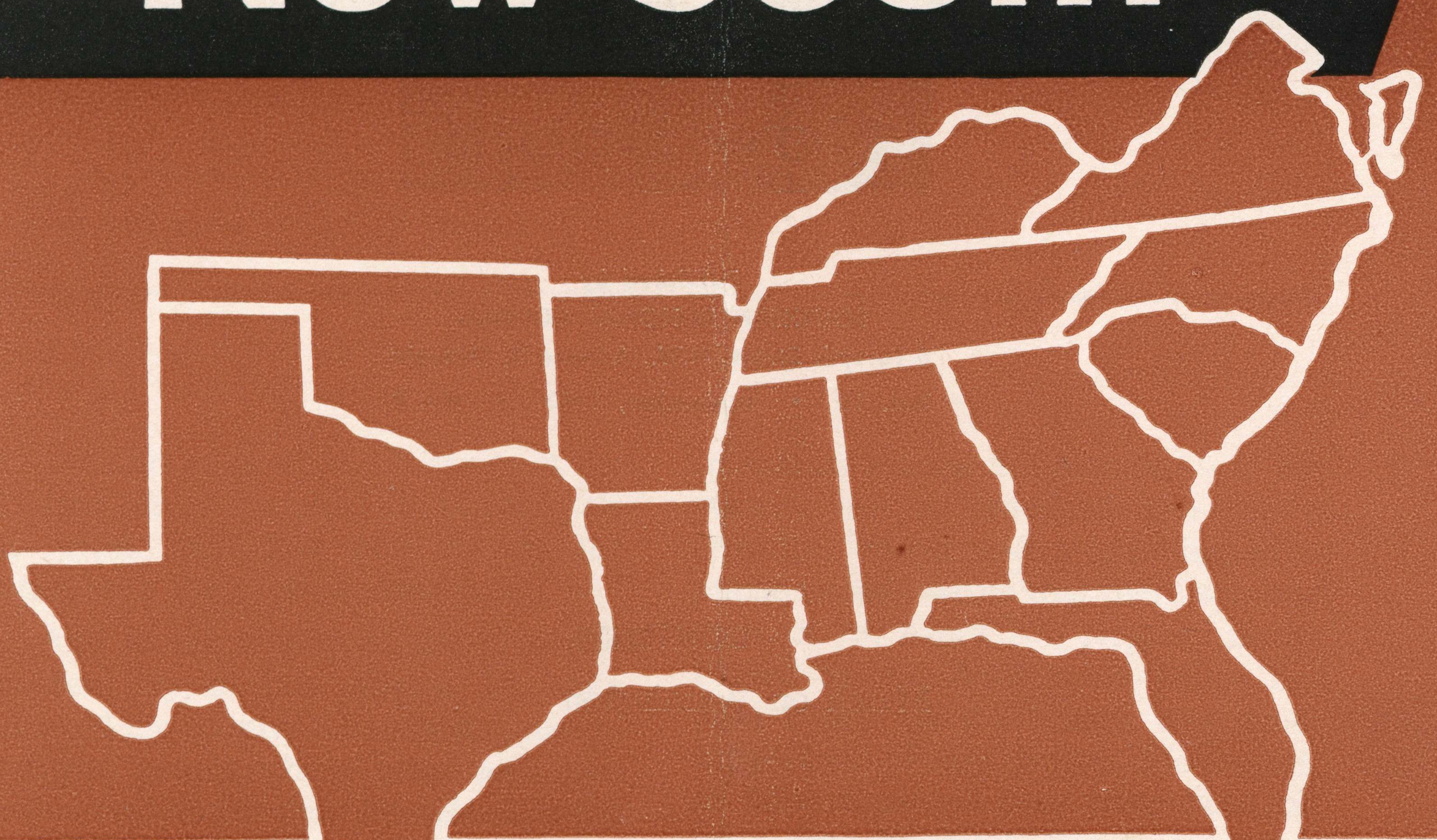
The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

**TO RESTORE ECONOMIC FREEDOM
TO ALL IN THIS NATION
TO BLOT OUT ONCE AND FOR ALL
THE SCOURGE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION**

the time is NOW

OCT 29 1963

New South



MARCH ON WASHINGTON

SEPTEMBER / 1963

New South

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia
Vol. 18 • September, 1963 • No. 9

CONTENTS

March on Washington . . 3

OFFICERS

James McBride Dabbs . . . President
A. W. Dent . . . . . Vice President
Marion A. Wright . . Vice President
Josephine Wilkins . . Vice President
Rufus E. Clement . . . Vice President
John H. Wheeler Chm. Exec. Comm.
Leslie W. Dunbar . . Exec. Director
Margaret Long . . . . . Editor

New South is published 11 times a year. Subscription cost is $2 a year. Single copies are 20 cents each, or less in quantity.

March on Washington

by Margaret Long

IT LOOKED AS IF all the Negroes in the United States marched to Washington to speak their love and longing for unity with their fellow Americans.

And in the felicity of the blue and golden day of last August 28, they showed the country a handsome, many-colored people whose great and generous resolve for their homeland might redeem us all to more abundant American life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

All the Negroes didn't come to Washington for what Martin Luther King called the greatest freedom demonstration in American history, but the throng of over 200,000 was immense and various and American. And as the dense and vivid crowds packed, flowed, meandered and rested on the green slopes of the Washington Monument and around the Lincoln Memorial, it was, indeed, as if all our country's Negroes had brought their pride, their courage and anger, their love and hope, their music and laughter, their nice middle class American clothes and manners and their profound faith in the American promise, to show the rest of the nation the way.

Atlanta Journal Washington correspondent Margaret Shannon — a reporter with a practiced eye for a crowd, a mood and a meaning in a public event—wrote that there was one marcher for every 100 Negroes in the United States. Washington police figured a fifth of the March was white supporters of the Negro Movement; so Miss Shannon may have been off by a few thousand. But in representation, all the Negroes were there and they spoke their revolutionary and high-minded piece to the nation and the world.

Even Malcolm X, spokesman for the Black Muslims, was in Washington lecturing and reproaching the marchers for their slavish pleas to white devils in power. It was strange to see him, a tall, staccato-styled young man of pale beige color, extolling the "black people" and damning the whites—and this to black and dark brown Negroes come to plead for the brotherhood of all men, regardless of color. The Negroes whom he harangued, argued, laughed, shrugged and marched on anyway.

Marchers gathered gaily, amiably and sometimes desultorily; others came spent from cross-country bus trips to

fall asleep on the grass in the early sun. And as the day smiled on and the throngs grew dense and the singing rang out, they moved with rising joy and passion to the Lincoln Memorial to cheer and clap and sing with more and more fervor as their leaders preached to the White House, the Congress and the country the awesome American guarantee of liberty, opportunity and justice.

Press Conference

Leaders of the March gathered Tuesday in hotels and homes, and held a press conference at the Statler, where Deputy Police Chief Covell graciously and with humor explained his arrangements to receive "a hundred to 200,000." Reporters asked nervous questions about "order" and police preparations to deal with violence. Mr. Covell said he expected none, that he'd thrown everything he had—"every man but those the doctor says can't stand up"—and all he could borrow from the Army, and that he couldn't cope with a March of 70,000 or 250,000, anyway, if it were not orderly. Bayard Rustin, the tall, black, humorless deputy director of the March, in his cultivated broad-A accents, took brisk exception to Mr. Covell's hospitable promise that the District's Welfare and other departments would take care of stranded marchers who might miss their trains or buses. "We don't want any welfare," said Rustin, "We've had too much welfare, already. We can take care of our people." Mr. Covell unruffled, explained that the city would treat any lost, stranded and sick people from the March with the same responsibility "we show any other visitor in trouble."

Ossie Davis, the gentle, handsome and imposing black actor and author of PURLIE VICTORIOUS, presiding, pledged the nonviolent and righteous intent of the March. A lot of other leaders and deputies and practiced chairmen and speakers-of-a-few-words, obliged with tedious relish, and the meeting broke up, with more applause for the candid and engaging Deputy Covell, and a feeling that it just might come off all right, what with police plans and Negro confidence.

Early Morning Assembling

The country's fear of dread "disorder" and southern editorializing about the folly, recklessness and pressure of such a gathering, seemed nearly psychotic in misunderstanding of the Negro Movement, as the happy and high-hearted marchers started coming in Wednesday. Morning papers reported exhausted adults and boys and girls arriving at the Monument shortly after 1 a.m., Wednesday, some to sing a little, munch sandwiches, laugh, yawn and use the portable green comfort stations, lettered in white, "Johnny on the Spot." Some huddled together in coats and blankets in the early morning chill and snatched a little sleep.

By sunup thousands were walking around, greeting one another, singing a little and looking over the lovely landscape: the high shaft of the Monument ringed with a wide walk and benches, the green acres sloping away to Independence and Constitution Avenues, and the whole park cupped in a stately horizon of green trees and broad white government buildings. Girls combed their hair, repaired their faces and peered anxiously and long into mirrors. Mothers smoothed their skirts, combed their children and opened sandwich bags, boxes and thermos bottles. Young men slept on the grass in the warm sun.

By 8:30 the slopes were still green and spacious, but teeming with thousands more idly strolling, smiling, dark

sight-seers. The crowds grew steadily, but not spectacularly, heavier and there were estimates here and there that "we won't make it to 100,000," or "just about 70,000 or 75."

An astounding young white man with sandy hair grown almost to his shoulders and an uncombed and unwashed beard, in a dirty shirt, tight pants and a knapsack walked about the Monument and regarded the scene with proprietary eyes. A few white girls in jeans, sagging skirts and long, dank hair walked with hairy-faced white boys or nicely-attired young Negroes.

The growing throngs of Negroes looked almost universally fresh and festively — if practically — dressed. There were slim black girls in smooth blouses and skirts or walking pants and with thong sandals or sneakers on their narrow feet. There were dark dowagers in cotton suits, cool silks and smart straw hats. Big brown men of substance walked easily in Sunday summer suits with white shirts and ties. Black and golden boys sauntered in creased slacks or clean jeans with lettered NAACP T shirts, and some wore suits and narrow-brimmed hats. A gnarled old woman from Cleveland in brown silk sat smiling on a camp stool, attended by her three solicitous, middle-aged daughters. Their high laughter soared cordially into the sunshine to find a white visitor "from *Atlanta!*" "Oh, I *know,*" the old lady nodded, so the flowers on her hat bobbed, "I know Atlanta is different now; I was just surprised, and it certainly is *nice.*"

On the other side of the Monument a TV sound truck attended an exuberant uproar of some 240 NAACP youth from Wilmington, N. C., full of beans after a midnight to 8 a.m. bus ride. The pretty black girls and dark young cats—from 13 to 20 and accompanied, a thirty-ish lady assured me, by "a group of adults"—were swinging "We Shall Overcome . . . We shall overcome some da-a-ay," with voices like a big band. They swung into "Turn Me Round," clapping their hands and half dancing as a crowd of maybe several hundred gathered smiling and humming and singing around them. Three 16-year-old white boys, in coats and solemn hats, from Cape Cod, watched and listened with serious big eyes.

