

BOOK THREE

JOHN LEWIS

ANDREW AYDIN

NATE POWELL

*To the past and future children
of the movement.*





SEPTEMBER 15, 1963.

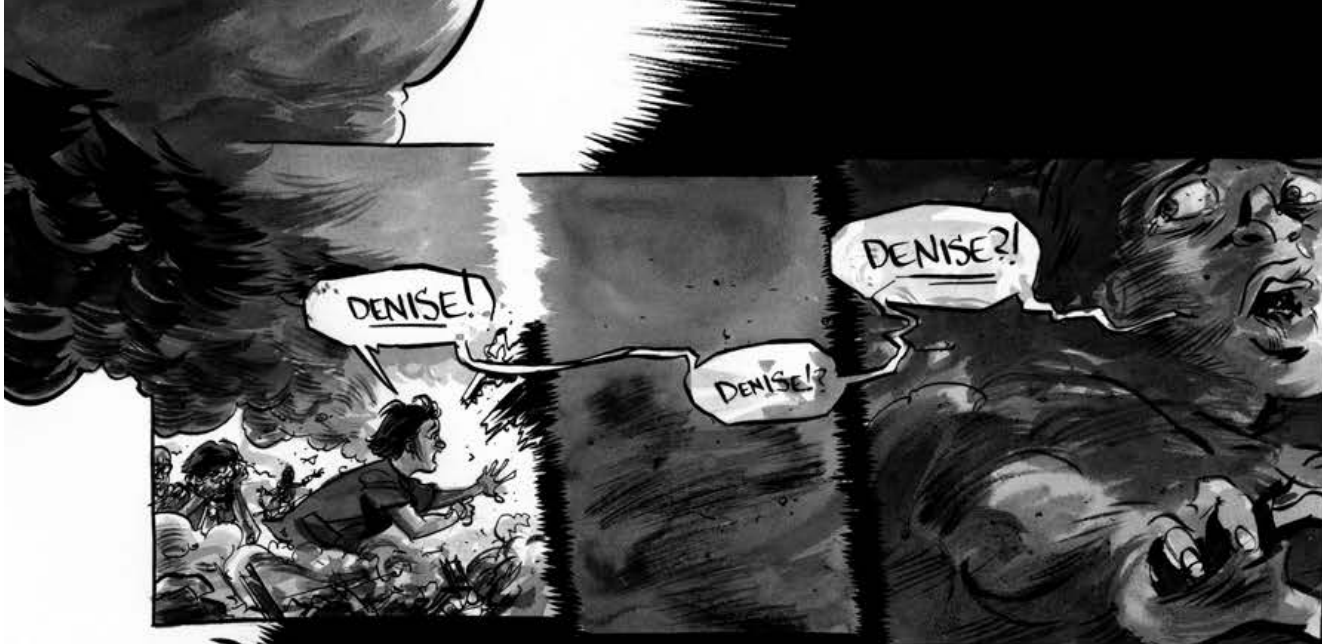














PIKE COUNTY, ALABAMA.





SQUEAK

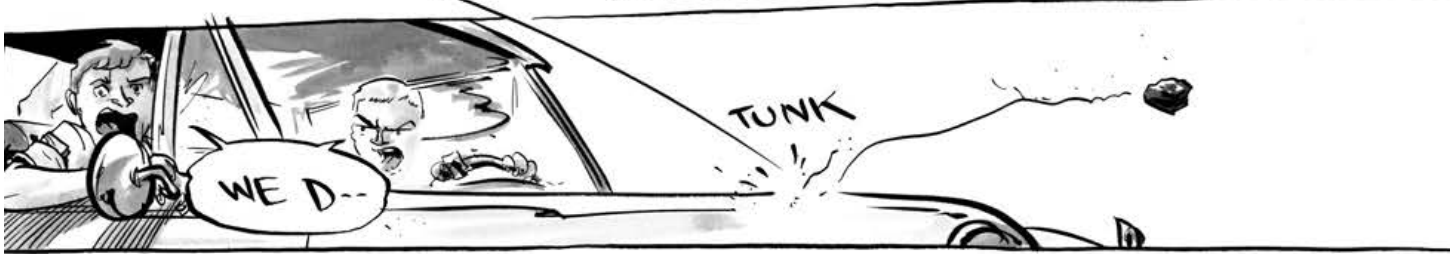
FEAR GRIPPED BIRMINGHAM.



AS I MADE MY WAY FROM DOTHAN ON A
GREYHOUND BUS, THE KILLING DID NOT STOP.



THE TEENAGERS WHO SHOT 13-YEAR-OLD
VIRGIL LAMAR WERE WERE EAGLE SCOUTS.
THEY HAD BEEN AT A KLAN RALLY WHEN
WORD OF THE BOMBING REACHED THEM.





I ARRIVED AT THE SAME BIRMINGHAM
BUS TERMINAL WHERE WE HAD SPENT
THE NIGHT UNDER SIEGE DURING
THE FREEDOM RIDE.



JULIAN BOND, SNCC'S COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR,
HAD ALREADY ARRIVED FROM ATLANTA,

AND WE WENT TO THE CHURCH TOGETHER.



16TH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH WAS A
HEADQUARTERS OF THE MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM...

BUT THIS SUNDAY WAS ITS ANNUAL
"YOUTH DAY," AND IT HAD BEEN
PACKED WITH YOUNG PEOPLE.

ONCE THE SMOKE CLEARED,
TWENTY-ONE CHILDREN LAY INJURED.

FOUR YOUNG GIRLS--
ADDIE MAE COLLINS,
CAROLE ROBERTSON,
CYNTHIA WESLEY, AND
DENISE MCNAIR--
WERE DEAD.

FOUR LITTLE CHILDREN MURDERED
IN THE HOUSE OF THE LORD--

HOW COULD OUR QUEST
FOR HUMAN DIGNITY
SPAWN SUCH EVIL?

SEPTEMBER 18, 1963.

THIS AFTERNOON WE GATHER
IN THE QUIET OF THIS SANCTUARY
TO PAY OUR LAST TRIBUTE TO
THESE BEAUTIFUL CHILDREN
OF GOD.

THESE CHILDREN--

--UNOFFENDING,
INNOCENT, AND
BEAUTIFUL--

--WERE THE VICTIMS OF ONE
OF THE MOST VICIOUS AND
TRAGIC CRIMES EVER PERPETRATED
AGAINST HUMANITY.

AND YET THEY
DIED NOBLY.

THEY ARE THE MARTYRED
HEROINES OF A HOLY CRUSADE
FOR FREEDOM AND
DIGNITY--



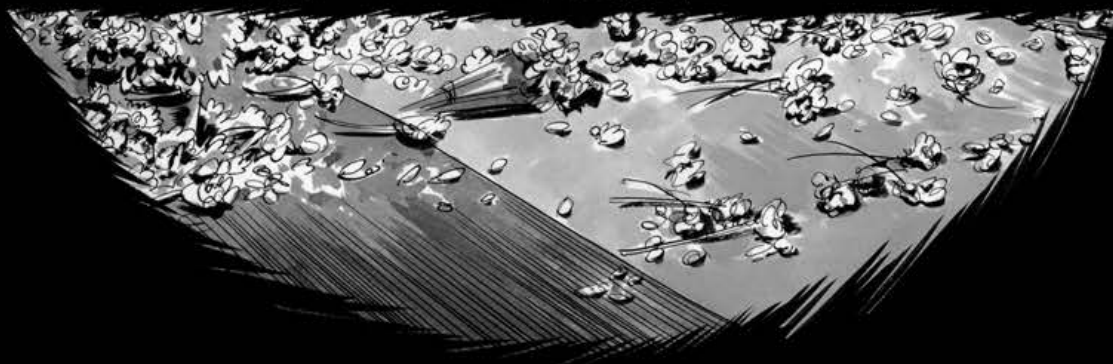


--AND SO THIS AFTERNOON,
IN A REAL SENSE THEY HAVE
SOMETHING TO SAY TO EACH
OF US IN THEIR DEATHS.

THEY SAY TO US THAT WE
MUST BE CONCERNED NOT MERELY
ABOUT WHO MURDERED THEM,
BUT ABOUT THE SYSTEM, THE WAY
OF LIFE, THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH
PRODUCED THE MURDERERS.



WE ALL KNEW WHAT DR. KING MEANT. GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE HAD STARTED
HIS TERM DECLARING "SEGREGATION FOREVER," AND TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE
BOMBING, HE WAS QUOTED IN THE PAPER SAYING, "WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS
IS A FEW FIRST-CLASS FUNERALS."



UNLESS WE COULD GIVE ALL ITS CITIZENS A POLITICAL VOICE,
ALABAMA WOULD CONTINUE TO ELECT PEOPLE LIKE WALLACE.

THAT EVENING AFTER THE FUNERAL, DIANE NASH AND I MET WITH DR. KING TO PRESENT A PLAN.

SHE AND JAMES BEVEL WERE NOW MARRIED AND RAISING A LITTLE GIRL OF THEIR OWN. NEWS OF THE BOMBING HAD SHAKEN THEM UP SO BADLY THAT SHE CAME TO BIRMINGHAM TO PROPOSE AN ALL-OUT REVOLUTION.

DR. KING, WHEN CHILDREN ARE MURDERED...

WE CAN TELL PEOPLE NOT TO FIGHT ONLY IF WE OFFER THEM A WAY BY WHICH JUSTICE CAN BE SERVED WITHOUT VIOLENCE.

SOME IN SCLC HAD TALKED ABOUT MARCHING TO MONTGOMERY TO PLACE A FUNERAL WREATH ON THE ALABAMA STATE HOUSE,

BUT DIANE'S PLAN WENT FAR BEYOND.

HER "ACTION IN MONTGOMERY" WOULD RECRUIT A NONVIOLENT "ARMY" OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO POUR INTO THE CAPITAL CITY--

CUTTING OFF ROADS, TRAINS, AIRPORTS, PHONE LINES, ELECTRICITY, AND LOCAL BUSINESSES UNTIL THE STATE GOVERNMENT WAS COMPLETELY SHUT DOWN.

THERE WERE TWO OBJECTIVES:

FORCE GOVERNOR WALLACE OUT OF OFFICE,

AND ALLOW EVERY ADULT IN ALABAMA TO VOTE.



I AGREE,
DIANE.



BUT AN UNDERTAKING
OF THIS MAGNITUDE WOULD
TAKE **SIGNIFICANT**
RESOURCES.

WE HAVE TO
DO **SOMETHING**--

WE HAVE TO GIVE
PEOPLE A DIRECTION, A
CONSTRUCTIVE OUTLET
FOR THEIR PAIN AND
FRUSTRATION.



AND WE
WILL--



BUT NOT
THIS WAY.



I WASN'T ANGRY WITH DR. KING--I KNEW
HE HAD OTHER CONCERNS TO WEIGH.
BUT WE COULDN'T DO **NOTHING**.
WE **HAD** TO RESPOND, EVEN IF IT WAS
JUST SNCC ACTING ON ITS OWN,
AS WE HAD MANY TIMES BEFORE.

SO, WE DECIDED TO STEP UP OUR ACTIVITIES
IN A SMALL CITY IN DALLAS COUNTY, DEEP
IN THE ALABAMA BLACK BELT WHERE
BERNARD LAFAYETTE AND OTHERS HAD SPENT
THE LAST YEAR ORGANIZING TO
REGISTER BLACK VOTERS:

SELMA.

♪ ○ SAY DOES THAT STAR-SPANGLED
BANNER YET WAVE--♪

JANUARY 20, 2009.

O'ER THE LAND
OF THE FREE, ♪
♪

AND THE ♪
HOME

♪ OF THE ♪
BRAVE!





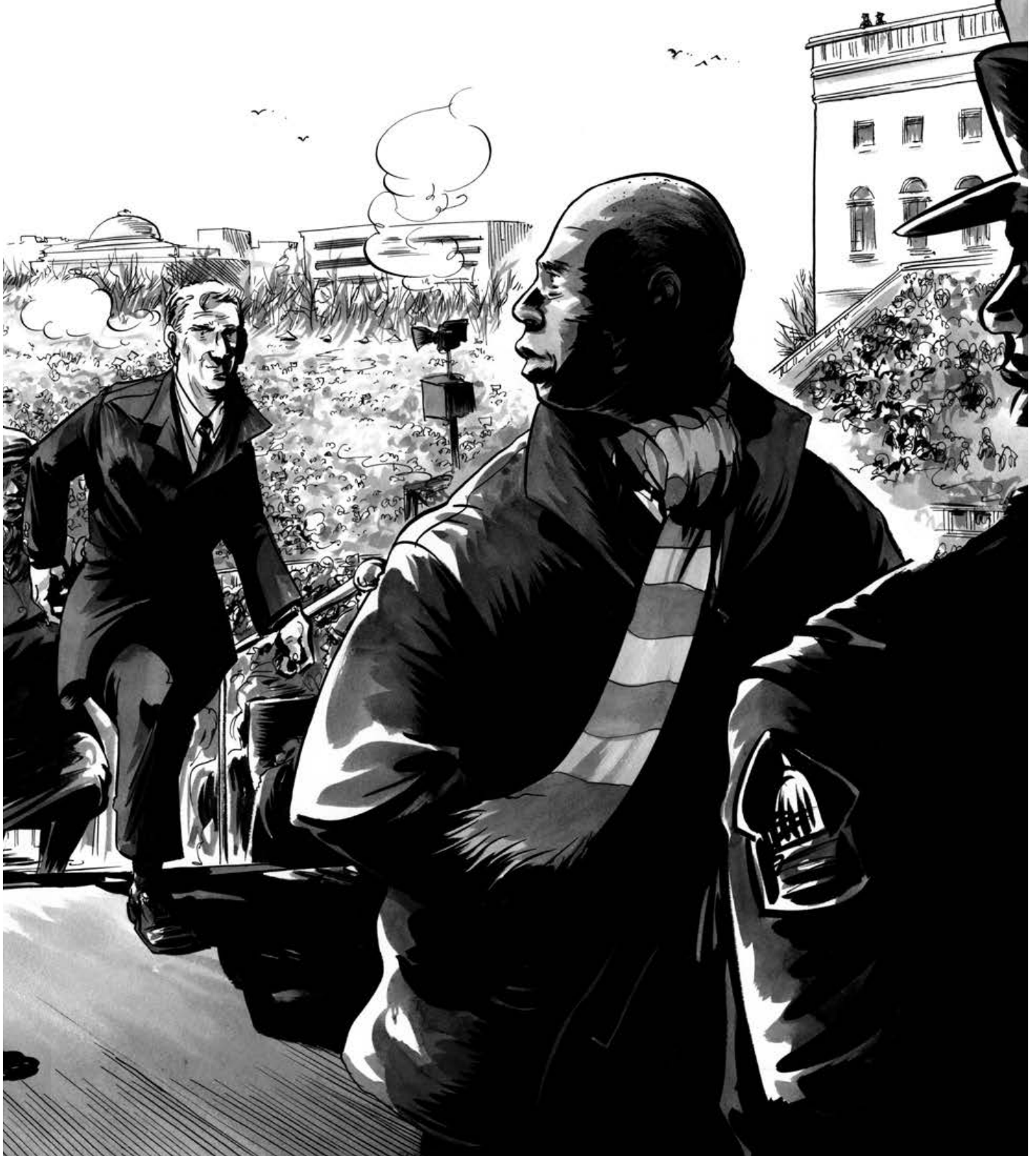




MARCH: BOOK THREE

WRITTEN BY JOHN LEWIS & ANDREW AYDIN

ART BY NATE POWELL



JIM CLARK WAS THE SHERIFF OF DALLAS COUNTY.
HE WAS MEAN, VIOLENT, AND EASILY PROVOKED.


HE WAS MADE ALL THE MORE DANGEROUS BY THE
SUNDRY GANG OF WHITE MEN HE **DEPUTIZED** FOR
THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DOING WHATEVER IT TOOK
TO STOP BLACK PEOPLE FROM VOTING.

FROM POOR LABORERS TO WEALTHY LANDOWNERS,
SHERIFF CLARK AND HIS "POSSE" OFTEN CARRIED
CATTLE PRODS-- AND THEY DID **NOT** USE THEM ON COWS.

WHEN BULL CONNOR PUT OUT A CALL FOR
REINFORCEMENTS DURING DR. KING'S CAMPAIGN IN
BIRMINGHAM EARLIER THAT YEAR, DALLAS COUNTY
ANSWERED WITH SHERIFF CLARK LEADING MORE
THAN **TWO HUNDRED** POSSEMEN TO HELP.

THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT
A MOVE ON SELMA WOULD BE
MET WITH VIOLENCE.






SEPTEMBER 23, 1963.


THE DAY AFTER THE BOMBING,
63 PROTESTERS HAD BEEN ARRESTED
IN SELMA, INCLUDING SEVERAL
WHO WERE BEATEN BY THE POLICE.

SHERIFF CLARK, AND AL LINGO OF THE
ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS, LED THE
BRUTAL RESPONSE, WHICH PROVOKED
LOCAL TEENAGERS TO PICKET THE NEXT
DAY IN FRONT OF THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE--


IT WAS THE FIRST TIME ANYONE IN
SELMA HAD EVER DARED TO CHALLENGE
SHERIFF CLARK ON HIS OWN DOORSTEP.



THE PICKETERS WERE ARRESTED --




-- BUT NOW A MOVEMENT
WAS AFOOT.




NIGHTLY MASS MEETINGS BEGAN.

LOCAL BLACK LEADERS REQUESTED THAT MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM NEARBY CRAIG AIR FORCE BASE NO LONGER BE ALLOWED TO TAKE LEAVE IN SELMA, SINCE THE CITY WAS DEFYING FEDERAL LAW BY ENFORCING SEGREGATION.

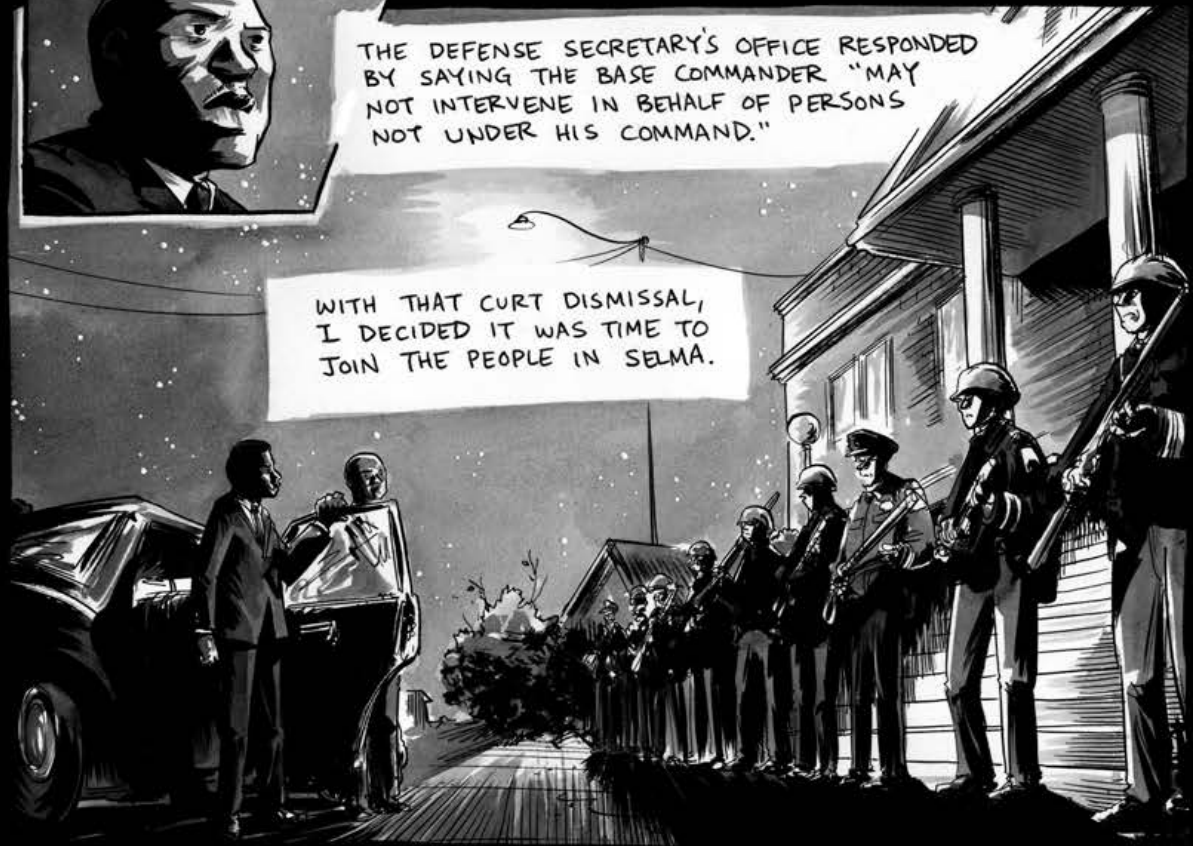
THE REQUEST WAS IGNORED.



AS CHAIRMAN OF SNCC, I SENT A TELEGRAM TO DEFENSE SECRETARY ROBERT MCNAMARA DESCRIBING WHAT WAS HAPPENING.



THE DEFENSE SECRETARY'S OFFICE RESPONDED BY SAYING THE BASE COMMANDER "MAY NOT INTERVENE IN BEHALF OF PERSONS NOT UNDER HIS COMMAND."



WITH THAT CURT DISMISSAL, I DECIDED IT WAS TIME TO JOIN THE PEOPLE IN SELMA.



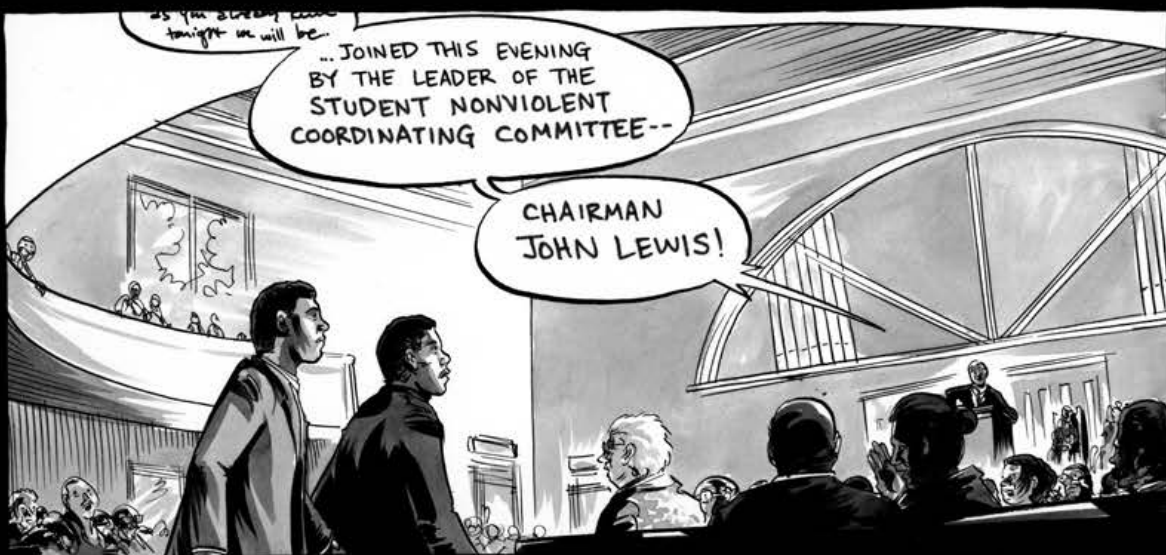
GLAD YOU
MADE IT.

ME TOO.
HAS THE MEETING
STARTED?

YES, THEY'RE
READY FOR YOU.

we don't let
anybody know
of the existence
of spirit, when we see nothing
out there, it's our committee and
in our hands, we don't
move ahead.

I. for
ver



IN SELMA -- AND THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE SOUTH AT THAT TIME-- IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS TO REGISTER TO VOTE.



IN DALLAS COUNTY, ONLY 2.1% OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS OF VOTING AGE WERE REGISTERED.

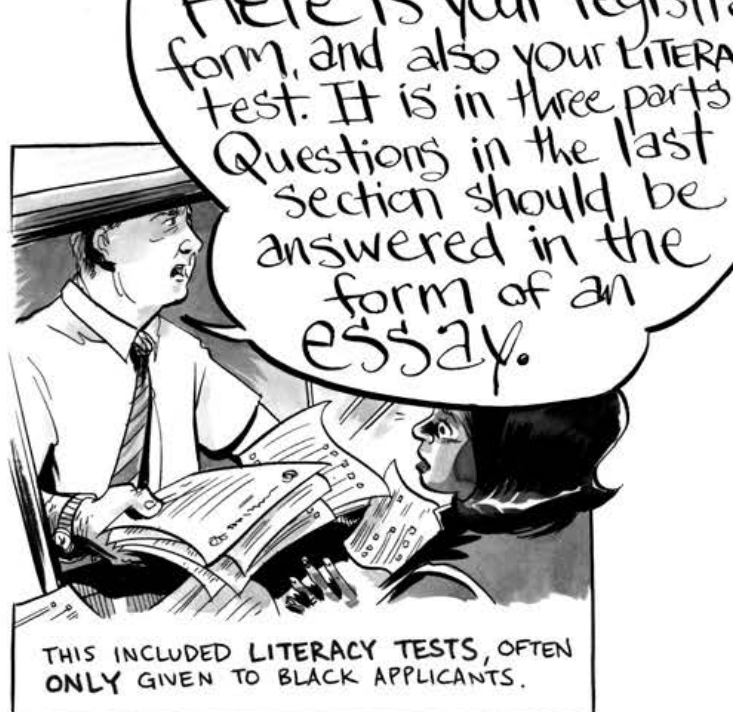


THERE WERE MANY DIFFERENT WAYS TO STOP PEOPLE FROM VOTING.



IN SOME PLACES AFRICAN-AMERICANS WERE ASKED TO COUNT THE NUMBER OF JELLY BEANS IN A JAR, OR THE NUMBER OF BUBBLES IN A BAR OF SOAP.





EVEN IF A BLACK CITIZEN WERE ABLE TO REGISTER, THEIR NAME WOULD BE PRINTED IN THE LOCAL PAPER-- MAKING THEM A TARGET. THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL COULD PRESSURE THEIR EMPLOYER TO FIRE THEM. THEIR HOUSE COULD BE BURNED DOWN BY THE KKK. OR WORSE.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1963.

THE NEXT DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF
THE DALLAS COUNTY COURTHOUSE
RESULTED IN 30 ARRESTS...



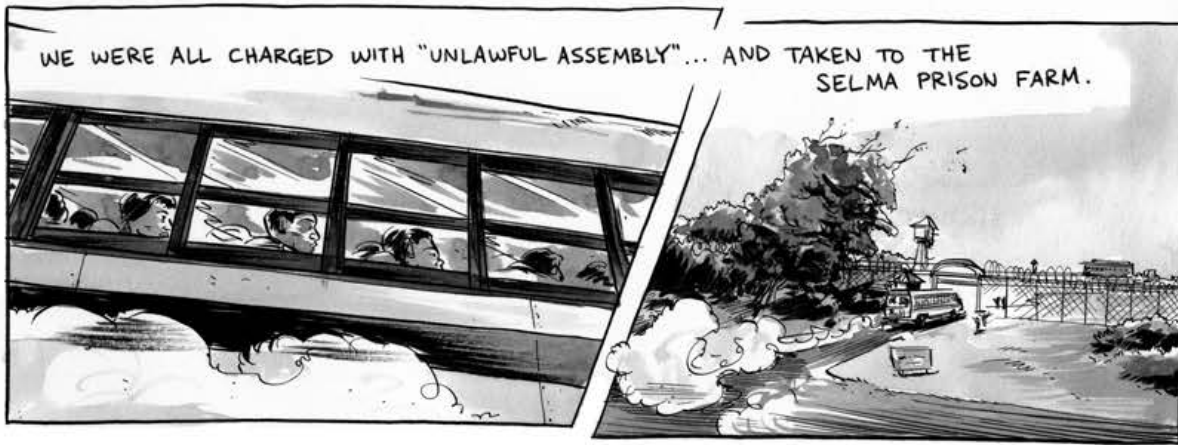
...SO WE RESPONDED WITH
AN EVEN LARGER PROTEST.



I PARTICIPATED, ALONG WITH A GROUP
OF STUDENTS FROM SELMA UNIVERSITY.







OCTOBER 7, 1963.

IN DALLAS COUNTY, YOU COULD ONLY REGISTER TO VOTE ON THE FIRST AND THIRD MONDAYS OF THE MONTH. SO WHILE I WAS IN JAIL, SNCC DECIDED TO USE THE NEXT VOTER REGISTRATION DAY TO STAGE ITS LARGEST MOBILIZATION YET.



THE EFFORT QUICKLY FOUND A NAME:

FREEDOM DAY.

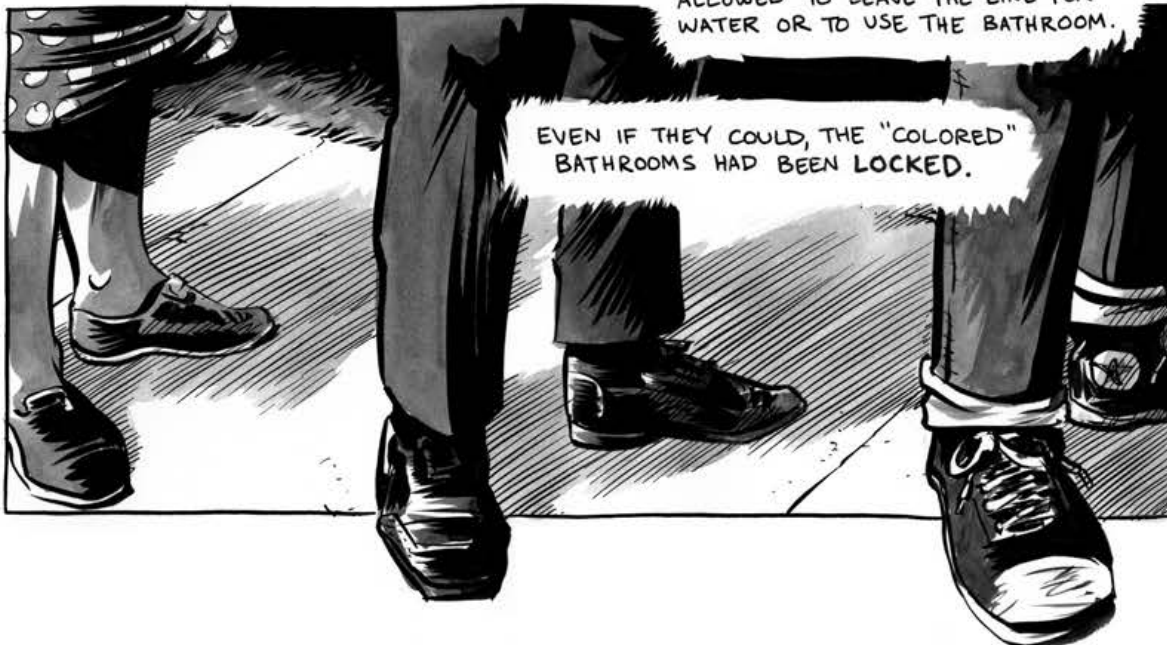


THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS NOT DOING WHAT IT IS SUPPOSED TO DO.



EVEN RENOWNED AUTHOR JAMES BALDWIN CAME WITH HIS BROTHER TO SUPPORT THOSE IN LINE.

IT WAS HOT, BUT NO ONE WAS ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE LINE FOR WATER OR TO USE THE BATHROOM.



EVEN IF THEY COULD, THE "COLORED" BATHROOMS HAD BEEN LOCKED.



MAJOR JOE SMELLEY WAS THE TROOPER IN CHARGE THAT DAY.

IF ANY OF Y'ALL LEAVES THAT LINE FOR ANY REASON-- IF YOU HAVE TO GO TO THE BATHROOM, OR YOU'RE THIRSTY-- ANY REASON WHATSOEVER--

YOU'RE NOT COMING BACK, Y'HEAR?!

AND YOU AGITATORS!! YOU'RE NOT ALLOWED TO BRING 'EM ANYTHING--

NO FOOD!
NO WATER!

IT BECAME A BATTLE OF WILLS.



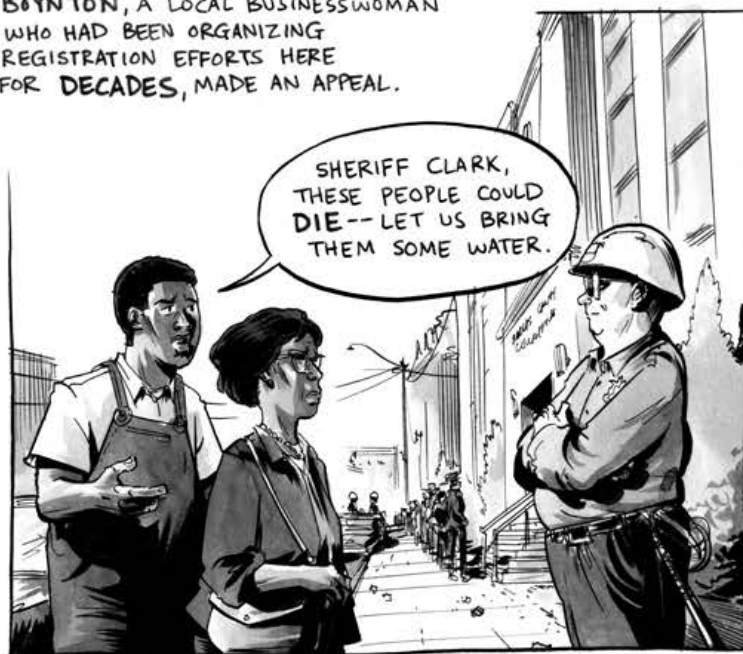
AFTER A FEW MORE HOURS,

PEASH!

SOME FOLKS STANDING IN LINE WERE LOOKING LIKE THEY MIGHT COLLAPSE.

SHERIFF CLARK--

FINALLY, JIM FORMAN AND AMELIA BOYNTON, A LOCAL BUSINESSWOMAN WHO HAD BEEN ORGANIZING REGISTRATION EFFORTS HERE FOR DECADES, MADE AN APPEAL.



SHERIFF CLARK, THESE PEOPLE COULD DIE-- LET US BRING THEM SOME WATER.



SOME HAVEN'T HAD ANYTHING TO DRINK IN FIVE OR SIX HOURS.



SHERIFF CLARK, IT DOESN'T SEEM LIKE A VERY CHRISTIAN THING TO LET PEOPLE DROP DEAD ON YOUR COURTHOUSE STEPS.



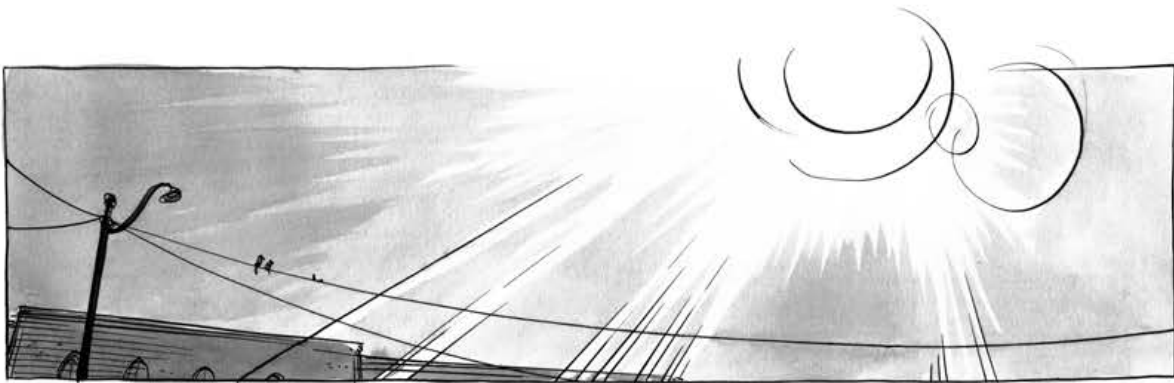
IF THEY'RE SO THIRSTY, THEN THEY CAN GET OUTTA LINE AND GET SOMETHING TO DRINK. AIN'T NOBODY STOPPING 'EM. BUT IF I SEE ANY OF YOU NIGGERS TRYING TO BRING 'EM ANYTHING--

-- IF I SEE YOU SO MUCH AS TALKING TO 'EM, I'LL ARREST YOU FOR... FOR...



... FOR MOLESTIN' PEOPLE TRYING TO REGISTER TO VOTE.



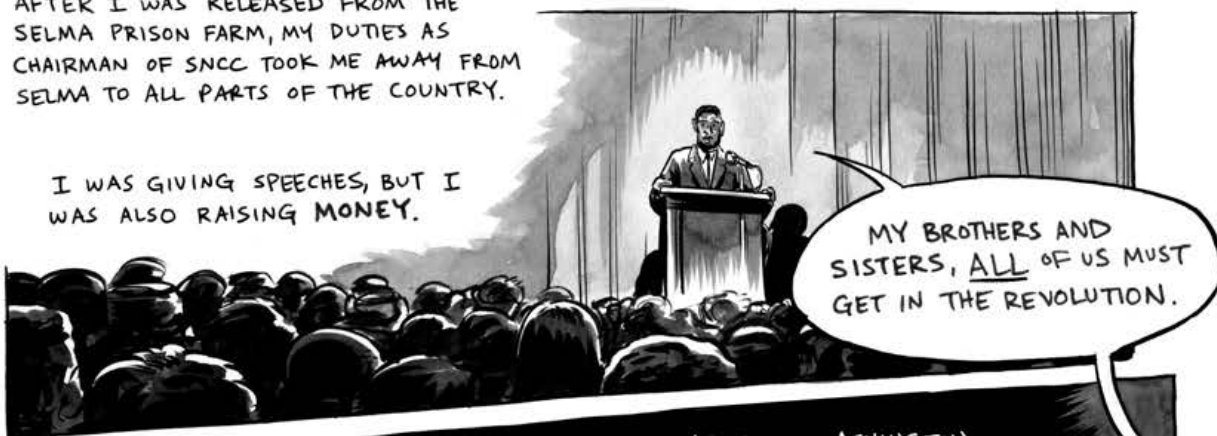


TO US, MAKING IT THROUGH THE ENTIRE DAY
WITHOUT A MASS ARREST WAS PROGRESS.
THOUGH ONLY A FEW PEOPLE WERE ABLE
TO SEE THE REGISTRAR, WE FELT
IT WAS A VICTORY.



AFTER I WAS RELEASED FROM THE SELMA PRISON FARM, MY DUTIES AS CHAIRMAN OF SNCC TOOK ME AWAY FROM SELMA TO ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

I WAS GIVING SPEECHES, BUT I WAS ALSO RAISING MONEY.



MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, ALL OF US MUST GET IN THE REVOLUTION.

AFTER THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF MONEY WAS MADE AVAILABLE TO DIFFERENT GROUPS WITHIN THE MOVEMENT--



BUT ROY WILKINS IN PARTICULAR SAW TO IT THAT THE FORMULA FOR DISTRIBUTING THESE FUNDS WOULD SEND THE MOST TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT ALREADY HAD MONEY, LIKE HIS NAACP.

WE MUST GET IN THE STREETS OF EVERY CITY, EVERY VILLAGE, EVERY TOWN OF THIS NATION...

SNCC HAD ALREADY BEEN GROWING APART FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF THE MOVEMENT. WE WERE YOUNGER AND, BY THEIR ACCOUNTS, MORE RADICAL.

BUT THE AMOUNT OF FUNDING WE RECEIVED WAS A SMALL FRACTION OF WHAT THE OTHER GROUPS RECEIVED, AND IT ONLY SERVED TO WIDEN THE DIVIDE.



...UNTIL TRUE FREEDOM COMES TO EVERY HUMAN BEING.

BUT WITHIN SNCC THERE WAS ALWAYS A DISTRUST OF MONEY, AND THE STRINGS THAT WERE OFTEN ATTACHED. IF IT CAME DOWN TO MONEY OR OUR INDEPENDENCE...

WE MUST SEEK MORE THAN CIVIL RIGHTS: WE MUST SEEK LOVE, PEACE, AND TRUE BROTHERHOOD.

... WELL, WE COULD ALWAYS MAKE DO WITHOUT MUCH MONEY.



MEANWHILE, DIANE'S IDEA FOR AN ALL-OUT ASSAULT DID **NOT** FADE AWAY. IT BEGAN TO TAKE SHAPE IN ANOTHER FORM, AND IN ANOTHER STATE:

MISSISSIPPI.

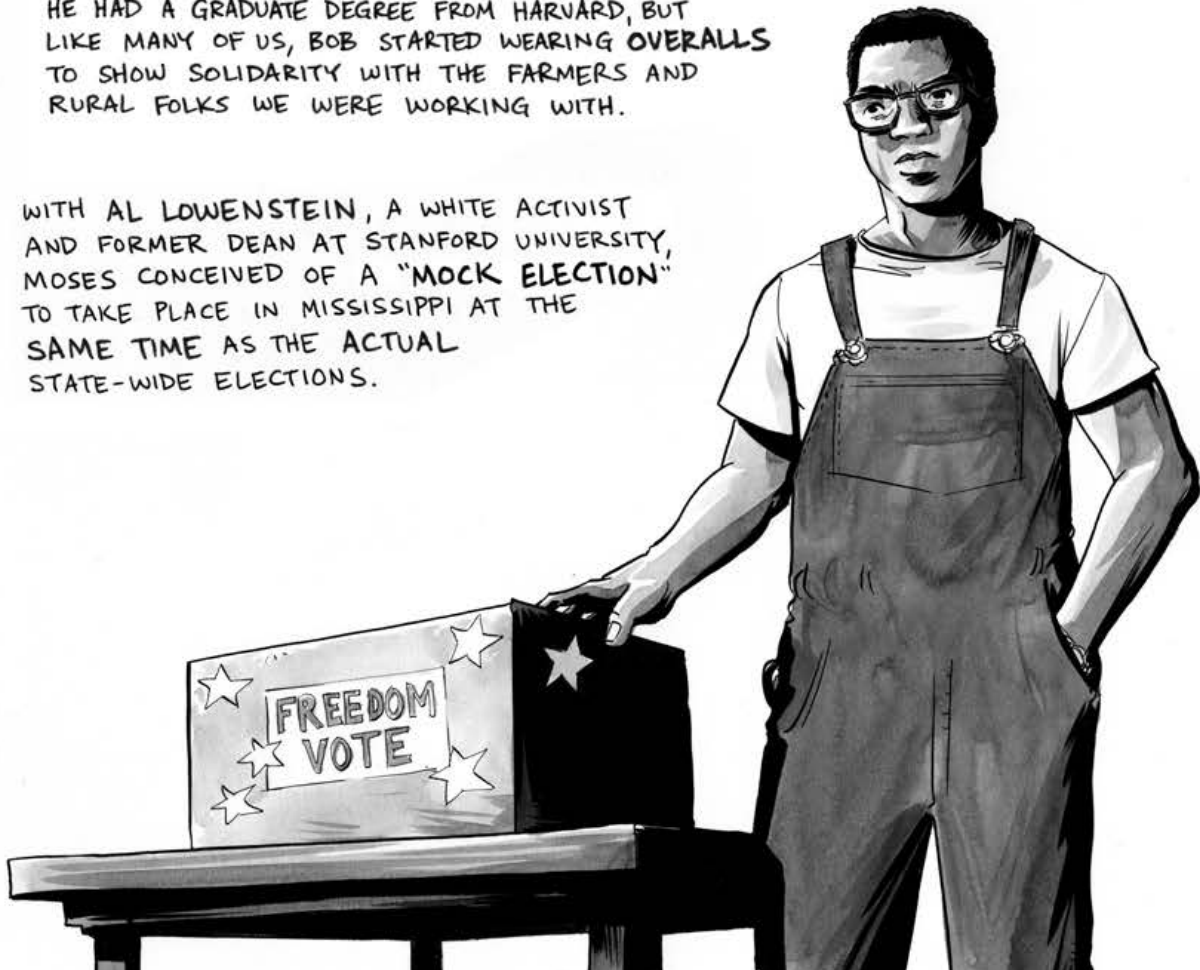
IT WAS LED BY BOB MOSES, WHO HAD SPENT THE LAST THREE YEARS IN THE STATE ORGANIZING SNCC CHAPTERS. HE WAS ALSO HEAD OF THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS (COFO), A COALITION OF SNCC, SCLC, CORE, AND NAACP ACTIVISTS FOR COORDINATING VOTING RIGHTS EFFORTS.

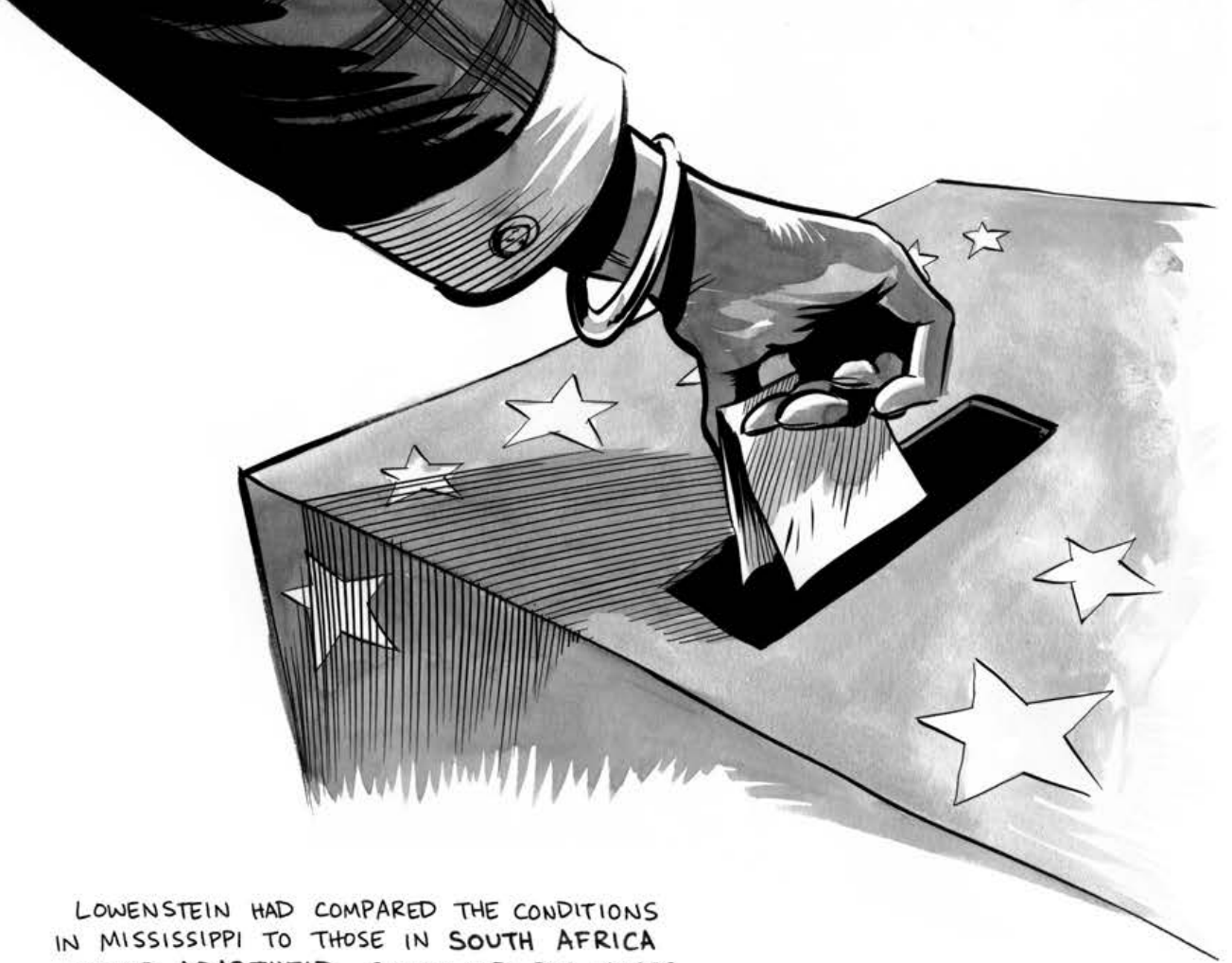
MOSES WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY WELL-KNOWN IN THE MOVEMENT. SMART AND GENTLE, HE AVOIDED THE SPOTLIGHT PARTLY AS A PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY--

--AND PARTLY BECAUSE BEING TOO WELL-KNOWN IN MISSISSIPPI COULD BE DEADLY.

HE HAD A GRADUATE DEGREE FROM HARVARD, BUT LIKE MANY OF US, BOB STARTED WEARING OVERALLS TO SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE FARMERS AND RURAL FOLKS WE WERE WORKING WITH.

WITH AL LOWENSTEIN, A WHITE ACTIVIST AND FORMER DEAN AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY, MOSES CONCEIVED OF A "MOCK ELECTION" TO TAKE PLACE IN MISSISSIPPI AT THE SAME TIME AS THE ACTUAL STATE-WIDE ELECTIONS.





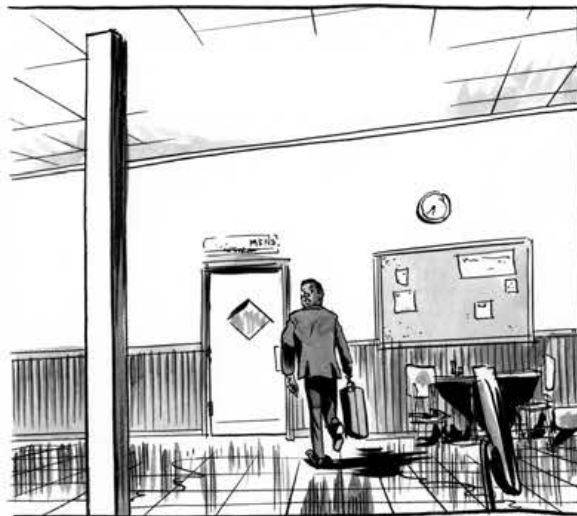
LOWENSTEIN HAD COMPARED THE CONDITIONS
IN MISSISSIPPI TO THOSE IN SOUTH AFRICA
UNDER APARTHEID, SO HE AND BOB MOSES
MODELED THEIR IDEA AFTER A SIMILAR
EFFORT BY SOUTH AFRICAN ACTIVISTS.

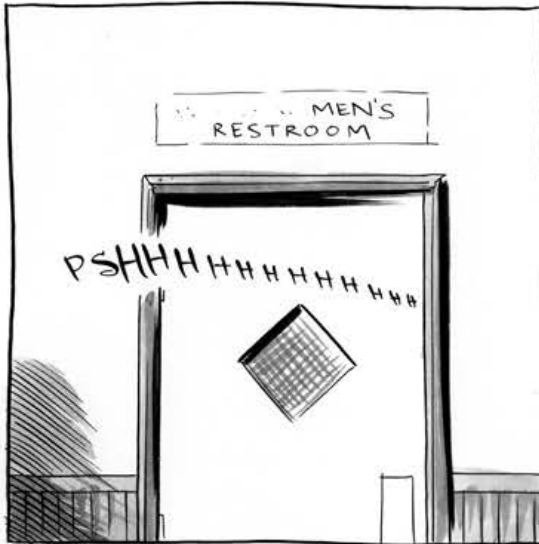
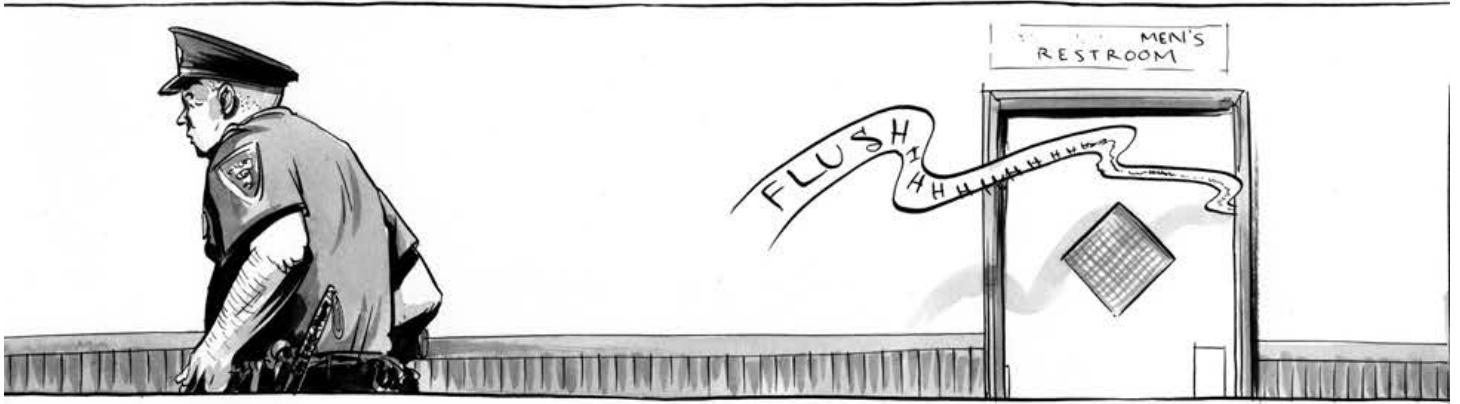
AS SNCC ORGANIZED THE EFFORT,
WE GAVE IT A NAME:

FREEDOM VOTE.

THE PLAN WAS TO STAGE OUR OWN ELECTION,
WITH OUR OWN CANDIDATES. THIS WOULD GIVE
BLACK WOMEN AND MEN A SENSE OF WHAT IT
WAS LIKE TO ACTUALLY VOTE, AND DRAMATIZE
THE EXCLUSION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS
FROM THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

AT THE END OF
OCTOBER,





NO PERSON REPRESENTED MORE TO WHAT
SNCC WAS ATTEMPTING TO ACCOMPLISH IN
MISSISSIPPI THAN A WOMAN NAMED
FANNIE LOU HAMER.

SHE HEARD JAMES BEVEL SPEAK IN 1962,
AND WAS SO MOVED THAT SHE WENT TO THE
COURTHOUSE IN INDIANOLA TO ATTEMPT TO
REGISTER TO VOTE.

WHEN WORD GOT AROUND ABOUT
WHAT SHE TRIED TO DO, SHE WAS
FIRED FROM HER JOB, ARRESTED,
AND SEVERELY BEATEN.

AFTERWARDS SHE JOINED SNCC
AND BECAME ONE OF THE HARDEST-WORKING,
MOST DEDICATED ACTIVISTS I HAVE
EVER KNOWN.

IN MANY WAYS, FANNIE LOU HAMER
BECAME THE **SOUL** OF THE
MISSISSIPPI MOVEMENT.



AS THE FREEDOM VOTE NEARED AND HER ROLE IN THE MOVEMENT GREW, SO DID THE VIOLENCE.

JOHN LEWIS,
IS THAT YOU?!

HOW YOU DOING,
MS. HAMER?

THE ONLY THING THEY
CAN DO TO ME IS KILL ME--

AND IT SEEMS LIKE
THEY'VE BEEN TRYING TO
DO THAT JUST A LITTLE BIT
AT A TIME SINCE I
COULD REMEMBER.

OVER THE YEARS, MS. HAMER
ENDURED REPEATED ARRESTS,
THREATS TO HER FAMILY, AND A
BEATING BY A POLICE OFFICER
SO BRUTAL THAT IT CAUSED
HER TO LIMP FOR THE REST
OF HER LIFE. BUT THAT DID
NOT STOP HER.

NOW JOHN LEWIS,
LET ME TELL YOU, IF
YOU'RE GOING TO COME
TO MISSISSIPPI...

... YOU CAN'T COME HERE
AND STAY FOR ONE DAY OR
ONE NIGHT. YOU'VE GOTTA
STAY FOR THE LONG HAUL.

I KNOW MISSISSIPPI,
AND YOU'D BETTER BE
READY TO MOVE IN.

BY THE TIME THE FREEDOM VOTE BEGAN, SNCC HAD HUNDREDS OF BALLOT BOXES ACROSS THE STATE. IT WAS A MARVEL OF GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING-- THEY WERE IN BEAUTY PARLORS AND BARBER SHOPS, IN CHURCHES AND MEETING HALLS, IN GROCERY STORES AND ON ROADSIDE TABLES.

WHEN ALL WAS SAID AND DONE, MORE THAN 90,000 BLACK VOTERS-- WHO WERE BEING SYSTEMATICALLY EXCLUDED FROM FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL ELECTIONS-- PARTICIPATED IN THE FREEDOM VOTE.

NOVEMBER 22, 1963.

SHORTLY AFTER THE FREEDOM VOTE, I HAD RETURNED TO NASHVILLE FOR A COURT HEARING TO APPEAL A SIT-IN CONVICTION FROM EARLIER THAT YEAR.



ONCE AGAIN I HOLD YOU TIGHT...

AFTER THE HEARING, LESTER MCKINNEY PICKED ME UP TO DRIVE ME TO THE AIRPORT.

THO' YOU'RE GONE
YOUR LOVE LIVES
ON WHEN MOON

--WE INTERRUPT THIS PROGRAM TO BRING YOU A SPECIAL BULLETIN FROM ABC RADIO.

HERE IS A SPECIAL BULLETIN FROM DALLAS, TEXAS--

THREE SHOTS WERE FIRED AT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MOTORCADE TODAY IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS, TEXAS.

REPEAT--
IN DALLAS, TEXAS,

THREE SHOTS WERE FIRED AT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MOTORCADE TODAY. THE PRESIDENT IS NOW MAKING A TWO-DAY SPEAKING TOUR OF TEXAS.

WE ARE GOING TO STAND BY FOR MORE DETAILS ON THE INCIDENT IN DALLAS.





-- HERE IS A FLASH FROM THE ASSOCIATED PRESS IN DALLAS --

-- TWO PRIESTS WHO WERE WITH MR. KENNEDY SAY HE IS DEAD OF BULLET WOUNDS --



WHEN I GOT HOME TO ATLANTA AFTER
MY TRIP, I SPENT THE DAY ALONE IN
MY APARTMENT, WATCHING PRESIDENT
KENNEDY'S FUNERAL.



I KEPT THINKING ABOUT MEDGAR EVERS AND THE
LITTLE GIRLS IN BIRMINGHAM. NOW, THE PRESIDENT
WHO REPRESENTED SO MUCH HOPE FOR SO MANY
PEOPLE HAD BEEN MURDERED.



FOR SO MANY MONTHS I'D KEPT MY EMOTIONS
BOTTLED UP TO BE STRONG FOR THOSE COUNTING
ON ME TO LEAD,



BUT THERE I WAS,

ALONE

IN THE
DARK

WITH
IT
ALL.

PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON DELIVERED HIS FIRST SPEECH AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS LAST NIGHT.

NO MEMORIAL OR EULOGY COULD MORE ELOQUENTLY HONOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MEMORY THAN THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL FOR WHICH HE FOUGHT.

I WAS ENCOURAGED TO HEAR THE NEW PRESIDENT PUBLICLY COMMIT HIMSELF TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION--

BUT WE HAD NO IDEA HOW DEEP HIS COMMITMENT MIGHT RUN.

WILL THEY THINK THAT
LIBERALISM IS DEAD WHEN
THE MAN IS DEAD?

THIS COULD PROVOKE A
CRACKDOWN ON THE SO-CALLED
"RADICAL" ORGANIZATIONS.
YOU KNOW THAT'S GOING
TO INCLUDE SNCC--

WE DON'T
KNOW THAT.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S DEATH COULD BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER. IT COULD SERVE AS A UNIFYING MOMENT.

PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
DELIVERED HIS FIRST SPEECH AS
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO A JOINT
SESSION OF CONGRESS LAST NIGHT.

NO MEMORIAL OR EULOGY
COULD MORE ELOQUENTLY HONOR
PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MEMORY THAN
THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE PASSAGE
OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL
FOR WHICH HE FOUGHT.

I WAS ENCOURAGED TO HEAR THE NEW PRESIDENT PUBLICLY COMMIT HIMSELF TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION--

BUT WE HAD NO IDEA HOW
DEEP HIS COMMITMENT
MIGHT RUN.

AT A COFO MEETING IN MISSISSIPPI, HEIGHTENED TENSION BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE SNCC VOLUNTEERS LINGERED FROM THE FREEDOM VOTE -- EVEN AS BOB MOSES SOUGHT TO BRING MORE WHITE VOLUNTEERS TO THE STATE TO BUILD A LARGER SUMMER EFFORT.



THERE HAD BEEN SEVERAL COMPLAINTS ABOUT WHITE VOLUNTEERS TRYING TO TAKE OVER. IT ALSO LEFT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE SORE THAT THE PRESS HAD FOCUSED MUCH OF THEIR ATTENTION ON THE WHITE WORKERS, OFTEN IDENTIFIED BY NAME, SHOWN WORKING ALONGSIDE NAMELESS BLACKS.



PRESIDENT JOHNSON MOVED QUICKLY ON HIS PROMISE TO PASS A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. UNFORTUNATELY, THAT MEANT PRESSURING MANY CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS, SNCC INCLUDED, TO HALT OUR PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS--

HE FELT OUR ACTIONS WERE MAKING IT HARDER FOR HIM TO WIN VOTES IN CONGRESS.

WE STRONGLY DISAGREED.

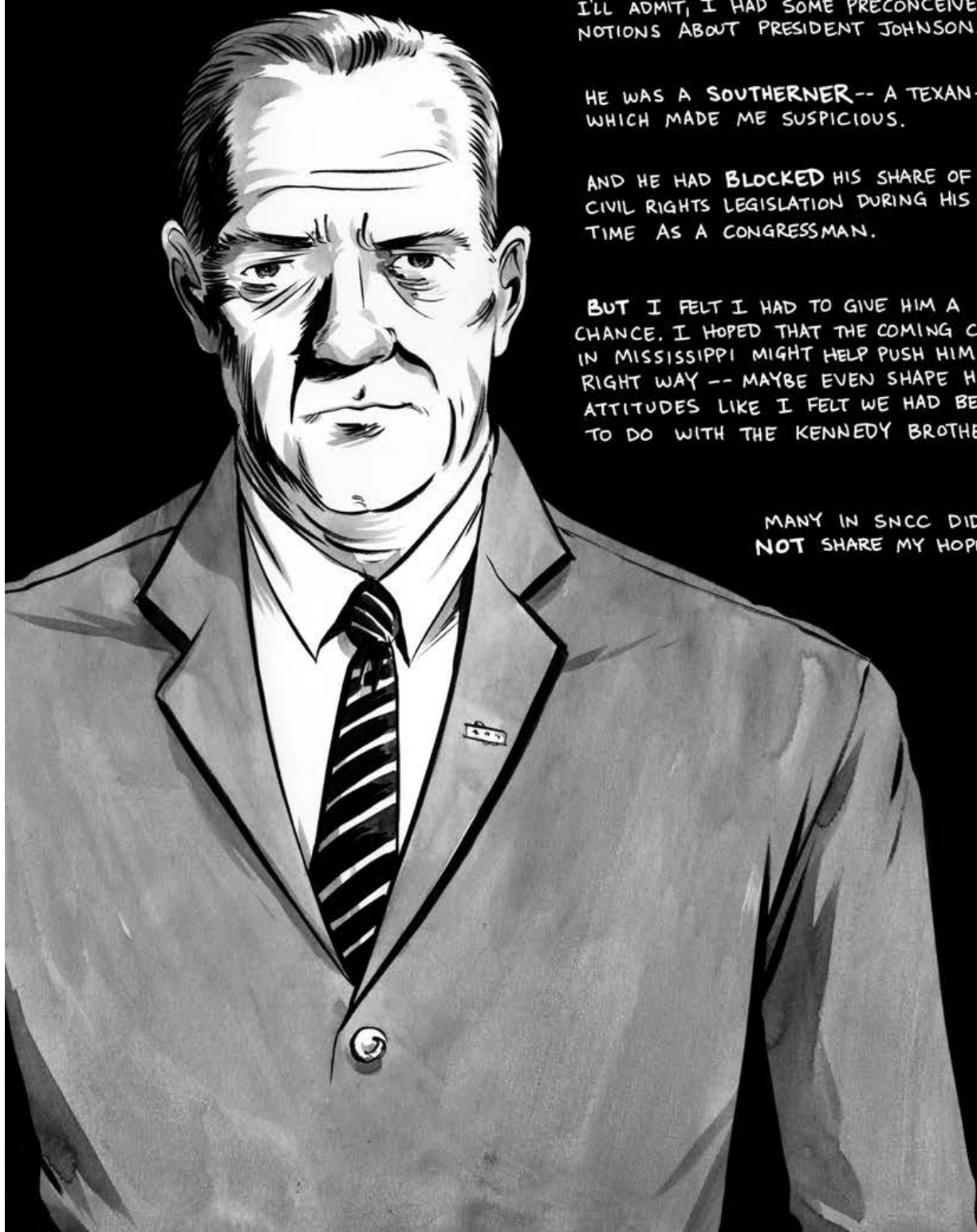
I'LL ADMIT, I HAD SOME PRECONCEIVED NOTIONS ABOUT PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

HE WAS A SOUTHERNER-- A TEXAN-- WHICH MADE ME SUSPICIOUS.

AND HE HAD BLOCKED HIS SHARE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION DURING HIS TIME AS A CONGRESSMAN.

BUT I FELT I HAD TO GIVE HIM A CHANCE. I HOPED THAT THE COMING CAMPAIGN IN MISSISSIPPI MIGHT HELP PUSH HIM THE RIGHT WAY -- MAYBE EVEN SHAPE HIS ATTITUDES LIKE I FELT WE HAD BEGUN TO DO WITH THE KENNEDY BROTHERS.

MANY IN SNCC DID NOT SHARE MY HOPE.



DECEMBER 22, 1963.

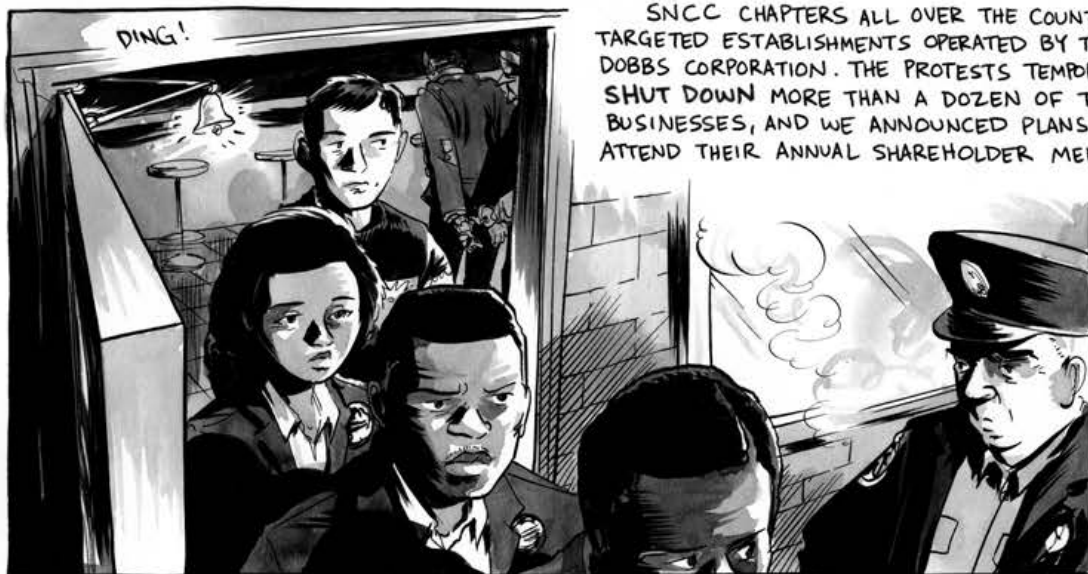
DESPITE THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S PLEAS,
WE DID **NOT** STOP OUR DEMONSTRATIONS.



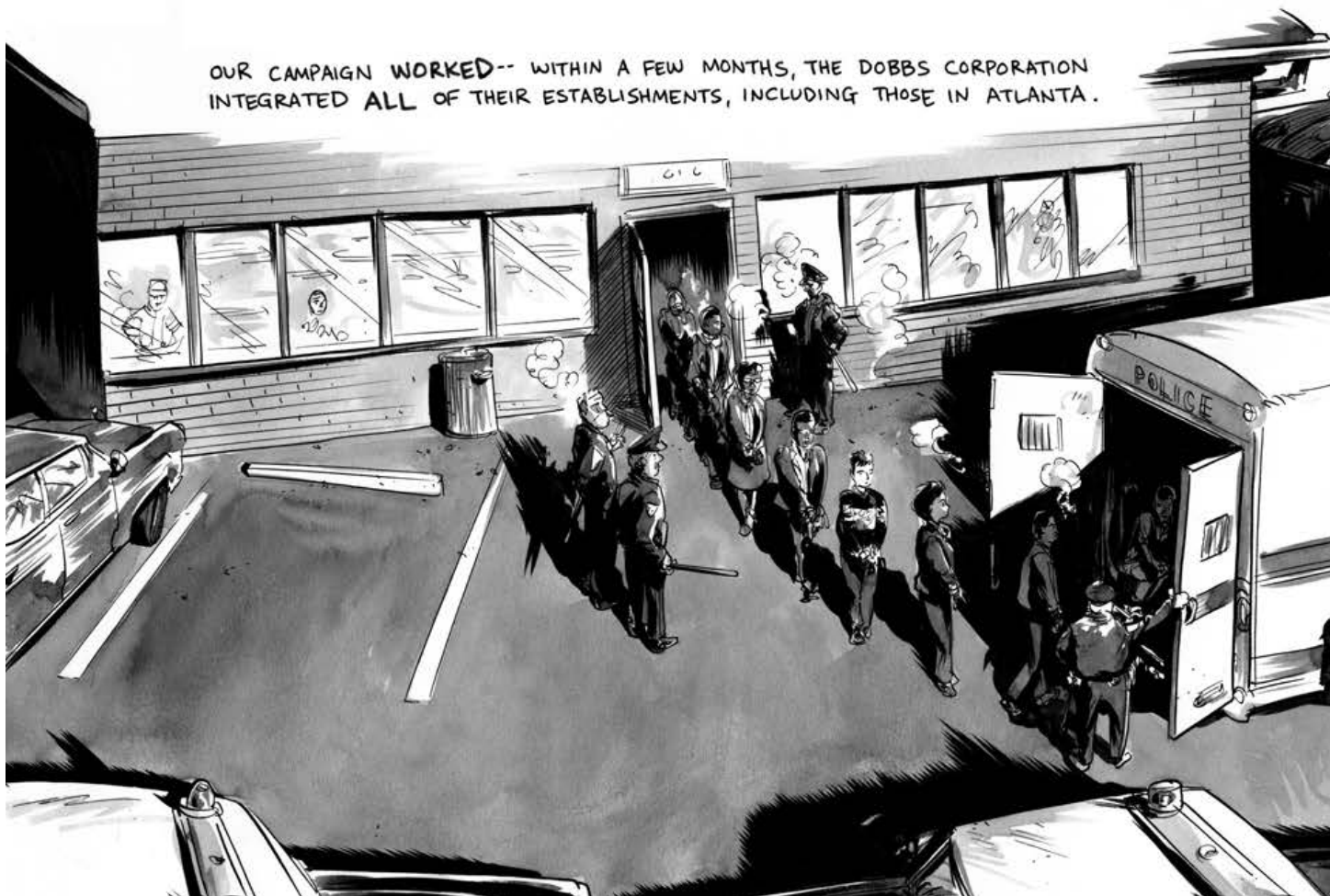
WHAT SORT OF SENSE DID IT MAKE IF WE COULD OWN PART
OF A COMPANY, BUT NOT BE SERVED BY IT?



≡ DING ≡



OUR CAMPAIGN WORKED-- WITHIN A FEW MONTHS, THE DOBBS CORPORATION
INTEGRATED ALL OF THEIR ESTABLISHMENTS, INCLUDING THOSE IN ATLANTA.



DECEMBER 31, 1963.

I WAS RELEASED FROM JAIL IN TIME TO ATTEND THE LAST SNCC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE YEAR.

WE HAD A WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION, BUT THE ONE WEIGHING MOST HEAVILY ON OUR ORGANIZATION WAS HOW TO PROCEED WITH THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM PROJECT.

THE INITIATIVE FOR THIS PROJECT COMES FROM THE FREEDOM VOTE, WHICH BROUGHT MANY WHITE STUDENTS TO THE STATE TO VOLUNTEER. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS TO CONSIDER--

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP, POSSIBLE VIOLENCE, THE ABILITIES OF OUR PRESENT STAFF TO DIRECT THEM...

DISCUSSIONS AT THE COFO MEETING LAST MONTH WERE HEATED, AND IT WAS DECIDED TO LIMIT THE NUMBER OF WHITE STUDENTS IN MISSISSIPPI THIS SUMMER TO 100.

GROUPS ARE OBVIOUSLY ORGANIZING TO COME DOWN. SNCC HAS TO DECIDE WHETHER TO HAVE A PROJECT, WHAT IT WILL DO, AND HOW MANY WILL BE INVOLVED.

THERE ARE ESSENTIALLY TWO PROPOSALS.