The slopes moved and brightened with new banners, colored caps, local Movement shirts and pennants and big signs for "Freedom Now!" "Jobs and Freedom!" "No Federal Dough for Jim Crow," "We Shall Overcome," "Fair Employment Now." A young Negro couple walked hand in hand, pointing out sights and sounds to their pigtailed, two-year-old girl in a scarlet jacket and starched blue skirt, riding on her father's shoulder. Two tall brown young men, their faces fastidiously trimmed with thin mustaches and goatees, wearing hats and carrying their coats, doubled up in a fit of helpless laughter halfway down the hill. A huge black man in a long purple robe with a purple satin headdress and satin tasseled cape, conferred importantly with a startled-looking light-brown man in a nice two-pants suit.

A Race of Men

Down on Constitution Avenue, dozens of buses were coming in, their windows lined with dark and white faces peering and smiling on the densely-thronged hill of the Monument and on the crowds on the wide, sun-and-shade-dappled street. Police and soldiers waved them on to stopping points blocks away. Thousands of new delegates streamed into the park on the other side of the street, singing "We Shall Overcome" and carrying high

banners from Pine Bluff, Vermont Granite Cutters, United Automobile Workers, the Los Angeles NAACP and Steel Workers.

On the Independence Avenue side a Boston delegation marched singing up the hill, nearly as many white as black, waving and laughing, and someone exclaimed, "Sixteen hundred from Boston!" and a cheer blew up into the breeze.

Behind the Monument about 150 youngsters from Richmond, in NAACP shirts and caps, were beating out some Freedom songs to a smiling crowd which joined in. Nearby an opulent brown girl and a faintly bearded white boy lounged on the grass, their eyes locked in a rapt, low conversation which must have been intellectual, judging by the thickness of his silver-rimmed glasses.

The morning program had started on the platform near Constitution Avenue emceed by Playwright Davis. Actress Ruby Dee, in thrilling tones recited an eloquent paean to the Negro. She spoke, in an amplified voice which rolled up the slope, of "my people's" poverty, courage, and pain in the alleys, fields, jails and slums, "which nobody knew, nobody understood," and then cried, "Let a race of men now rise up and take control!" What sounded like a race of men cheered from the hillside. More throngs moved in from Constitution, Independence and 14th like slow currents in a vast stream, bringing banners, songs and more and more white faces among the black. One delegation of hundreds, or thousands, moved in and up the hill with a rhythmic, many-voiced "Shout! Shout! Shout!" punctuated by an exuberant yell like "yea" and the walking, seated throngs hailed them with cheers.

White folk singer Joan Baez sang "We Shall Overcome," and "We'll Walk Hand in Hand Some Day," and Dorothy Dale of Birmingham sang "Freedom is A-Coming." The crowds took up the songs, dropped them and joined again.

Up the hill and across the Monument, Richmond and Wilmington, N. C. held loud and spirited court in competition with the formal program. "Which Side Are You on, Boy," cried Wilmington, the little girls hip-dancing out the song as they sang and clapped. "Freedom is A-Coming, O Yes, O Yes!" sang Richmond. Twenty or so tall parade marshals in dark suits and white caps, with gold satin arm bands marked M, sauntered away from the Monument to the grass for an easy formation on the slope near Independence, to the cheerful rumble of male laughter.

On the other side Odetta banged and swung out a spiritual to applause and cheers and the crowd caught up her "Before I'd be a slave I'd be buried in my grave" and sang with her. Up the hill a raucous burst as from a brass band turned out to be a Negro amputee stumping on leather pads and grinning along the walk with a drum, a cymbal and a trumpet making loud and tuneless noise. He would stop every few minutes and harangue the crowd in the hoarse tones of a circus barker proudly informing them of his veterans' estate, his two daughters—two sweet brown children in Sunday dresses and patent-leather slippers, one smiling shyly and the other with eyes downcast—and "their dear mother at home sick." Several women, looking ashamed, dropped coins into the copper cup fixed to his drum.

At Mid-Morning, 90,000

Mr. Davis bravely continued the introduction of distinguished guests and

celebrities and got cheers for the famous entertainers and for some Elks who sent $10,000. There was a gasp and roar when he announced that 30,000 Philadelphians were streaming in to the Monument.

At 10:45 Mr. Davis' voice bellowed over the amplifiers for quiet and he triumphantly declared that 90,000 marchers had arrived, "and we expect to double that number." The slopes rang with the biggest and most echoing cheer of the morning.

Lena Horne came to the mike and cried "Free-dom!" in a mighty voice and Mr. Davis assured the shouting crowd that "she means every word of it." Carole Taylor, a heroine of the Jobs-and-Freedom theme of the March, as the "first Negro airline hostess in the history of aviation," a big, smiling brown beauty, counted one, two, three and the crowd answered *"Freedom!"* a cry that trumpeted tirelessly all day. And Mr. Davis announced a lost child, billfold and husband waiting for respective owners on the platform.

The Happy Legions

On some impulse, while delegations of thousands still pushed and streamed in from buses on the three avenues, the throngs near Constitution Avenue casually and yet irresistibly—as if they felt it to be their own good time—spread and shifted and overflowed on to Constitution Avenue under the great trees and started the March to Lincoln Memorial, just as nice as you please. It was perhaps not as nice as the leaders pleased, the marshals planned, or the reporters expected; I, for one, walking fast and sometimes running a little, never did reach the head of the March. Neither could I find the famous faces of the leaders or the drum and bugle corps who were supposed to head the procession. They had to ease in somewhere and walk along with the others, nearly half an hour ahead of time.

By the thousands and thousands they moved, the easy, happy legions, carelessly out of step with but a look of pleasant purpose, at a brisk amble the brief mile to the Memorial. Some sang and others laughed and talked. Several ample, matronly women marched solemnly in a ragged row with a thin, pregnant girl and two old black patriarchs. A smiling young woman held the hand of her skipping three-year-old girl with blue ribbons in her braided hair and her husband pushed a stroller full of a great, fat brown baby boy in pink overalls, sound asleep. "It don't bother him," the father chuckled, and the little girl skipped around her mother to smile at the baby and take her father's hand.

They strode, strolled and hurried into the grassy trees at the edge of the Memorial park, like a happy, harmless army moving on a disarmed foe. Some stopped for water at the big tanks and lined up for the green rest stations. Others pushed on through the woods to the rendezvous with Lincoln, high, grave and brooding above the Memorial steps and behind its massive columns. Here and there walked a slender girl great with child in a loose summer shift, her young husband's arm protectively around her. The bearded white beats and scraggly girls seemed to fade into the trees or melt like mirages in the sun, or perhaps just to give way to the more decorous aspects of earnest, nicely dressed white women; sun-tanned blonde girls in clean cotton dresses and sneakers; white crew-cut boys in bermuda shorts or pressed slacks, and a formidable supply of rosy, well-kept young Episcopal and Catholic priests bearing comely and respectable witness to brotherhood.

On they came for two hours in the blazing midday sun, walking, singing or silent, talking or looking, down the avenue, guarded by white and Negro police in lines of a dozen or so. The sidewalks and steps of the buildings on the way were full of office workers who came outside to watch. The onlookers I saw were nearly silent, serious and watching intently, some with dazed expressions of surprise, and some smiling faintly. Some applauded and exchanged greetings with marchers in other sections of the avenue.

The marchers packed and eddied and streamed back and forth in front of the Memorial, up and down the steps and away to the sides and down the long edges of the reflector pool. Many sat on the edge and cooled their feet, splashing and smiling and sighing, as a cooling breeze blew off and on.

An organ blared out Freedom Songs and the Battle Hymn of The Republic, this in a sweet and mournful style, and some of the people sang with it off and on. Others streamed in singing their own songs under their hometown banners. Long-lost friends and next-door neighbors struggled through masses of genial and obliging bodies to greet one another with feminine shrieks of surprise, masculine back-slapping, handshakes and embraces. Marshals, big, agreeable and mildly authoritative (most of them off-duty New York police), through some imperceptible and miraculous plan of order deployed the thousands and thousands to flank the Memorial, line the pool and scatter into the shade of the woods. Nearly everyone was in hearing of the sound system, which roared out music, announcements and Mr. Davis' suggestion to the newcomers to "just infiltrate through the trees and move on in."

The sun burned punishingly hot and the little winds of what had been a brisk, bright dream of day died down, or perhaps could not penetrate such a multitude. About 12:30, though, some fat and pearly clouds drifted over the sun and a good breeze lifted and blew and blended with smiles, sighs and murmurs of pleasure.

Casualties of heat, fatigue and the immense press of people—fainting, food poisoning, slight injuries, a few cases of epilepsy, a broken ankle and arm—were over 1,700. Occasionally hands in a dense jam of people lifted a prostrate figure above the crowd, and police or marshals bore the victim to first aid, all without alarm or dismay, as if it were ordained that nothing really serious could disturb so felicitous a day.

Freedom Rally

At last, with every one situated, some in shady vantage points in the trees facing the Memorial, Mr. Davis, looking bigger and more gently imposing than ever, and radiating a sweet aura of happiness, declared: "Your march, from the Monument to the Memorial, has told the world what we are here for, and your order has told them that we mean business, that we are here for freedom."

Another great, exuberant cry rose and echoed from the crowds. It was the beginning of a long love feast of the masses' delight in their famed fellows sitting up at the feet of the marble Lincoln. They cheered the oratory of Movement leaders and distinguished Negroes and vowed, with their shouts, to make the March "a beginning" of greater effort rather than an end and they yelled, laughed and sang with the great Negro artists and entertainers in an afternoon of nearly unbroken pride and happiness. The love of the 200,000 for their own immortals and for the white celebrities who marched with them rolled up to the Memorial steps as palpably as the cheers. And the proud overflowing affection of their leaders and idols flowed back to them in speeches, promises and songs.

Diva Marian Anderson, called the greatest contralto in the world, arrived tearfully and too late, delayed by the dense crowds, to open the rally with the National Anthem, so Camilla Williams, a bronzy beauty in black chiffon and a picture hat, sang it instead, rousingly and beautifully.

The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a hero of Birmingham, tall, black and fierce, even in his flashing smile, proclaimed in a hoarse, powerful, preacher's voice: "We came because we love our country, because our country needs us and because we need our country. We ought not to be arguing this point of how much freedom to grant to whom. Everybody in America ought to be free! If the politicians want peace, if the judges want to unclog their court calendars, *then turn the Negro loose in America!* Then we'll all be free!"

The most moving meeting of the afternoon, to me, was that of Josephine Baker with the thrilled throngs who idolize her voice, her deep and lovely face and her European celebrity. Miss Baker flew from her Paris home for the March. She looked trim, young and a trifle historic in her uniform of the Free French whom she served during the World War II occupation.

"I want you to know," she said slowly, her voice on the edge of tears, "That this is the happiest day of my life. I have had a very long life; I am 60 years old. To see you all here together is a sight for sore eyes. Together, as salt and pepper, just as I've always wanted you to be, as all the world wants you to be. You are now a united people, on the eve of complete victory. How proud I am to meet you here today! I came because I wanted to, and because it was my duty. Continue this way, and you can't go wrong. The whole world is behind you."

Both "salt and pepper" cheered Miss Baker, between sentences, answering her as if they and she were a pair of lovers talking to one another.

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, another battered but undaunted veteran of Alabama freedom fights, brought cheerful greetings "from down in Egypt Land," and called out "to Pharaoh, let my people go!" Jean Baez, the young white folk singer, exclaimed to the multitudes, "The hero of this occasion is *you!*" and the multitudes roared their acceptance of the compliment.

Ralph Bunche, world diplomat, Nobel prize winner and government servant, spoke with dignified and beaming emotion. He was happy and honored; his pleasure and concern were "automatic, because I am a Negro . . . also automatic because I am an American."

He said the March was "one of the truest and finest expressions of American democracy at work," and that, as race "is our major social problem . . . and is now in an acute stage and must be solved immediately," the presence of the Negroes in Washington "makes this message profound and its impact great."

Comedian Dick Gregory, fresh from a Gadsden, Ala., jail, quipped that "the last time I saw this many of us together, Bull Connor was doing all the talking."

The Loved Ones

As the pride and pleasure swelled in the hot afternoon, many marchers exhibited all the vanities and pom-

posities of any other little people at a parade, a convention or a picnic. There was a huge, constant hum of conversation and laughter going on far and wide, and up on the Memorial the talk was loud enough to drown out some of Odetta, Dr. Bunche and Actor Burt Lancaster bringing a scroll of support from Paris with 1,500 American names hailing the March. Negro women in green and white paper caps advertising some department store bustled about and changed seats with much teaparty type of chat. Innumerable large satraps of all colors moved importantly up and down steps, talking volubly and urgently, or leaned over the front rows of greats, obscuring them from the hungry view of the thousands and TV crews. The TV people, enthroned on several high frameworks with all their clamorous paraphernalia, angrily called out, "clear the steps," over and over and were briefly obeyed, but not for long. Between their hollering and loud exchanges of various gentlemen apparently operating under a mandate to show themselves, confer and speak unremittingly even around the podium, I missed some of Mr. Davis' happiest observations and much of Mr. James H. Farmer's reflections from a Louisiana jail.

If the TV people were exasperated with such obstructing busyness and noise in camera range, some of us were equally annoyed with this arrogant breed bawling and banging things about so we could scarcely hear the Very Reverend Patrick O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, proclaiming that "all men are equal in the eyes of God," and something about the "principle of just demands" and that "the rights of all be honored by every man." One loud, cross cameraman kept yelling "*Sey*mour" in frantic tones into the very face of Lincoln.

Still, there were times when the steps were clear and we could see many of the celebrated, lionized and loved ones. There was Lena Horne, in dark glasses, the new high boots, some sort of chic shift and a strange head scarf, thin as a snake and very gay and animated. Marlon Brando stood stocky and strangely graceful, talking thoughtfully into a radioman's microphone. Sitting by him were Charlton Heston and Mr. Lancaster, modestly no larger than life, interested and amiable. Sidney Poitier was with them, and as befitted the occasion, he did look as large and compelling as he does on the stage or in the movies, and pretty stunning, too. Tall, black, with a beautiful round head and even face, he was as poised as a fine animal and as relaxed as a nice child in a fine tailored black jacket and handsomely cut gray trousers over his elegant long legs. He acknowledged his acclaim with a broad smile and a wave and then withdrew to attend the program.

A quick shout burst out when Sammy Davis, Jr., arrived and was introduced. The slight and hyperthyroid Mr. Davis, wearing a touch of red in his high hair and little goatee and mustache, acknowledged his welcome with a brief but enormous smile and wave, and sat down, containing his customary joyful assertiveness like a man in church. Several times he made fast, broad clowning with his friends of the theater, smiled a few hilarious smiles and once tripped, tautly tip-toe, down six or seven steps to embrace, laugh and grimace with a friend in intense, fond pantomime. Then he returned to his seat to follow, with wild, absorbed eyes, the speeches, songs and ovations.

James Baldwin and Jackie Robinson were somewhere on hand but I couldn't see them. Georgia-born writer Louis Lomax darted smiling, but quietly, about helping with press

chores of the afternoon, it appeared. G. Mennen Williams, assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, sat anonymous and absorbed in a roped off section of the Memorial, perhaps as a marcher.

Miss Anderson, her tears dried and her heavy, golden face radiant and regal under a coolie-styled straw hat, sang, gorgeously, "He Holds The Whole World in His Hands."

Revolution in the Streets

Mr. Davis turned the meeting over to A. Philip Randolph, March director, head of the Negro American Labor Council and dean of Negro labor. Tall, brown and glowing with the triumph of the great procession and enraptured rally—and looking a well-preserved 50—he was hailed with long cries, whistles and applause from the standing crowd. Ringingly, he called not only for Negro freedom, but black and white freedom from poverty and "many changes in our society."

"Our Negro ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property," he reminded them, demanding that our government serve human needs and social justice before private property. He said "we are the advanced guard of a social revolution, not only for Negro rights or for civil rights," but for all human rights. He declared that "some old and social institutions have frustrated justice."

"In the streets the labor movement led the multitudes and in the streets Jesus Christ led his multitudes . . . The federal government was indifferent until Negroes filled the streets and jails of Birmingham; it was then that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation, and not until then. Negro workers also were heard after their picketing in the North."

Mr. Randolph rejected "social peace at the expense of social justice," and warned his followers against "the enemies of Medicare, civil rights legislation and bills for the improvement of human welfare," against "the coalition of Dixiecrats and Republican reactionaries who seek to dominate the country."

He recalled again that "street demonstrations and techniques founded the churches and the labor movement," and urged the Marchers to "return in greater numbers until freedom is ours."

Old Randolph's revolutionary exhortations brought the sitting Negroes to their feet in applause, and shouts of approval from the standing thousands before the Memorial.

There was more singing and then Mr. Randolph announced that "we have coming in *one hundred and fifty Congressmen!*" (Other estimates said there were 75 to 100 senators and representatives.) The Congressmen filed in, from the back of the Memorial, some of them smiling and waving to the cheering Negroes, who stood up in grateful greeting. "There's Roosevelt," said some, as the tall, balding, son of his famous parents walked down to sit on the lower steps, with a wide smile.

"There's Humphrey!" they cried at the sight of the pink-and-white, fine-featured and high-browed Senatorial face. "It's Morse!" And the white-haired, beetle-browed Senator from Oregon acknowledged his welcome with a wave and a big smile. "Javits!" And the small, stocky and surprisingly suave New Yorker smiled and sat on the steps. Then most of the Congressmen were seated, professionally comfortable, elated and charming in response to the emotion of the crowds of voters stretching for acres before them. A

tall, graceful, beautifully turned man in a summer suit, his black hair glossy over a hawk-nosed, olive-skinned face, walked down the steps, stood looking for a step seat and then found a place between cordial friends of the Congress who welcomed him. "Powell!" yelled the crowd in jubilant surprise, and the dramatically handsome "Negro" Congressman waved and shed a beautiful smile over all 200,000 of them.

From the seated section on a landing of the Memorial steps came a sudden chant, *"Pass* the bill! *Pass* the bill! *Pass* the bill!" Humphrey was the first to laugh at the spontaneity of this smiling assault, and the Congressional smiles spread over the steps. Some Congressmen held up two fingers in a victory sign and others gestured "Okay" with thumb and forefinger.

The Women's Pledge

There was almost a hush as Mr. Randolph announced the program tribute and awards to women and "their role in the cause of freedom, equality and dignity." He presented slight, fair-skinned little Diane Nash Bevel, a student leader of the 1960 sit-in movement, veteran of Deep South pushes and terrors, the wife of young James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and mother of a child nearly born in jail. And Mrs. Herbert Lee, widow of the Mississippi voter registration worker shot dead by a state legislator who was acquitted of the crime on his plea of self-defense. And Mrs. Gloria Richardson, tall, slender leader of the Cambridge, Md., Movement. And the pioneer Rosa Parks who started the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1957 by simply refusing to surrender her paid-for bus seat to a white passenger. And Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, exhorter, counselor and friend of the Little Rock Negroes who desegregated the white high school. Mr. Randolph called the name of Mrs. Medgar Evers, widow of the Mississippi vote campaigner and NAACP field secretary who was fatally shot last June, and the crowd fell silent and the Congressmen quickly stood up. But Mrs. Evers wasn't there to receive her award.

"We will sit in, kneel in and eat in, until we can eat in in any counter of the United States," these martyrs' wives and Movement leaders promised for Negro women. "We will walk and march until we are free. We will lie in, if necessary, until every Negro in America can vote. This we pledge you."

Dr. Carson Eugene Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., and of the National Council of Churches of Christ, rose in "a reconciling and repenting spirit" to apologize for white Christians' failure "in a racial crisis," and to hail the Negro Movement: "Alone and without us you have mirrored the spirit of Jesus Christ; you have offered your bodies to jail, to fire hoses, to dogs, and, some of you, to death."

"If all the constituency I represent," he told them, "if all the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches and all the synagogues were in this battle for rights and dignity, it would be already won. The churches have failed to put our house in order . . . 100 years after Emancipation, 175 years after adoption of the Constitution, 173 years after the bill of rights. . . . "

Young Man's Demands

Chairman John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (until recent months the poor and pioneering stepchild of the Movement, nearly anonymous instigators of the Albanys, Greenwoods, Cambridges and other points of long and punishing crisis) switched the happy and triumphant mood of the rally to angry protest. It was as if Mr. Lewis—a dark, stocky young Fisk graduate with southern looseness of diction familiar and even dear to Deep Southerners, but puzzling to whites and blacks from the sharp-talking North—were answering Dr. Blake with a harsh revelation of what the body-offering young Negro really feels about his persecutions in these United States.

"We support this bill [the Kennedy civil rights package] with great reservations," he said rapidly and gravely, "for it is too little and too late. The voting section . . . will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama, of Georgia who are qualified to vote, but who are without a sixth grade education. 'One man, one vote' is the African cry—it is ours, too. The Mississippi sharecropper has been put off his land because he dared to try to vote.

"What is in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns five dollars a week in the home of a family whose income is $100,000 a year?

"This bill," he continued, "will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses turned on them for peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Va., who live in constant fear of the police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds who have been arrested on trumped-up charges, like those in Americus, Ga., where four young men are in jail facing a death penalty [three SNCC and one CORE secretary charged with attempting to incite to insurrection] for engaging in peaceful protest.

"We are tired of being beaten up by policemen," cried young Lewis, to white America, the Administration and Deep South officialdom. "We're tired of having our people locked up in jail. And you holler, 'Be patient'! We want our freedom and we want it now. We want the revolution of 1776 completed —in the Mississippi Delta, Southwest Georgia, the black belt of Alabama, and in Harlem and Detroit."

He declared "this revolution is a serious one," which the President "is trying to take out of the streets and put into the courts." He apostrophized the President, congress and fellow citizens: "The black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom and . . . there won't be a cooling-off period."

The SNCC chairman also demanded a Fair Employment Practices Bill, in amen to Mr. Randolph and other civil rights leaders. Recalling beatings of Albany civil rights leaders by local police and jailings of hundreds for peaceful protest, and the federal indictment of Albany Negroes on charges of intimidating a federal juror, he asked, "which side is the federal government on?"

"The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland," he said. "And the party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is *our* party?"

Negroes are impatient with federal failures to protect them, and with conniving courts, hostile Congressmen and "the chains of political and economic slavery."

"All the forces of Eastland, Barnett and Wallace won't stop this revolution . . . We seek more than mere civil rights; we work for the community of love, peace and true brotherhood . . . for freedom and justice for *all the people*. We will not wait, for we have been waiting for more than 100 years.

"We will march, with love and nonviolence, through the Deep South, on Albany, Birmingham, Jackson and Greenwood, and splinter the segre-

gated South into a thousand pieces and put it together again in an image of God and America. We cannot stop. We will not be patient."