ONE-- PUSHED BY AL LOWENSTEIN--

POUR IN THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS AND FORCE A SHOWDOWN BETWEEN LOCAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS.

TWO-- DEVELOP A SIX-WEEK INTENSIVE LITERACY EDUCATION PROGRAM, PROPOSED BY DR. JOHN BLYTH, AND WORK OUT JUST HOW MANY STUDENTS COULD BE USED IN THESE "FREEDOM SCHOOLS".

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING WE CAN IN MISSISSIPPI THIS SUMMER-- WE SHOULD DO THE SMALLER INTENSIVE PROGRAMS AND SATURATE THE STATE WITH VOLUNTEERS.



IF WE ORGANIZE VOLUNTEERS STRICTLY AROUND THE ISSUE OF VOTING, WE CAN FORCE A PHYSICAL SHOWDOWN BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS, WHICH NEEDS TO HAPPEN AT THE TIME OF THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON CANNOT FAIL TO RESPOND.

BUT WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THE SUMMER, WHEN EVERYONE LEAVES?

I DON'T FEEL WE CAN HANDLE THE WHOLE SITUATION. BOB MOSES JUST REMINDED US THAT COFO VOTED DOWN THIS SUGGESTION, AND IT'LL HAVE TO BE BROUGHT TO THEM AGAIN FOR CONSIDERATION.

AND HOW ARE THE LOCAL LEADERS GONNA FEEL ABOUT THIS INVASION?



--I THINK THE ADMINISTRATIVE PART OF THE PROBLEM CAN BE WORKED OUT--

WE NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ISSUE ITSELF.

THIS QUESTION HAS DIVIDED THE PEOPLE IN MISSISSIPPI, AS IT HAS THIS GROUP. I WILL NOT DECLARE A PERSONAL OPINION BECAUSE I BELIEVE IT'S TOO BIG A RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE ALONE.



NEXT YEAR IS POLITICALLY IMPORTANT, WITH THE ELECTION. THE NEW PRESIDENT HAS NOT YET BEEN TESTED--

--AND IF WE DON'T DO IT NOW, WE WON'T HAVE A REAL OPPORTUNITY AGAIN.



WHITE STUDENTS FROM THE NORTH ALWAYS BRING WITH THEM CHANNELS OF PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATION, WHICH IS ALWAYS HELPFUL.

IT MAY BE DIFFICULT DURING CONVENTION TIME TO ORGANIZE PRESSURE, BUT THERE'LL BE A LOT OF SENTIMENT FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

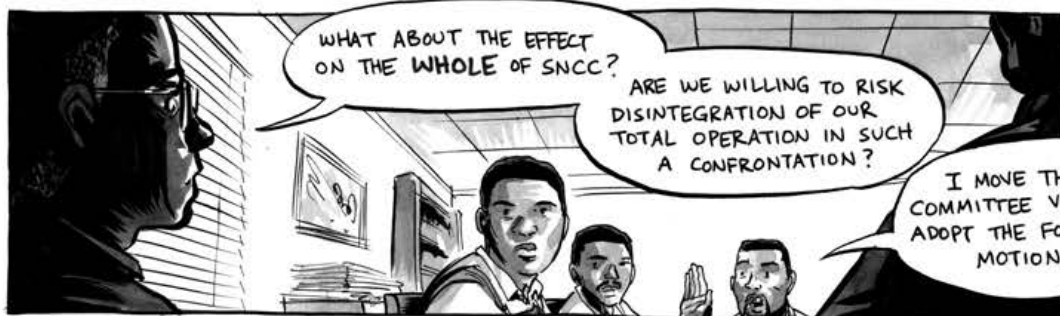


IF WE DECIDE TO DO THIS, WE HAVE TO BEGIN BY TRAINING A GROUP OF 20 NOW, AS SUB-SECTION LEADERS FOR THE LARGER ONE.

PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY WILL OPERATE AS A UNIT, COMING TO THE SUPPORT OF SOMEONE IN TROUBLE, ACROSS THE STATE.



THEY MUST PREPARE TO GET ARRESTED.



WHAT ABOUT THE EFFECT ON THE WHOLE OF SNCC?

ARE WE WILLING TO RISK DISINTEGRATION OF OUR TOTAL OPERATION IN SUCH A CONFRONTATION?

I MOVE THAT THE COMMITTEE VOTE TO ADOPT THE FOLLOWING MOTION:



"DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR OF 1964, SNCC INTENDS TO OBTAIN THE RIGHT FOR ALL CITIZENS OF MISSISSIPPI TO VOTE, USING AS MANY PEOPLE AS NECESSARY TO OBTAIN THAT END."

THE MOTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY.



APRIL 16, 1964.
WASHINGTON, DC.

BY SPRING, OUR PLANS WERE SET.

WE DECIDED TO ANNOUNCE OUR INTENTIONS
AT THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER
EDITORS CONVENTION. IT WAS OUR CHANCE
TO MAKE OUR CASE TO THE NEWS MEDIA,
WHOSE COVERAGE WOULD BE ESSENTIAL.



Hi, John. It's
good to see
you again.

IT WAS THE FIRST TIME I'D
SEEN ROBERT KENNEDY SINCE
HIS BROTHER'S DEATH.

Hello, Mr. Attorney
General. It's good to
see you too, sir.



I WAS JOINED BY WHITNEY YOUNG, ROY WILKINS, AND JAMES FARMER,
WHOSE ORGANIZATIONS WERE SUPPORTING THE SUMMER PROJECT.



ANY PERSON WHO, IN
ANY WAY, INTERFERES WITH
THE RIGHT OF A NEGRO TO VOTE
IN MISSISSIPPI COMMITS A CRIME
AGAINST THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT.

HE COMMITS AS MUCH
OF A CRIME AS DOES THE
GUNMAN WHO WALKS INTO
A BANK AND ROBS IT.





TITLE 18, SECTION 594 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE MAKES IT A CRIME TO INTERFERE WITH THE RIGHT TO VOTE--

THAT LAW HAS BEEN ON THE BOOKS SINCE 1948, BUT NOBODY HAS EVER BEEN PROSECUTED UNDER IT.



I DOUBT IF THERE IS A POLICEMAN OF ANY SORT IN MISSISSIPPI WHO HAS NOT BROKEN THAT LAW SEVERAL TIMES SINCE 1948,



BUT NOT ONE OF THEM HAS BEEN ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED FOR IT.



THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT-- THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION, AT ANY RATE-- HAS NOT HELPED THE MOVEMENT WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF FEDERAL JUDGES.



FOR EXAMPLE, FEDERAL JUDGE HAROLD COX OF MISSISSIPPI, WHO WAS APPOINTED IN 1961, CALLED NEGRO APPLICANTS

a bunch of niggers.

AND SAID THEY WERE ACTING LIKE

a bunch of chimpanzees.

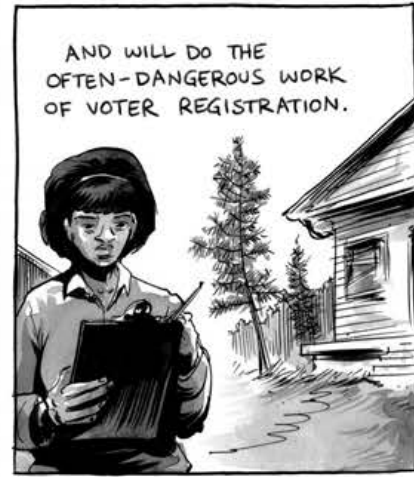
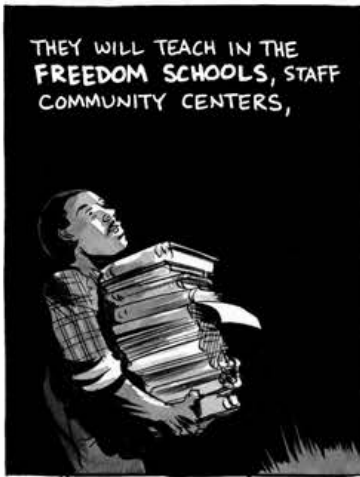


AND SO I SAY, THE STRUGGLE IS JUST BEGINNING.



THIS SUMMER, HOWEVER, WE ARE AGAIN PRESENTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACT.

WITH THE COOPERATION OF OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS, UNDER THE BANNER OF THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS, WE PLAN TO INSTALL SOME ONE THOUSAND SUMMER WORKERS IN MISSISSIPPI.





WILL THE GOVERNMENT, AT LAST, TAKE ACTION ON THE INTIMIDATIONS, THREATS, SHOOTINGS, AND ILLEGAL ARRESTS, SEARCHES, AND SEIZURES THAT ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF VOTER REGISTRATION ACTIVITIES?

REGISTERING TO VOTE IS AN ACT OF COMMITMENT TO THE AMERICAN IDEAL. IT IS PATRIOTIC.



THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST DECIDE WHETHER IT WANTS TO LET SOUTHERN NEGROES REGISTER.

IT MUST MAKE THAT CHOICE THIS SUMMER--

OR MAKE US ALL WITNESSES TO THE LYNCHING OF DEMOCRACY.



EVEN AS I GAVE MY SPEECH,
THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI WAS PREPARING.

THEY SAW OUR PLANS AS AN INVASION,
AN ATTACK ON THEIR WAY OF LIFE.

GOVERNOR PAUL JOHNSON DOUBLED THE NUMBER OF
STATE PATROLMEN ON DUTY, AND JACKSON MAYOR
ALLEN THOMPSON DOUBLED THE SIZE OF HIS POLICE
FORCE BY DEPUTIZING DOZENS OF WHITE MEN.

WEAPONS OF ALL
SORTS WERE STOCKPILED
TO ARM THEM.

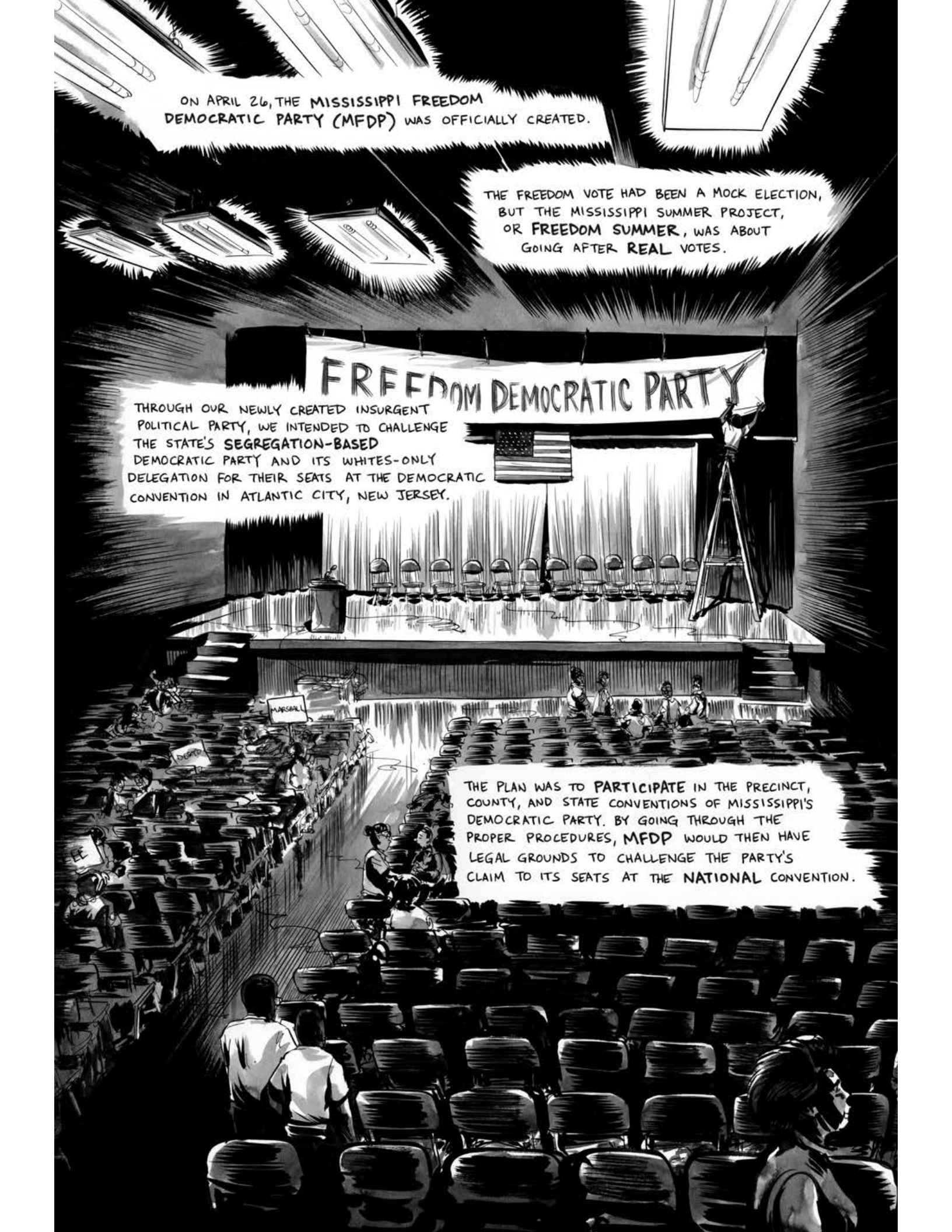
MAYOR THOMPSON EVEN HAD AN ARMORED PERSONNEL
CARRIER THAT COULD TRANSPORT TWELVE MEN--
IT BECAME KNOWN AS "THOMPSON'S TANK."

THIS IS IT--

THEY AREN'T BLUFFING,
AND WE AREN'T BLUFFING.
WE'RE GONNA BE READY
FOR THEM...

THEY WON'T
HAVE A CHANCE.





ON APRIL 26, THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP) WAS OFFICIALLY CREATED.

THE FREEDOM VOTE HAD BEEN A MOCK ELECTION,
BUT THE MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT,
OR FREEDOM SUMMER, WAS ABOUT
GOING AFTER REAL VOTES.

THROUGH OUR NEWLY CREATED INSURGENT
POLITICAL PARTY, WE INTENDED TO CHALLENGE
THE STATE'S SEGREGATION-BASED
DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS WHITES-ONLY
DELEGATION FOR THEIR SEATS AT THE DEMOCRATIC
CONVENTION IN ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY.

FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE PLAN WAS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PRECINCT,
COUNTY, AND STATE CONVENTIONS OF MISSISSIPPI'S
DEMOCRATIC PARTY. BY GOING THROUGH THE
PROPER PROCEDURES, MFDP WOULD THEN HAVE
LEGAL GROUNDS TO CHALLENGE THE PARTY'S
CLAIM TO ITS SEATS AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

IN A SINGLE NIGHT, THE KLAN BURNED
CROSSES IN 64 OF THE STATE'S
82 COUNTIES AS A WARNING.

LOCAL WHITE PEOPLE WHO
DESPISED WHAT WE WERE
DOING DIDN'T BOTHER HIDING
IT, FROM THE PRESS OR
ANYBODY ELSE.

we killed two-month-old
Indian babies to take
this country, and now they
want us to give it away
to the niggahs.

YOU'RE GOING TO BE
CLASSIFIED INTO TWO GROUPS
IN MISSISSIPPI:

NIGGERS, AND
NIGGER-LOVERS.

JUNE 13, 1964.

OXFORD, OHIO --
MISSISSIPPI SUMMER
PROJECT TRAINING CAMP

AND THEY'RE TOUGHER
ON NIGGER-LOVERS.

MORE THAN 300 STUDENTS
SHOWED UP FOR THE FIRST
WEEKEND OF TRAINING.



--THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTION IS THAT OF THE LOCAL POLICE FORCE.

JUNE 21, 1964--
NESHOBIA COUNTY, MS.

WHEE0000000HHH

WHEEE0000000HHH

A WEEK AFTER TRAINING BEGAN,
THE FIRST FREEDOM SUMMER
VOLUNTEERS ARRIVED IN
MISSISSIPPI.

WHEEE0000000



KRUNCH

KRUNCH
KRUNCH

KRUNCH

KRUNCH



Where y'all headin'
in such a hurry?



I COULDN'T BELIEVE IT. NOT YET.

WE HADN'T EVEN
GOTTEN STARTED.



MOST EVERYONE IN SNCC KNEW MICKEY SCHWERNER. HE WAS A HARD WORKER FROM BROOKLYN WHO HAD GONE WITH HIS WIFE, RITA, TO WORK AS CORE FIELD SECRETARIES IN NESHOBAMA COUNTY. LOCAL KLANSMEN CALLED HIM "THE JEW BOY WITH THE BEARD."

ANDY GOODMAN WAS A NEWCOMER. I HAD MET HIM DURING ONE OF THE TRAINING SESSIONS IN OHIO. A TWENTY-ONE YEAR OLD STUDENT AT QUEENS COLLEGE MAJORING IN ANTHROPOLOGY, ANDY WAS THE YOUNGEST OF THE THREE.

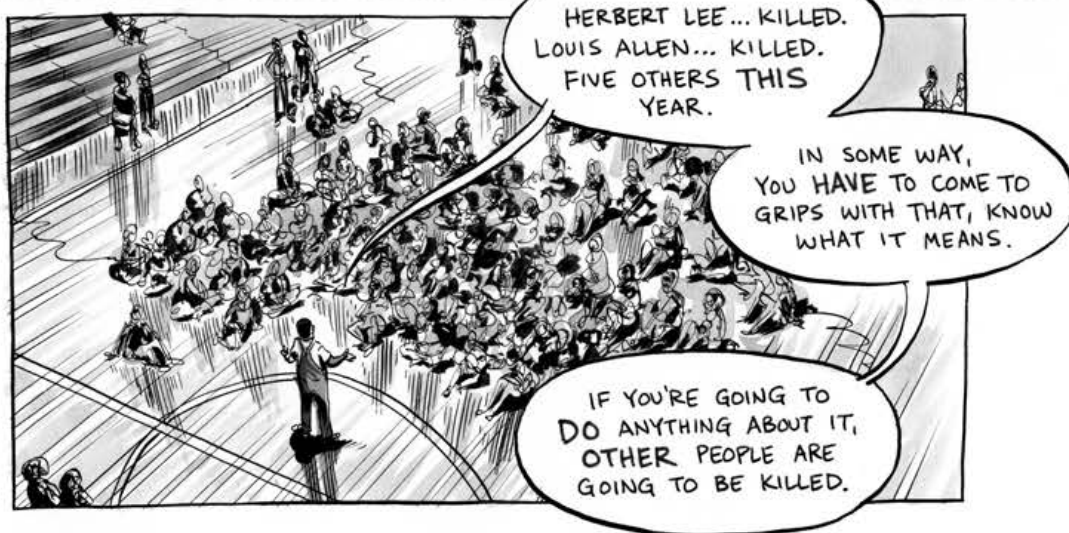
I NEVER MET JAMES CHANEY. A CORE FIELD SECRETARY AND NATIVE MISSISSIPPIAN, HE WAS A PLASTERER BY TRADE. AND HE WAS BLACK, WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN WHAT DREW THE ATTENTION OF DEPUTY SHERIFF PRICE.

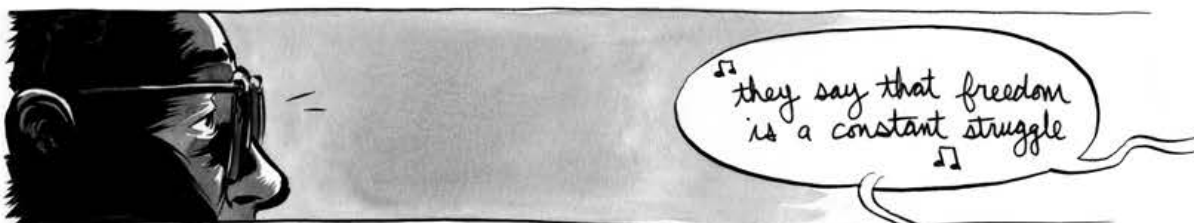


WORD OF THE THREE MISSING CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS
QUICKLY REACHED THE STAFFERS AND VOLUNTEERS
STILL TRAINING IN OHIO.

THEY WERE IN SHOCK.











WHAT WE KNEW AT THAT POINT WAS
THAT MICHAEL SCHWERNER, ANDREW
GOODMAN, AND JAMES CHANEY HAD BEEN
DRIVING BACK FROM INVESTIGATING A
BURNED-DOWN CHURCH--

--ONE WE'D BEEN USING
AS A FREEDOM SCHOOL--

--WHEN THEY WERE ARRESTED
FOR SPEEDING AND TAKEN TO JAIL.



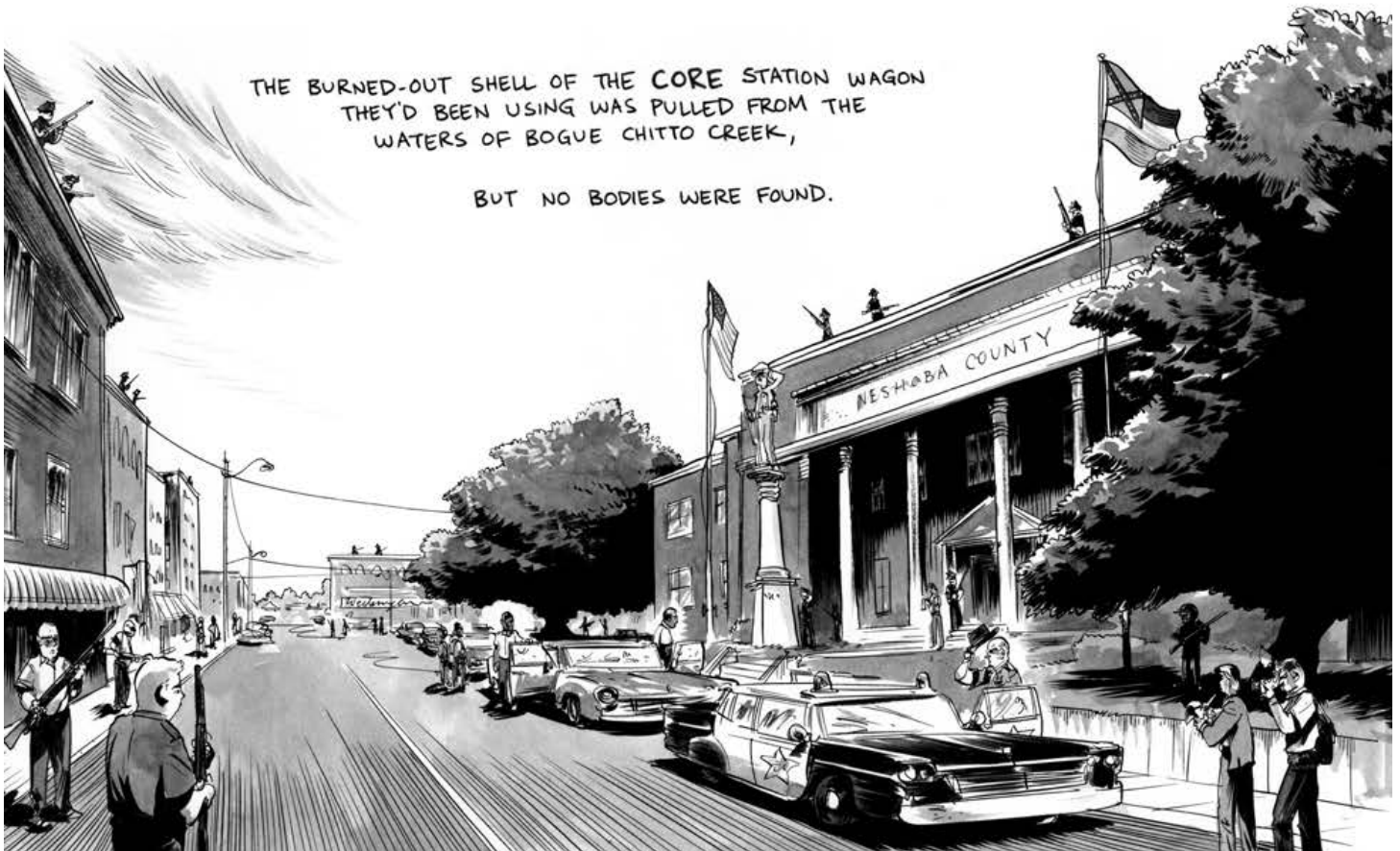
NESHOBA COUNTY DEPUTY SHERIFF CECIL PRICE
ACKNOWLEDGED HE HAD ARRESTED THREE MEN AND
TAKEN THEM TO THE PHILADELPHIA CITY JAIL.

ACCORDING TO HIM, THEY WERE
RELEASED LATE THAT EVENING AND
TOLD TO "LEAVE THE COUNTY."



THE BURNED-OUT SHELL OF THE CORE STATION WAGON
THEY'D BEEN USING WAS PULLED FROM THE
WATERS OF BOGUE CHITTO CREEK,

BUT NO BODIES WERE FOUND.







BY THE TIME THE MEETING ENDED, I HAD NO DOUBT THAT THEY KNEW WHAT HAPPENED.



WE FELT SO POWERLESS.

John?

NOT KNOWING WHAT ELSE TO DO,
A SMALL BAND OF US SET OUT INTO
THE WOODS TO SEARCH NEAR WHERE
THE BURNED-OUT CAR HAD BEEN FOUND.

IT WAS DANGEROUS TO EVEN BE OUT THERE.



BUT EVEN IF WE DIDN'T FIND ANYTHING,



IT FELT BETTER TO BE DOING SOMETHING.






THEIR DISAPPEARANCE WAS THE LEAD NEWS STORY ON TELEVISION AND IN NEWSPAPERS THAT ENTIRE WEEK.



WE MADE A DIRECT APPEAL TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY FOR INTERVENTION.





COLLINS,
JUNE 24th--

FORTY M-1 RIFLES AND 1,000 ROUNDS
OF AMMUNITION WERE STOLEN FROM THE
NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY IN THE EARLY
HOURS OF THE MORNING.

FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER WAS
NO FRIEND OF SNCC.

JUST DAYS BEFORE THE FIRST VOLUNTEERS HAD ARRIVED IN
MISSISSIPPI, HE WAS QUOTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES
SAYING WE WERE BEING EXPLOITED BY COMMUNISTS
TO "GENERATE RACIAL TENSIONS."

JACKSON, JUNE 23rd--

A NEGRO MAN HIT TWICE IN THE
HEAD BY GUNFIRE, WHILE FOLLOWING
A CAR DRIVEN BY TWO WHITE MEN
WHO HAD JUST FIRED INTO A
NEGRO CAFE ON VALLEY STREET.

THE WOUNDED MAN,
MARION TALVIN, 26, WAS
RELEASED FROM UNIVERSITY
HOSPITAL WITH A BULLET
STILL IN HIS SCALP.

THOUGH WE HAD OUR SUSPICIONS, WE
FOUND OUT LATER THAT HOOVER HAD
MANY OF US UNDER SURVEILLANCE,
AND HE KEPT DETAILED FILES ON
NEARLY ALL OF US.

WHAT HE WAS DOING WAS
ILLEGAL, NOT TO MENTION
UNCONSTITUTIONAL, BUT
THAT DIDN'T STOP HIM--

IT WAS JUST ONE OF THE MANY THINGS
HOOVER DID TO UNDERMINE THE MOVEMENT.

AS THE FBI AND NAVY ARRIVED
TO EXPAND THEIR SEARCH,



NO ONE WAS SURE THOSE YOUNG MEN
WOULD EVER BE FOUND.



WOOF
WOOF

OVER
HERE--!





this...

this can't be
one of them.

W-what's left of
his body has been
here for awhile.



That's the second
one this week.

ON JULY 2, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 WAS SIGNED INTO LAW.

ON PAPER, PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAD MADE GOOD ON HIS PROMISE TO GET A STRONG BILL THROUGH THE CONGRESS--

IT BANNED DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION.

IT FORBADE DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING PRACTICES BY BUSINESSES WITH MORE THAN 100 EMPLOYEES.

IT ENDED SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, AND PARKS.

BUT-- AS I HAD SAID AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON-- IT DID NOT BAN "LITERACY TESTS" AND OTHER VOTING RESTRICTIONS.

I WAS INVITED TO ATTEND THE SIGNING CEREMONY, BUT I DECIDED TO STAY IN THE SOUTH. I FELT THAT WAS WHERE I BELONGED.

THE NEWS FROM WASHINGTON SEEMED SO FAR AWAY--

WE WERE IN THE MIDDLE OF A WAR.

THE THREE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS WERE STILL MISSING, AND THE REAL TEST OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT-- ENFORCEMENT-- WAS YET TO COME.





--AND WE ARE GOING TO STAY HERE UNTIL THESE PEOPLE ARE ALLOWED TO REGISTER AND VOTE.



NOT IN MY TOWN.



OUR ARRESTS LED TO AN INJUNCTION BY AN ALABAMA CIRCUIT JUDGE NAMED JAMES HARE, FORBIDDING GATHERINGS OF MORE THAN THREE PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF SELMA.

Woke up this morning with my mind stayed on freedom, oh yes--

I woke up this morning with my mind stayed on freedom,

well I woke up this morning with my mind stayed on freedom,

IT SPECIFICALLY NAMED 47 PEOPLE-- INCLUDING ME-- AND 15 ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING SNCC. OUR ATTORNEYS SPENT THE REST OF 1964 TRYING UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET IT LIFTED.



hallelu, Hallelu, Hallelujah

IT STOPPED THE SELMA MOVEMENT IN ITS TRACKS.

MEANWHILE, MANY OF OUR VOLUNTEERS IN MISSISSIPPI WERE CANVASSING FOR PEOPLE WILLING TO ATTEMPT TO REGISTER-- AND TO ACCEPT THE RISK THAT CAME WITH IT.





BY THE MIDDLE OF JULY,
NEARLY ALL OF THE
FREEDOM SCHOOLS WERE
UP AND RUNNING.

THE TEACHERS HAD TO MAKE DO WITH ONLY
A HANDFUL OF BOOKS AND A FEW SUPPLIES,
BUT IN MANY PLACES THEY HAD FAR
MORE STUDENTS THAN EXPECTED.

IN THE WEEKS AFTER THE
SIGNING OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS
ACT, THE NAACP AND OTHERS
BECAME INCREASINGLY
CONCERNED ABOUT OUR
CONTINUED PROTESTS--

--AND WHAT THAT COULD
MEAN FOR PRESIDENT
JOHNSON'S CHANCES AMONG
SOUTHERN VOTERS IN THE
FALL ELECTION.

I WAS SUMMONED TO A MEETING OF THE "BIG SIX"
BY A TELEGRAM FROM ROY WILKINS, WHO SAID HE
WANTED TO DISCUSS THESE CONCERNS--AND THE
POTENTIAL RISKS "IF WE DO NOT PLAY OUR
HAND COOLLY AND INTELLIGENTLY."

THE PROTESTS
HAVE TO STOP!

WHAT WILKINS REALLY WANTED WAS FOR US
TO AGREE TO A TOTAL BAN ON FURTHER
DEMONSTRATIONS, WHICH WE COULD NOT ACCEPT.



IN MISSISSIPPI THAT SUMMER WE SUFFERED MORE THAN 1000 ARRESTS,

80 BEATINGS,

35 SHOOTINGS,

35 CHURCH BURNINGS,

AND 30 BOMBINGS.



DOCTORS WHO EVALUATED VOLUNTEERS RETURNING HOME FROM FREEDOM SUMMER DESCRIBED THE SYMPTOMS OF THE EMOTIONAL AND PHYSICAL TOLL AS "BATTLE FATIGUE," MARKING "A CRISIS IN THE LIVES OF THOSE YOUTHS WHO EXPERIENCE THEM."



A MOVEMENT IS FUELED
BY PASSION,

AND WE HAD
PLENTY.

IN THE MOVIES, BEING THROWN TOGETHER IN A DANGEROUS
SITUATION IS ROMANTIC -- BUT TO BE HONEST, ROMANCE
WAS USUALLY THE LAST THING ON OUR MINDS.

WE WERE IN A WAR.



PEOPLE LIKED TO SPECULATE ABOUT SEX
IN THE MOVEMENT. IT HAPPENED, SURE,
BUT IT WASN'T AS RAMPANT AS A
LOT OF PEOPLE THOUGHT.

STILL, WE WERE SO YOUNG--

-- SPARKS WERE BOUND TO FLY.

I REMEMBER ONE NIGHT
THAT SUMMER, IN THE MIDDLE
OF EVERYTHING GOING ON,

THE MOVIE STAR SHIRLEY
MACLAINE CAME TO VISIT
SNCC IN ATLANTA, AND
EVEN CAME TO ONE
OF OUR PARTIES.

SHE WOULD LATER WRITE THAT I WAS
TOO SWEET TO MAKE A MOVE.

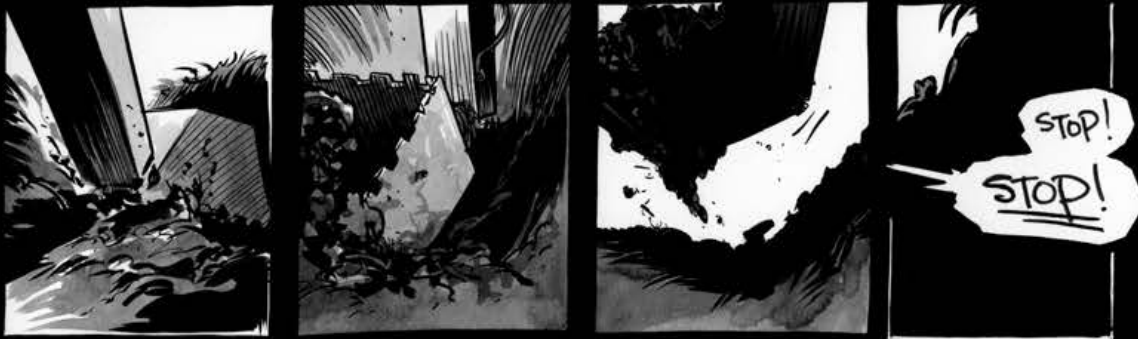
SHE WAS
RIGHT.

BUT THAT NIGHT, I DANCED WITH
SHIRLEY MACLAINE FOR ALMOST AN HOUR.

OF course, by the end of it,

I had two beers
and passed out.

AUGUST 4, 1964
NESHOBIA COUNTY





THE WHITE HOUSE.

MR. PRESIDENT?

YEAH?

MR. HOOVER WANTED ME TO CALL YOU, SIR, IMMEDIATELY AND TELL YOU THAT THE FBI HAS FOUND THREE BODIES--

SIX MILES SOUTHEAST OF PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI. SIX MILES WEST OF WHERE THE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS WERE LAST SEEN ON THE NIGHT OF JUNE 21ST.

A SEARCH PARTY OF AGENTS TURNED UP THE BODIES JUST ABOUT FIFTEEN MINUTES AGO, WHILE THEY WERE DIGGING IN THE WOODS AND UNDERBRUSH SEVERAL HUNDRED YARDS OFF ROUTE 21, IN THAT AREA.

WE'RE GOING TO GET A CORONER THERE RIGHT AWAY, SIR-- AND WE'RE GOING TO MOVE THESE BODIES TO JACKSON, WHERE THEY CAN BE IDENTIFIED.

WE HAVE NOT IDENTIFIED THEM AS YET AS THE THREE MISSING MEN-- BUT WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE THE THREE MISSING MEN.

THEY WERE UNDER A-- THEY WERE AT THE SITE OF A DAM THAT HAD BEEN CONSTRUCTED NEAR PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI.

Wanted to let you know right away, sir.

When are you gonna make the announcement?

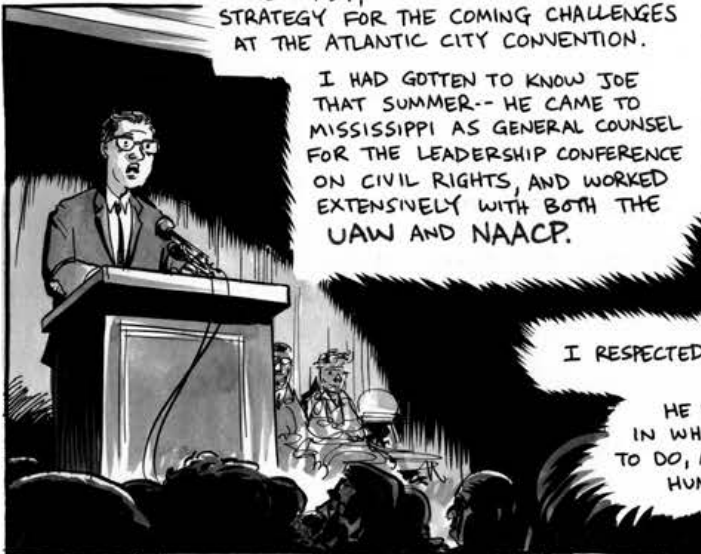
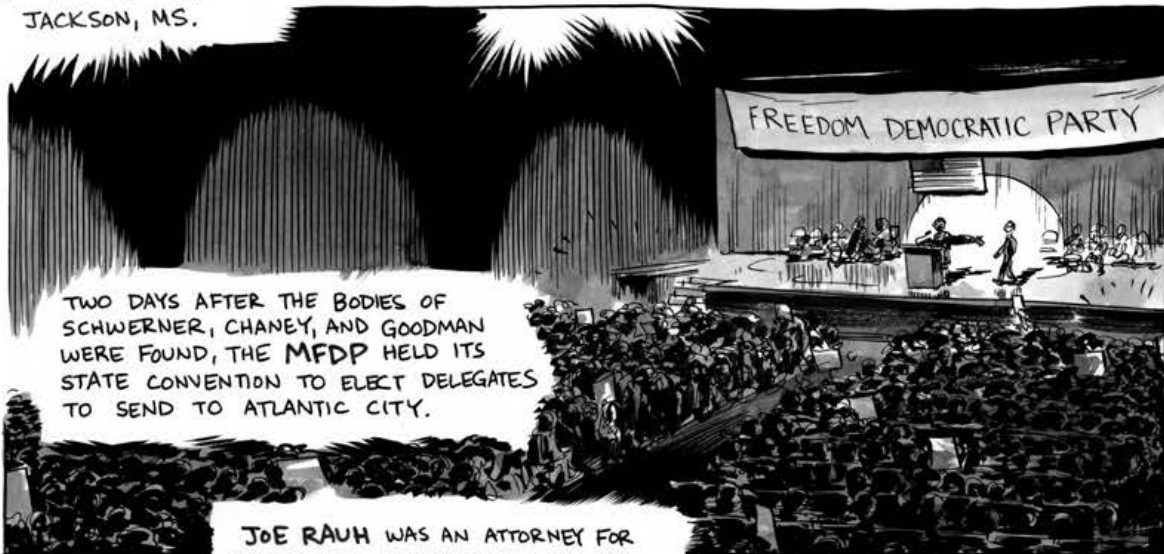
WITHIN TEN MINUTES, SIR, IF IT'S ALL RIGHT WITH YOU.

All right.

A DISCUSSION OF THE BREWING MILITARY CONFLICT IN THE GULF OF TONKIN WAS INTERRUPTED BY A PHONE CALL FROM FBI DEPUTY DIRECTOR DELOACH.

AT THE TIME, WE HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING HOW MUCH THE SIMMERING CRISIS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WOULD DEFINE THE REST OF THE DECADE.

AUGUST 6, 1964--
JACKSON, MS.



WE NEEDED HIM TO HELP THE FDP NAVIGATE THE COMPLICATED MAZE OF PRECINCT, COUNTY, AND STATE ELECTIONS. AFTER ALL WE'D BEEN THROUGH, THE CHALLENGE AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WOULD REST ALMOST ENTIRELY ON THE LEGAL STRATEGY RAUH AND HIS TEAM CREATED.



THE KEY TO OUR STRATEGY WAS A HEARING BEFORE THE 108-MEMBER CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

NO ONE EXPECTED THEM TO JUST GIVE US MISSISSIPPI'S DELEGATES, BUT PARTY RULES ALLOWED SEATING DISPUTES TO BE TAKEN TO THE CONVENTION FLOOR IF AS FEW AS ELEVEN COMMITTEE MEMBERS VOTED FOR IT.

AT THAT POINT, ONLY EIGHT STATES WOULD BE NEEDED TO REQUEST A FLOOR VOTE FOR A FULL ROLL CALL VOTE OF THE CONVENTION.

NESHOB

WE BELIEVED IF WE GOT THAT FAR, WE WOULD WIN IN A LANDSLIDE.

SUNFLOWER

MANY PRO-SEGREGATION DEMOCRATS, SOMETIMES CALLED DIXIECRATS, WERE PLANNING TO SKIP THE CONVENTION AND PLEDGE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE.

WHEN YOU HAVE TWO THAT CLAIM TO REPRESENT THE REGULAR PARTY--

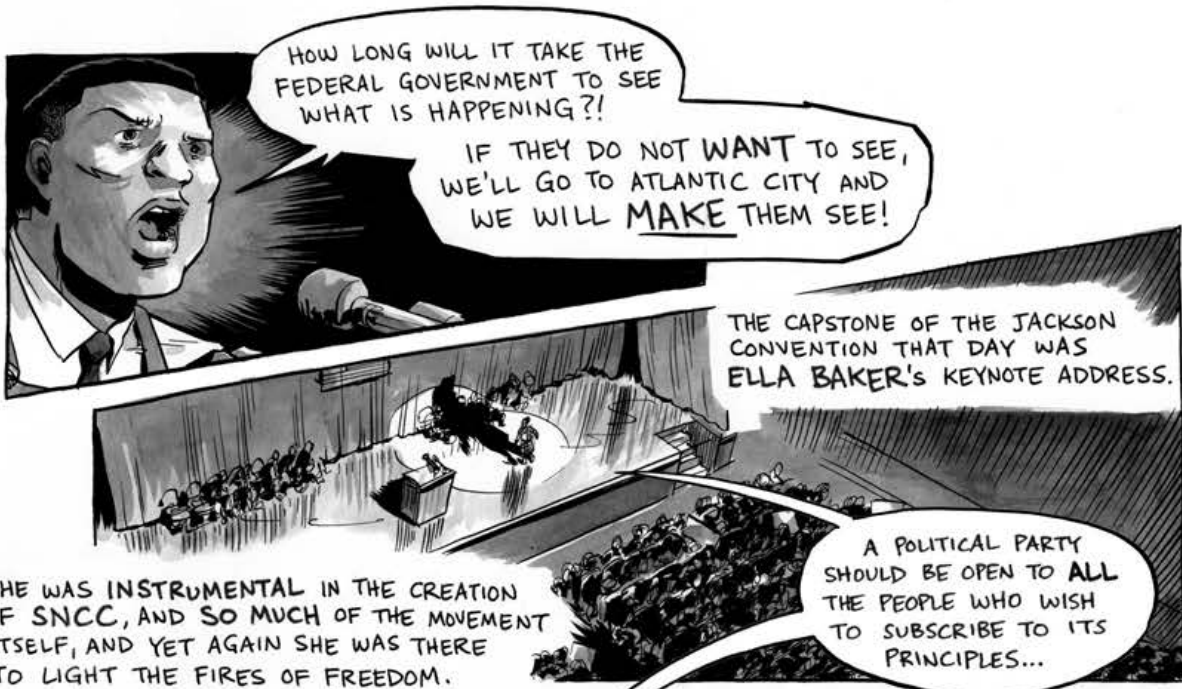
YOU TAKE THE LOYAL ONE.

I SPOKE THAT DAY.

WE'VE COME TO THIS STATE WITH A SPIRIT OF LOVE AND BROTHERHOOD.

WE HAVE SUFFERED THE BEATINGS AND ARRESTS. WE HAVE WITNESSED THE BURNING OF OUR CHURCHES AND HOMES.

WE HAVE DEMANDED ANSWERS AS OUR FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES HAVE BEEN MURDERED.



AUGUST 7, 1964.

FIRST UNION MISSIONARY
BAPTIST CHURCH--
MERIDIAN, MS.

THE NEXT DAY, I WENT TO
JAMES CHANEY'S FUNERAL.

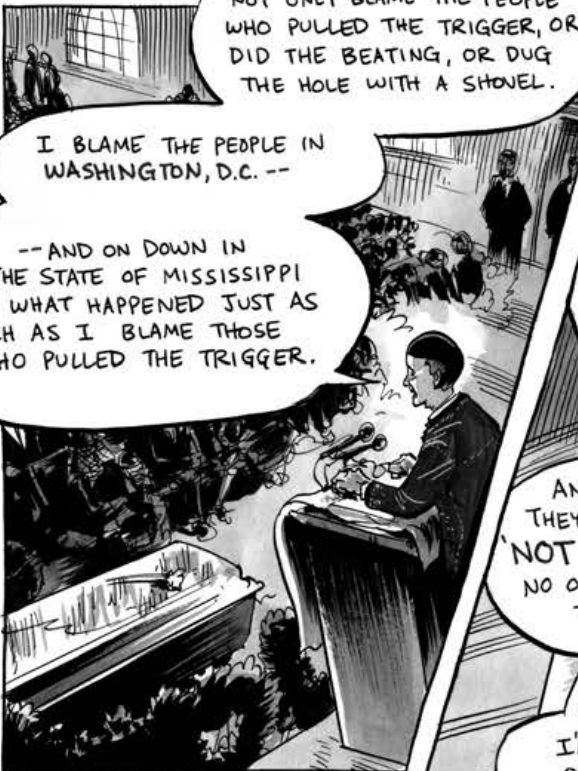


DAVE DENNIS, CO-DIRECTOR OF
COFO, DELIVERED THE EULOGY.

AS I STAND HERE, I
NOT ONLY BLAME THE PEOPLE
WHO PULLED THE TRIGGER, OR
DID THE BEATING, OR DUG
THE HOLE WITH A SHOVEL.

I BLAME THE PEOPLE IN
WASHINGTON, D.C. --

--AND ON DOWN IN
THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
FOR WHAT HAPPENED JUST AS
MUCH AS I BLAME THOSE
WHO PULLED THE TRIGGER.



I FEEL THAT, EVEN IF
THEY FIND THE PEOPLE
WHO KILLED THOSE GUYS IN THE
SUMMERTIME, YOU GOT TO COME
BACK TO THE STATE OF
MISSISSIPPI AND HAVE A JURY,
ALL THEIR COUSINS, THEIR
AUNTS, THEIR UNCLES.

AND I KNOW WHAT
THEY'RE GOING TO SAY--
'NOT GUILTY', BECAUSE
NO ONE SAW THEM PULL
THE TRIGGER.

I'M TIRED
OF THAT.

YOU SEE, I KNOW
WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN.

SEE, ANOTHER THING
THAT MAKES ME EVEN
TIREDER, THOUGH,

IS THAT WE,
AS PEOPLE HERE IN
THIS STATE AND
THE COUNTRY--

ARE ALLOWING THIS TO
CONTINUE TO HAPPEN.



EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US,
AS INDIVIDUALS, IS GONNA HAVE
TO TAKE IT UPON OURSELVES
TO BECOME LEADERS IN
OUR COMMUNITY.

BLOCK BY BLOCK,
HOUSE BY HOUSE, CITY BY
CITY, COUNTY BY COUNTY,
STATE BY STATE THROUGH
THIS ENTIRE COUNTRY.

TAKING OUR
BLACK BROTHERS
BY THE HAND--

HOLDING OUR HANDS
UP HIGH, TELLIN' THEM
THAT IF THEY'RE NOT
READY FOR US,
TOO BAD, BABY,

'CAUSE WE'RE COMING
ANYWAY, YOU SEE.

THE BEST THING THAT WE CAN
DO FOR MR. CHANEY, FOR MICKEY
SCHWERNER, FOR ANDREW
GOODMAN, IS TO STAND UP AND
DEMAND OUR RIGHTS.

ALL THESE PEOPLE WHO AREN'T
REGISTERED VOTERS SHOULD BE IN
LINE IN THE MORNING, DEMANDING
TO BECOME A REGISTERED
VOTER-- DEMAND!

SAY, "BABY,
I'M HERE."

...DON'T BOW DOWN
ANYMORE. HOLD
YOUR HEADS UP!

WE WANT
OUR FREEDOM--
NOW!!

I DON'T WANT TO
GO TO ANOTHER MEMORIAL--
I'M TIRED OF FUNERALS!
TIRED OF IT!

WE GOT TO
STAND UP!

JULY 14, 1964--
DALY CITY, CA.

AT THE 1964 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, NEW YORK GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER TRIED TO SWAY THE PARTY OF LINCOLN TO STAND UP TO THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF CONSERVATIVE EXTREMISTS.

IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS CONVENTION REPUDIATE, HERE AND NOW, ANY DOCTRINAIRE, MILITANT MINORITY-- WHETHER COMMUNIST, KU KLUX KLAN, OR BIRCHER-- WHICH WOULD

SUBVERT THIS PARTY TO PURPOSES ALIEN TO THE VERY BASIC TENETS WHICH GAVE THIS PARTY BIRTH.

PRECISELY ONE YEAR AGO TODAY ON JULY 14, 1963, I ISSUED A STATEMENT WHEREIN I WARNED THAT:

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS IN REAL DANGER OF SUBVERSION BY A RADICAL, WELL-FINANCED, AND HIGHLY DISCIPLINED MINORITY.

AT THE TIME, I POINTED OUT THAT THE PURPOSES OF THIS MINORITY WERE:

"WHOLLY ALIEN TO THE SOUND AND HONEST CONSERVATISM THAT HAS FIRMLY BASED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE BEST OF A CENTURY'S TRADITIONS,

"WHOLLY ALIEN TO THE SOUND AND HONEST REPUBLICAN LIBERALISM THAT HAS KEPT THE PARTY ABREAST OF HUMAN NEEDS IN A CHANGING WORLD,

"WHOLLY ALIEN TO THE BROAD MIDDLE COURSE THAT ACCOMODATES THE MAINSTREAM OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES."

Boooo

Boooo

Boooo!

Boooo

Hisssss HA!

Boooo

OUR SOLE CONCERN MUST BE THE FUTURE WELL-BEING OF AMERICA, AND OF FREEDOM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY--

THE PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THESE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THIS NATION HAS ACHIEVED ITS GREATNESS.

Booooo Booooo!

Boooo

Boooo

Boooo

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOMINATED
BARRY GOLDWATER--A SENATOR FROM
ARIZONA WHO HAD VOTED AGAINST THE
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT-- FOR PRESIDENT.

THOSE WHO SEEK ABSOLUTE POWER--
EVEN THOUGH THEY SEEK IT TO DO
WHAT THEY REGARD AS GOOD--ARE
SIMPLY DEMANDING THE RIGHT TO
ENFORCE THEIR OWN VERSION
OF HEAVEN ON EARTH.

AND LET ME REMIND YOU
THEY ARE THE VERY ONES
WHO CREATE THE MOST
HELLISH TYRANNIES.

ABSOLUTE POWER DOES
CORRUPT, AND THOSE WHO SEEK
IT MUST BE SUSPECT AND
MUST BE OPPOSED.

THEIR MISTAKEN COURSE
STEMS FROM FALSE NOTIONS
OF EQUALITY, LADIES AND
GENTLEMEN.

EQUALITY, RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD
AS OUR FOUNDING FATHERS
UNDERSTOOD IT, LEADS TO LIBERTY
AND TO THE EMANCIPATION
OF CREATIVE DIFFERENCES.

WRONGLY UNDERSTOOD--
AS IT HAS BEEN SO TRAGICALLY
IN OUR TIME-- IT LEADS FIRST
TO CONFORMITY, AND THEN
TO DESPOTISM.

GOLDWATER'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH SIGNALLED
A DANGEROUS SHIFT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

I WOULD REMIND YOU THAT
EXTREMISM IN THE DEFENSE
OF LIBERTY IS NO VICE--

AND LET ME REMIND
YOU, ALSO, THAT MODERATION
IN THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE
IS NO VIRTUE.

IT WAS IN THIS SHADOW THAT
PRESIDENT JOHNSON MAPPED
HIS PATH TO RE-ELECTION.

AUGUST 14, 1964.

...WE BETTER JUST REALLY TRY TO SEE IF THE NEGROES DON'T REALIZE THAT THEY'VE GOT THE PRESIDENT, THEY'VE GOT THE VICE PRESIDENT,

THEY'LL HAVE THE GOVERNMENT FOR FOUR YEARS, THAT WE'LL BE FAIR AND JUST WITH THEM--

--AND WHY IN THE LIVING HELL DO THEY WANT TO HAND-SHOVEL FIFTEEN STATES TO GOLDWATER?!

DO YOU SEE ANY GOOD THAT CAN COME FROM IT?

CAN IT GET US ANY VOTES, ANYWHERE?

A WEEK BEFORE WE WERE SET TO ARRIVE IN ATLANTIC CITY, PRESIDENT JOHNSON CALLED SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY OF MINNESOTA TO DISCUSS OUR ACTIONS--

--AND ENLIST HUMPHREY'S SUPPORT IN STOPPING US.

NOT ONE DAMN BIT OF GOOD. NOT ONE BIT.

WE'RE JUST NOT DEALING WITH WHAT I CALL EMOTIONALLY STABLE PEOPLE ON THIS, MR. PRESIDENT.

PASSED OVER BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY AS A RUNNING-MATE, SENATOR HUMPHREY HAD LONG HELD AMBITIONS FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

STILL UNDECIDED, PRESIDENT JOHNSON WAS TO ANNOUNCE HIS RUNNING-MATE IN A MATTER OF DAYS AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

NOW IF WE, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE A FIGHT ON THIS--

AND WIN--



AUGUST 21, 1964.

THE DELEGATES ARRIVED BY BUS AT THE OLD GEM HOTEL IN ATLANTIC CITY.

THEY WERE A SIGHT TO BEHOLD--

THE EPITOME OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

DR. KING, MYSELF, AND MANY OTHERS WOULD COME ALONG TO SUPPORT THE DELEGATES--

-- TO STAGE RALLIES, TALK TO THE PRESS, AND SHOW THE WORLD WHAT WE STOOD FOR.



WE EVEN BROUGHT A BURNED-OUT CAR TO REPRESENT THE ONE DRIVEN BY GOODMAN, SCHWERNER, AND CHANEY.

MEANWHILE, JOE RAUH WAS MAKING FINAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEXT DAY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

JOE--
THEY'VE
SCREWED YOU!

MY GOD,
ALREADY?

CONVENTION ORGANIZERS
HAD SCHEDULED THE MEETING
IN A ROOM TOO SMALL TO
ACCOMMODATE THE TELEVISION
CAMERAS THAT WERE SO
ESSENTIAL TO OUR PLANNING.

WE WERE MAKING OUR CASE TO THE NATION
JUST AS MUCH AS TO THE COMMITTEE.

RAUH PREVAILED, AND THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN A BALLROOM LARGE ENOUGH TO ACCOMMODATE CAMERAS FROM ALL THE MAJOR NETWORKS.

WE ONLY HAVE
AN HOUR...

HE WAS A WASHINGTON INSIDER--AND A MEMBER
OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE IN HIS OWN RIGHT.
HIS OPENING STATEMENT ESTABLISHED OUR ATTACK
ON THE "REGULAR" MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION.

...TO TELL YOU A STORY
OF TRAGEDY AND TERROR
IN MISSISSIPPI.

I WATCHED FROM A ROOM DOWN THE HALL
AS RAUH CALLED A SERIES OF WITNESSES, INCLUDING
AARON HENRY AND REV. ED KING, WHOSE TESTIMONY
APPEALED TO THE MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS
OF THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

BUT ONE TESTIMONY
SHOOK THE NATION.



MR. CHAIRMAN,
AND TO THE
CREDENTIALS
COMMITTEE--



MY NAME IS
MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER--

I LIVE AT 626 EAST LAFAYETTE
STREET; RULEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI;
SUNFLOWER COUNTY-- THE HOME OF
SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND AND
SENATOR STENNIS.



IT WAS THE 31ST OF AUGUST, 1962--
EIGHTEEN OF US TRAVELED 26 MILES
TO THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE IN INDIANOLA,
TO TRY TO REGISTER TO BECOME
FIRST-CLASS CITIZENS.

WE WAS MET IN INDIANOLA BY
POLICEMEN-- HIGHWAY PATROLMEN--
AND THEY ONLY ALLOWED TWO OF
US TO TAKE THE LITERACY
TEST AT THE TIME.

AFTER WE HAD TAKEN THIS TEST AND STARTED BACK TO RULEVILLE, WE WAS HELD UP BY THE CITY POLICE AND THE STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMEN, AND CARRIED BACK TO INDIANOLA--

WHERE THE BUS DRIVER WAS CHARGED WITH DRIVING A BUS THE WRONG COLOR.

AFTER WE PAID THE FINE AMONG US, WE CONTINUED ON TO RULEVILLE. REVEREND JEFF SUNNY CARRIED ME FOUR MILES IN THE RURAL AREA WHERE I HAD WORKED AS A TIMEKEEPER AND SHARECROPPER FOR 18 YEARS.

I WAS MET THERE BY MY CHILDREN, WHO TOLD ME THAT THE PLANTATION OWNER WAS ANGRY--

BECAUSE I'D GONE DOWN TO TRY TO REGISTER.

AFTER THEY TOLD ME, MY HUSBAND CAME, AND SAID THE PLANTATION OWNER WAS RAISING CAIN BECAUSE I'D TRIED TO REGISTER.

BUT BEFORE HE QUIT TALKING, THE PLANTATION OWNER CAME AND SAID, "FANNIE LOU, DID PAP TELL YOU WHAT I SAID?"

AND I SAID, "YES, SIR."

HE SAID, "WELL, I MEAN THAT."

HE SAID, "IF YOU DON'T GO DOWN AND WITHDRAW YOUR REGISTRATION, YOU WILL HAVE TO LEAVE--"

"--THEN IF YOU GO DOWN AND WITHDRAW, YOU STILL MIGHT HAVE TO GO,

BECAUSE WE'RE NOT READY FOR THAT IN MISSISSIPPI."

I ADDRESSED HIM AND SAID, "I DIDN'T TRY TO REGISTER FOR YOU. I TRIED TO REGISTER FOR MYSELF."

I HAD TO LEAVE THAT SAME NIGHT.

THAT NIGHT, SIXTEEN BULLETS WERE FIRED INTO THE HOME OF MR. AND MRS. ROBERT TUCKER FOR ME.

THAT SAME NIGHT, TWO GIRLS WERE SHOT IN RULEVILLE.

ALSO, MR. JOE McDONALD'S HOUSE WAS SHOT AT.

AND JUNE 9th, 1963, I HAD ATTENDED A VOTER REGISTRATION WORKSHOP, AND WAS RETURNING BACK TO MISSISSIPPI. TEN OF US WERE TRAVELING BY THE CONTINENTAL TRAILWAYS BUS.

WHEN WE GOT TO WINONA, MISSISSIPPI--WHICH IS MONTGOMERY COUNTY--FOUR PEOPLE GOT OFF THE BUS TO USE THE RESTAURANT, AND TWO WENT TO THE WASHROOM.

THE FOUR PEOPLE WHO HAD GONE IN TO USE THE RESTAURANT WAS ORDERED OUT.

DURING THIS TIME, I WAS ON THE BUS. BUT WHEN I LOOKED THROUGH THE WINDOW AND SAW THEY HAD RUSHED OUT, I GOT OFF THE BUS TO SEE WHAT HAPPENED.

AND ONE OF THE LADIES SAID, "IT WAS A STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMAN AND A CHIEF OF POLICE ORDERED US OUT."

GODDAMMIT, ARE YOU WATCHING THIS!?

Yes, sir.

I GOT BACK ON THE BUS, AND ONE OF THE PERSONS WHO'D USED THE WASHROOM GOT BACK ON, TOO. AS SOON AS I WAS SEATED, I SAW WHEN THEY BEGAN TO PUT THE FIVE PEOPLE IN A HIGHWAY PATROLMAN'S CAR.

WE'VE GOT TO DO SOMETHING!

I STEPPED OFF THE BUS TO SEE WHAT WAS HAPPENING, AND SOMEBODY SCREAMED FROM THE CAR THAT THE FIVE WORKERS WAS IN AND SAID, "GET THAT ONE THERE."

what should we do, sir?

WHEN THE MAN TOLD ME I WAS UNDER ARREST AND I WENT TO GET IN THE CAR, HE KICKED ME.

We've got to get that woman OFF the television.

I WAS CARRIED TO THE COUNTY JAIL AND PUT IN THE BOOKING ROOM... AFTER I WAS PLACED IN THE CELL, I BEGAN TO HEAR SOUNDS OF LICKS AND SCREAMS.

I COULD HEAR THE SOUNDS OF LICKS AND HORRIBLE SCREAMS.

AND I COULD HEAR SOMEBODY SAY, "CAN YOU SAY 'YES, SIR', NIGGER? CAN YOU SAY 'YES, SIR'?"

AND THEY WOULD SAY OTHER HORRIBLE NAMES.

SHE WOULD SAY, "YES, I CAN SAY 'YES, SIR.'"

"SO, WELL-- SAY IT."

CALL A PRESS CONFERENCE.

SHE SAID, "I DON'T KNOW YOU WELL ENOUGH."

what should I say the press conference is about, sir?

THEY BEAT HER I DON'T
KNOW HOW LONG.

AND AFTER A WHILE SHE
BEGAN TO PRAY, AND ASKED
GOD TO HAVE MERCY ON
THOSE PEOPLE.

AND IT WASN'T TOO LONG BEFORE
THREE WHITE MEN CAME TO MY CELL.

WE'LL FIGURE
IT OUT.

ONE OF THESE MEN WAS A
STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMAN,
AND HE ASKED WHERE
I WAS FROM.

I TOLD HIM RULEVILLE
AND HE SAID, "WE ARE
GOING TO CHECK ON THIS."

THEY LEFT MY CELL, AND
IT WASN'T TOO LONG BEFORE
THEY CAME BACK.

HE SAID, "YOU'RE FROM
RULEVILLE ALL RIGHT,"
AND HE USED A CURSE WORD.

And he said,
"We are going to make
you wish you was dead."

I WAS CARRIED INTO ANOTHER
CELL WHERE THEY HAD TWO NEGRO
PRISONERS. THE STATE HIGHWAY
PATROLMAN ORDERED THE FIRST
NEGRO TO TAKE THE BLACKJACK.

THE FIRST NEGRO PRISONER
ORDERED ME-- BY ORDERS FROM
THE STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMAN--
FOR ME TO LAY DOWN ON A
BUNK BED ON MY FACE.

I LAID ON MY FACE, AND THE FIRST NEGRO BEGAN TO BEAT UNTIL HE WAS EXHAUSTED.

I WAS HOLDING MY HANDS BEHIND ME ON MY LEFT SIDE, BECAUSE I SUFFERED FROM POLIO WHEN I WAS SIX YEARS OLD.

AFTER THE FIRST NEGRO BEAT UNTIL HE WAS EXHAUSTED, THE STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMAN ORDERED THE SECOND NEGRO TO TAKE THE BLACKJACK.

THE SECOND NEGRO BEGAN TO BEAT AND I BEGAN TO WORK MY FEET, AND THE STATE HIGHWAY PATROLMAN ORDERED THE FIRST NEGRO WHO'D BEATEN ME TO SIT ON MY FEET.

I BEGAN TO SCREAM, AND ONE WHITE MAN GOT UP AND BEGAN TO BEAT ME IN MY HEAD AND TELL ME TO HUSH.

ONE WHITE MAN-- MY DRESS HAD WORKED UP HIGH-- HE WALKED OVER AND PULLED MY DRESS--

--I PULLED MY DRESS DOWN, AND HE PULLED MY DRESS BACK UP

WE WILL RETURN TO THIS SCENE IN ATLANTIC CITY, BUT NOW WE SWITCH TO THE WHITE HOUSE...

...ON THIS DAY, NINE MONTHS AGO AT VERY NEARLY THIS SAME HOUR IN THE AFTERNOON,

THE DUTIES OF THIS OFFICE WERE THRUST UPON ME BY A TERRIBLE MOMENT IN OUR NATIONAL HISTORY.



NEXT, RAUH CALLED MICKEY SCHWERNER'S
WIDOW RITA TO TESTIFY.

THEN
JAMES FARMER.

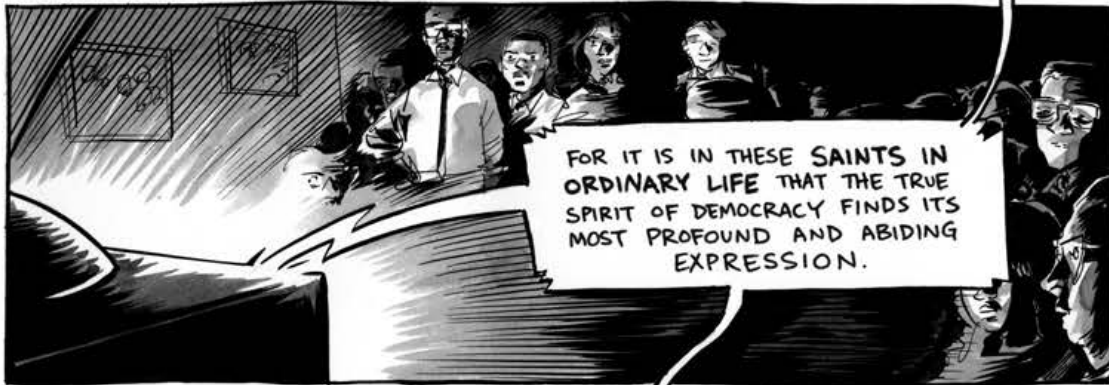
FOLLOWED BY
ROY WILKINS.

RAUH INTENDED HIS WITNESSES
TO REPRESENT THE BROAD
COALITION--

BLACK AND WHITE,
WOMEN AND MEN--

GATHERED TO SUPPORT
THE FREEDOM PARTY.

FINALLY, RAUH CALLED
HIS LAST WITNESS...



"--RECOGNITION OF THE FREEDOM PARTY
WOULD SAY TO THEM THAT
SOMEWHERE IN THE WORLD IS A NATION
THAT CARES ABOUT JUSTICE."





AFTER THEIR TESTIMONY, THE DELEGATES
WENT BACK TO THEIR HOTEL--



WHERE THEY LEARNED THAT PRESIDENT
JOHNSON HAD PRE-EMPTED MRS. HAMER'S
TESTIMONY WITH A TRUMPED-UP
PRESS CONFERENCE.

THEY WERE INCENSED.



THE PRESIDENT COULD FEEL
THE SOUTH SLIPPING AWAY.

THE THING'S
OUTTA HAND
NOW!!

TO BE PERFECTLY FRANK,
THE PARTY IN MISSISSIPPI
NEARLY ENDORSED GOLDWATER
ALREADY.

MOST OF OUR DELEGATES
DON'T EVEN WANNA
GO TO ATLANTIC CITY!



JOHNSON WAS BACKED INTO A CORNER, BUT
HE WASN'T AFRAID OF USING HARDBALL POLITICS
TO FIGHT HIS WAY OUT.



THE NEXT DAY, THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE VOTE
WAS POSTPONED, AND JOHNSON APPOINTED AN
"EMERGENCY SUBCOMMITTEE" TO CREATE A
PROPOSAL TO ADDRESS THE MISSISSIPPI SITUATION.



WE LATER LEARNED THAT PRESIDENT
JOHNSON'S MEN WERE USING
FBI WIRETAPS ON THE MFDP
OFFICE-- AS WELL AS DR. KING'S AND
BAYARD RUSTIN'S HOTEL ROOMS--

--TO DO ANYTHING IN THEIR
POWER TO INFLUENCE THE
OUTCOME.

AS RUMORS SPREAD ABOUT A POSSIBLE OFFER,
WE TOOK UP A PICKET OUTSIDE THE CONVENTION.



HUMPHREY PLED HIS CASE WITH FREEDOM PARTY DELEGATES, EVEN INDICATING THAT HIS CHANCES OF BEING ADDED TO THE JOHNSON TICKET HINGED ON A SOLUTION.



MEANWHILE, JOHNSON'S PEOPLE WERE WORKING IN BACK CHANNELS, TWISTING ARMS AND CALLING IN FAVORS TO **ERODE** OUR SUPPORT ON THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.



IF WE COULDN'T GET OUR **ELEVEN** COMMITTEE MEMBERS, WE'D NEVER GET THE CHANCE TO TRY FOR **EIGHT** STATES-- OR FULL RECOGNITION.

FINALLY, A MEETING WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS A PROPOSAL.

AS WE GATHERED, RUMORS SWIRLED THAT A "FIX" HAD BEEN ACCEPTED, UNDERCUTTING THE MFDP'S POSITION FROM THE OUTSET-- IT WAS "TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT."

THE COMMITTEE PROPOSED TO BAN SEGREGATED DELEGATIONS IN THE FUTURE--

BUT FOR THIS YEAR, THEY WOULD HONOR THE "REGULAR" MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES-- AS LONG AS THEY PROMISED TO SUPPORT JOHNSON.



ONLY **TWO** MFDP DELEGATES WOULD BE RECOGNIZED (WITH SPECIAL "AT-LARGE" SEATS), WHILE THE OTHER **66** WOULD BE NON-VOTING "GUESTS".



THE ROOM WAS SPLIT.



WE SHOULD BE SATISFIED WITH THIS--

TWO SEATS IS A VICTORY.

WE DIDN'T COME ALL THE WAY HERE FOR NO **TWO SEATS**.

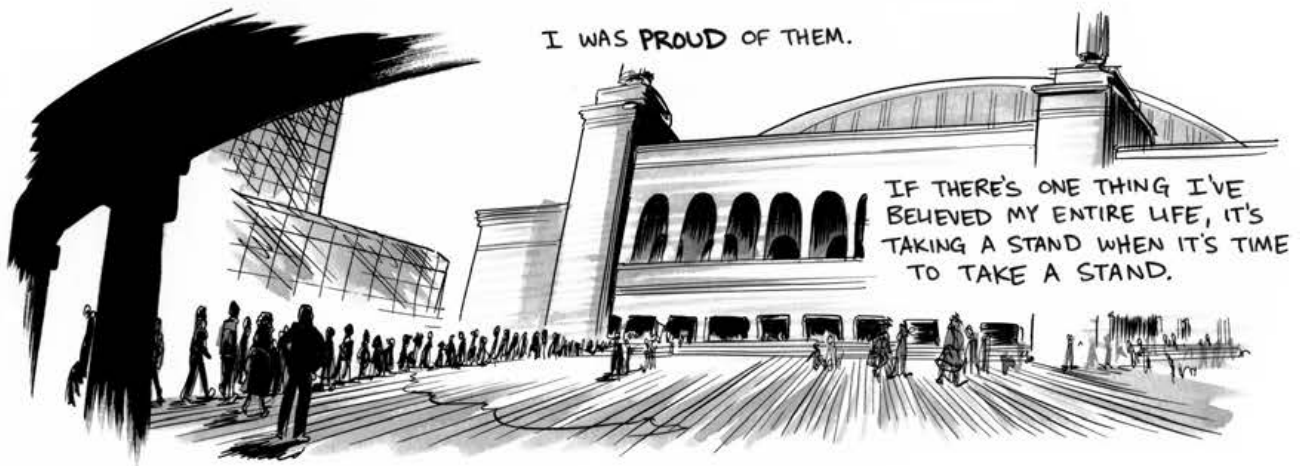


THE SNCC CONTINGENT DID NOT PUSH OUR POINT OF VIEW ON THE MFDP DELEGATES. WE STATED OUR THOUGHTS ABOUT THE PROS AND CONS, THEN STEPPED BACK AND LET PEOPLE LIKE FANNIE LOU HAMER, VICTORIA GRAY, UNITA BLACKWELL, E.W. STEPTOE, JAMES TRAVIS, ANNIE DEVINE-- AND SO MANY OTHERS--

SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AND ULTIMATELY DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES.