This fierce recountal of wrongs and call to power pulled an explosion of applause and shouts, hot, brief and loaded—and unlike the long, happy rolls of handclapping and cheers before Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Randolph announced that 300 Mississippi Negroes were on hand, and asked them to stand so the crowd could see the heroes of the deepest segregationist South. They stood, proudly smiling—the young black field hands, a substantial, middle-aged giant or two who looked like businessmen, some farm wives, the students, the dark girls, the SNCC Negroes who have worked with them for three years, the white missionary boys. And everybody else stood up to hail them.

To Pursue the Peace

Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers of America and other AFL-CIO unions spoke of the moral urgency of "freedom now," which "transcends partisan politics" and called on Congress to rise above politics for human liberation. He demanded "a job for every American . . . to pursue the peace," and declared ringingly that "We will join together, march together and *work together* for civil rights."

"When with fire hose and police dogs Bull Connor destroys freedom in Birmingham, he destroys my freedom in Detroit," Mr. Reuther pronounced to long applause. "We cannot defend freedom in Berlin so long as we deny freedom in Birmingham. This rally is not the end, it is the beginning of a great moral crusade. After Congress acts, we have much work to do."

Mr. Randolph, with another joyful smile illuminating his smooth brown face and emotion pleasantly ruffling his voice, announced the arrival of some 20 Freedom Marchers who had walked 250 miles from New York to Washington. The tall, sturdy black boys and smiling girls, in white T shirts lettered in blue "Freedom Walk" signs, filed in from the back of the Memorial, as fresh and buoyant as if they'd had a long night's sleep and a cold shower. They waved and grinned at the standing cheers and took their places on the sunlit steps.

Mr. Randolph jubilantly proclaimed that the March numbered *"over* 200,000." He paused and smiled for a long shout that started on the monument, echoed under the trees and rolled back from the pool as he repeated the 200,000 figure.

Mr. Floyd McKissick, national chairman, brought a message from the Congress of Racial Equality national director, James Farmer, in a south Louisiana jail at Plaquemine, for "the crime of demanding freedom now." Mr. Farmer wrote that he would not desert his confined Negro companions or leave jail until "the charges are dropped or the sentence served," and exhorted the marchers to "think on freedom."

Rabbi Uri Miller, president of the Synagogue Council of America brought greetings of brotherhood from Jews to Negroes. It may have been a prayer, but the crowd around the podium and the TV cameramen, still seeking Seymour, were so loud I couldn't be sure. I did catch some resounding words about God and brotherhood, and the people by the amplifiers applauded and approved.

Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, a massive, light-skinned Negro with a composure customarily verging on the arrogant, also seemed warmed, illumined and irresistibly smiling from the day's elation. And he rose with a sudden, relaxed charm like that of a man come home to love his family.

He spoke of the unprecedented unity of militant Negroes and whites supporting them, but he said, "that we meet here today is to the shame of some who block the rights of brown Americans with legal and political technicalities and tricks."

"Our march must go on beyond this historic moment," he declared, "however impressed or incensed our Congressional representatives are by this demonstration. We will march from this national impact . . . on America to the crowded Negro ghettos and on to decent housing throughout our cities. The hour is late. The rumble of the drums of the discontented of this nation are heard throughout the land. We march for America, and our march has just begun!"

"We'll Emancipate You"

If Mr. Young seemed open-hearted and uncommonly happy and human, the expansive, loving delight of the usually cerebral and acidly patient Roy Wilkins was a public transformation fit to open up the heavens, and maybe call down a dove. The last I'd seen of Mr. Wilkins was his admirable and rational performance on a recent Meet The Press TV program, where his control, irony and reason routed a picky crew of excellent white reporters.

But now the slim, disdainful face was wreathed in smiles and widened with the happiness of the day. The devastating innocence of Mr. Wilkins' eyebrows, which seem perpetually raised in restrained astonishment at earnest white unreason, was gone. His eyes were creased with smiles and his eyebrows relaxed. Mr. Wilkins, who looks like a top hat or black homburg fellow, wore an absurd blue and yellow NAACP overseas cap and a number of gaudy Movement buttons on his lapels, and this adornment of fellowship seemed sweetly to become his beaming face.

"Thank you for coming," he began, "because you have saved me from being a liar. I told them you would be here, and they didn't believe me, because you always make up your mind at the last minute."

After laughter and shouts, he pronounced: "It has been a great day. Now, I want everybody to be quiet, and then I want to hear a yell and a thunder from you out under the trees, and by the reflector." He added, in the quiet which no one else seemed able to command, "you *in* the trees, too," laughing at the black and white boys astride limbs or resting in crotches of the great trees.

The silence held for Mr. Wilkins and then his yell and thunder came, once, twice, three times and resounding, the voice of the plain little people he wanted to be heard.

The NAACP leader invited, derided and forgave our inert Congress, as he pronounced the repeated cry, "We want freedom *now.*"

"We come here to petition our lawmakers to be as brave as our sit-inners and marchers, as daring as James Meredith, as unafraid as the nine children of Little Rock, as forthright as the Governor of North Carolina and as dedicated as the Archbishop of St. Louis.

"This legislation will affirm our right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and will place us in line for employment, pride, responsibility and self-respect. So, with equal access to jobs, we want an FEPC bill as part

of this legislative package. We demand legislation to speed the end of Jim Crow.

"All over the land, especially in parts of the Deep South, we are beaten, pushed, jailed and killed by law enforcement officers," he protested. "The United States Government can regulate the contents of a pill, but apparently has no power to prevent these abuses of citizens within its own borders." He demanded that the Attorney-General be given the right and duty to prosecute the violation of any civil right, and more legislation "for the end of Jim Crow." He counted up 9 years of "flat refusal" or "token action" in school desegregation, and said that every year of actual segregation and inferior Negro schooling is a disability "for our people of 1980."

Then, his ironic streak mellowed by the triumph of the day, Mr. Wilkins added: "We commend Republicans North and South who have been working for this bill. We even salute those Democrats from the South who want to vote for it and don't dare. We say to these people, 'Give us a little time and *we'll* emancipate *you*.' They'll get to where they can even come to a civil rights rally if they want to."

Mr. Wilkins said "it is a long fight," and that Negroes must "keep up your contact with Congress." He solemnly noted the death of Dr. W. E. D. DuBois in Africa, that day, and recommended a classic book of the scholarly black pioneer for freedom, SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, first published in 1903.

"In later years, DuBois took another path from us; but at the dawn of the 20th Century, his was the voice calling to you to gather here today on this spot in this cause.

"You got religion here today," Mr. Wilkins concluded, smiling, "Don't backslide tomorrow!"

Sin of Silence

The most uproarious ovation of the day hailed Mahalia Jackson, who sang "I Been 'Buked and I Been Scorned" in a tremendous voice which set leaders, guests, Congressmen, crowds and a white policeman or two to smiling and clapping with her. Miss Jackson's blend of sorrow and comedy, the profound pathos sometimes merging into playful parody on her face and in her voice, moved them to a peak of happiness, as if all their lives had led them to her, so she could sing them into a huge abandonment of joy in an old Negro spiritual. And they would not let her stop, but roared and whistled and stood and waved until she sang "How Did We Make It?" with a glad, hot beat, and they all sang and clapped with her.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, offered the Negroes the Jews' "complete identification and solidarity with you, born of our own painful experience . . . the Jews' two-fold experience, one of spirit and one of history, three and a half thousand years' old." The identification and solidarity evoked grateful shouts and applause.

"I was a rabbi in a Jewish community under the Hitler regime," he said. "Bigotry and hatred, I found, are not the most urgent problems. The most disgraceful, urgent, shameful one is the silence of a great people—a nation of silent onlookers in the face of hate, brutality and mass murder.

"America must not become a nation of onlookers, must not remain silent . . . not only the black, but down to the humblest of us . . . It is time to work together. It is not enough to work and pray that our children's oath (The American's Creed), which they say in schools all over the land, may become a glorious reality of liberty and justice. We must work together."

Free At Last

When Mr. Randolph began the introduction, " . . . the moral leader of our nation, philosopher of the nonviolent system, prophet of big social change . . . " a vast emotion seized the thousands and the adulation rose in a great tide, beginning with cries of love from the farthest reaches of the people and pouring in to the walks, the steps and the Memorial, where everyone stood in a continuing, overjoyed roar.

Dr. Martin Luther King received the wild thunder of his reception tranquilly, smiling, his narrow, Oriental eyes looking mildly about on the cheering masses. He looked heavier, surer and more solemn than the slender young man from Montgomery who was picked to lead a Movement six years ago and wrought it of Indian nonviolence and civil disobedience, Christian love and redemptive suffering, and his own impassioned Negro Baptist eloquence. And there he stood, the acclaimed Moses of 20,000,000 American Negroes and thousands of white followers and symbol of equality to colored people all over the world.

Dr. King proceeded to exhort his people, gently at first and then in mounting fervor. The famous deep, resounding voice preached the 200,000 into an ardent, united congregation which amened, cried out to him, repeated his words and bore his sermon along with the zealous responses of Negro worshipers on a Sunday morning in a Deep South church.

He called them "the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation," lifted their eyes to Lincoln, "the Emancipator and beacon light of hope to millions of slaves," and reminded them that "one hundred years later the Negro is still not free . . . and lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity."

"We have come to cash a check," he boomed. "The Americans who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution signed a promissory note; they promised that all men, black and white, will be guaranteed mutual rights. America defaulted . . . as far as colored citizens are concerned. We got a bad check marked insufficient funds. But we refuse to believe the Bank of Justice is bankrupt. We come today to cash that check, to ask that you give us on demand the riches of freedom and security and justice.

"We come also to remind America of the urgency of now. Now is the time! (And the cry came back to him from the green acres and the Memorial steps.) Now is the time for justice for all of God's children."

Dr. King sounded again the rally's theme of a beginning, not an ending. He enjoined them, "my people," against slaking "our thirst for justice by drinking the cup of bitterness and hatred," and urged on them "dignity with physical force and soul force."

He called on "white brothers to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound up with our freedom." He vowed that Negroes will never be satisfied with police brutality, public accommodations discrimination, ghettos, "our women and children stripped of selfhood by signs 'for white only,' " or ever "until justice rolls down like waters . . . like a mighty stream."

"Yes, Lord, that's right!" cried several women.

He repeated his faith "in creative suffering, our faith that suffering is redemptive," and urged his people "to

go back to Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, to the slums in northern cities and know that the situation can, and will, one day be changed."

"I have a dream." Dr. King said softly, "that one day this nation shall rise up and live up to the true meaning of its creed. We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

Then his voice gradually rose to repeat over and over "I have a *dream!*" like the refrain of a great song, and to describe his dream images of amity, brotherhood and justice. He dreamed that "in the red hills of Georgia the sons of slaves and the sons of slave-owners will one day sit down together at the table of brotherhood," that "Mississippi will one day be an oasis of freedom and justice," that "down in Alabama little black girls and little black boys will join hands with little white girls and little white boys as sisters and brothers."

"With this faith I go back to the South," he intoned. ". . . Let Freedom ring from Stone Mountain in Georgia, from Lookout Mountain in Tennessee and from every hill and mole hill in Mississippi. Then all God's children, white and black, Jew and Protestant and Catholic will be free at last, free at last! Thank God Almighty, we're free at last!"

"Free at last!" the throngs repeated, as the tide of roars from the faithful rose again to fill the air.

Mr. Rustin (chief marshal and organizing genius of the huge March), stood in the deafening din of cheers to present the ten demands of the March on the President, the Congress and the country. The Marchers ratified each one with yells of approval as he read them out and cried, "What do you say!" "Yes," they roared back ten times. The demands include a no-filibuster passage of the civil rights legislation this session of Congress, immediate desegregation of all schools, an end to police brutality to rightful demonstrators, a federal public works program to train and employ all idle black and white workers, better and integrated education, a $2-minimum wage for all workers, an FEPC to bar discrimination in all government, private and union employment.

The great buzz of talk abated as Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta and a world Baptist leader, pronounced a benediction on the thousands of bowed and nearly silent heads, calling the Almighty's attention to the great American irony: "Here we are, God, 180,000,000 people 100 years after Lincoln freed the slaves; 98 years after the close of a bloody civil war fought to preserve one nation, under God, indivisible; 187 years after Jefferson declared that all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . baffled, floundering and afraid, faithless, debating whether the Congress of the United States should pass legislation guaranteeing to every American the equal protection of the law, whether a business should have the rights to discriminate against a man because Thou, O God, hast made him black."

"Thou hast blessed America so that the nations of the earth look to the United States for moral and democratic leadership," Dr. Mays prayed. "May we not fail them or Thee . . . Guide, keep sustain and bless the United States and help the weary travelers to overcome at last!"

Unfinished Business

Slowly the crowds left the Memorial,

the dignitaries departing past the marble Lincoln and out the back. Moving out in the thinning throngs, old friends and boys and girls off at school or separated by far-flung, sit-in, jail-going assignments of the Movement, found one another, with room to shake hands, embrace and talk.

Songs soared again as the crowds descended the steps, and the organ played "We Shall Overcome." A delegation of SNCC workers, with the 300 from Mississippi, rose from their seats on the Monument landing, churned about, laughed, talked and then crossed arms and joined hands to sing in fond comradeship, "We Shall Overcome," through all the Movement-born verses to "Black and white together," swaying with the rhythm of their singing. Black, white and brown young faces shone on one another, and one tall young mulatto Mississippian flung his great baritone out from a face almost laughing with joy. Grasping his hand was a slender, rosy white boy, his dark eyes red-rimmed and wet with tears, but singing bravely on the best he could from a heart too full.

The sound system bellowed out train time-tables for the slow departers. A Massachusetts group had only 35 minutes to make the train. The Mississippi buses were due to leave in 25 minutes. The Marchers were reminded of the urgency of prompt and orderly departure.

The Monument, the walks, the grass, the woods were nearly covered with an enormous litter of newspapers, abandoned banners, pennants, paper cups, lunch boxes, paper hats, union signs and sandwich and candy wrappings.

A beautiful little copper colored girl in blue blouse and skirt walked along with her tall, light-brown boy friend, reflecting on the absence of 30,000 Negroes from Philadelphia all day long.

"Wonder who's been doing all the work?" she asked him.

A busty, hippy lady in a new velvet hat limped along nursing a broken heel on her patent leather pump.

A half dozen stalwart dark marshals, still wearing their coats, sauntered along the pool to their buses, discussing the day and shrugging off compliments on the handling of the crowds.

"Wasn't anything to handle," said one. "It was the crowd of people who handled it right."

Hundreds of buses waited under the trees of Constitution Avenue, Independence Avenue and 14th Street, and the weary marchers, awaiting stragglers, sat against tree trunks and each other and stretched out sleeping on the grass.

Off they went—the leaders to a meeting with President Kennedy and then to Senator Javits's cocktail party for March visitors still in town; some few to hotels for the night and a day of sightseeing, and others to the homes of friends.

But most of the Negroes went home to the unfinished business of black segregation. The young Southerners went back to Americus, Danville, Albany, Gadsden, Selma and Greenwood to sit-in, sing, demonstrate, negotiate, protest, register voters and bear the police blows and jails.

They were, as they had served notice on the nation, "tired of going to jail," but they had also sung, "We Shall Overcome," and "We Are Not Afraid." So home they went, to push, dare and endure and wait for their country to protect them in their constitutional rights of protest, peaceful assembly and American equality.

New South

A Flower for the Graves

A Negro mother wept in the street Sunday morning in front of a Baptist Church in Birmingham. In her hand she held a shoe, one shoe from the foot of her dead child. We hold that shoe with her.

Every one of us in the white South holds that small shoe in his hand.

It is too late to blame the sick criminals who handled the dynamite. The FBI and the police can deal with that kind. The charge against them is simple. They killed four children.

Only we can trace the truth, Southerner—you and I. We broke those children's bodies.

We watched the stage set without staying it. We listened to the prologue unbestirred. We saw the curtain opening with disinterest. We have heard the play.

* * *

We—who go on electing politicians who heat the kettles of hate.

We—who raise no hand to silence the mean and little men who have their nigger jokes.

We—who stand aside in imagined rectitude and let the mad dogs that run in every society slide their leashes from our hand, and spring.

We—the heirs of a proud South, who protest its worth and demand its recognition—We are the ones who have ducked the difficult, skirted the uncomfortable, caviled at the challenge, resented the necessary, rationalized the unacceptable, and created the day surely when these children would die.

This is no time to load our anguish onto the murderous scapegoat who set the cap in dynamite of our own manufacture.

He didn't know any better.

Somewhere in the dim and fevered recess of an evil mind he feels right now that he has been a hero. He is only guilty of murder. He thinks he has pleased us.

* * *

We of the white South who know better are the ones who must take a harsher judgment.

We, who know better, created a climate for child-killing by those who don't.

We hold that shoe in our hand, Southerner. Let us see it straight, and look at the blood on it. Let us compare it with the unworthy speeches of Southern public men who have traduced the Negro; match it with the spectacle of shrilling children whose parents and teachers turned them free to spit epithets at small huddles of Negro school children for a week before this Sunday in Birmingham; hold up the shoe and look beyond it to the state house in Montgomery where the official attitudes of Alabama have been spoken in heat and anger.

Let us not lay the blame on some brutal fool who didn't know any better.

We know better. We created the day. We bear the judgment. May God have mercy on the poor South that has been so led. May what has happened hasten the day when the good South, which does live and have great being, will rise to this challenge of racial understanding and common humanity, in the full power of its unasserted courage, assert itself.

The Sunday school play at Birmingham is ended. With a weeping Negro mother, we stand in the bitter smoke and hold a shoe. If our South is ever to be what we wish it to be, we will plant a flower of nobler resolve for the South now upon these four small graves that we dug.—*Eugene Patterson in the* Atlanta Constitution *of September 16, 1963.*

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL ATLANTA, GA. 37

Inter-Office Communication

DEC 12 1963

December 10, 1963

To Messrs: Roy Reuther and Irving Bluestone

From William H. Oliver

Subject "March on Washington" - Recordings

You are perhaps aware of the fact that there are presently three (3) recordings of the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom". They are as follows:

1. The Official Album "March on Washington" designated by the Chairmen of the "Big 10" organizations, who sponsored the March was reproduced by Riverside Radio Station WRVR, New York City.

   I am attaching a copy of the promotional leaflet which is being used in connection with the distribution of this recording. There is also attached a copy of this recording. Accompanying each mailing of the recording is a copy of the Pledge made by the participants during the March ceremonies at Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963.

2. The second recording "We Shall Overcome" of the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" is an authorized recording produced by the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership.

   This organization grew out of the efforts of Steven R. Currier, President of the Taconic Foundation, to raise one million dollars for the "Big 6" Civil Rights group, as follows:

   a. National Urban League

   b. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund

   c. Congress of Racial Equality

   d. Christian Leadership Conference

   e. Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

f. National Council of Negro Women (who became a part of the six organizations desiring funds from the Taconic Foundation)

One of the participating organizations in the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Co-Chairmen of the U.C.R.L. are Whitney M. Young, Jr., National Urban League; and Steven R. Currier, Taconic Foundation. The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership recording "We Shall Overcome" is being handled by Mr. Martin Schneider.

3. The Metro-Goldwyn Mayer Studios in Hollywood produced a third recording which is currently in litigation. The suit was filed by Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In a memorandum to me, dated October 29, 1963, Brother Irving Bluestone requested that I check into this matter (of the two recordings) with Brother Carroll Hutton, Director of our Education Department. Subsequently, Roy Reuther asked that I speak with Maely Daniele Dufty who was serving as representative for the album produced by the Chairmen of the "Big 10" Organizations sponsoring the March. Furthermore, during the AFL-CIO Convention in New York City Irving Bluestone asked that I respond to an earlier request from the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, who of course was anxious to have the UAW subscribe to copies of their album "We Shall Overcome".

As per your request I have conversed with Mrs. Dufty and Mr. Schneider. Both the album designated by the Chairmen of the "Big 10" Organizations and the one produced by the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership are on sale for $3.00 per copy. Both of them are offering a similar type of arrangement in terms of the purchaser designating to whom the residual funds should be directed once the recording is purchased. The arrangement is as follows:

> The plan of the Chairmen of the "Big 10" Organizations is to sell the recording wholesale for $1.25 per copy and the remaining $1.75 is to be designated to either one of the ten Civil Rights Organizations the purchasers choose to nominate.

The plan of the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership is as follows:

> They will handle direct sales of the record through mail orders which they have been doing with the seven (7) participating organizations. Under this arrangement the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership retains $1.75 and submits $1.25 to the participating organization who is responsible for the order. Moreover, the Council would be agreeable to provide to us a wholesale price of $1.25 to $1.60 providing we purchased over 500 copies.

In view of the fact that the Education Department was anxious to get a sales program underway, and since we had endorsed the "Big 10" recording, we ordered 200 copies of these as a "pilot project" with 100 copies being dispatched to the Education Department for immediate sales at the cost of $3.00 per copy. The remaining $1.75 will be retained by the UAW and the officers are to decide which of the "Big 10" Civil Rights Organizations will receive the residual funds. Should the "pilot project" prove successful, we would then accept all orders for records here at the International, with checks made payable to the International Union in the amount of $3.00. We would direct "March on Washington Headquarters" to mail copies directly from New York to all purchasers, and we would reimburse them in the amount of $1.25 postpaid. The same procedure of dividing the residual funds between the "Big 10" Civil Rights Organizations would be followed.

We have prepared a publicity ad for "Solidarity" as well as our radio programs. The Education Department has publicized the recording through their regular monthly publication. We have not been besieged by orders for the recording and it is my judgment that this approach would be ideal for our purposes since Walter desires that one copy of the remaining 100 copies be mailed to officers, board members, and department heads. If sales after our thorough advertising campaign improve, then we will of course adopt the alternative expressed above in having the "Big 10" mail the recordings directly to those desiring same.

I trust that this arrangement meets with your satisfaction.

WHO/dhg
oeiu42
cc: Carroll M. Hutton

December 9, 1963

Mrs. Doris E. Saunders
Director, Book Division
Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Saunders:

Your letter of November 26, 1963 to President Reuther has been referred to me for reply.

With regards to your publication "The Day They Marched" we are herewith requesting that you forward to us 150 copies packaged in lots of 25 each. Please bill the UAW Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department.

We look forward to your early response on this matter.

Sincerely,

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department - UAW

WHO/dg
oeiu42aflcio

cc: Otha Brown
Irving Bluestone

NOV 27 1963

JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILL.

BOOK DIVISION

CALUMET 5-1000

November 26, 1963

Mr. Walter Reuther
President, United Automobile Workers
8000 East Jefferson at Van Dyke
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

We hope that you have received your complimentary copy of The Day They Marched and have had an opportunity to examine it.