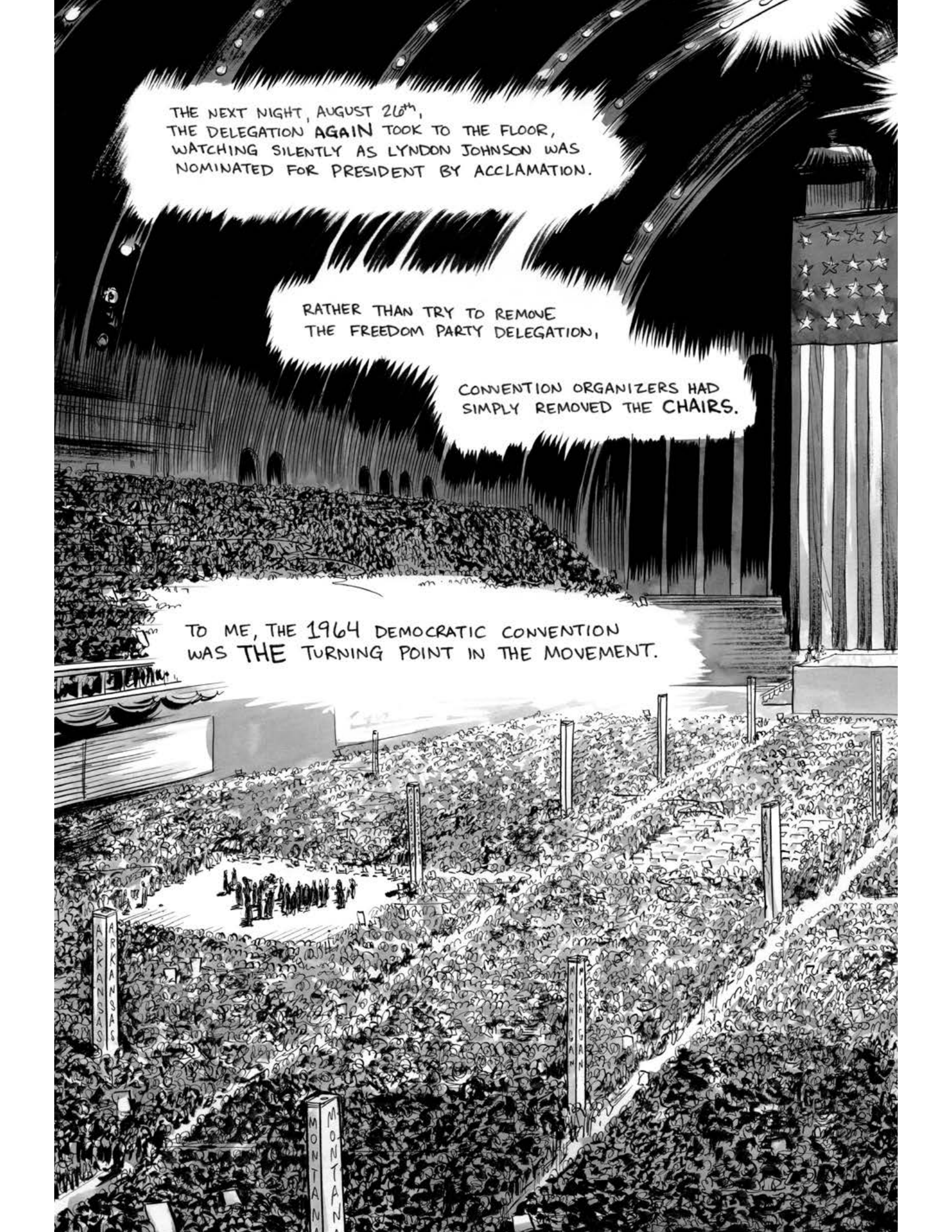
WHEN THE VOTE WAS TAKEN, ALL 68 MFDP DELEGATES UNANIMOUSLY REJECTED THE PROPOSAL.





BY THAT TIME, MOST OF THE "REGULAR" MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES HAD PACKED UP AND GONE HOME, SO THE MFDP DELEGATES STAGED A SIT-IN ON THE CONVENTION FLOOR--



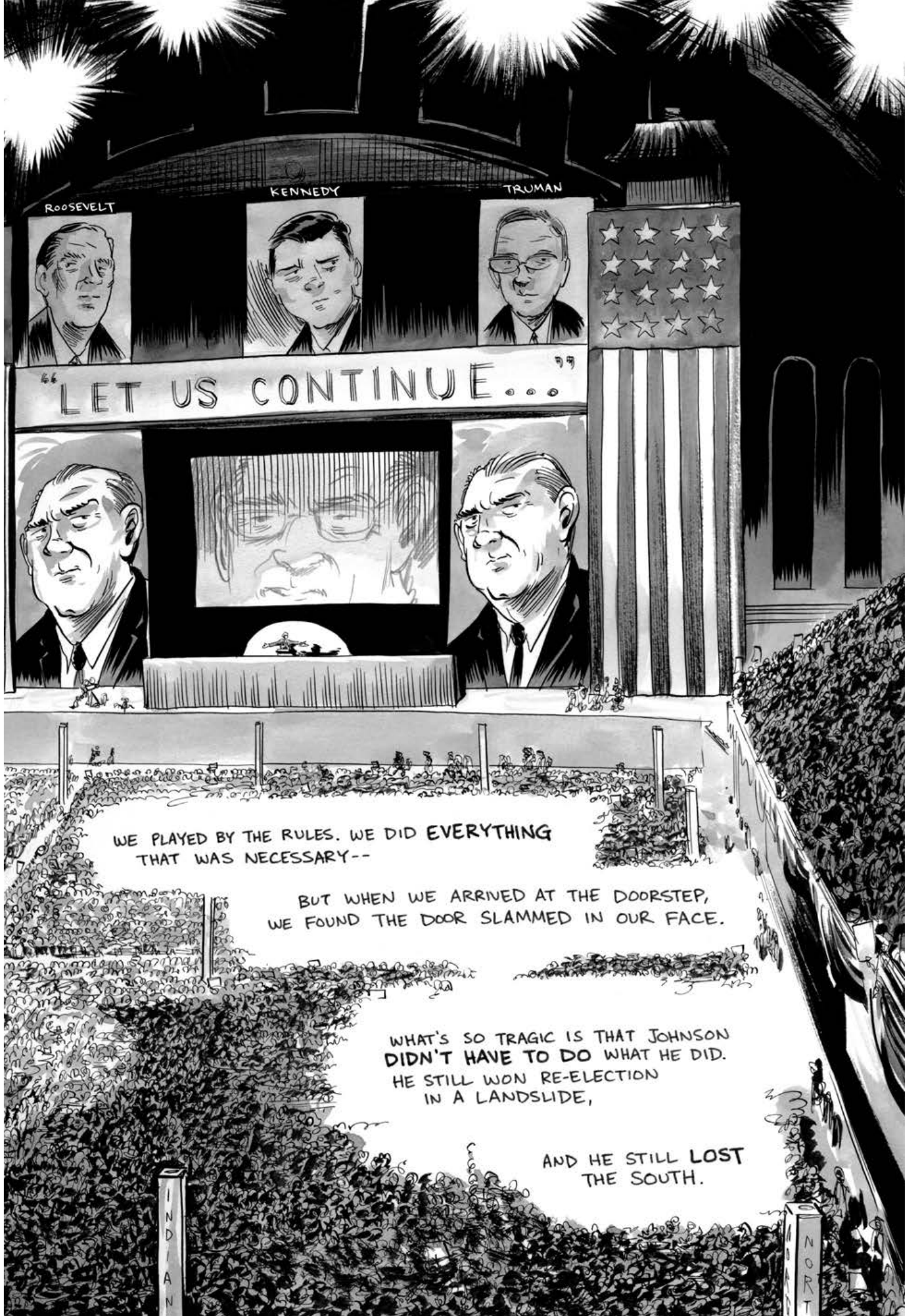


THE NEXT NIGHT, AUGUST 26th,
THE DELEGATION AGAIN TOOK TO THE FLOOR,
WATCHING SILENTLY AS LYNDON JOHNSON WAS
NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT BY ACCLAMATION.

RATHER THAN TRY TO REMOVE
THE FREEDOM PARTY DELEGATION,

CONVENTION ORGANIZERS HAD
SIMPLY REMOVED THE CHAIRS.

TO ME, THE 1964 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
WAS THE TURNING POINT IN THE MOVEMENT.



ROOSEVELT

KENNEDY

TRUMAN

"LET US CONTINUE..."

WE PLAYED BY THE RULES. WE DID EVERYTHING
THAT WAS NECESSARY--

BUT WHEN WE ARRIVED AT THE DOORSTEP,
WE FOUND THE DOOR SLAMMED IN OUR FACE.

WHAT'S SO TRAGIC IS THAT JOHNSON
DIDN'T HAVE TO DO WHAT HE DID.
HE STILL WON RE-ELECTION
IN A LANDSLIDE,

AND HE STILL LOST
THE SOUTH.



WHEN THE DUST SETTLED, MANY "WHITE LIBERALS"
WERE SEEN AS VILLAINS--

AND YOU HEARD THOSE WHO URGED
COMPROMISE CALLED "DOUBLE-CROSSER"
OR "UNCLE TOM."



LINGERING FEELINGS OF CYNICISM,
MISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT, AND DEEP
RESENTMENT OF "WHITE LIBERALS" WOULD
CAST SHADOWS OVER SOUTHERN POLITICS
FOR DECADES TO COME.

I WAS DEVASTATED.

I FELT SO NAÏVE.



I WAS NEVER SHAKEN IN MY
BELIEF IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY,



BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME, I WAS
SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES
WHO FELT DIFFERENT.

THOSE WHO ONCE FOUGHT PASSIONATELY
TO INCORPORATE WHITES, TO CREATE A
TRULY INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT,



WERE NOW SET ADRIFT.



SNCC WAS FALLING APART.

WE WERE BURNED OUT.

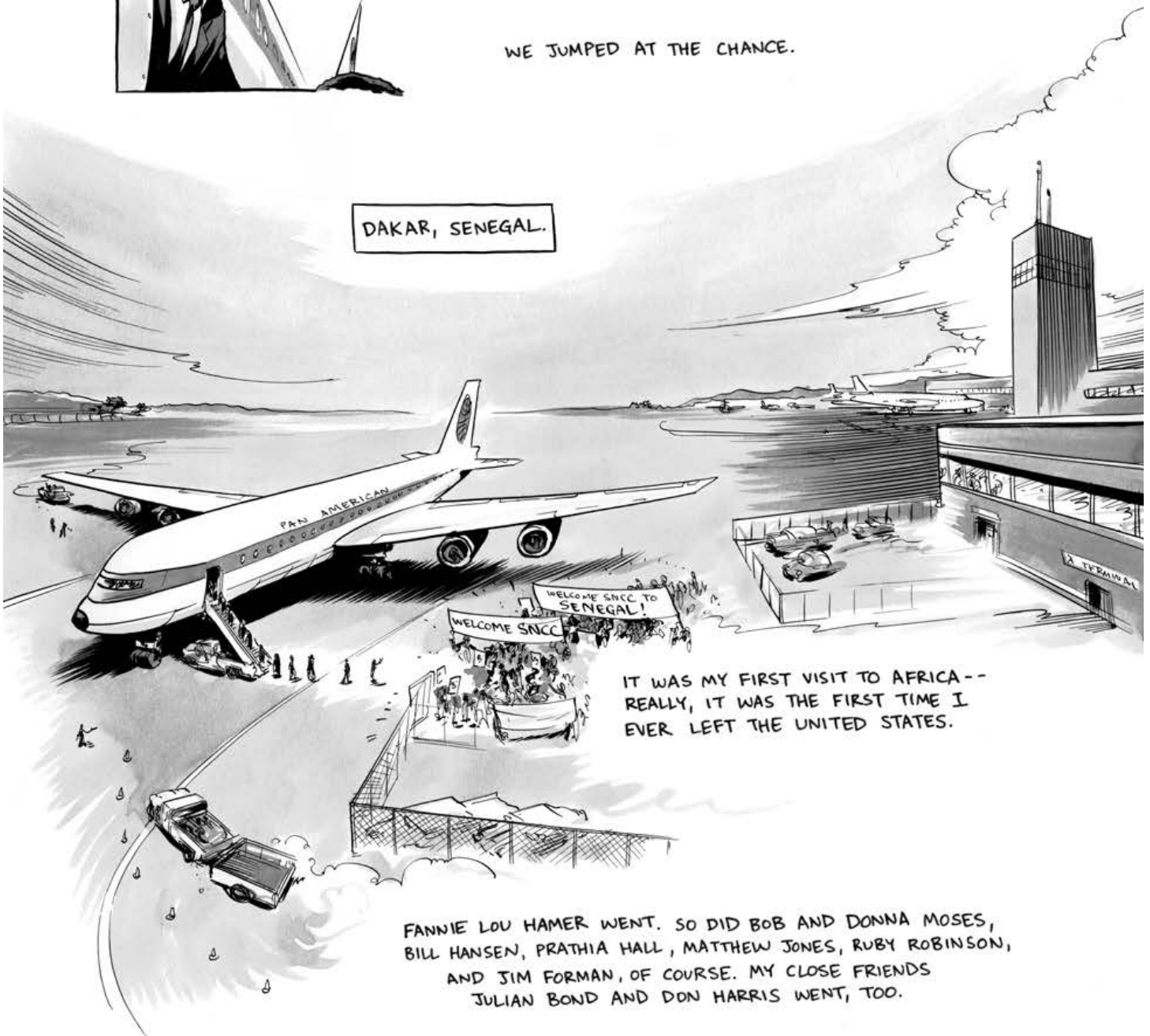
HARRY BELAFONTE, A LONGTIME SNCC SUPPORTER,
COULD SEE THE STRAIN TAKING ITS TOLL
AND WANTED TO HELP.



BELAFONTE INVITED A DELEGATION FROM SNCC TO ACCOMPANY HIM ON A THREE-WEEK TRIP TO AFRICA TO SPEAK TO YOUNG PEOPLE AND SHARE IDEAS ABOUT WHAT WE WERE DOING IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH.

WE JUMPED AT THE CHANCE.

DAKAR, SENEGAL.



IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO AFRICA -- REALLY, IT WAS THE FIRST TIME I EVER LEFT THE UNITED STATES.

FANNIE LOU HAMER WENT. SO DID BOB AND DONNA MOSES, BILL HANSEN, PRATHIA HALL, MATTHEW JONES, RUBY ROBINSON, AND JIM FORMAN, OF COURSE. MY CLOSE FRIENDS JULIAN BOND AND DON HARRIS WENT, TOO.



SOMETIMES WHEN YOU LEARN
A WORD IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE,

IT CHANGES THE MEANING OF
THAT WORD FOR YOU IN YOUR
OWN LANGUAGE.

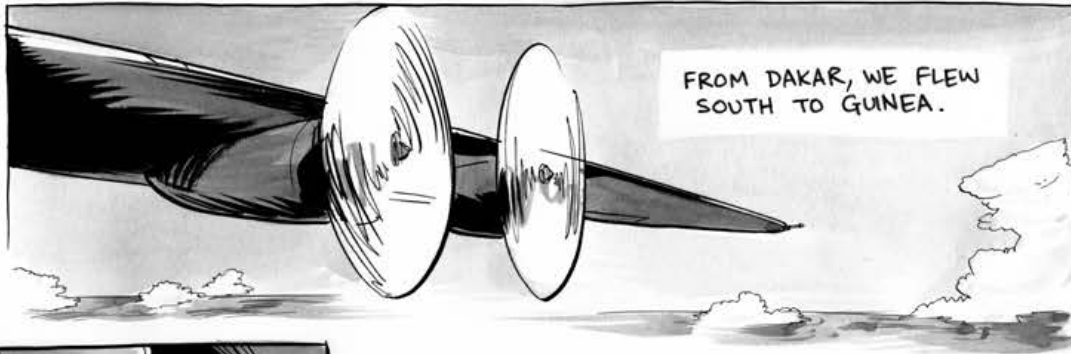
A TOAST--

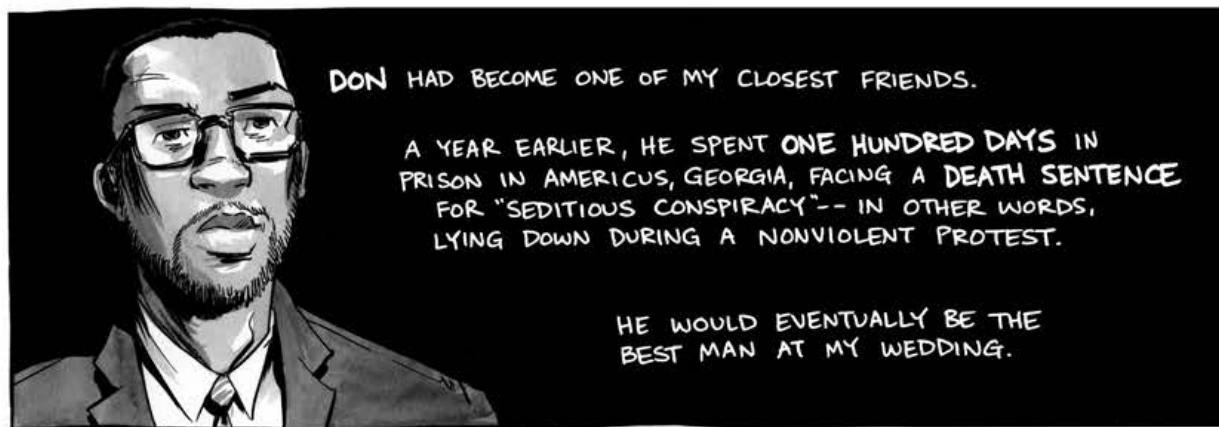
UHURU!



HEARING THAT WORD OVER AND OVER, I BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND
MORE DEEPLY THAN EVER HOW WE ARE ALL CONNECTED IN
THE UNENDING QUEST TO BE FREE.







THIS IS JOHN LEWIS AND DON HARRIS-- THEY ARE LEADERS OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE... IN AMERICA.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE WE MET WERE VERY ASTUTE, AND FAR MORE RADICAL THAN THOSE OF US IN SNCC.



WHAT IS YOUR ORGANIZATION'S RELATIONSHIP WITH MALCOLM'S?

uhh, wellll...

MALCOLM X. THEY ALWAYS ASKED. HE STRUCK A CHORD WITH THE YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES.

LOOK, YOU GUYS MIGHT BE REALLY DOING SOMETHING.

BUT IF YOU'RE TO THE RIGHT OF MALCOLM, YOU MIGHT AS WELL START PACKING NOW, BECAUSE NO ONE WILL LISTEN TO YOU.



IT WAS EYE-OPENING.

BACK HOME, WE WERE CONSIDERED THE RADICALS, BY THE PRESS, BY MOST OF SOCIETY...

... EVEN BY THE MOVEMENT.



ON OUR WAY FROM ETHIOPIA TO ZAMBIA, OUR PLANE HAD MECHANICAL TROUBLE AND WE WERE FORCED TO LAND IN KENYA.

THE AIRLINE PUT US UP IN THE NEW STANLEY HOTEL IN NAIROBI.





EARLIER THAT YEAR, MALCOLM HAD SPLIT FROM ELIJAH MUHAMMAD'S NATION OF ISLAM.

HE SEEMED A LITTLE ANXIOUS. MALCOLM HAD COME FROM A CONFERENCE IN CAIRO, WHERE HE SPOKE ABOUT BRINGING THE PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE IN AMERICA BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS.



HE SAID WE HAVE TO IDENTIFY WITH THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA,



AND THAT THEY MUST IDENTIFY WITH US.

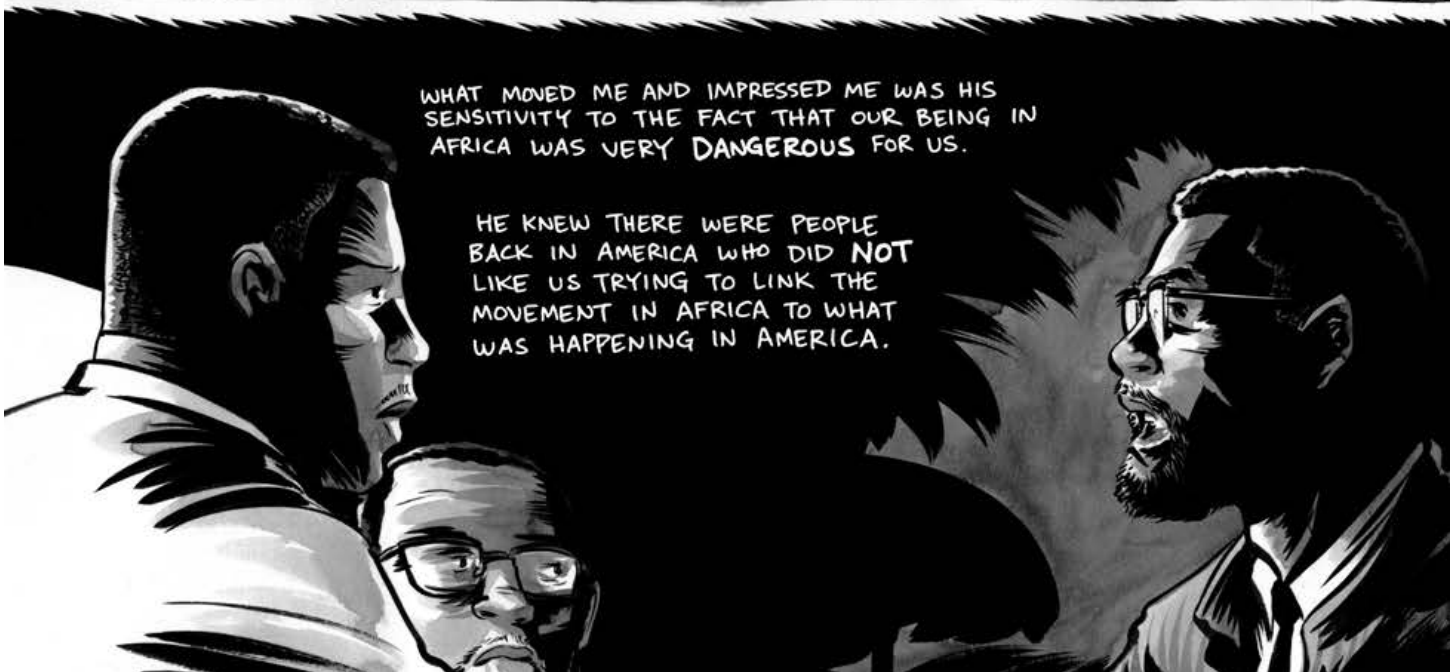


THE STRUGGLE IN AFRICA IS INSEPARABLE FROM OUR STRUGGLE IN AMERICA.



WHAT MOVED ME AND IMPRESSED ME WAS HIS SENSITIVITY TO THE FACT THAT OUR BEING IN AFRICA WAS VERY DANGEROUS FOR US.

HE KNEW THERE WERE PEOPLE BACK IN AMERICA WHO DID NOT LIKE US TRYING TO LINK THE MOVEMENT IN AFRICA TO WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN AMERICA.





MALCOLM TALKED ABOUT THE NEED TO SHIFT OUR FOCUS FROM RACE TO CLASS, BOTH AMONG ONE ANOTHER AND BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE WHITE COMMUNITY.

HE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT WAS THE ROOT OF OUR PROBLEMS, NOT JUST IN AMERICA,

BUT ALL OVER THE WORLD.





I HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING THEN,
BUT THAT WAS THE LAST TIME I
WOULD SEE MALCOLM ALIVE.





AFTER THREE DAYS, OUR PLANE WAS READY AND WE WENT TO ZAMBIA, THEN BACK THROUGH KENYA AND ETHIOPIA.

WE ARRIVED IN ADDIS ABABA JUST IN TIME FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BACK IN THE STATES. WE LISTENED TO THE RESULTS ON A "VOICE OF AMERICA" BROADCAST.

IT APPEARS JOHNSON IS ON HIS WAY TO A LANDSLIDE VICTORY-- WINNING 44 OF 50 STATES, AND DOMINATING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE!



DESPITE EVERYTHING, I WAS HAPPY THAT JOHNSON WON, AND PARTICULARLY EXCITED WHEN IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT ROBERT KENNEDY HAD WON THE SENATE SEAT IN NEW YORK.

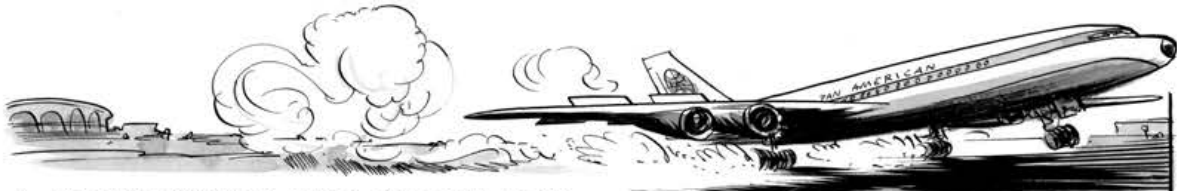
OUR LAST STOP IN AFRICA WAS CAIRO, WHERE WE DECIDED IT WAS TIME TO PLAY TOURIST.



AS THE SUN SET BEHIND THE PYRAMIDS, WE RODE IN SILENCE.

I COULDN'T HELP BUT FEEL LONELY, EVEN A LITTLE SAD, AT THE THOUGHT OF WHAT AWAITED US BACK IN AMERICA.

AFTER 72 DAYS OF TRAVELS, WE
RETURNED HOME ON NOVEMBER 22nd.



A LOT HAD CHANGED WHILE WE WERE GONE--
MANY PEOPLE THOUGHT I'D BEEN AWAY TOO LONG.

SNCC WAS THREATENING TO
COLLAPSE UNDER ITS OWN WEIGHT.

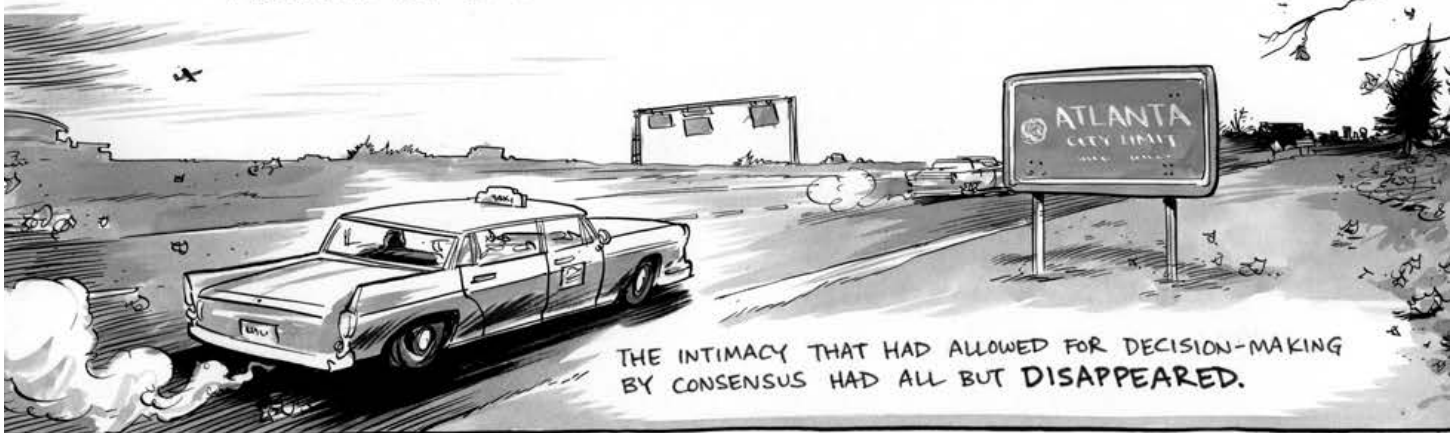
ALL THE THINGS THAT MADE
SNCC WHAT IT WAS--



DECENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP,
CONSENSUS-DRIVEN DECISION
MAKING, RESPECT FOR
INDIVIDUALITY--



WE HAD ALWAYS BEEN A CLOSE-KNIT GROUP. I THOUGHT OF US AS
A BAND OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS, A CIRCLE OF TRUST... BUT THE
MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT HAD SWELLED OUR NUMBERS SIGNIFICANTLY.



THE INTIMACY THAT HAD ALLOWED FOR DECISION-MAKING
BY CONSENSUS HAD ALL BUT DISAPPEARED.

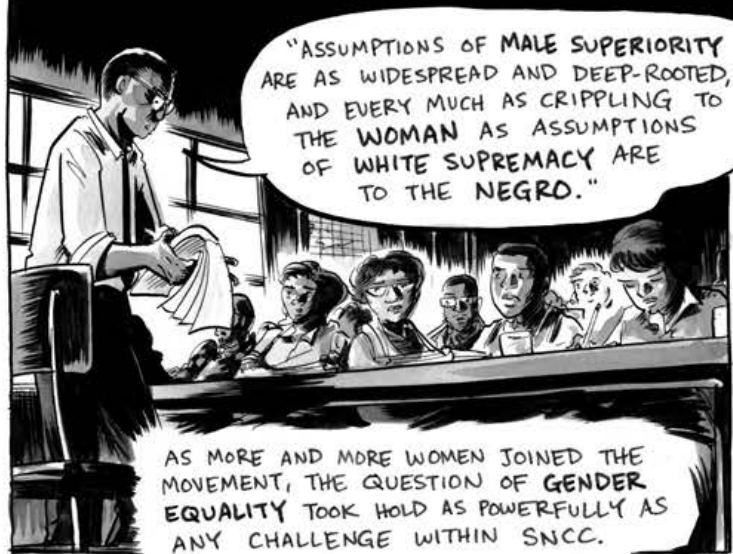
SALT-OF-THE-EARTH FIELD STAFF CHAFED AGAINST
COLLEGE-EDUCATED INTELLECTUALS PUSHING A
MORE POLITICAL AGENDA.



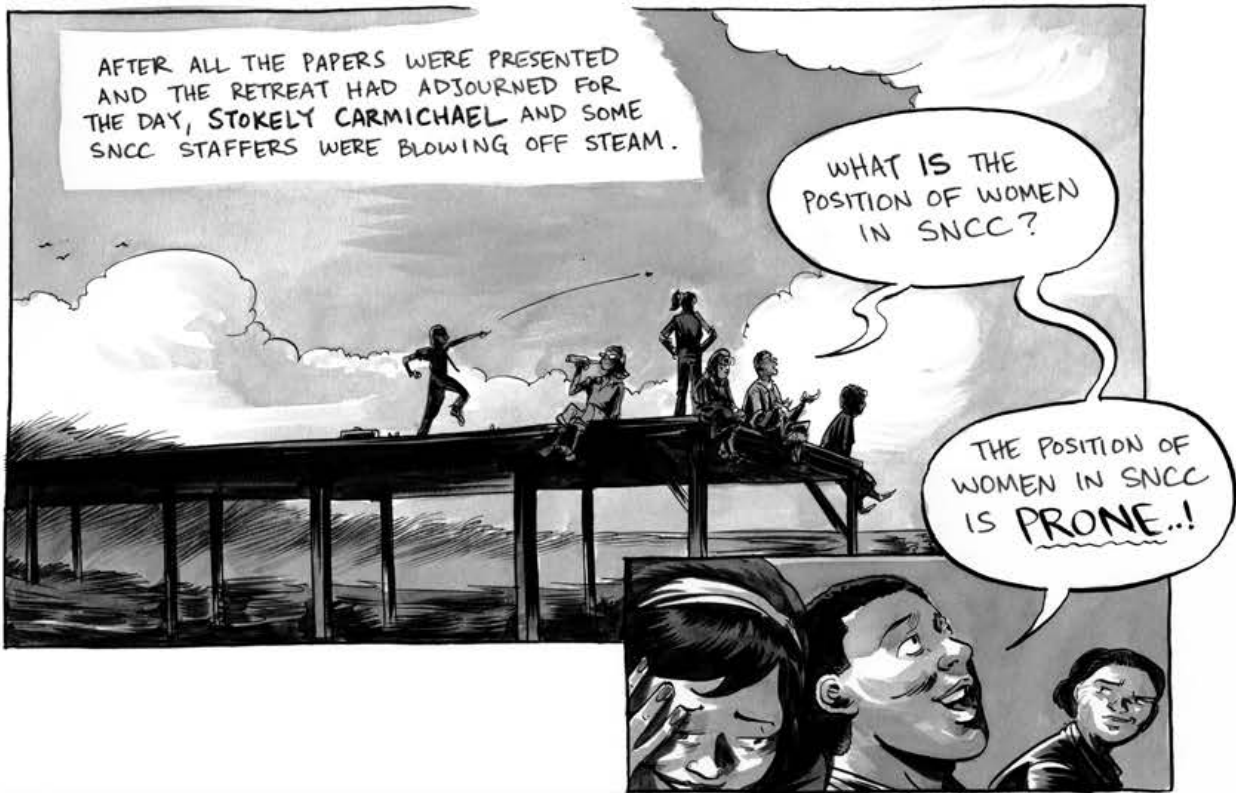
JUST BEFORE I GOT BACK, SNCC HELD A STAFF RETREAT IN WAVELAND, MISSISSIPPI, TO ADDRESS SOME OF THESE CHALLENGES.



MARY KING AND CASEY HAYDEN SUBMITTED A PAPER CALLED "THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT".

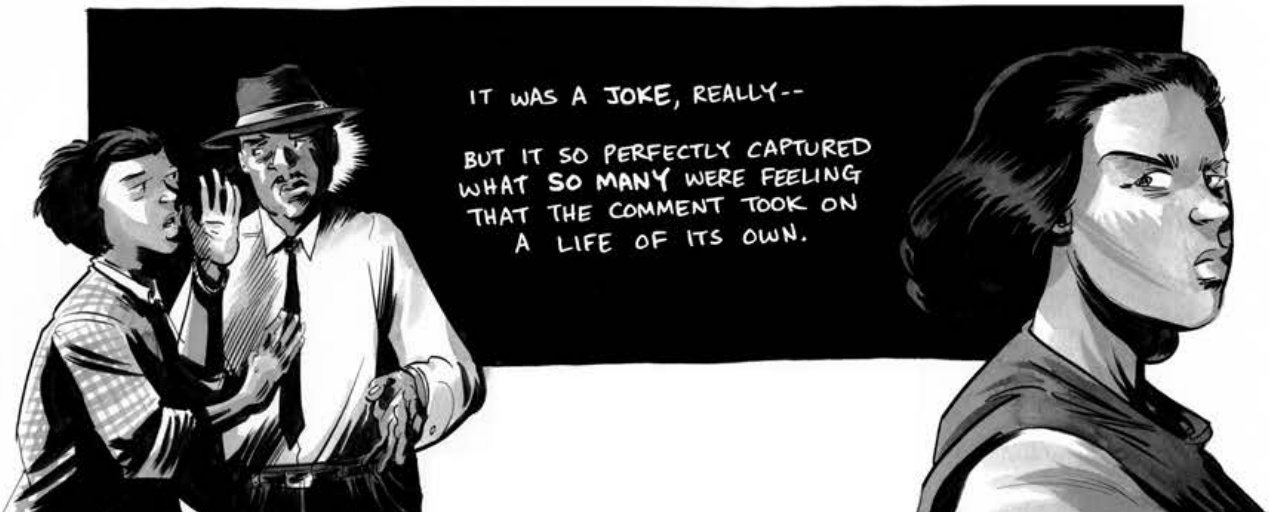


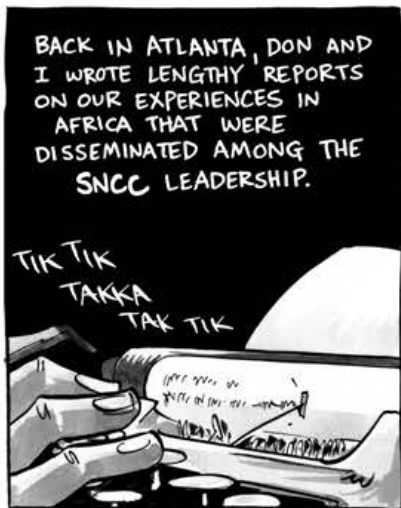
AFTER ALL THE PAPERS WERE PRESENTED AND THE RETREAT HAD ADJOURNED FOR THE DAY, STOKELY CARMICHAEL AND SOME SNCC STAFFERS WERE BLOWING OFF STEAM.



IT WAS A JOKE, REALLY--

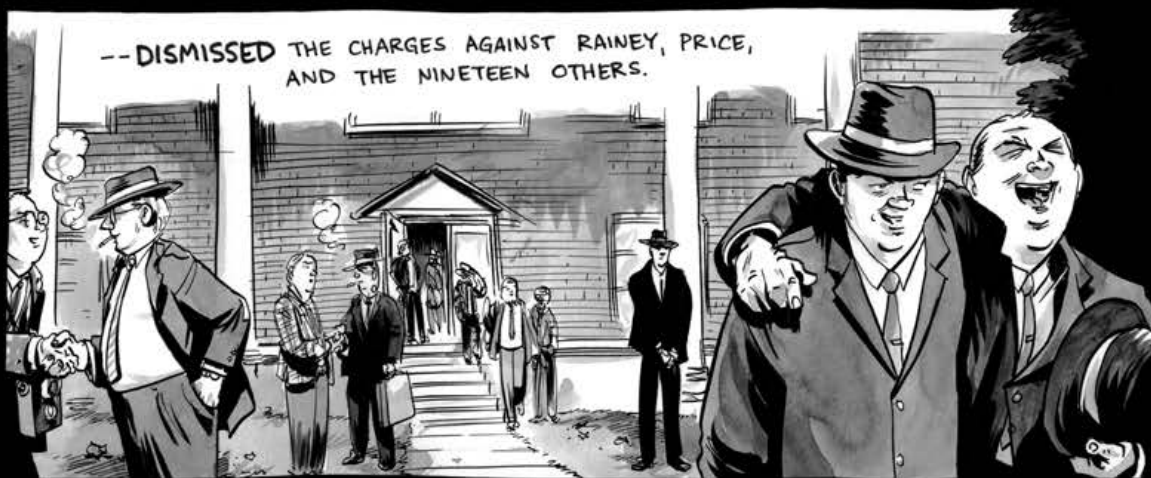
BUT IT SO PERFECTLY CAPTURED WHAT SO MANY WERE FEELING THAT THE COMMENT TOOK ON A LIFE OF ITS OWN.