It was our desire to capture the essence of the historic occasion of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom through the medium of candid photographs and those documents most identified with that day. Most of all we wanted to publish it at a price easily afforded by most people. Just as the March was a success, we feel that we too succeeded in what we set out to do.

As an aid in raising funds for your organization The Day They Marched will be available in bulk orders at fifty cents per copy, or one-half the dollar list price. This offer is restricted to the organizations which sponsored the March. Orders must be on official stationery and signed by the local chief executive.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience, and welcome any comments or suggestions that you may have.

Very truly yours,

Doris E. Saunders

(Mrs.) Doris E. Saunders
Director, Book Division

DES:ij

Inter-Office Communication

December 9, 1963 DEC 10 1963

To Otha Brown

From William H. Oliver

Subject Pictorial Review - "The Day They Marched"

Dear Otha:

As per Walter's request I have ordered 150 copies of the Johnson Publishing Company's pictorial review of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

As soon as we receive them we will work out arrangements with you to forward copies to the officers and board members. We will also see that you have extra copies in your offices.

I am returning herewith, as you requested, the complimentary copy sent to Walter of "The Day They Marched".

WHO/dhg
oeiu42
enc.

OCT 21 1963

Inter-Office Communication

October 18, 1963

F

To Irving Bluestone

From William H. Oliver

Subject Telegrams and Letters - March on Washington

Dear Irv:

In response to your memo of September 17, 1963, I am transmitting herewith draft replies for President Reuther's signature as per your request.

The attached letters and wires are as follows:

Mrs. Dan W. Tingle	sent 10/28/63	letter to President Reuther dated Sept. 17, 1963, Hampton, Va.
Dr. R. Z. Apostol	" -	letter to President Reuther dated Sept. 16, 1963, Chicago, Ill.
Salvador Tavares	" -	wire to President Reuther dated Aug. 27, 1963, Local 560 - UAW Milpitas, California
Mr. James C. Varner, R.Ph.	" -	letter to President Reuther dated Aug. 28, 1963, Mishawaka, Ind.
Mrs. E. J. Wright	" -	letter to President Reuther dated Sept. 10, 1963, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. Milo E. Sharp	" -	letter to President Reuther dated Sept. 3, 1963, Overland Park, Kan.
Mr. Eric S. Heffer	" -	letter to President Reuther dated Aug. 28, 1963, Liverpool, England
Mr. Chester Sellitto	" -	letter to President Reuther dated Aug. 29, 1963, Staten Island, N.Y.

Mr. J. Paul Jones " - letter to President Reuther dated Aug. 29, 1963, Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. Dominic Minadeo " - card to President Reuther dated Aug. 29, 1963, Brecksville, Ohio

11/5/63 returned w/out attachment

Mr. Ashbury Howard " - wire to President Reuther dated Sept. 3, 1963, Denver, Colorado

Mr. Frank H. Mudgett " - letter to President Reuther dated Aug. 28, 1963, Griffin, Georgia

Kindest regards.

Fraternally,

WHO:jm
oeiu 42
Enclosures

October 28, 1963

Mrs. Dan W. Tingle
212 Wythe Parkway
Hampton, Virginia 23361

Dear Mrs. Tingle:

Thank you for your very kind and thoughtful comments regarding my address at the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. As per your request, I am enclosing herewith a copy of that speech.

In view of your enthusiasm and interest in this most vital issue, I would like to suggest that you enlist with us in our "Task Force for Freedom" which will require only that you write a letter to your Congressman and Senators urging that they give their support and vote to early enactment of the pending civil rights proposals.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 16 1963

Rec'd from MLK

212 Wythe Parkway,
Hampton, Virginia, 23361
September 11, 1963.

Mr. Walter P. Reuther
411 West Milwaukee Ave.,
Detroit 2, Michigan.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

While I agreed and approved of most of the speeches delivered at the March on Washington, I found your speech, content and delivery most perfect of all. It seemed to me, it was another example of speech which could be used in speech classes along with other examples of the speeches of great men of other periods. You were zealous in your delivery. You wasted no words.

You used alliteration to make the picture instantly clear. Your speech was concise, comprehensive and clear.

I would be very pleased to have a copy of your speech if one is available.

after deliberation, I did begin to wonder if it might be the Michigan way of speech which perhaps I comprehended and appreciated since I was educated in Michigan schools. Port Huron & be specific about forty years ago.

Sincerely yours

Helen V. Tingle

(Mrs. Dan W. Tingle)

October 28, 1963

Dr. R. Z. Apostol
Loyola University
Lewis Towers
820 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Dr. Apostol:

Thank you for your kind expressions and commendations of September 16, 1963, regarding my address at the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

It is my deep conviction that the "March" represents an expression of millions of American Negroes, who on this Centennial Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, have provided to all of America an opportunity to fulfill its long commitments in the field of civil rights.

Most assuredly this must be done in the best tradition of our American heritage and that is why I suggested that "we seek the answers in the light of reason through rational and responsible action."

I am pleased to enclose herewith a copy of my address.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42
Encl.

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 17 1963

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

*Lewis Towers * 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois * WHitehall 4-0800*

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1963
UAW FAIR PRACTICES DEPT.

September 16, 1963

Bill Oliver

Mr. Walter Reuther
AFL-CIO
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I would like to congratulate you for that wonderful speech you delivered at the Washington march a fortnight ago. I was particularly impressed by the fact that you proposed that we "seek the answers in the light of reason."

If it isn't asking too much, may I ask you to send me a copy of that speech? I know I shall be able to put it to good use.

And if you should ever be in Chicago, I would appreciate a few minutes conversation with you. You can get in touch with me either at Loyola where I teach or in my residence (262 6853).

Best wishes and keep up your zeal and good work!

Very truly yours,

Richard Z. Apostol

(Dr.) R. Z. Apostol

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

SF-1201 (4-60)

1963 AUG 28 AM 8 21

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

SENT FAX

LLC329 OB244

O SJB164 NL PD TDSJ MILPITA CALIF 27

WALTER P REUTHER, PRESIDENT OF UAW INTL UNION 1963 AUG 27 PM 9 21

~~MAYFLOWER HOTEL~~ WASHDCST ATLER HOTEL

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM HAS BEEN SENT TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY.

"THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS LOCAL 560 UAW MILPITAS CALIFORNIA WISH TO EXPRESS WHOLE HEARTED SUPPORT FOR AUGUST 28TH CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION AND FURTHER WISH TO COMMENT YOU FOR YOUR EFFORTS IN THIS FIELD"

SALVADOR L TAVARES PRESIDENT LOCAL 560 UAW 1963 AUG 28 AM 8 18

FAX J

October 28, 1963

Mr. James C. Varner, R. Ph.
1710 Miles Avenue
Mishawaka, Indiana

Dear Mr. Varner:

Your letter of August 28, 1963 and its kind comments regarding my speech at the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is herewith acknowledged. I am grateful for your interest and, in keeping with your request, I am transmitting herewith a copy of that address.

I suggest that in these times of crisis in our country the individual expression can be most meaningful in the grave decisions which are currently under deliberation. A letter to your Congressman and Senators could help immeasurably and will involve you in this decision-making process so vital to the continued health and prosperity of our country. Such a letter, urging their support of the pending civil rights legislation, would be most appropriate at this time.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

Mishawaka, Ind.
28 August 1963

Mr.Walter Reuther
United Auto Workers
8000 E.Jefferson
Detroit, Michigan

Dear sir,

Was very impressed with both the delivery and content of your speech in Washington this date. Have been accused by both family and friends of many foul intentions for having the same basic beliefs of brotherhood and human decency so eloquently set forth in your speech.

My purpose in writing is to obtain a copy of this speech if such is available.

The other addresses given this date probably had much meaning for the negroes in attendance, but meant very little to me as they contained the same basic principles set forth a thousand times before. Yours, on the other hand, contained a charge of responsibility for every thinking caucasian. My thanks for saying so well the things I haven't been able to express.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Varner

James C. Varner, R.Ph.
1710 Miles Ave.
Mishawaka, Ind.

JCV/md

October 28, 1963

Mrs. E. J. Wright
325 North Austin Boulevard
Chicago 44, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Wright:

Your letter of September 10, 1963 with its heartfelt expressions and commendations is herewith acknowledged.

As you have indicated, we are in the struggle to protect the human rights and liberties of every American and to give to the President our full support in the enactment of vital legislation so necessary to bring about equality and justice as we celebrate this Centennial Emancipation Proclamation.

The clippings which you have sent along, as well as your discussion of the vital issues, are encouraging to me and most certainly reaffirm my belief that there are millions of Americans like you who have faith in the great promise that America will achieve the truly democratic concept of freedom and liberty in our time.

May I assure you of our continued support and dedication in the great civil rights struggle to make men free in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 11 1963

MRS. E. J. WRIGHT • 325 NORTH AUSTIN BOULEVARD • CHICAGO 44, ILLINOIS

Tuesday SeptX 10-1963.

Mrs Walter P. Reuther.

Dear Mrs Reuther.

Hearing your wonderful talk on Aug 28 made me feel as one person and a retired business woman, that I was very fortunate to live in the same world as you do, because your human effort to help also those who need it, as you so well spoken, and as I saw you with the group in the White House with the President he looked at you with such admiration that I know he is saying Thank you for your help it is so valuable as no President ever had so much to bear and such news as Congress has that yields no support at all.

Last session I wrote to Mr Meany about
his help for medicare and he did help but
people like Galderates who requeles nothing
but hate and if you read Marquis Childs
write up 2 Sept 6 - on Seen Times from Wash.
tells you the real truth, and I'm enclosing
clippings some about A.F.L. C/O - dear to your
heart and fine principles and I know you
will work for Our Pres. for 1964 and Civil Rights
as God created all no matter what color, as
it could Lavn been theirs or yours or mine.
If the Pres. had you or Mr Meany nearer
his burdens would be less I'm sure as
youre outstanding in all fields of humanity.
May God Bless you with continued
good health and youre great compassion.

Sincerely

Mrs Elizabeth J. Wright

October 28, 1963

Mr. Milo E. Sharp
10151 El Monte Lane
Overland Park, Kansas

Dear Mr. Sharp:

I am indeed pleased and gratified to receive your letter of September 3, 1963 and its kind words of encouragement with respect to my role in the struggle for civil rights.

You, and we in the UAW, may have some disagreement concerning the candidacy of Mr. Romney. I assure you that, as in the years past, our Union is and will continue to be devoted to working for good government which will yield the greatest dividends to the citizenry.

Your warm wishes are deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

Holiday Inn® OF AMERICA
THE NATION'S INNKEEPER®
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

Holiday Inn® OF GREAT BEND
5220 WEST 10TH STREET • P. O. BOX 139
GREAT BEND, KANSAS

TELEPHONE GL 3-8486
TELETYPE 316-453-2194

SEP 3 1963

Mrs. Walter Reuther :— Ros Act works —

Dear Mrs Reuther: —

Your action today and in the past few weeks in behalf of our Negro citizens was most commendable, in my opinion your stature as an American leader was actually increased in the form of greatness.

However only a short while ago when you sincerely must have been for Gov. Romney would have worked for the best interests of Michigan and our country. You urged his defeat in election. How can we hope to get the calibre of men as Romney if you degrade them? That too wasn't right — and you know it however you pursued his defeat. However I hope the wisdom of your efforts today will guide you to greater things in the future.

Sincerely
Milo E. Sharp
10151 El Monte Lane
Overland Park, Kansas

October 28, 1963

Mr. Eric S. Heffer, Vice President
Liverpool Trade Council and Labour Party
54 Avondale Road
Liverpool 15, ENGLAND

Dear Brother Heffer:

I was indeed pleased and gratified to receive your thoughtful comments and commendations concerning the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. It is most interesting to know that you had the opportunity of viewing the proceedings via Tel-Star from Washington, D. C.

We, in the UAW, as you know, are deeply committed to a tangible fulfillment of our constitutional guarantees for every American citizen.

In keeping with your request, I am transmitting herewith a copy of my speech along with a copy of our wire to President Kennedy dealing with the vital issue of civil rights. You may, of course, feel free to reprint my speech in your Labour and Trade Union press.

May I extend to you our warm personal felicitations with the hope that you will again visit our headquarters the next time you are in America.

Fraternally,

Walter P. Reuther
President

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42
Encls. (2)

cc: Victor G. Reuther
bcc: William H. Oliver

54 Avondale Rd
LIVERPOOL 15
ENGLAND.

SEP 3 1963

28-7-1963.

Dear Walter Reuther.

I have just finished looking at your wonderful Freedom March on Television, relayed direct from Washington by Tel-Star. Part of the proceedings was a play-back of your speech. Let me say, as a British Trade Unionist and a Labour Party Parliamentary candidate, that I regard your speech today as a great historic event. Not only to the Negroes of the U.S.A, but equally to all people who are in any way suffering oppression of any sort. Your stand was courageous, and in the finest tradition of the international Labour movement. No man can be really free while he accepts or acquiesces in the oppression of others. We in Britain don't have quite the same problem, although it sometimes touches us in places like Liverpool where the large Negro and Chinese population live, and where, I gather, discrimination takes place, as does housing discrimination. We of course have been entirely

hypocritical practices reasonable equality at home, as far as labor is concerned, but often quite vicious imperialism abroad. For many years I have been active in the anti-apartheid movement; and have served on multi-racial committees set up by our Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party. Your speech recorded the evening I spent with the Strengthened by all in the fight for the genuine brotherhood of man, & against colour discrimination of all kind. Please accept my heartfelt thanks, & I feel your speech coming from a Nobel man, as a Vice-President of the A.F.L-C.I.O we all the more appreciate it. With I can see reverberate round the world. It is just that kind of speech, at your point of delivery which is so effective against the false declarations of the Communists who try to preach that they on the real guardians of true equality etc.

In 1959, I was fortunate enough to visit your Union Headquarters in Detroit, greeted by your brother Ray there, & I Victor in Washington

I am impressed rather by the democracy of your Union, and delighted with the sentiments expressed not only by your brother Reuther but by all the officers and rank & file of the U. A. W. that I met. Today, I am convinced more than ever that your organisation is in the vanguard of the struggle for human rights in the U.S.A.

If your organisation intends to publish your speech, I would be pleased to receive copies, so that I can get it re-published in our labour & Trade Union press here. I would in any case be grateful for any material from the U. A. W. which outlines the policies adopted by the organisation.

Once again, let me say how upliftet I feel, and I am certain my colleagues feel by the great work in Washington today, and in particular by the wonderful speech made by yourself which so brilliantly put our own thoughts across on the great and powerful question.

All the very best wish.

Yours fraternally,
Eric S. Heffer

Vice-President - Liverpool Trades Council & Labour Party.

P.T.O.

Labour Party Prospective Parliamentary Candidate
Walton Constituency - Liverpool.

Liverpool City Council
Chairman of Eb. Benches & Work Dept.

October 28, 1963

Mr. Chester Sellitto
40 Overlook Avenue
Staten Island 4, New York

Dear Mr. Sellitto:

I am pleased to receive the warm comments and felicitations contained in your letter of August 29, 1963 with regard to my participation in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

While there was not complete accord within the family of labor with respect to the wisdom of those who gave unqualified support to the "March" I am sure you must be aware of the fact that a significant number of International Unions did participate on this significant occasion.

You can be assured that we will continue our efforts inside and outside of the labor movement with those great forces of good will that are dedicated to the fulfillment for every American of their constitutional guarantees and liberties.

Your good wishes are most heart warming. I urge you to enlist in our "Task Force for Freedom" which would require your writing a letter to your Congressman and Senators urging their immediate support and vote for the pending civil rights legislation.

Sincerely,

wpr:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

Chester Sellitto
140 OVERLOOK AVENUE
STATEN ISLAND #4, N.Y
Aug 29, 1763

Dear Mr Reuther,

I have long been an admirer of the glorious labor movement in our history & naturally of the prominent part played by you. I was never more proud of you than I was on AUGUST TWENTY EIGHT. By the same token what in the world led the other labor leaders to disassociate themselves from such a "natural event" for anyone associated with the labor movement. Shame on Mr Meany & the others. Hooray for you. I couldn't help feeling happy for you & sad ~~sad~~ for the others

SEP 3 1963

who missed this great moment in history. I am happy for you / for myself + for anyone / who can / say — I WAS THERE - I hope the other leaders of Labor will realize their error and never again repeat same. A repetition of such action could lead to the vacuum of good people + good idea that you so eloquently talked about. In any event my best wishes to you for a long + energetic life. Enjoy your past history + success + look forward to a more glorious future and more happy life.

Sincerely

Chas S Ellis

October 28, 1963

Mr. J. Paul Jones
9505 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of August 29, 1963 in response to my participation in the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

I am, indeed, pleased to have your comments, and I should like to take this opportunity to assure you that the UAW will remain in the vanguard of those organizations which are dedicated to the high principles of freedom and justice for every American.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

AUG 30 1963

Cleveland O
Aug 29th '63

Dear Mr Luther

You have proven what I have long felt — courage and greatness in you!

My best wishes — for always.

J. Paul Jones

October 28, 1963

Mr. Dominic Minadeo
Local 122 UAW
6959 Mill Road
Brecksville, Ohio

Dear Brother Minadeo:

Your post card of August 29, 1963 is gratefully received along with its comments relating to my participation in the recent March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

I am indeed proud that, as a UAW member, you have shown deep interest in and dedication to this vital issue.

May I suggest that you enlist with us in our "Task Force for Freedom" which will require only that you write a letter to your Congressman and Senators urging their support and vote in favor of the pending civil rights proposals.

Fraternally,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 3 1963

6959 Mill Rd.
Brecksville, Ohio
Aug 29 1963

Walter P. Reuther
Dear Sir,

After witnessing your participation in the Civil Rights March on Washington, you reaffirm my belief in your courageous leadership, and make me proud I belong to the union of which you are the president.

Dominic Minadeo
Local 122

CABLE: "UAW DETROIT"

Solidarity House

8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48214
PHONE 926-5000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT

October 28, 1963

Mr. Asbury Howard
Denver, Colorado

Dear Mr. Howard:

I was pleased indeed to receive your telegram concerning the UAW participation in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

It is enthusiasm such as yours, in the basic American concept of equal opportunity,that gives to me and others in the labor movement hope and fresh new encouragement in this great effort to make life more meaningful for millions of our American citizens.

May I solicit your help in this great cause by asking that you enlist in our "Task Force for Freedom" which would require merely that you write a letter to your Congressman and Senators urging that they give their support and vote in favor of the pending civil rights legislation.

Sincerely,

Walter P. Reuther

WPR:mipo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

TELEGRAM

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

SEP 3 1963

WUT068 WUA415 KA372 K DVC422 PD
FAX DENVER COLO 30 454PM MST
WALTER REUTHER PRESIDENT UAW
SOLIDARITY HOUSE 8000 EAST JEFFERSON ST
DET
MARCH ON WASHINGTON A GREAT VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY. YOUR PARTICIPATION
AND SUPPORT IN FINEST TRADITION OF LABOR MOVEMENT PLACE YOU
FIRST IN THE HOUSE OF LABOR. UAW MEMBERS MUCH IN EVIDENCE
IN MARCH PHOTOS. SPIRIT OF MARCH WILL LIVE UNTIL ALL DEMANDS
ARE SATISFIED, FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM. PRESS REPORTS 200,000
IN WASHINGTON BUT MILLIONS THERE IN SPIRIT. CONGRATULATIONS
AND BEST WISHES
ASBURY HOWARD

200,000 (05).
436A EST SEP 3 63

October 28, 1963

Mr. Frank H. Mudgett
206 East Popular Street
Griffin, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mudgett:

I was especially pleased to receive your very sincere and warm comments about my recent participation in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

I value your knowledge and evaluation of the current struggle for freedom and human rights in our country.

As you know, we are keenly interested in finding solutions to the unemployment which plagues every section of our country. We must find the way to make the promise of the federal Full Employment Act a living reality for the millions of our country's unemployed and poverty-stricken citizens. The UAW has been and will continue to be in the forefront of the battle for a full employment economy. The noble promise of equal opportunity for all can be fulfilled only if there is created for every worker who is able and willing to work the opportunity to a meaningful and useful job at a decent wage.

Your comments are a deep source of satisfaction to me particularly in view of your dedication and experience in the trade union movement. May I suggest that, in the current crisis, the individual expression can prove decisive and meaningful in the pending legislation. I, therefore, invite you to enlist in our "Task Force for Freedom" which would merely require a few moments of your time in writing to your Congressman and Senators urging that they give their support to the pending civil rights legislation.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

SEP 5 1963

AUG 29 1963

#206 East Poplar St
Aug 28, 1963

Walter Reuther Esq.
My Dear Fellow American:

Your Excellent forthright and Courageous Speech at the Historical Colored Freedom Rally was a fine Contribution to that Splendid affair.

It was merely the Continuance of your dedicated work to make practical the brotherhood of man in the Economic and political life of America.

When we realize 60% of the Worlds people are Brown, Yellow or Black skinned and that they are looking to America for Moral Leadership We can no longer leave these Corrective legislatures to Bigoted, puny hypocritical politicians of an out modded Southland.

A Country that will vote Billions to reach the moon had now better vote One Billion for full Employment.

2!

at a time when the power mad Leaders of China are determined to promote Race War on all whites its time Congressmen looked beyond petty politics on this question.

Last Year while operating a Hotel here I had an interesting interview with a fine brillant Lawyer 30 yrs old from one of the largest cities in the Phillipine Islands. He was here at University of Georgia for a Summer Course in United States Political Economy as a back ground for Running for Mayor in that large City.

He was a keen student of World Economy and the political battle against Communism. Said We White Americans must practice more brotherhood in our own land and maintain the respect of other Nations or they the Brown, Yellow and Black races would in 2 more generations take our leadership away from us.

Carry on the fine fight good friend. "what doth the Lord require of thee, but to love mercy, do justly and walk humbly with your God!"

Fraternally yours
Frank H Mudgett.

P.S. Have been at a Lion's Club meeting of Americus Ga and the speaker was a Rotarian from Atlanta. Formerly was Pres of Rotary Int'l

November 26, 1963

Charlie Yaeger

Larry Gettlinger

Baltimore-Washington Freedom March Expenditures

I am attaching correspondence from Bill Oliver and Regional Director Michael relative to this matter.

The Region 8 Rotating Fund should be reimbursed for the amount indicated since this expenditure had been previously approved.

LG:lm
oeiu42
att.
cc: Bill Oliver

Inter-Office Communication

NOV 12 1963

November 11, 1963

To Larry Gettlinger

From William H. Oliver

Subject Baltimore - Washington Freedom March Expenditures

Dear Larry:

Attached hereto is a copy of a memorandum dated November 6, 1963 from Director E. T. Michael.