AT A HEARING SIX DAYS LATER, JUDGE HAROLD COX--

--THE SAME JUDGE WHO EARLIER CALLED US "A BUNCH OF CHIMPANZEES"--



THAT SAME DAY, DR. KING BECAME THE YOUNGEST PERSON
TO EVER RECEIVE A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE,

AND ONLY THE SECOND AFRICAN-AMERICAN
AFTER DIPLOMAT RALPH BUNCHE IN 1950.



I WAS OVERTOYED FOR DR. KING'S HONOR,
BUT MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES IN SNCC RESENTED IT.

FRANKLY, A LOT OF MY COLLEAGUES
RESENTED ME.

I COULD FEEL SNCC BECOMING MORE AND MORE
ISOLATED FROM THE MOVEMENT.

I DIDN'T GET TO STAY HOME LONG--

SNCC WAS RUNNING OUT OF MONEY. DONORS WHO'D SUPPORTED US THROUGH THE SUMMER PROJECT WERE INCREASINGLY HESITANT TO CONTINUE OFFERING FUNDING.



RUMORS SWIRLED THAT SNCC HAD BEEN TAKEN OVER BY COMMUNISTS, AND THAT OUR RECENT TRIP WAS A RUSE TO COVER A SECRET VISIT TO CHINA.

IT'S CALLED "RED-BAITING," AND IT'S ALWAYS DEEPLY BOTHERED ME.

IF YOU'RE GOING TO CALL SOMEONE A NAME, OR SLAP A LABEL ON THEM, HAVE A REASON-- EVEN IF IT'S RACIST, I CAN RESPECT THAT.

BUT CALLING SOMEONE A "COMMUNIST" OR A "SOCIALIST" IS THE INTELLECTUAL EQUIVALENT OF THROWING FROM YOUR BACK FOOT. YOU'RE NOT PUTTING MUCH ON THE BALL.

I WENT ON A FUND-RAISING TRIP TO PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK TO TRY AND TURN THINGS AROUND.

JOHN, YOU HAVE TO TELL ME--

I HEARD SNCC IS GOING TO BREAK UP. IS IT TRUE?

NO, NO, IT'S NOT TRUE.

WHAT'S THIS I'VE BEEN HEARING ABOUT AN ATTEMPTED "COUP" AGAINST SNCC LEADERSHIP?

NO, JUST SOME VERY...

SPIRITED MEETINGS AT A RECENT CONFERENCE.



WHEN I GOT BACK
FROM THE TRIP,



I DECIDED TO WRITE A
LETTER TO THE ENTIRE
MEMBERSHIP, ADDRESSING
MANY OF THE RUMORS
I'D HEARD. I WASN'T
PANICKING,



BUT I WAS AS
CLOSE TO IT AS
I THINK I'VE
EVER BEEN.



I TRIED TO ADDRESS THE RUMORS AS DIRECTLY
AS POSSIBLE, DISPEL ANY NOTION THAT I MIGHT
BE LEAVING AS CHAIRMAN, AND LAY OUT MY
PLAN FOR VISITING ALL THE SNCC-LED PROJECTS
OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.



I'VE ALWAYS SEEN
MYSELF AS A DOER,

CARL--

ZZZZZ!!P!



AND IN MOMENTS
LIKE THAT

YOU MIND
HELPING ME MAKE
COPIES OF THIS LETTER
TO SEND OUT?



THE ONLY THING THAT MADE
SENSE TO ME WAS TO
KEEP MOVING.

RIGHT ON.
WHO WE SENDING
IT TO?



EVERYBODY.

SO I WENT ON THE ROAD FOR THE
NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, UNTIL I
FOUND MYSELF BACK IN THE HEART
OF DALLAS COUNTY, ALABAMA...



SELMA.

AS SIGNIFICANT AS IT WAS, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 MADE NO PROVISION TO ENSURE THE RIGHTS OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS TO REGISTER TO VOTE. IN MORE THAN TWO YEARS OF SNCC-LED WORK ORGANIZING AND PROTESTING IN SELMA, WE REGISTERED FEWER THAN 100 NEW VOTERS.

AND THANKS TO JUDGE HARE'S INJUNCTION AGAINST PUBLIC GATHERINGS, SNCC'S OPERATION IN SELMA HAD GROUND TO A HALT.

DR. KING MET WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN DECEMBER, SHORTLY AFTER RECEIVING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. THEY DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR A VOTING RIGHTS ACT, BUT PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE. THE VOTES IN CONGRESS WERE SIMPLY NOT THERE.

JOHNSON SAID, IN EFFECT:

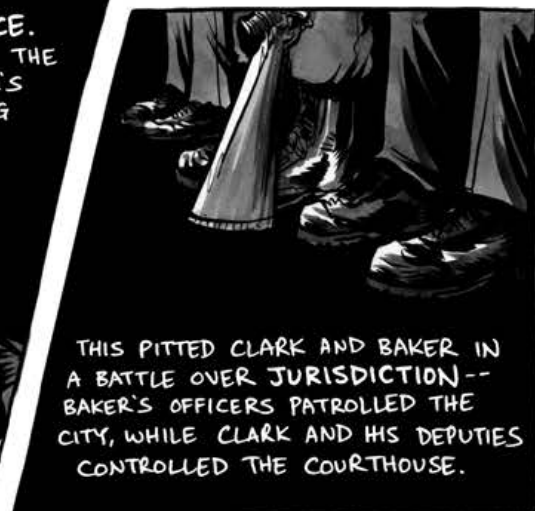
IF YOU WANT A VOTING RIGHTS ACT,
MAKE ME DO IT.

WHEN DR. KING RETURNED TO ATLANTA, HE ACCEPTED AN INVITATION FROM AN ORGANIZATION CALLED THE DALLAS COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, REQUESTING SCLC TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF SELMA.



ON DECEMBER 28, 1964, DR. KING CONVENED A MEETING
OF THE GROUPS ORGANIZING IN SELMA TO PRESENT A PLAN:

THE PROJECT FOR AN ALABAMA POLITICAL FREEDOM MOVEMENT.



WE CHOSE TO LAUNCH OUR CAMPAIGN ON JANUARY 2nd
BECAUSE SHERIFF CLARK WAS GOING TO BE OUT OF
TOWN ATTENDING THE ORANGE BOWL, AND
CHIEF BAKER HAD SAID HE WOULD **NOT**
ENFORCE JUDGE HARE'S INJUNCTION
FORBIDDING GATHERINGS OF MORE
THAN THREE PEOPLE.



JANUARY 2, 1965.

ONLY ONE CHURCH IN SELMA WAS WILLING TO RISK THE POTENTIAL RETRIBUTION FOR HOSTING THE KICK-OFF MASS MEETING:

BROWN CHAPEL AME.



AT FIRST, WE WERE WORRIED NO ONE WOULD SHOW UP--



-- BUT BY THE TIME THE MEETING STARTED, WE HAD MORE PEOPLE THAN THE CHURCH COULD HOLD.

TODAY MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A DETERMINED, ORGANIZED, MOBILIZED CAMPAIGN TO GET THE RIGHT TO VOTE EVERYWHERE IN ALABAMA.

IF WE ARE REFUSED, WE WILL APPEAL TO GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE.

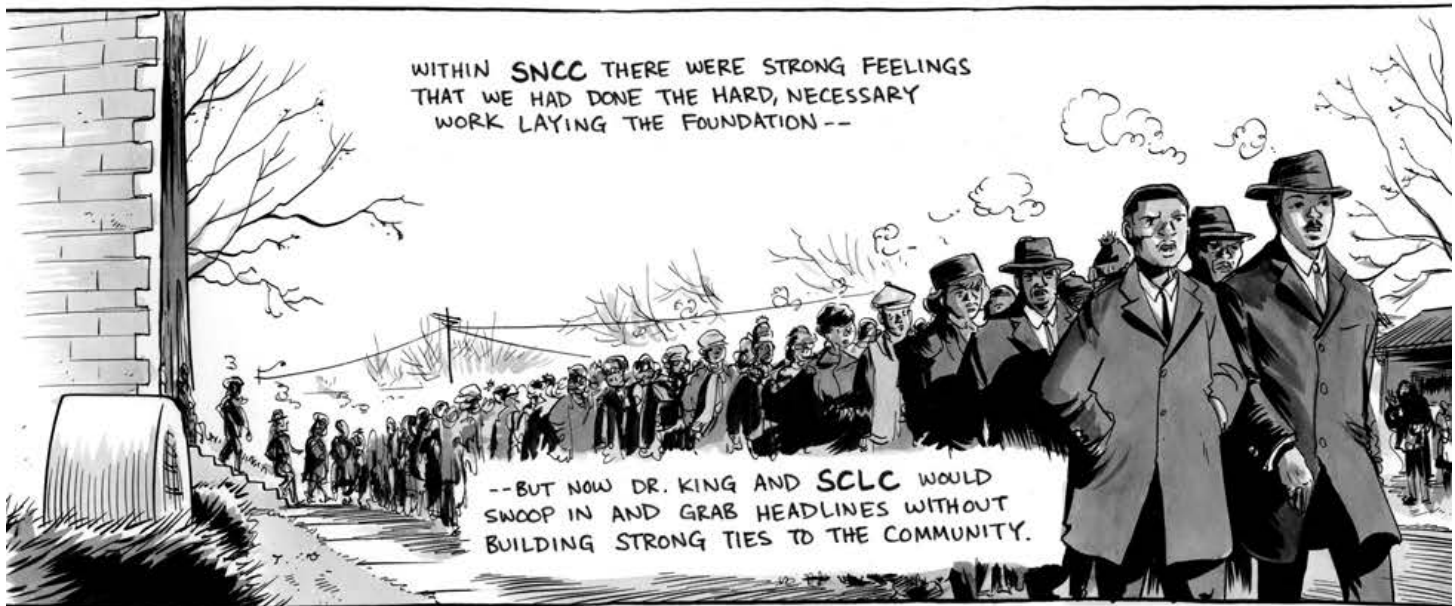
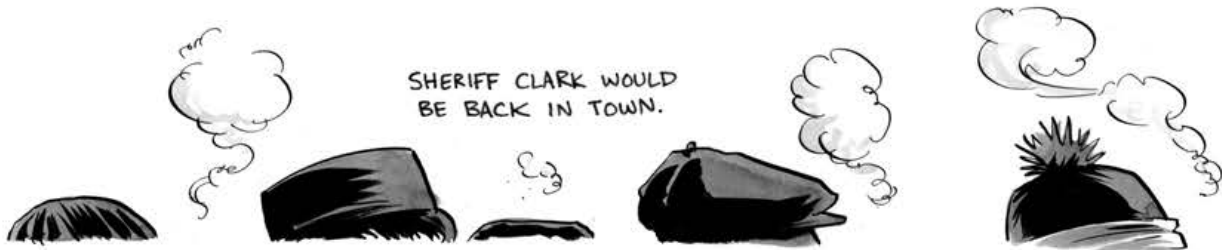
IF HE REFUSES TO LISTEN, WE WILL APPEAL TO THE LEGISLATURE.

IF THEY DON'T LISTEN, WE WILL APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE CONGRESS.

WE MUST BE READY TO MARCH. WE MUST BE READY TO GO TO JAIL BY THE THOUSANDS.

OUR CRY TO THE STATE OF ALABAMA IS A SIMPLE ONE--





AS THE CHAIRMAN OF SNCC AND A MEMBER OF SCLC'S BOARD, I WAS CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE.







LATER THAT AFTERNOON,



I WENT OVER TO THE
HOTEL ALBERT--

--WHERE DR. KING WAS ATTEMPTING TO BECOME THE FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN
TO EVER SIGN IN AS A GUEST.



DR. KING,

YOU'RE MARTIN
LUTHER KING--

I'D LIKE TO ASK
YOU SOMETHING.





I DON'T KNOW WHAT CAME OVER ME.



I DIDN'T HIT HIM,

THOUGH I MAY HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT IT FOR A SPLIT-SECOND.

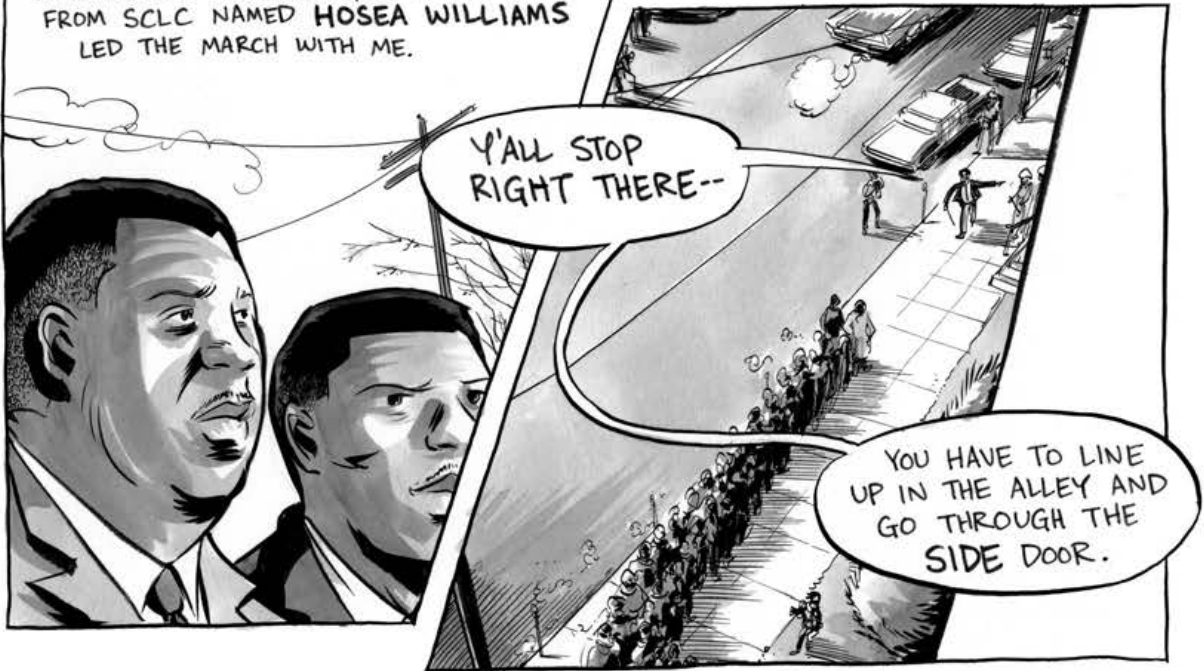
IT WAS THE CLOSEST I'VE EVER COME TO LAYING DOWN MY NONVIOLENCE.





WE MARCHED AGAIN THE VERY NEXT DAY,
BUT THIS TIME WE WERE **NOT** GOING TO COMPLY WITH
SHERIFF CLARK IF HE ORDERED US DOWN THE ALLEY.

DR. KING HAD TO ATTEND A SPEAKING
ENGAGEMENT ELSEWHERE, SO A YOUNG MAN
FROM SCLC NAMED HOSEA WILLIAMS
LED THE MARCH WITH ME.



IZZAT SO?!

Y'ALL **ALL**
UNDER ARREST!





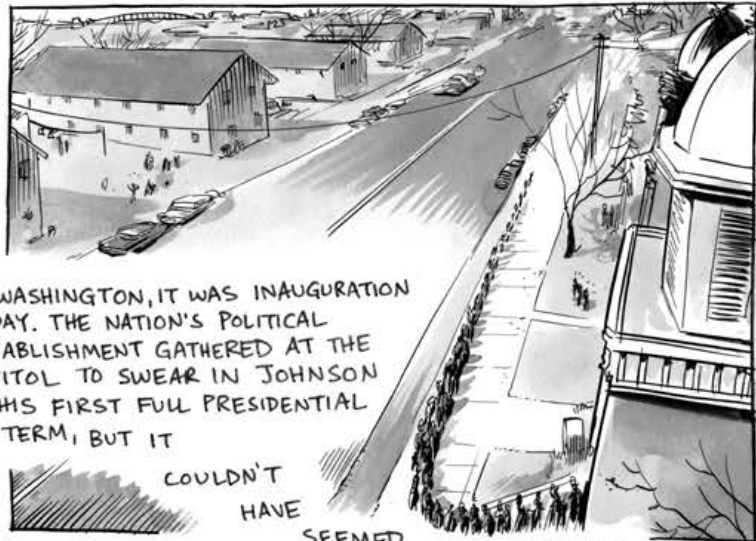
BUT THAT DIDN'T STOP HIM.





JANUARY 20, 1965.

THE NEXT DAY, I LED YET
ANOTHER MARCH TO THE
COUNTY COURTHOUSE.



IN WASHINGTON, IT WAS INAUGURATION
DAY. THE NATION'S POLITICAL
ESTABLISHMENT GATHERED AT THE
CAPITOL TO SWEAR IN JOHNSON
TO HIS FIRST FULL PRESIDENTIAL
TERM, BUT IT

COULDN'T
HAVE

SEEMED
FARTHER AWAY.



JOHN LEWIS!
YOU STOP THESE PEOPLE
RIGHT NOW!

AGAIN--
GO LINE UP IN THE ALLEY,
AND WHEN WE SAY SO,
THESE PEOPLE CAN GO
THROUGH THE SIDE DOOR.

SHERIFF CLARK,
WE WANT TO ENTER
THROUGH THE FRONT DOOR.



AGITATOR!

YOU'RE THE LOWEST
FORM OF HUMANITY.



YOU HAVE
ONE MINUTE
TO MOVE.



JANUARY 22, 1965.

I WAS RELEASED FROM JAIL IN TIME
TO SEE SOMETHING TRULY REMARKABLE.

COME ON, YOU
HAVE TO COME, TOO--!

THEY'RE GONNA
FIRE US, RHODA.

I'VE GOT TWO KIDS, AND
MY HUSBAND HASN'T HAD
WORK IN SIX MONTHS. I CAN'T
LOSE MY JOB, AND I CAN'T
GO TO JAIL.



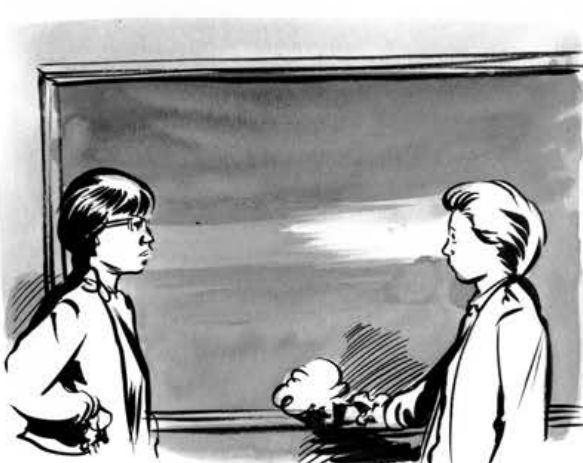
THEY...
PROBABLY...

WON'T FIRE US.
WHO'S GONNA TEACH?!



IF WE'RE NOT IN THE CLASSROOM,
THEN THE KIDS'LL BE OUT IN THE
STREETS-- PROBABLY PROTESTING
TOO.

BESIDES, HOW CAN WE
TEACH AMERICAN CIVICS
WHEN WE CAN'T VOTE?!



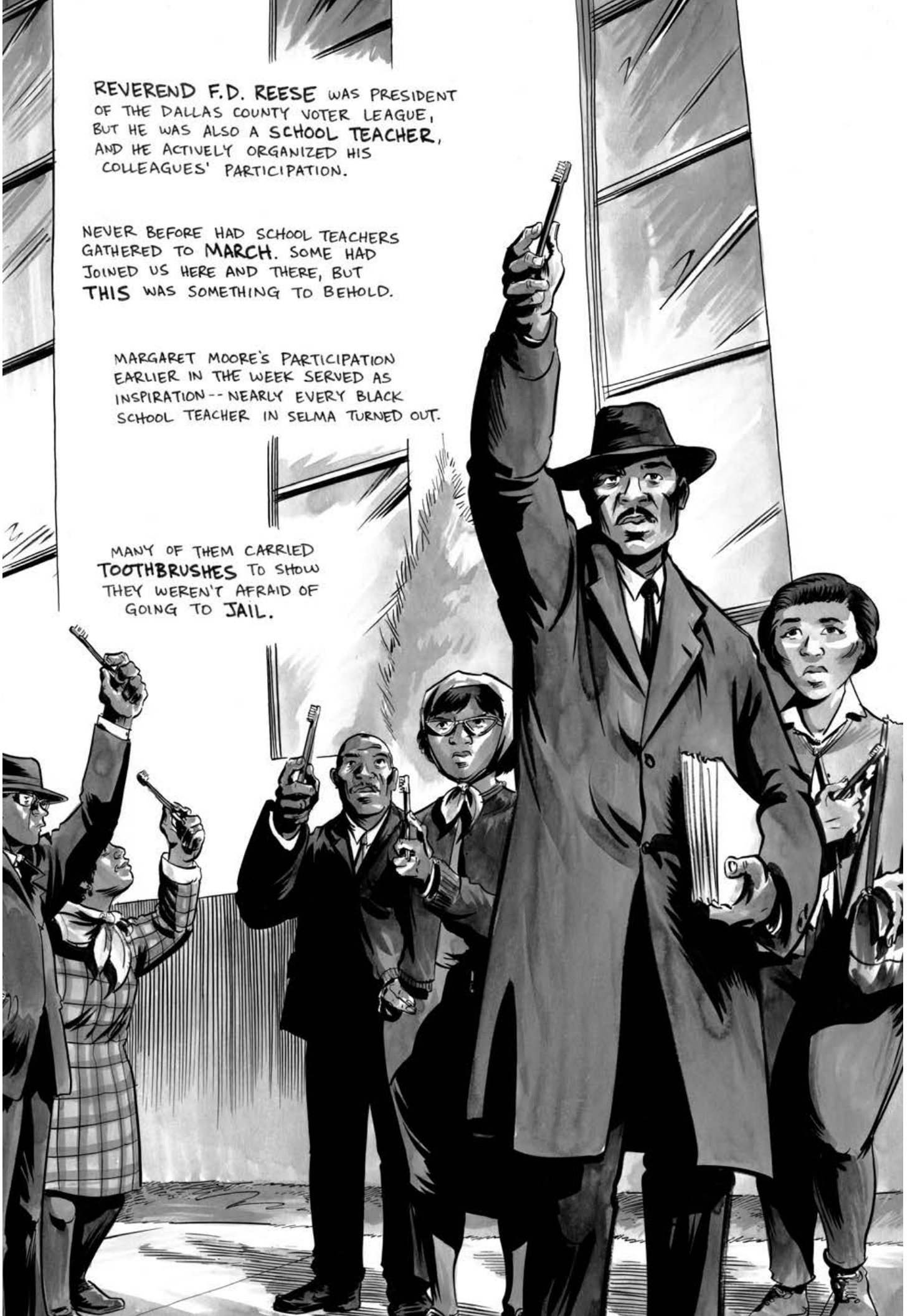
okay.
I'll come.

REVEREND F.D. REESE WAS PRESIDENT OF THE DALLAS COUNTY VOTER LEAGUE, BUT HE WAS ALSO A SCHOOL TEACHER, AND HE ACTIVELY ORGANIZED HIS COLLEAGUES' PARTICIPATION.

NEVER BEFORE HAD SCHOOL TEACHERS GATHERED TO MARCH. SOME HAD JOINED US HERE AND THERE, BUT THIS WAS SOMETHING TO BEHOLD.

MARGARET MOORE'S PARTICIPATION EARLIER IN THE WEEK SERVED AS INSPIRATION-- NEARLY EVERY BLACK SCHOOL TEACHER IN SELMA TURNED OUT.

MANY OF THEM CARRIED TOOTHBRUSHES TO SHOW THEY WEREN'T AFRAID OF GOING TO JAIL.







OVER THE WEEKEND,



WORD OF THE TEACHERS' MARCH SPREAD,



AND OUR NUMBERS EXPANDED AS OTHER PROFESSIONAL GROUPS DECIDED THEY, TOO, WOULD MARCH.



LOOKING AROUND, I COULDN'T HELP BUT NOTICE THAT SO MANY PEOPLE FROM THOSE EARLY DAYS IN NASHVILLE WERE NOW PITCHING IN WITH THE EFFORT IN SELMA.

DIANE AND BEVEL WERE WORKING WITH SCLC NOW.



NO--NO, I NEED THEM BY MONDAY!

BERNARD LAFAYETTE WAS THERE, WORKING FOR SCLC TOO-- EVEN C.T. VIVIAN CAME DOWN TO HELP.



ONLY A HANDFUL OF SNCC STAFF WERE THERE, AND MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES SAW THE OPERATION AS SCLC'S SHOW--



BUT IF THE PEOPLE OF SELMA WANTED TO MARCH,

I WAS GOING TO MARCH WITH THEM.

JANUARY 25, 1965.

ON MONDAY, I JOINED THE LINE OF MORE THAN 250 PEOPLE PICKETING OUTSIDE THE COURTHOUSE.

AIN'T NOBODY SCARED AROUND HERE.

ANNIE LEE COOPER. SHE LOST HER JOB IN 1963 FOR PARTICIPATING IN OUR FIRST FREEDOM DAY IN SELMA.

SHOVE

oof!

SHOVE

CRASH

WHUMP

You the first?
You gonna be
shoving up next?

SHOVE

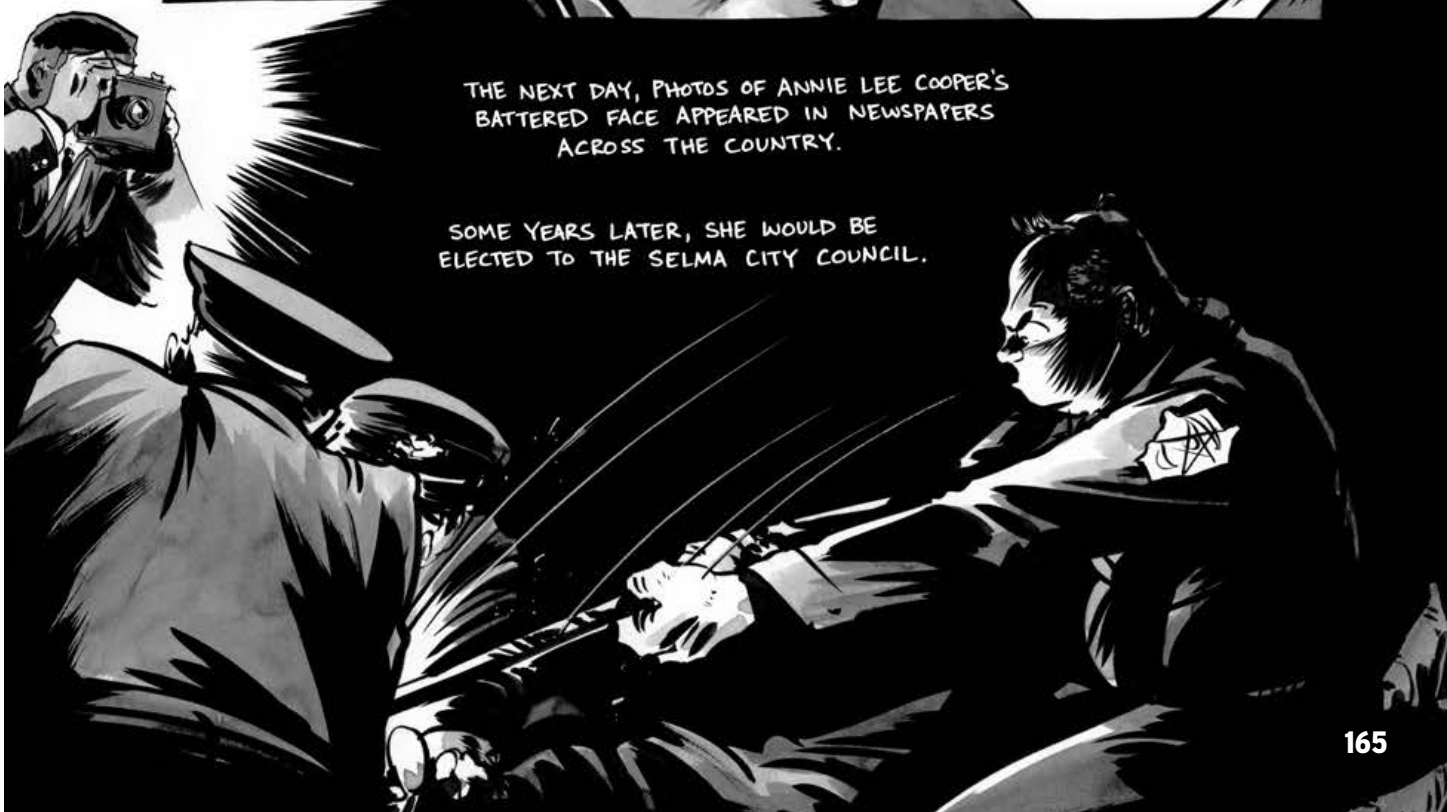
SELMA COUNTY
SHERIFF

DALLAS COUNTY
SHERIFF



THE NEXT DAY, PHOTOS OF ANNIE LEE COOPER'S BATTERED FACE APPEARED IN NEWSPAPERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

SOME YEARS LATER, SHE WOULD BE ELECTED TO THE SELMA CITY COUNCIL.



THE VERY NEXT DAY,
WE WERE BACK AGAIN.



AND I GOT
ARRESTED.



I WAS RELEASED FROM
JAIL IN TIME TO JOIN
THE NEXT DAY'S PROTEST,



AND I GOT ARRESTED...
AGAIN.



AS I WENT TO JAIL, ATLANTA'S ELITE WERE PREPARING
A BLACK-TIE DINNER TO HONOR DR. KING FOR RECEIVING
THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. DESPITE ATLANTA'S PROGRESSIVE
REPUTATION, THE DINNER WAS ALMOST AN EMBARRASSMENT
WHEN MANY BUSINESS LEADERS REFUSED TO ATTEND--

-- THAT IS, UNTIL COCA-COLA CHAIRMAN
ROBERT WOODRUFF, ARGUABLY THE MOST
POWERFUL PERSON IN THE CITY, MADE IT
CLEAR THAT ATLANTA WOULD PROPERLY
HONOR ITS NEWEST NOBEL LAUREATE.



BACK IN SELMA, DESPITE HEADLINES GENERATED BY
SHERIFF CLARK'S BRUTALITY, THE MOVEMENT
CONTINUED TO LOSE STEAM.

BY THE END OF THE MONTH, FEWER THAN 60 PEOPLE HAD
EVEN BEEN ALLOWED INTO THE COURTHOUSE TO ATTEMPT TO REGISTER--

AND EVERY SINGLE ONE OF THEM WAS REJECTED.



TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE, SNCC WAS NEARLY BROKE. I HAD LEFT SELMA FOR AN URGENT FUND-RAISING TRIP TO CALIFORNIA WHEN, ON FEBRUARY 1ST--

FIVE YEARS SINCE THOSE FIRST SIT-INS IN GREENSBORO--



LATER THAT WEEK, WHILE DR. KING WAS STILL IN JAIL AND THE COURTHOUSE MARCHES CONTINUED,

MALCOLM X VISITED SELMA.

I'M A FIELD NEGRO--

IF THE MASTER WON'T TREAT ME RIGHT, AND HE'S SICK, I'LL TELL THE DOCTOR TO GO THE OTHER WAY.

NOW I'M NOT INTENDING TO TRY AND STIR YOU UP, AND MAKE YOU DO SOMETHING YOU WOULDN'T HAVE DONE ANYWAY--



I PRAY THAT GOD WILL BLESS YOU IN EVERYTHING THAT YOU DO.

I PRAY THAT YOU WILL GROW INTELLECTUALLY, SO THAT YOU CAN UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD--

-- AND WHERE YOU FIT INTO THAT WORLD PICTURE.



I PRAY THAT ALL THE FEAR THAT HAS EVER BEEN IN YOUR HEART WILL BE TAKEN OUT, AND WHEN YOU LOOK AT THAT MAN OUT THERE--

--IF YOU KNOW HE'S NOTHING BUT A COWARD, YOU WON'T FEAR HIM.

THEY FUNCTION IN MOBS-- THAT'S A COWARD. THEY PUT ON A SHEET SO YOU WON'T KNOW WHO THEY ARE-- THAT'S A COWARD.

THE TIME WILL COME WHEN THAT SHEET WILL BE RIPPED OFF--

AND IF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DOESN'T TAKE IT OFF, WE'LL TAKE IT OFF.

CAN YOU TELL US WHY YOU'RE HERE TODAY?

I AM 100 PERCENT FOR ANY EFFORT PUT FORTH BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE BALLOT.

AND I FRANKLY BELIEVE THAT, SINCE THE BALLOT IS OUR RIGHT, WE ARE WITHIN THAT RIGHT TO USE WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY TO SECURE THOSE RIGHTS.

PEOPLE WOULD DO WELL TO LISTEN TO DR. KING AND GIVE HIM WHAT HE'S ASKING FOR -- AND GIVE IT TO HIM FAST -- BEFORE SOME OTHER FACTIONS COME ALONG AND TRY TO DO IT ANOTHER WAY.

WHAT HE'S ASKING FOR IS RIGHT.

ARE YOU SAYING THAT NONVIOLENCE OUGHT TO BE ABANDONED HERE IN SELMA--

DR. KING AND HIS FOLLOWERS ARE VERY INTELLIGENTLY TRYING TO IMPRESS THE PEOPLE OF THIS AREA THAT THEY SHOULD GIVE THE BLACK MAN THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

NOW, IF THOSE PEOPLE ARE NOT INTELLIGENT ENOUGH THEMSELVES TO RECOGNIZE WHAT THEY CONSIDER AN INTELLIGENT APPROACH--

--THEN I THINK THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IN THIS AREA WILL COMPEL THEM TO DEVISE ANOTHER METHOD THAT WILL GET RESULTS.



SCLC PUBLISHED DR. KING'S "A LETTER FROM A SELMA JAIL" IN THE NEW YORK TIMES. WHILE IT DIDN'T PROVOKE THE SAME PUBLIC OUTCRY AS EARLIER LETTERS, PRESIDENT JOHNSON DID ADDRESS THE EVENTS IN SELMA DURING A NATIONAL PRESS CONFERENCE.



ALL AMERICANS SHOULD BE INDIGNANT WHEN ONE AMERICAN IS DENIED THE RIGHT TO **VOTE**.

THE LOSS OF THAT RIGHT TO A SINGLE CITIZEN UNDERMINES THE FREEDOM OF EVERY CITIZEN. THIS IS WHY **ALL** OF US SHOULD BE CONCERNED WITH THE EFFORTS OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS TO REGISTER TO VOTE IN ALABAMA.

THE NEXT DAY, DR. KING WAS RELEASED FROM JAIL, AND I FLEW BACK FROM CALIFORNIA TO JOIN HIM.



WE GREETED A DELEGATION OF CONGRESSMEN WHO HAD COME TO SELMA TO SEE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT WAS HAPPENING.

MARCH
DAMMIT!

WHILE WE WEREN'T GETTING
VERY MANY PEOPLE REGISTERED,

WE WERE GETTING TO
SHERIFF CLARK.

IN WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS THE "FORCED MARCH",
CLARK AND HIS MEN MADE MORE THAN
100 STUDENTS PROTESTING AT THE COURTHOUSE
RUN ALL THE WAY TO THE COUNTY JAIL--

what, you
wanna cry now?

we gonna give
you some'a to
cry about!

WHAP!

let's go,
let's go!

KIDS AS YOUNG AS
NINE YEARS OLD.

THREE DAYS LATER,

CLARK COLLAPSED FROM
CHEST PAINS.





FEBRUARY 16, 1965.

'NEVER'

SHERIFF CLARK QUICKLY RESUMED HIS VIGIL OVER THE DALLAS COUNTY COURTHOUSE.

MOVE ALONG,
NOW-- AND TURN
THAT LIGHT OUT.

WE HAVE COME TO BE
HERE BECAUSE THEY ARE
REGISTERING AT THIS TIME.

WE ARE
NOT--

IF YOU DON'T
TURN THAT LIGHT
OUT, I'M GONNA--

You are blinding
me, and I can't
enforce the law
with that light
in my face.

WE HAVE COME TO REGISTER,
AND THIS IS OUR REASON
FOR BEING HERE.

WE ARE
NOT

YOU ARE
BLINDING ME WITH
THAT LIGHT!

--WE'RE NOT
--oof--

COME ON--

C'MON,
SHERIFF--

MOVE
BACK!!