You are familiar with the details relating to his request for payment of these invoices. I am therefore recommending that check be made out to Region 8 in the amount of $256.98.

Fraternally,

WHO/dg
oeiu42

cc: Irving Bluestone

Inter-Office Communication

November 26, 1963

DEC 2 1963

To Irving Bluestone

From William H. Oliver

Subject Sale of "We Shall Overcome" Freedom March Souvenir Programs

Dear Irving:

I am returning herewith attached the copy of the above referred to Souvenir Program from the March on Washington forwarded to President Reuther by Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League in his letter to Walter of September 26, 1963.

I am also returning herewith Jack Conway's memorandum to you of October 30, 1963 regarding this material along with your response to him of November 6, 1963.

This is to advise that we have ordered 100 copies of these programs for distribution to our Board members and officers. It is my opinion that we do not need further copies of this material.

Kindest regards.

Fraternally,

WHO/dg
oeiu42
enc.

NOV 11 1963

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT

815 SIXTEENTH STREET. N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • • EXECUTIVE 3-5581

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT

JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

November 6, 1963

MEMORANDUM

Bill Oliver

To: Irving Bluestone

From: Jack Conway

Subject: Sale of "We Shall Overcome" Memento

The Urban League paid for the printing of 50,000 copies of "We Shall Overcome." At the March, some 30,000 were sold which cleared the total cost of the project plus providing $18,000 for March on Washington Committee. The remaining 20,000 are in the process of being distributed and anything that comes from the sale of these represents surplus.

I would suggest that you send out, through the education channels of UAW, a notice that these are available for mementoes, if anyone is interested. Beyond that, I do not think any special effort is required.

JTC:ak
oeiu2

VICE PRESIDENTS: I. W. ABEL • JOSEPH A. BEIRNE • GEORGE BURDON • JOSEPH CURRAN • KARL F. FELLER • MAX GREENBERG
A. F. HARTUNG • ALBERT J. HAYES • RALPH HELSTEIN • O. A. KNIGHT • WALTER L. MITCHELL • PAUL L. PHILLIPS
WILLIAM POLLOCK • FRANK ROSENBLUM • LOUIS STULBERG • ARNOLD ZANDER

33

hoed

October 30, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Jack Conway

From: Irv Bluestone

Subject: 9/24/63 Letter from Whitney M. Young, Jr.
National Urban League, Inc.
re: Sale of "We Shall Overcome" Memento

Are we supposed to do anything concerning the request by Whitney M. Young, Jr., that we assist in selling the remaining copies of the memento "We Shall Overcome"?

I note that a copy of his September 24th letter to Walter was sent to you.

Please advise.

IB:mp
oeiu 42

SEP 26 1963

AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

National Urban League, Inc.

14 EAST FORTY-EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • PLAZA 1-0300

President
HENRY STEEGER

Senior Vice-President
MALCOLM ANDRESEN

Vice-Presidents
JOHN H. JOHNSON
THOMAS G. YOUNG

Secretary
DOROTHY HIRSHON

Treasurer
BURNS W. ROPER

Executive Director
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Honorary Trustees
ROBERT W. DOWLING
LLOYD K. GARRISON
THEODORE W. KHEEL

Board of Trustees
Malcolm Andresen
Joseph M. Baird
William H. Baldwin
Eugene H. Buder
George O. Butler
Lisle C. Carter, Jr.
Mrs. Harold C. Case
Ray E. Clarke
Dorothy Hirshon
Jerome H. Holland
Sophia Y. Jacobs
John H. Johnson
R. Frank Jones
Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr.
Lindsley F. Kimball
John G. Lewis, Jr.
Lawrence W. Lowman
Brian G. Manion
Louis E. Martin
Mrs. Jerome Z. Morris
Edward C. Myers
Ivan C. McLeod
Cecil E. Newman
Everett P. O'Neal
Hobson R. Reynolds
Hilyard R. Robinson
Winthrop Rockefeller
Burns W. Roper
Ramon S. Scruggs
Martin E. Segal
Louis Simon
Asa T. Spaulding
Maida Springer
Henry Steeger
Harry Van Arsdale, Jr.
William O. Walker
Frank H. Wyman
Thomas G. Young

Herbert B. Evans
Legal Counsel

September
Twenty-fourth
1 9 6 3

Dear Walter:

We are now clearing up many of the details of the National Urban League's responsibility in connection with the March on Washington.

You will recall that we sponsored the preparation and distribution of the March memento, "We Shall Overcome" -- a portfolio of collages symbolizing the spirit of the event.

Of the fifty thousand copies printed, more than 10,000 copies were distributed at St. Philip's Church in New York and at St. Luke's Church in Washington. Proceeds from these sources are still coming in, but at a slow pace. Regretfully, some four or five thousand are still unaccounted for. The one-day sale in Washington netted slightly under $20,000 and, although requests continue to be received, we still have about 15,000 copies on hand.

This letter is to ask your cooperation in assisting us in the sale of the remaining copies. If these are successfully sold at $1.00 each, we can assure the March Committee a sizeable additional contribution towards its expenses. A complimentary copy of the portfolio is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, President
International Union, U.A.W.
Solidarity House
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

cc: Jack Conway

Enclosure:

October 18, 1963

Mr. George F. Cole
6329 N. E. Radford Drive
Seattle, Washington, 98115

Dear Mr. Cole:

Your very thoughtful commendations of August 29th are deeply appreciated. The recent march is symbolic of the restlessness of thousands of American citizens who have been long denied their constitutional rights and privileges in our country.

Your personal wishes and encouragement are most gratifying and I should like to assure you that I will continue to do everything I can in the labor movement to preserve our prestige, tradition and concern in the field of human rights.

May I extend to you, based on your forthright comments, an opportunity to make a personal contribution to this enormously important cause for human rights. We are currently enlisting thousands of Americans in our efforts "Task Force for Freedom" which merely requires your writing a letter to your congressman and senator urging that he give his support to the pending civil rights legislation. Your action in this regard can be most meaningful to our country at this time.

Sincerely,

WPR:mpo
oeiu 42

Walter P. Reuther
President

bcc: William H. Oliver

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM AUGUST 28, 1963

We Shall Overcome

lomonaco

This collection of graphic collages has been created specifically as a memento for those who participated in the historic March on Washington for Freedom and Jobs on August 28, 1963.

It depicts man's inhumanity, his cruelty to his fellow human being. This memento, we believe, will inspire us to assert man's decency and goodness through an understanding of anguish.

It is more than an expression of one event. It is rather a reminder of generations of hope, of sacrifice, and of faith.

As we view this collection and think about the period in history which led to its creation, may we pledge to ourselves and our posterity, the kind of sincere activity and personal witnessing which will put these tragedies behind us as we move together toward the kind of America which is our heritage. **We shall overcome.**

James Farmer

Martin Luther King Jr.

John Lewis

A. Philip Randolph

Roy Wilkins

Whitney M. Young Jr.

Requests for this portfolio
may be forwarded to the
National Urban League
14 East 48 street
New York 17, New York

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A jail can only hold a man's body – his mind and heart remain free.

The use of dogs to fight men is an act of cowardice – and only the users are degraded.

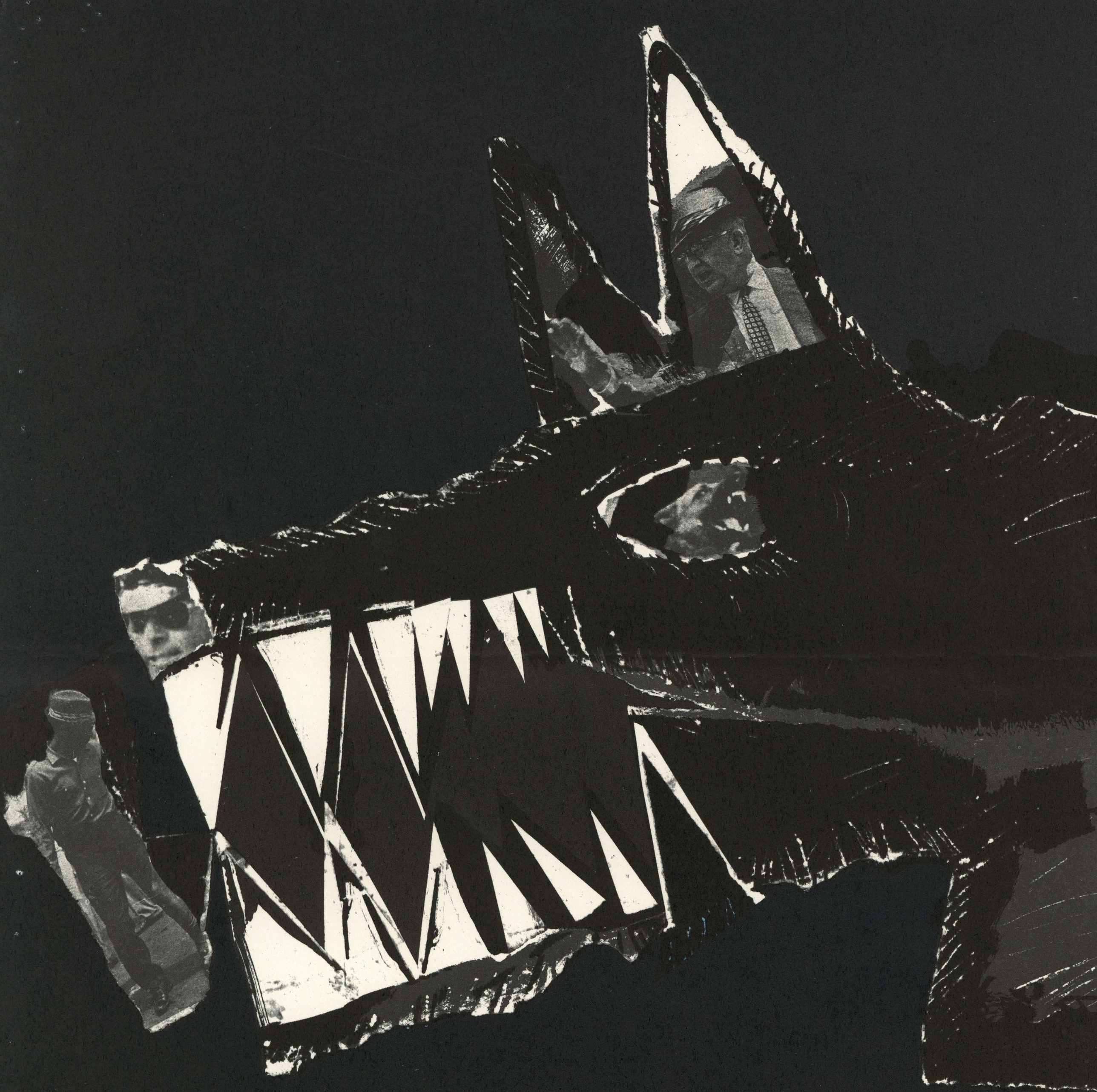
When religious and patriotic symbols are used as a shield by hate-makers, our Democracy and all it stands for becomes a mockery.

The swastika and the high-pressure hose – instruments of brutality – can never dampen the spirits of a free people.

WE SHALL OVERCOME! And in the process assume the responsibilities as well as the rewards of citizenship!

The March on Washington
for Jobs and Freedom
Wednesday, August 28, 1963

lomonaco



lomonaco '63

Institutions
Lomonaco

RFD
lomonaco

JIM DE
CROW
NUZZ GO
REGISTER
lomonaco