FEBRUARY 18--
MARION, AL,
30 MILES FROM SELMA.

AFTER BEING RELEASED FROM JAIL,
C.T. VIVIAN SPOKE AT A RALLY
PROTESTING THE ARREST OF A SCLC
WORKER NAMED JAMES ORANGE.

AFTER C.T. SPOKE, HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE
WERE READY TO MARCH TO THE CITY JAIL
AND SING OUTSIDE ORANGE'S CELL.


HOLD IT--

DOZENS OF ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS
HAD BEEN SENT TO MARION AS
REINFORCEMENTS TO RESTORE "PEACE"
TO THE "SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE."

YOU MUST TURN
AROUND-- GO BACK TO YOUR
CHURCH OR TO YOUR HOME!

THIS WAS A DANGEROUS MARCH.
UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS,

TOO MANY THINGS COULD HAPPEN.



TOO MANY THINGS COULD GO UNSEEN.

FALL BACK--

EVERYBODY--
FALL BACK TO
THE CHURCH!!

PAPA!!
I GOT YOU--YOU
ALL RIGHT?!

DADDY--!

up-- let's get
up quick!

QUICK,
FOLLOW ME--

WE'LL HEAD
TO MACK'S!

MOMMA,
COME ON!



JIMMIE LEE JACKSON WAS A
26-YEAR-OLD ARMY VETERAN.



ANOTHER HALF HOUR PASSED BEFORE LOCAL POLICE
TOOK HIM TO THE COUNTY INFIRMARY.



I RECEIVED WORD THE NEXT DAY THAT
JIMMIE LEE JACKSON WAS CRITICALLY
WOUNDED, BUT STILL **ALIVE**.

HIS SHOOTING WEIGHED HEAVILY ON US ALL--



IF JIMMIE LEE JACKSON DIED, NO ONE COULD SAY WHAT WOULD HAPPEN.

TWO DAYS LATER-- MY BIRTHDAY-- I WAS ON MY WAY TO GEORGIA
TO HELP WITH SNCC VOTER REGISTRATION EFFORTS THERE.



WE HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS
THAT **MALCOLM X** HAS BEEN **ASSASSINATED**
BY A GROUP OF ARMED GUNMEN IN
NEW YORK CITY.

REPEAT--

WE HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS
THAT **MALCOLM X** HAS
BEEN ASSASSINATED BY A
GROUP OF ARMED GUNMEN
IN NEW YORK CITY. REPEAT--

I HAD MY DIFFERENCES
WITH MALCOLM,



BUT AFTER SEEING HIM IN AFRICA,
I WAS FILLED WITH GRIEF OVER WHAT
COULD HAVE BEEN FOR HIM.



HERE--AT THIS FINAL
HOUR, IN THIS QUIET PLACE--
HARLEM HAS COME TO BID
FAREWELL TO ONE OF ITS
BRIGHTEST HOPES--

EXTINGUISHED NOW, AND
GONE FROM US FOREVER.

THE ACTOR AND ACTIVIST OSSIE DAVIS
DELIVERED HIS EULOGY.

LAST YEAR, FROM AFRICA,
HE WROTE THESE WORDS
TO A FRIEND:

"My journey is almost ended, and
I have a much broader scope than
when I started out, which I believe
will add new life and dimension to
our struggle for freedom, honor,
and dignity in the states.



"I am writing these things
so that you will know for a
FACT the tremendous sympathy
and support we have among the
African states for our
human rights struggle.

"The main thing is that we
keep a united front, wherein
our most valuable time and
energy will not be wasted
fighting each other."




HOWEVER WE MAY HAVE
DIFFERED WITH HIM-- OR WITH
EACH OTHER ABOUT HIM AND
HIS VALUE AS A MAN--



Let his going from us
only serve to bring us
together,

now.



CONSIGNING THESE MORTAL
REMAINS TO EARTH, THE
COMMON MOTHER OF ALL,

SECURE IN THE KNOWLEDGE
THAT WHAT WE PLACE IN
THE GROUND IS NO MORE
NOW A MAN,

BUT A SEED--

WHICH, AFTER THE
WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT,
WILL COME FORTH AGAIN
TO MEET US.

JUST BEFORE THE SERVICE, WORD CAME
THAT JIMMIE LEE JACKSON WAS DEAD.



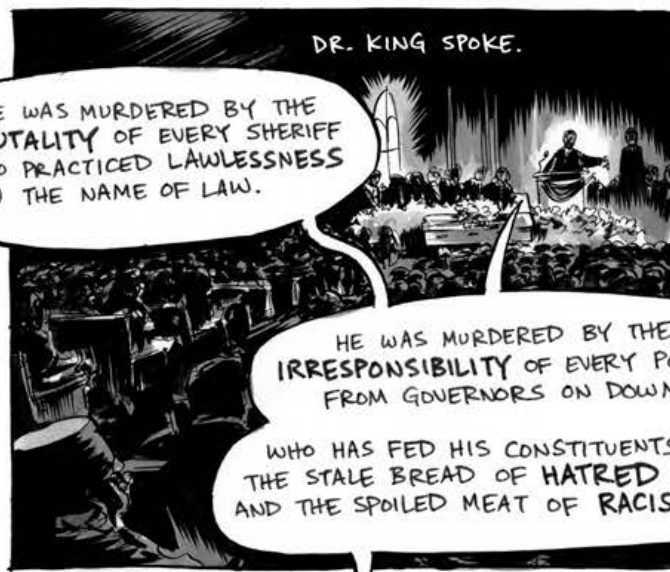
IT WAS RAINING WHEN I
GOT BACK TO ALABAMA.

A COLD, HARD WINTER RAIN THAT I'VE
REALLY ONLY FELT IN THE SOUTH.

JIMMIE LEE JACKSON'S FUNERAL
SERVICE WAS HELD ON MARCH 3rd.



HE WAS MURDERED BY THE
BRUTALITY OF EVERY SHERIFF
WHO PRACTICED LAWLESSNESS
IN THE NAME OF LAW.



DR. KING SPOKE.

HE WAS MURDERED BY THE
IRRESPONSIBILITY OF EVERY POLITICIAN,
FROM GOVERNORS ON DOWN,

WHO HAS FED HIS CONSTITUENTS
THE STALE BREAD OF HATRED
AND THE SPOILED MEAT OF RACISM.

HE WAS MURDERED BY
THE COWARDICE OF EVERY
NEGRO WHO PASSIVELY ACCEPTS
THE EVILS OF SEGREGATION,

AND WHO STANDS ON THE
SIDELINES IN THE STRUGGLE
FOR JUSTICE.



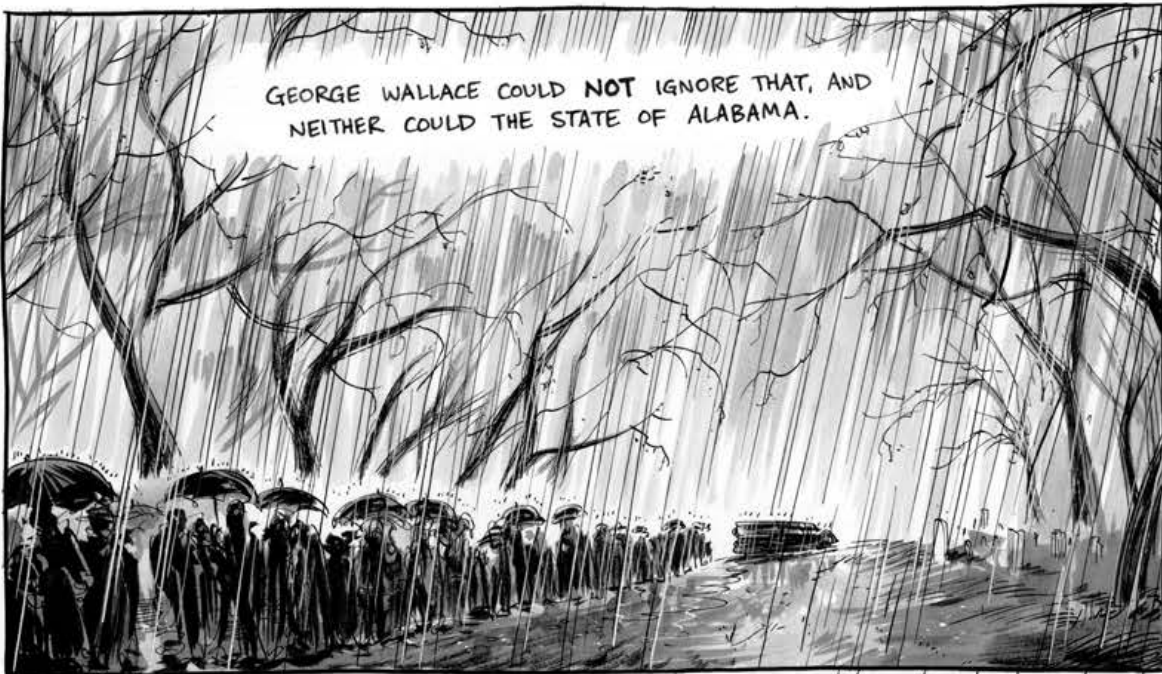
SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY,



BEVEL SUGGESTED WE TAKE HIS CASKET ALL THE WAY TO MONTGOMERY AND LAY IT ON THE CAPITOL STEPS.



GEORGE WALLACE COULD NOT IGNORE THAT, AND NEITHER COULD THE STATE OF ALABAMA.




WE BURIED JIMMIE LEE JACKSON THAT DAY,

BUT THE IDEA FOR THE SELMA-TO-MONTGOMERY MARCH WAS BORN.

WE HELD PLANNING MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS
FOR THE NEXT FOUR DAYS.

MANY SNCC MEMBERS WERE AGAINST THE IDEA OF
MARCHING FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY,

ESPECIALLY JIM FORMAN.



THEY FELT THE MARCH WOULD DO MORE FOR
DR. KING THAN IT WOULD FOR THE
PEOPLE OF SELMA.

I DISAGREED.



IT WAS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT
DECISIONS I HAD EVER DEALT WITH
SINCE BECOMING CHAIRMAN.

THE PEOPLE OF SELMA WERE HURTING.

THEY NEEDED TO MARCH.

BUT I WAS ALONE IN MY BELIEF
AMONG MY SNCC COLLEAGUES.



WHEN BEVEL FORMALLY ANNOUNCED THAT
DR. KING WOULD BE LEADING A MARCH FROM
SELMA TO MONTGOMERY ON SUNDAY,
MARCH 7TH, JIM FORMAN DRAFTED A
LETTER FROM SNCC TO DR. KING--

CARRYING MY SIGNATURE
AT THE BOTTOM.

AS CHAIRMAN, I HAD A RESPONSIBILITY AND
AN OBLIGATION TO REPRESENT SNCC'S DECISIONS.

"WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT
THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MARCH
DO NOT JUSTIFY THE DANGERS.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE STUDENT
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
WILL ONLY LIVE UP TO THOSE
MINIMAL COMMITMENTS...

SNCC WOULD HAVE NOTHING
TO DO WITH THIS MARCH--

TO PROVIDE RADIOS AND
CARS, DOCTORS AND NURSES,
AND NOTHING BEYOND THAT."

BUT IT WAS A SNCC
LETTER, NOT A JOHN
LEWIS LETTER.



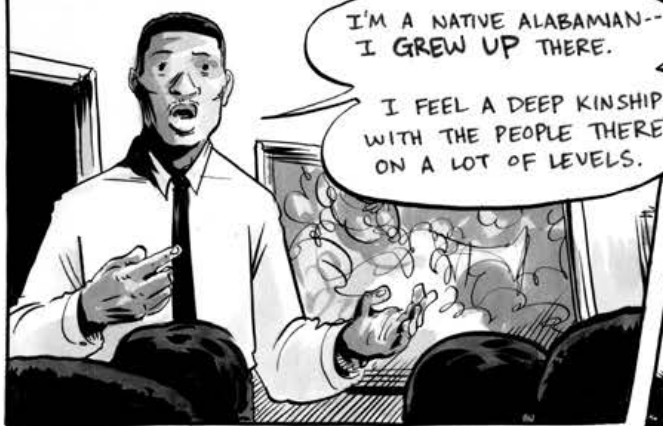
MARCH 6, 1965--

FRAZIER'S CAFÉ SOCIETY,
ATLANTA GA.



I RETURNED TO ATLANTA, WHERE I MET WITH SEVERAL OF MY SNCC COLLEAGUES IN ONE LAST ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE THEM THAT WE **SHOULD** PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH.

BUT AFTER SEVERAL HOURS OF DISCUSSION WITH MOST OF THE SNCC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, IT BECAME CLEAR I WAS THE **ONLY** PERSON ARGUING FOR US TO PARTICIPATE.



I'M A NATIVE ALABAMIAN--
I GREW UP THERE.

I FEEL A DEEP KINSHIP
WITH THE PEOPLE THERE
ON A LOT OF LEVELS.



YOU KNOW, I'VE BEEN
TO SELMA MANY, MANY
TIMES. I'VE BEEN
ARRESTED THERE.

I'VE BEEN
JAILED THERE.



IF THESE PEOPLE
WANT TO MARCH, I'M
GOING TO MARCH
WITH THEM.



YOU DECIDE WHAT
YOU WANT TO DO,

BUT I'M GOING
TO MARCH.

AND THAT WAS THAT.

IT WAS DECIDED THAT, IF I WERE
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH
FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY,

I WOULD NOT REPRESENT SNCC--



I WOULD MARCH SIMPLY AS MYSELF.



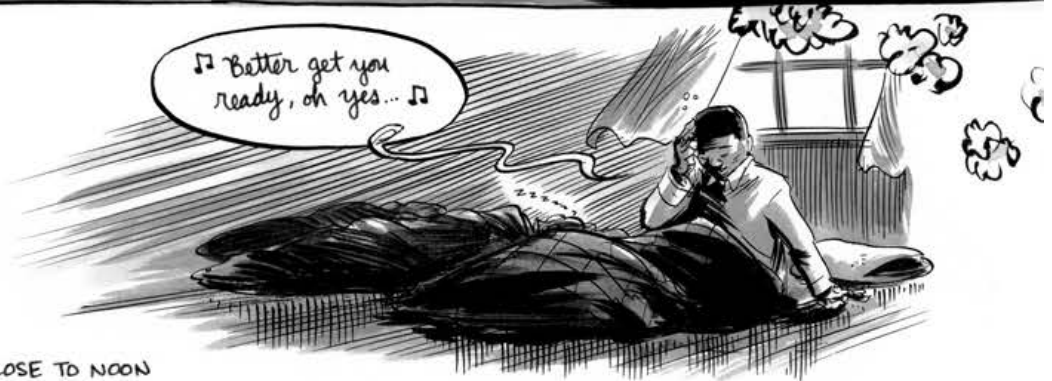
SOMETIME AFTER MIDNIGHT WE
TOOK OFF FOR SELMA, FOUR
HOURS' DRIVE AWAY.



WE ARRIVED AT THE FREEDOM HOUSE AT DAWN, THEN SLEPT FOR A FEW HOURS.



♪ Better get you
ready, oh yes... ♪

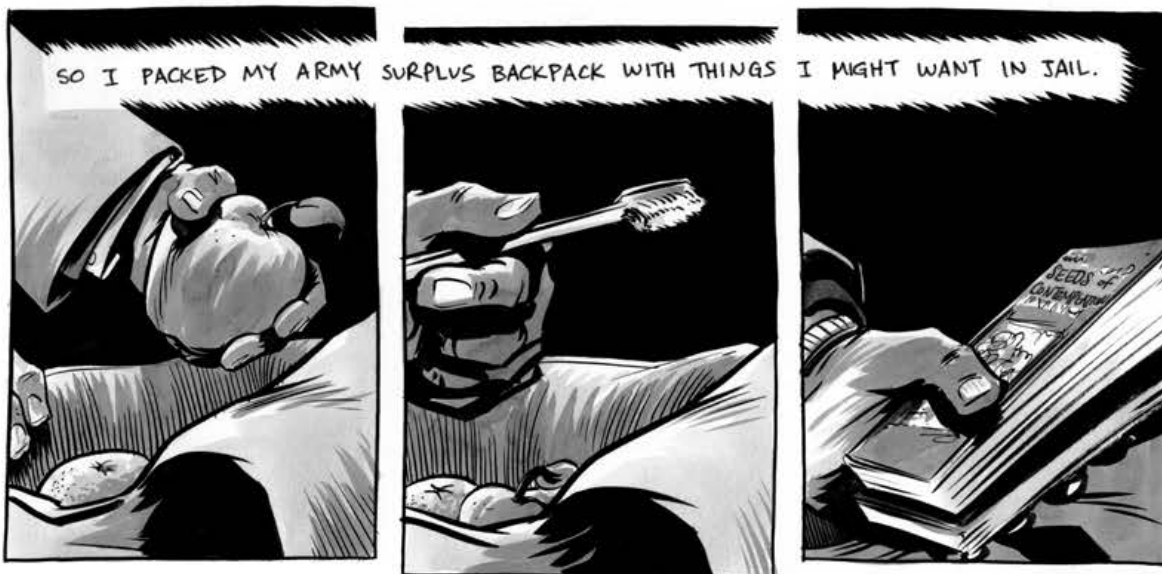


IT WAS CLOSE TO NOON
WHEN WE WOKE UP.

♪ They're comin'
through Alabama,
oh yes... ♪

♪ hoo hoo...
hoo... ♪





U.S. CAPITOL,
STATUARY HALL--

JANUARY 20, 2009--
1:17 p.m.

LADIES AND
GENTLEMEN--

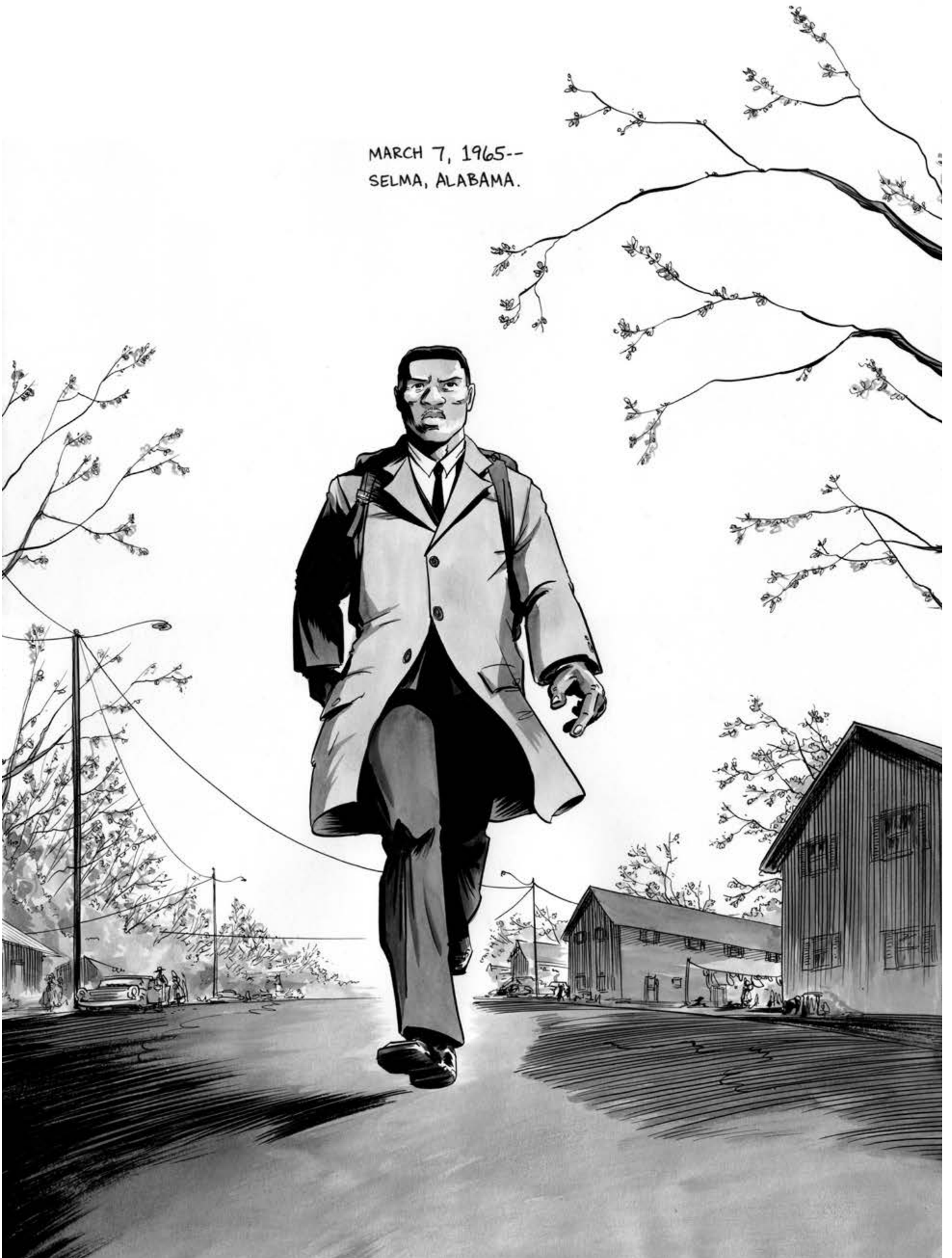
THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES!







MARCH 7, 1965--
SELMA, ALABAMA.



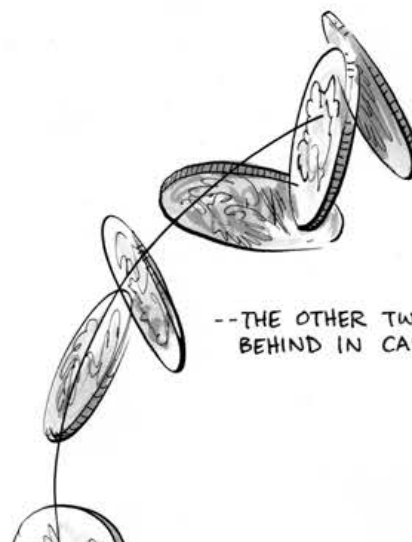




HED MISSED TOO MANY PREACHING COMMITMENTS AT HIS CHURCH IN ATLANTA, WHERE HIS FATHER WAS ILL AND NEEDED HIM TO TAKE HIS PLACE IN THE PULPIT.



ONE WOULD MARCH--





HOSEA WILLIAMS WAS THE ODD MAN OUT.



MR. LEWIS, WHY ARE YOU MARCHING TODAY?

WE ARE MARCHING TODAY TO DRAMATIZE TO THE NATION, AND TO THE WORLD, THAT HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF NEGRO CITIZENS OF ALABAMA, BUT PARTICULARLY HERE IN THE **BLACK BELT** AREA, ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

WE INTEND TO MARCH TO MONTGOMERY TO PRESENT CERTAIN GRIEVANCES TO GOVERNOR GEORGE C. WALLACE.

MR. WILLIAMS, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO IF YOU GET STOPPED?

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO IF WE GET STOPPED?

Well, I HOPE WE WON'T GET STOPPED--

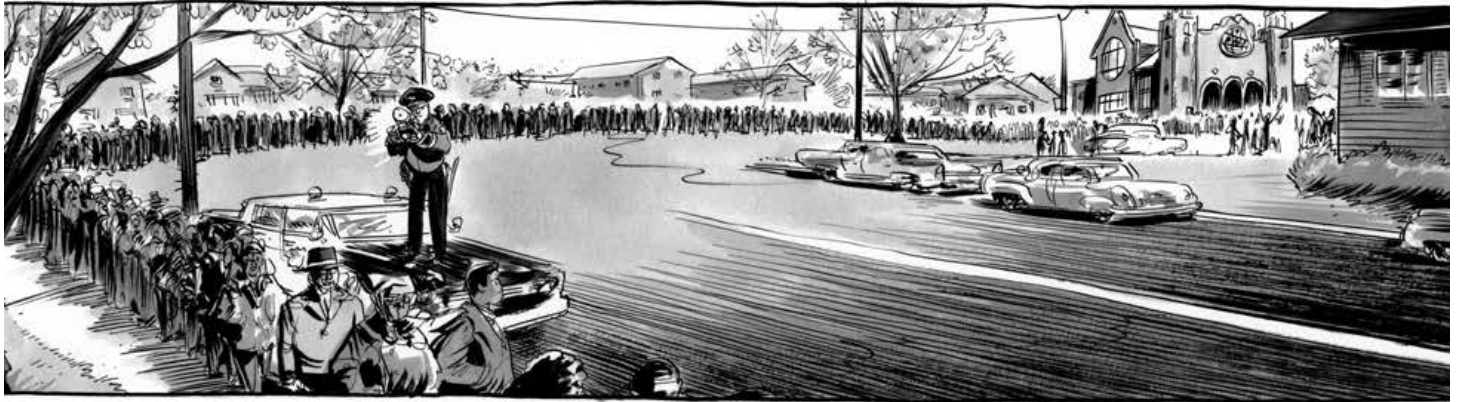
BUT IF WE DO, WE ARE GOING TO **STAND THERE** AND TRY TO **NEGOTIATE**, AND TALK THEM INTO LETTING US GO AHEAD TO MONTGOMERY.



WE PRAYED.

AND THEN WE BEGAN TO MARCH.











EEEEEE

--IT WILL BE DETRIMENTAL TO
YOUR SAFETY TO CONTINUE THIS
MARCH, AND I AM SAYING THIS IS
AN UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY--

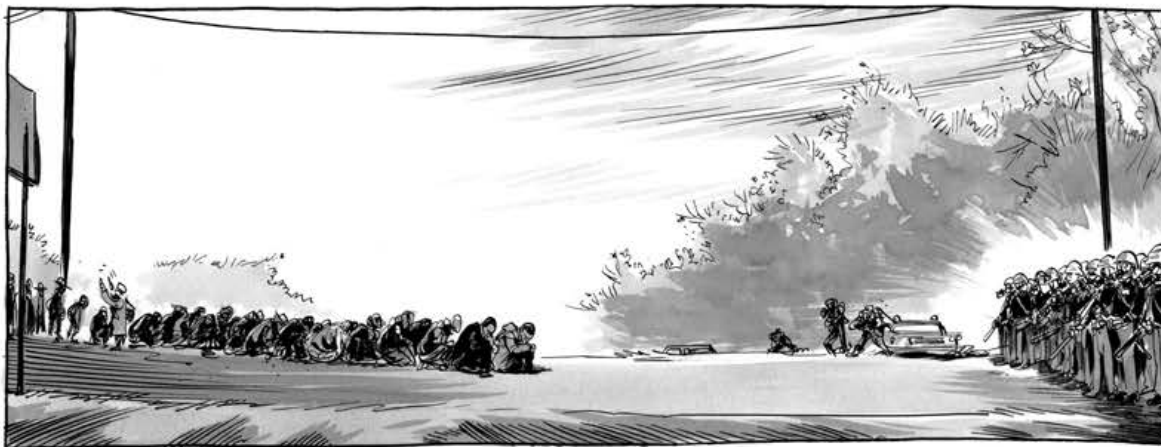
YOU ARE
ORDERED
TO DISPERSE!



GO HOME, OR TO
YOUR CHURCH.

THIS MARCH WILL
NOT CONTINUE.

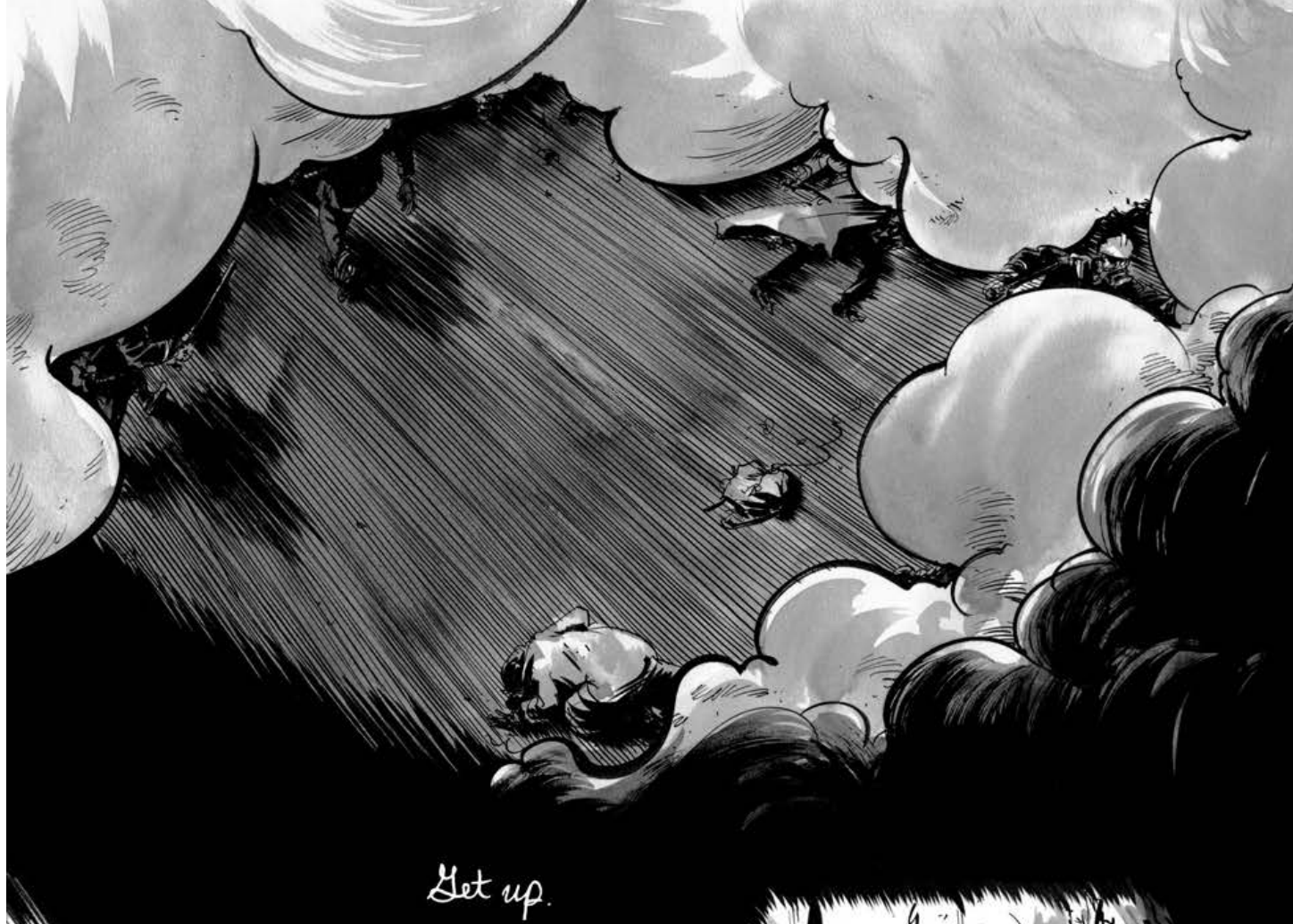








I THOUGHT I WAS GONG TO DIE.

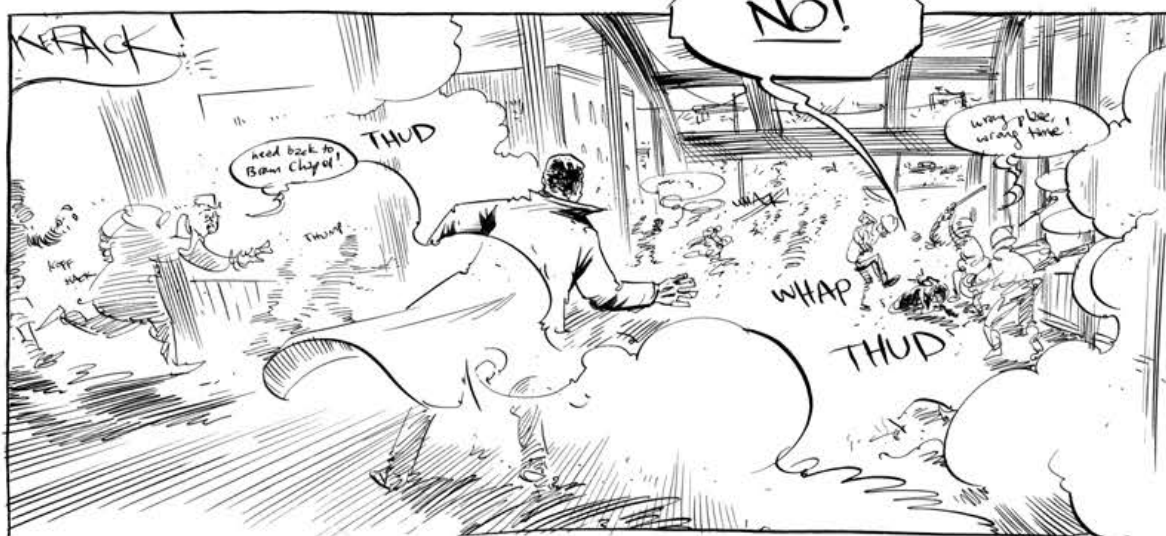
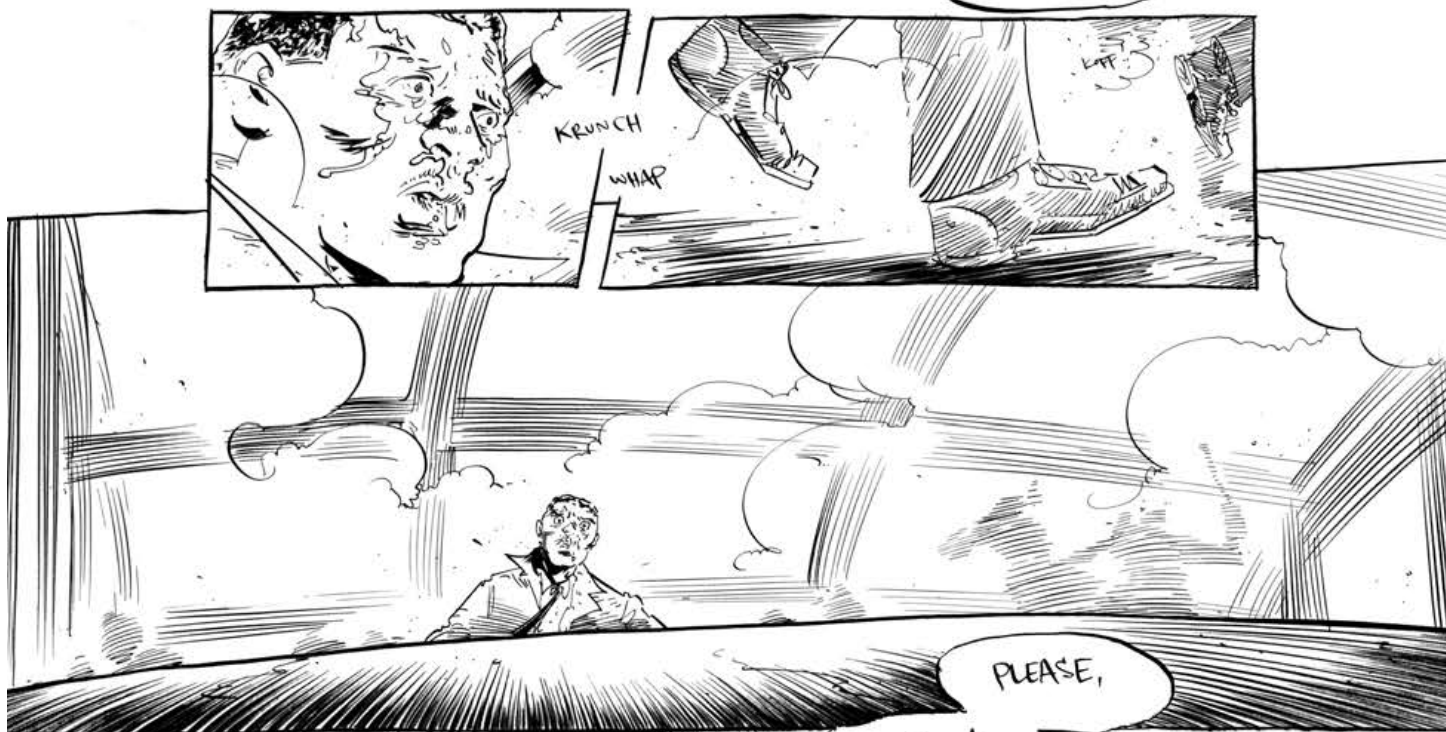
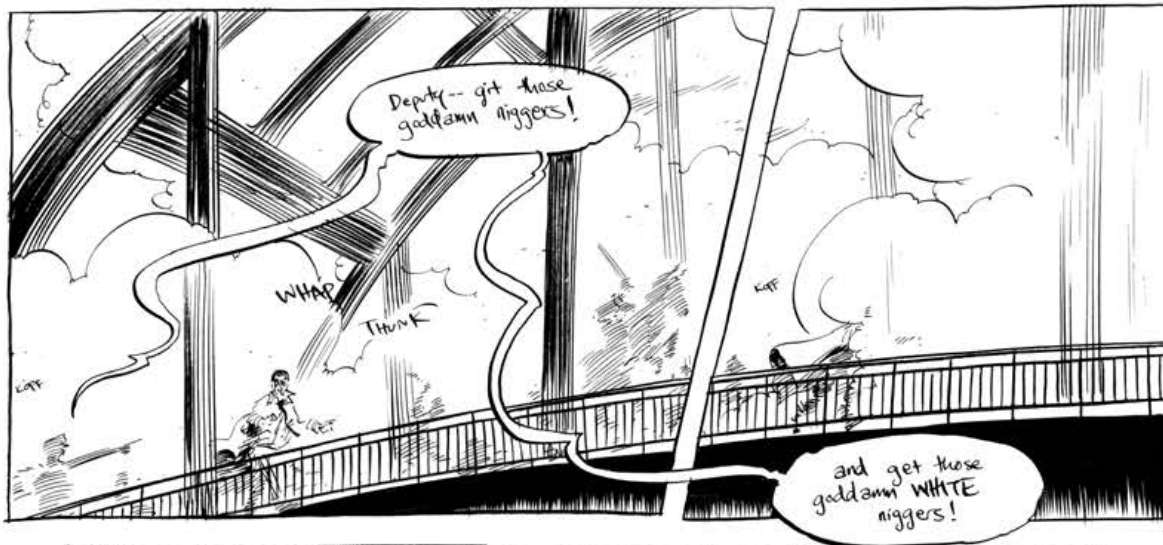


Get up.



Keep moving.









JOHN--



MY GOD,
LOOK AT YOU!

WE HAVE TO GET
YOU TO A HOSPITAL.

No.
Not yet.



Take care of
the others first.

okay everybody,
let's keep that
walkway clear!

and your
address?

Mama!

Shhhhh

It's my eyes! My eyes! My eyes! My eyes!

SOON, BROWN CHAPEL WAS FILLED FOR AN IMPROMPTU MASS MEETING.

HOSEA SPOKE FIRST, TRYING TO CALM EVERYONE'S SHAKEN NERVES.

THEN IT WAS MY TURN.

MY HEAD WAS THROBBING.

I DIDN'T HAVE ANY PREPARED REMARKS.

I JUST SPOKE FROM MY GUT.

I DON'T KNOW HOW PRESIDENT JOHNSON CAN SEND TROOPS TO VIETNAM.

I DON'T SEE HOW HE CAN SEND TROOPS TO THE CONGO.

I DON'T SEE HOW WE CAN SEND TROOPS TO AFRICA, AND HE CAN'T SEND TROOPS TO SELMA, ALABAMA.

amen--!

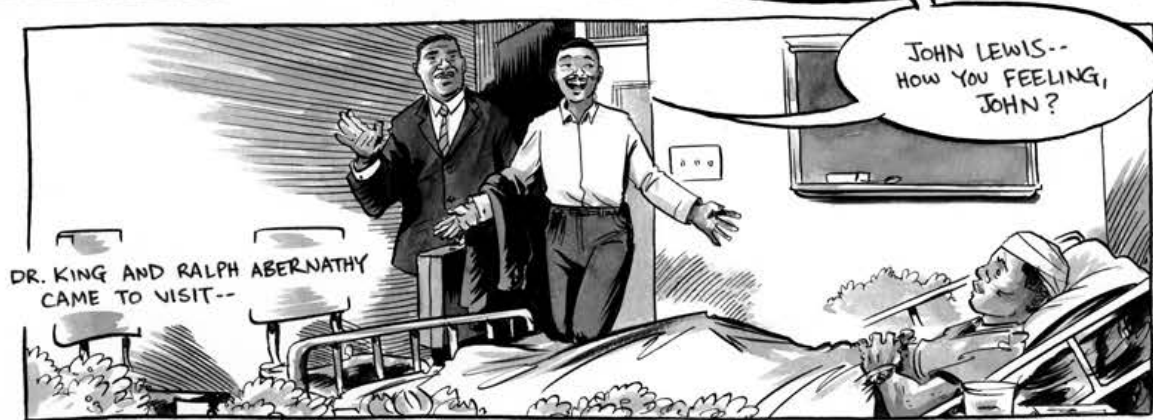
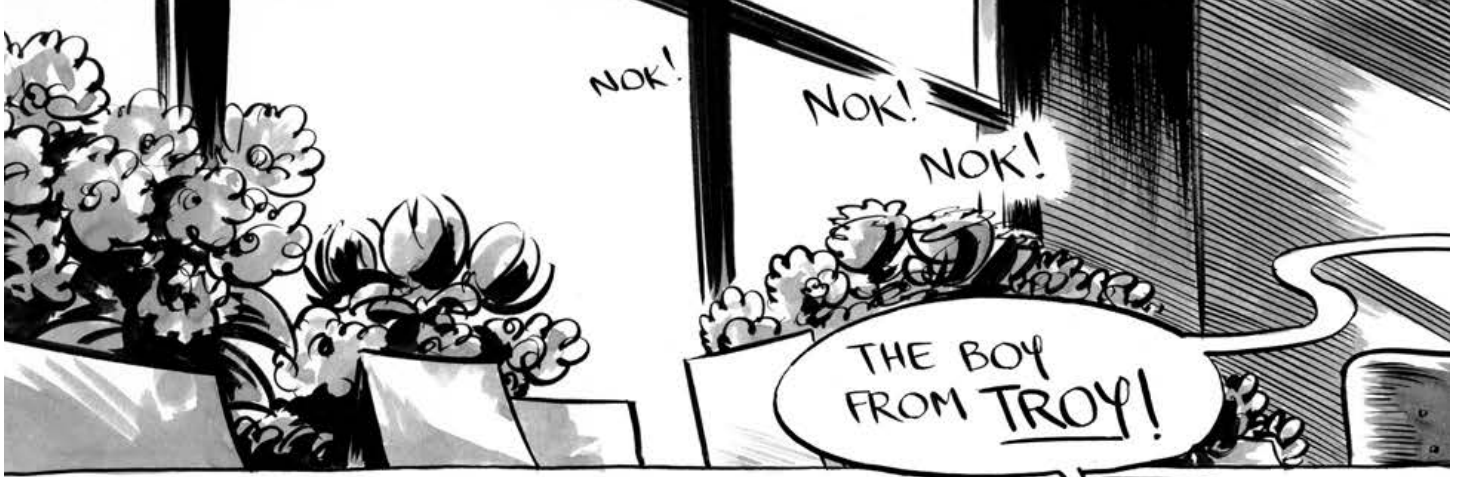
Speak it.

Make it plain!

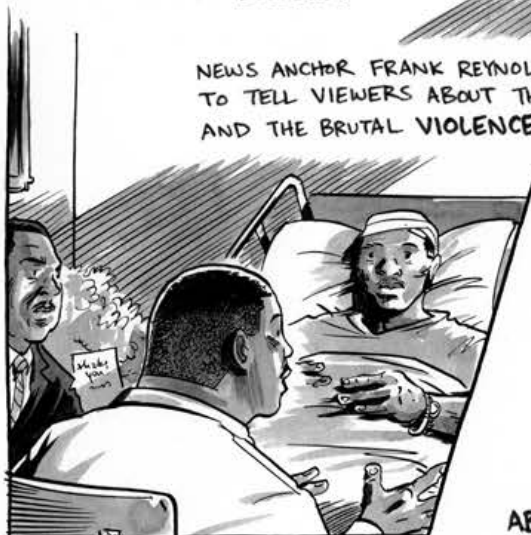
NEXT TIME WE MARCH, WE MAY HAVE TO KEEP GOING WHEN WE GET TO MONTGOMERY--

WE MAY HAVE TO GO ON TO WASHINGTON.

AFTER I SAID MY PIECE, I FINALLY AGREED TO GO TO THE HOSPITAL.



THEY TOLD ME THAT JUST PAST 9:30 THE NIGHT BEFORE, ABC CUT INTO ITS SUNDAY MOVIE-- STANLEY KRAMER'S JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG-- WITH A SPECIAL BULLETIN.




NEWS ANCHOR FRANK REYNOLDS CAME ON-SCREEN TO TELL VIEWERS ABOUT THE DAY'S MARCH, AND THE BRUTAL VIOLENCE THAT ACCOMPANIED IT.



ABC THEN SHOWED FIFTEEN MINUTES OF FILM FOOTAGE OF THE ATTACK.






SOMETHING ABOUT THAT DAY TOUCHED
A NERVE DEEPER THAN ANYTHING
THAT HAD COME BEFORE.

--git those
goddamn niggers!

And get those
goddamn **WHITE**
niggers!

PEOPLE JUST COULDN'T BELIEVE THIS
WAS HAPPENING IN AMERICA.




MARCH 7, 1965 IN SELMA, ALABAMA
QUICKLY BECAME KNOWN AS

BLOODY SUNDAY.

THE RESPONSE FROM ACROSS THE
NATION WAS IMMEDIATE.



DR. KING TOLD ME THAT THEY'D FILED A REQUEST FOR
A FEDERAL INJUNCTION TO STOP ALABAMA FROM
INTERFERING WITH THE MARCH.



HE ALSO PUT OUT A CALL FOR RELIGIOUS
LEADERS TO COME TO SELMA AND MARCH
WITH US. HUNDREDS OF MINISTERS, PRIESTS,
AND RABBIS WERE ALREADY ON THEIR WAY.



THEN JOHN DOAR FROM THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT CAME BY TO TAKE A STATEMENT FROM ME.



I DON'T KNOW WHAT IT WAS,

BUT AFTER EVERYONE HAD LEFT AND
I WAS THERE, ALONE--

I FELT SO RESTLESS, SO CUT-OFF
FROM ALL THAT I KNEW WAS HAPPENING
OUTSIDE OF THE HOSPITAL.

I WAS IN A LOT OF PAIN.

I EVEN STARTED
IMAGINING SOMEONE
SLIPPING INTO MY ROOM
TO FINISH
ME
OFF.



MARCH 9, 1965.

WHILE I WAS IN THE HOSPITAL AND SNCC AND SCLC WORKED ON THE COURTS, MORE THAN 2,000 PEOPLE ASSEMBLED IN SELMA FOR A SECOND MARCH.

BUT THERE WERE RUMORS ALL MORNING THAT THIS MARCH MIGHT NOT BE ALLOWED TO PROCEED--

THAT IS YOUR BRIDGE--

YOU GOT THE RIGHT TO MARCH ON IT!

THAT DIDN'T SIT WELL WITH WILLIE RICKS, A SNCC ORGANIZER FROM TENNESSEE.

IF SHERIFF CLARK SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE Y'ALL GONNA DO?

WE'RE GONNA MARCH!

IF GEORGE WALLACE SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE Y'ALL GONNA DO?

WE'RE GONNA MARCH!

IF JUDGE JOHNSON SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE Y'ALL GONNA DO?

WE'RE GONNA MARCH!

IF JUDGE HARE SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE Y'ALL GONNA DO?

WE'RE GONNA MARCH!

IF YOUR MOMMA SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE YOU GONNA DO?

WE'RE GONNA MARCH!

IF THE NAACP SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE Y'ALL GONNA DO?

WE'RE GONNA MARCH!

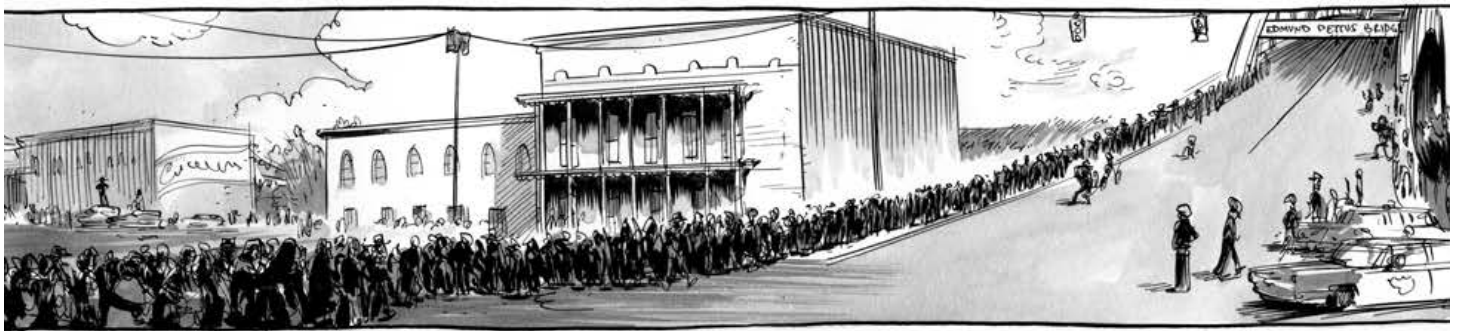
IF MARTIN LUTHER KING SAYS "DON'T MARCH," WHAT'RE Y'ALL GONNA DO--?

WORRIED THAT THINGS MIGHT GET OUT OF HAND, ANDY YOUNG HURRIED TO RESTORE ORDER BEFORE DR. KING BEGAN THE MARCH.

FINALLY, THEY SET OUT.

IF YOU CAN'T BE NONVIOLENT,
DON'T GET IN HERE.

IF YOU CAN'T ACCEPT
BLOWS WITHOUT
RETLIATING,
DON'T GET
IN THE LINE.





WE SHALL ♪
OVERCOME,
♪

WE SHALL OVERCOME,
WE SHALL OVERCOME
♪ SOMEDAY--

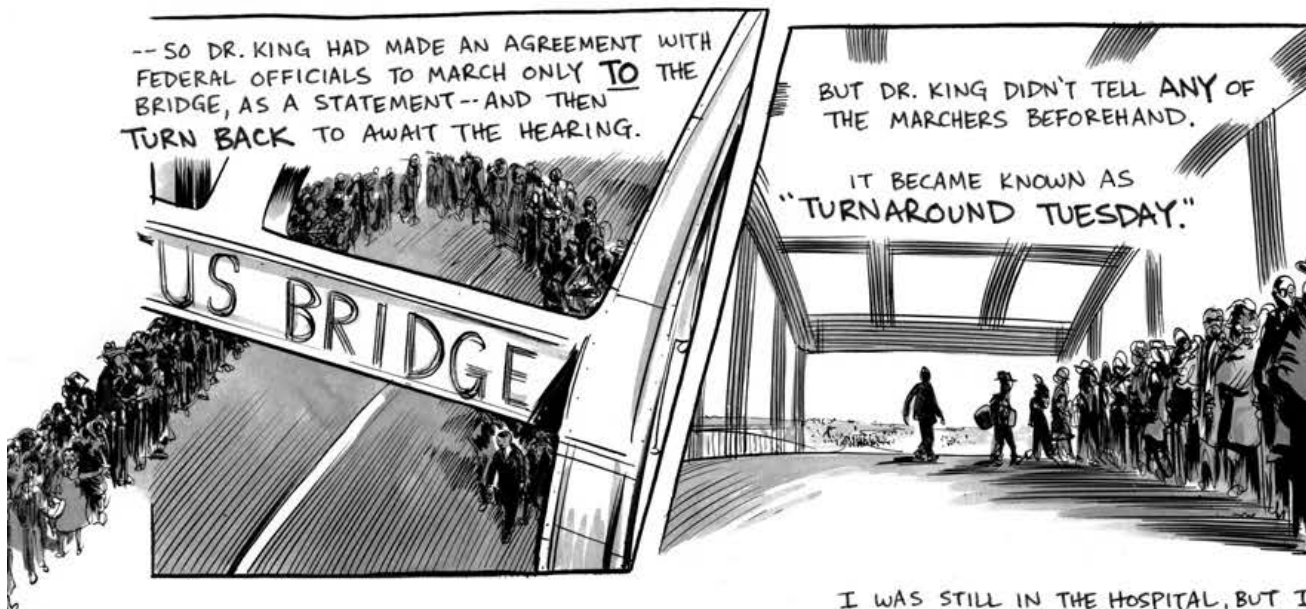
♪ oh DEEP IN
MY HEART ♪

♪ I DO ♪
BELIEVE



WE SHALL OVERCOME
♪ SOMEDAY ♪





I WAS RELEASED FROM THE HOSPITAL
THAT TUESDAY NIGHT.



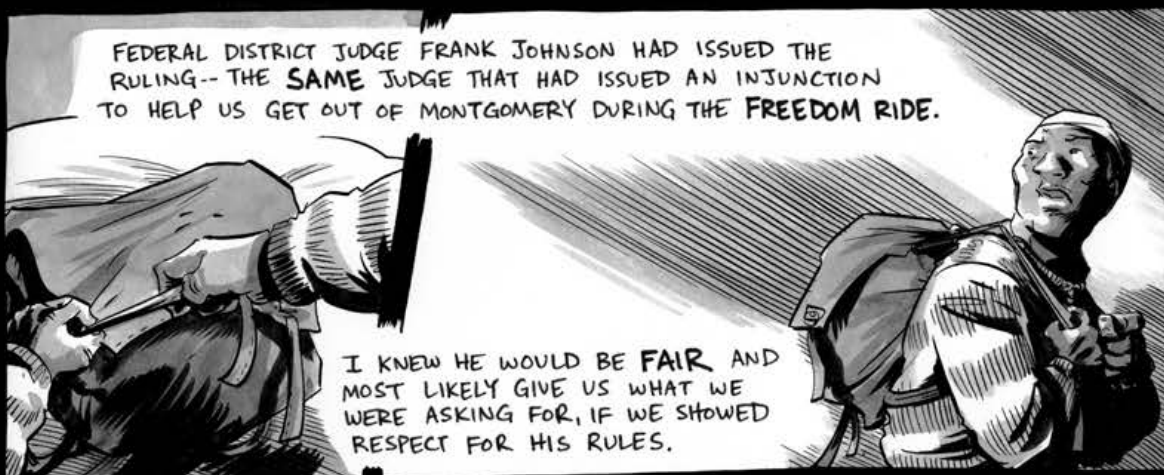
I WAS STILL IN A LOT OF PAIN--
MY HEAD WAS POUNDING.

I HAD NO PROBLEM WITH WHAT DR. KING
DID. I THOUGHT IT WAS IN KEEPING
WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE MOVEMENT.

THERE COMES A TIME WHEN YOU
MUST RETREAT, AND COME BACK
TO FIGHT ANOTHER DAY.



FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE FRANK JOHNSON HAD ISSUED THE
RULING-- THE **SAME** JUDGE THAT HAD ISSUED AN INJUNCTION
TO HELP US GET OUT OF MONTGOMERY DURING THE **FREEDOM RIDE**.



I KNEW HE WOULD BE **FAIR** AND
MOST LIKELY GIVE US WHAT WE
WERE ASKING FOR, IF WE SHOWED
RESPECT FOR HIS RULES.

BUT MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES IN **SNCC**
DISAGREED WITH ME. THEY WERE SICK
OF RULES AND PROCEDURES.



MORE AND MORE, THEY WERE
BECOMING SICK OF ME.



AFTER THAT NIGHT'S RALLY,
THREE UNITARIAN MINISTERS--

JAMES REEB, ORLOFF MILLER, AND CLARK OLSEN--

GOT TURNED AROUND ON THEIR
WAY HOME FROM DINNER,

AND ENDED UP NEAR A
NOTORIOUS HANGOUT FOR KLANSMEN.

HEY, YOU
NIGGERS--!

WHAP

THUMP

Now you know what
it's like to be a
REAL nigger.

haw!

JAMES REEB TOOK THE WORST OF IT, AND IT DIDN'T LOOK LIKE HE WOULD SURVIVE.

NEWS OF HIS BRUTAL ASSAULT DOMINATED HEADLINES AS I WENT TO MONTGOMERY, APPEARING AT JUDGE JOHNSON'S HEARING, WHICH DR. KING HAD AGREED TO WAIT FOR--



AND THEN ATTEMPTED TO GET UP, AND WERE HIT AGAIN?



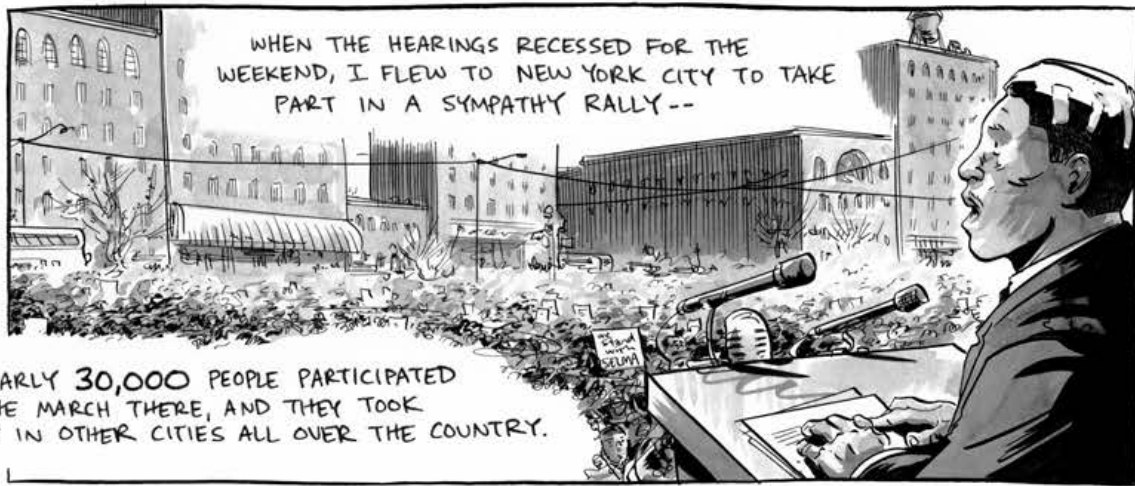
THE HEARINGS WENT ON FOR SEVERAL DAYS, AND MORE THAN A DOZEN WITNESSES WERE CALLED--



-- INCLUDING FBI AGENTS WHO WITNESSED THE ATTACK, AND EVEN COLONEL AL LINGO OF THE ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS.



THOUGH LINGO DIDN'T COME OUT AND SAY IT THAT DAY, IT WAS EASY TO INFER THAT THE STATE TROOPERS' ORDERS HAD COME DIRECTLY FROM GEORGE WALLACE.



WHEN THE HEARINGS RECESSED FOR THE WEEKEND, I FLEW TO NEW YORK CITY TO TAKE PART IN A SYMPATHY RALLY--

-- NEARLY 30,000 PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN THE MARCH THERE, AND THEY TOOK PLACE IN OTHER CITIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.

MORE THAN 15,000 PEOPLE TURNED OUT IN WASHINGTON, D.C. TO HEAR FANNIE LOU HAMER.



IT'S TIME NOW TO STOP BEGGING THEM FOR WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE 100 YEARS AGO!

WE HAVE STOOD UP ON OUR FEET, AND GOD KNOWS WE'RE ON OUR WAY!



ACROSS THE STREET, GEORGE WALLACE MET WITH
PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE
HIM TO **STOP** THE SELMA MARCH.



UNFORTUNATELY FOR WALLACE, HIS PLEAS **BACKFIRED**.



THE EVENTS OF LAST SUNDAY CANNOT
AND WILL NOT BE REPEATED, BUT THE
DEMONSTRATIONS IN SELMA HAVE
A MUCH **LARGER** MEANING--

THEY ARE A PROTEST AGAINST
A **DEEP** AND VERY **UNJUST** FLAW
IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
ITSELF.

NINETY-FIVE YEARS AGO, OUR CONSTITUTION
WAS **AMENDED** TO REQUIRE THAT NO
AMERICAN BE DENIED THE **RIGHT TO**
VOTE BECAUSE OF RACE OR COLOR.

ALMOST A CENTURY LATER,
MANY AMERICANS ARE **KEPT** FROM
VOTING, SIMPLY BECAUSE
THEY ARE **NEGROES.**

THEREFORE--

THIS MONDAY, I
WILL SEND TO THE
CONGRESS A REQUEST
FOR **LEGISLATION** TO
CARRY OUT THIS
AMENDMENT OF THE
CONSTITUTION.



WHEREVER THERE IS DISCRIMINATION,
THIS LAW WILL STRIKE DOWN **ALL**
RESTRICTIONS USED TO DENY PEOPLE
THE RIGHT TO VOTE...

IF STATE OFFICIALS REFUSE
TO COOPERATE, THEN CITIZENS
WILL BE REGISTERED BY
FEDERAL OFFICIALS.

"PLOK"

MONDAY EVENING, DR. KING AND I RETURNED TO
SELMA TO WATCH THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN THE
HOME OF DR. JACKSON, THE TOWN DENTIST.

I SPEAK TONIGHT FOR
THE DIGNITY OF MAN AND THE
DESTINY OF DEMOCRACY.


AT TIMES, HISTORY AND FATE MEET
AT A SINGLE TIME, IN A SINGLE PLACE,
TO SHAPE A TURNING POINT IN MAN'S
UNENDING SEARCH FOR FREEDOM.

SO IT WAS AT LEXINGTON
AND CONCORD. SO IT WAS
A CENTURY AGO AT
APPOMATTOX--

SO IT WAS LAST WEEK
IN SELMA, ALABAMA.

THERE, LONG-SUFFERING
MEN AND WOMEN PEACEFULLY
PROTESTED THE DENIAL
OF THEIR RIGHTS AS
AMERICANS. MANY OF THEM
WERE BRUTALLY ASSAULTED.

ONE GOOD MAN--
A MAN OF GOD--
WAS KILLED.



BUT THERE IS CAUSE FOR HOPE--AND FOR FAITH IN OUR DEMOCRACY-- IN WHAT IS HAPPENING HERE TONIGHT.

FOR THE CRIES OF PAIN, AND THE HYMNS AND PROTESTS OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE HAVE SUMMONED INTO CONVOCAION ALL THE MAJESTY OF THIS GREAT GOVERNMENT.

IN OUR TIME, WE HAVE COME TO LIVE WITH THE MOMENTS OF GREAT CRISIS.

OUR LIVES HAVE BEEN MARKED WITH DEBATE ABOUT GREAT ISSUES, ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE, ISSUES OF PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION. BUT RARELY IN ANY TIME DOES AN ISSUE LAY BARE THE SECRET HEART OF AMERICA ITSELF.

THE ISSUE OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR AMERICAN NEGROES IS SUCH AN ISSUE. AND SHOULD WE DEFEAT EVERY ENEMY, AND SHOULD WE DOUBLE OUR WEALTH AND CONQUER THE STARS, AND STILL BE UNEQUAL TO THIS ISSUE--

--THEN WE WILL HAVE FAILED AS A PEOPLE, AND AS A NATION.

FOR, WITH A COUNTRY AS WITH A PERSON, "WHAT IS A MAN PROFITED IF HE SHALL GAIN THE WHOLE WORLD, AND LOSE HIS OWN SOUL?"

THERE IS NO NEGRO PROBLEM.

THERE IS NO SOUTHERN PROBLEM. THERE IS NO NORTHERN PROBLEM.

THERE IS ONLY AN AMERICAN PROBLEM.

BUT EVEN IF WE PASS THIS BILL, THE BATTLE WILL NOT BE OVER. WHAT HAPPENED IN SELMA IS PART OF A FAR LARGER MOVEMENT, WHICH REACHES INTO EVERY SECTION AND STATE OF AMERICA.

IT IS THE EFFORT OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO SECURE FOR THEMSELVES THE FULL BLESSINGS OF AMERICAN LIFE.

THEIR CAUSE MUST BE OUR CAUSE, TOO.

BECAUSE IT'S NOT JUST NEGROES, BUT REALLY IT'S ALL OF US, WHO MUST OVERCOME THE CRIPPLING LEGACY OF BIGOTRY AND INJUSTICE --

AND WE SHALL OVERCOME.

IT WAS ONE OF THE MOST MOVING SPEECHES I HAVE EVER HEARD AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT GIVE ON CIVIL RIGHTS.



MARCH 16, 1965.
BEULAH BAPTIST CHURCH-- MONTGOMERY, AL.

NOT EVERYONE WAS AS MOVED
AS I WAS BY THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

THERE'S ONLY
ONE MAN IN THE
COUNTRY WHO CAN
STOP GEORGE WALLACE
AND THOSE
POSSES.

THESE PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE
SOLVED UNTIL THE MAN IN THAT
SHAGGEDY OLD PLACE CALLED THE
WHITE HOUSE BEGINS TO SHAKE, AND
GETS ON THE PHONE AND SAYS,

"NOW LISTEN, GEORGE, WE'RE
COMING DOWN THERE AND THROW
YOU IN JAIL IF YOU DON'T
STOP THAT MESS."

I SAID IT TODAY,
AND I'LL SAY IT AGAIN--

IF WE CAN'T SIT AT THE TABLE
OF DEMOCRACY, WE'LL KNOCK
THE FUCKING LEGS OFF.

THEY WERE SHOCKED.

I WAS NOT.

I'D HEARD FORMAN USE THAT KIND OF
LANGUAGE MANY TIMES AT SNCC
MEETINGS. BUT IT WAS NOT THE
LANGUAGE, OR THE MESSAGE,
OF NONVIOLENCE.

excuse me.

IT POINTED DOWN A ROAD WHERE
SNCC WAS HEADED THAT I KNEW
I WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO TRAVEL.

what?

the
NERVE

excuse
me

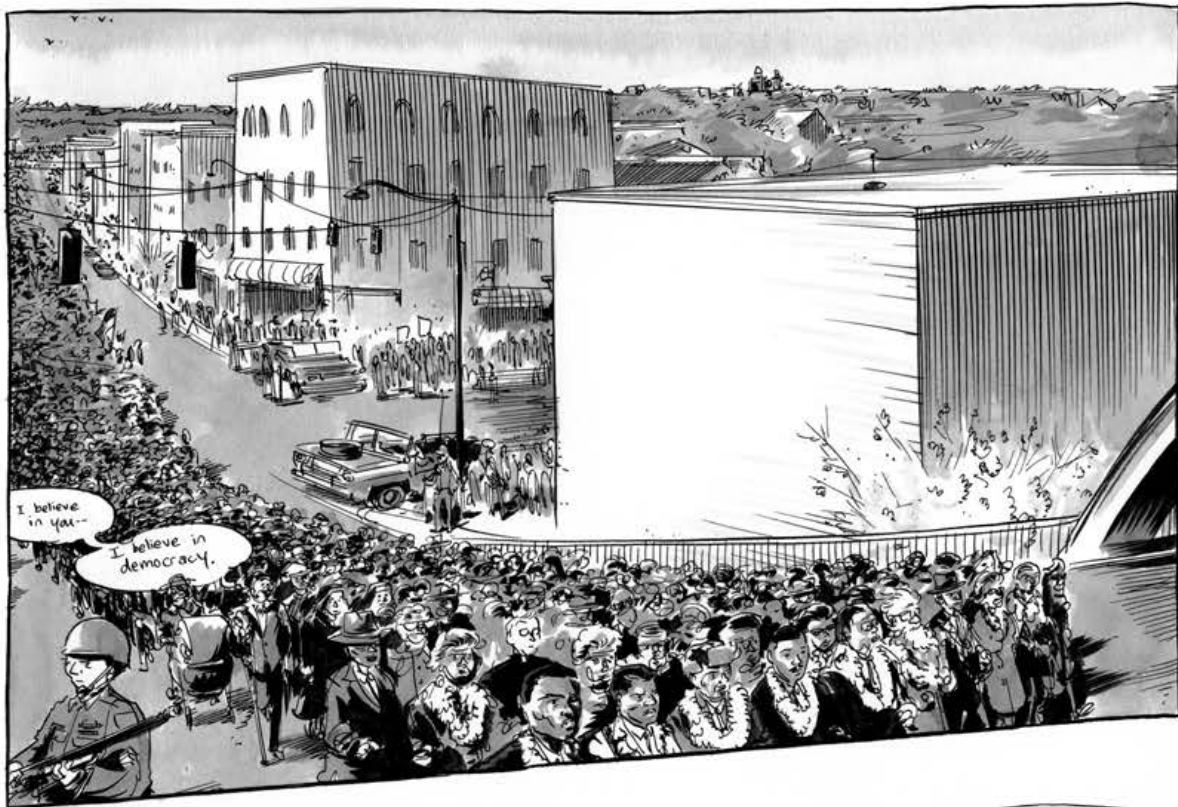


MARCH 21ST. -
SELMA, ALABAMA.



AT THE FRONT OF THE MARCH, IT FELT
LIKE EVERYONE WAS THERE.







WE COVERED SEVEN MILES THE FIRST DAY.



THAT NIGHT, THE MARCHERS MADE THE MOST OF THEIR EVENING TOGETHER. I WOULD WALK THE ENTIRE 54-MILE ROUTE, BUT I HAD TO SPEND EACH NIGHT BACK IN SELMA, WITH A DOCTOR NEARBY IN CASE SOMETHING WENT WRONG WITH MY HEAD.

WE COVERED 16 MILES THE NEXT DAY.

IT WAS A MARVEL OF ORGANIZING, KEEPING EVERYONE TOGETHER, PROPERLY FED, AND SAFE.

PICK 'EM UP AND
LAY 'EM DOWN,

ON TUESDAY, THE WEATHER WAS MISERABLE
BUT NO ONE COMPLAINED.

NO ONE FELL BACK.

WE COVERED ELEVEN
MILES THAT DAY.

ALL THE WAY FROM SELMA
TOWN

SOMETIMES WHEN WE'D STOP TO REGROUP, REPORTERS WOULD ASK ME HOW I WAS FEELING OR WHAT I THOUGHT OF SOME PARTICULAR RESPONSE TO THE MARCH.

JOHN-- WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE ALABAMA STATE LEGISLATURE, ACCUSING THE MARCHERS OF "FORNICATION" IN THEIR TENTS?

ALL THESE SEGREGATIONISTS CAN THINK OF IS FORNICATION-- AND THAT IS WHY WE HAVE SO MANY DIFFERENT SHADES OF NEGROES.



WE COVERED 16 MORE MILES THE NEXT DAY,

MAKING CAMP JUST A FEW MILES
FROM THE STATE CAPITOL.



AS NIGHT FELL,

THE SCENE TURNED INTO A
CELEBRATION--A FESTIVAL.

HARRY BELAFONTE ORGANIZED
A CONCERT WITH DOZENS
OF CELEBRITIES AND
ENTERTAINERS--

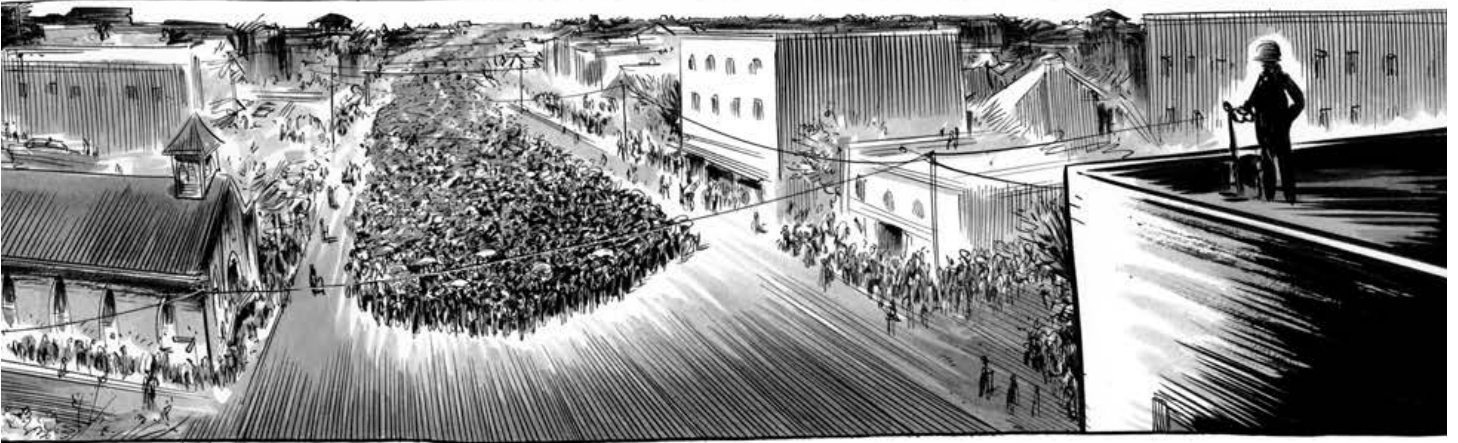


NINA SIMONE, TONY BENNETT,
SAMMY DAVIS JR., BILLY ECKSTINE,
LEONARD BERNSTEIN, JOAN BAEZ,
AND PETER, PAUL, AND MARY.
IT WAS A SPECTACLE --

A SALUTE TO SELMA.

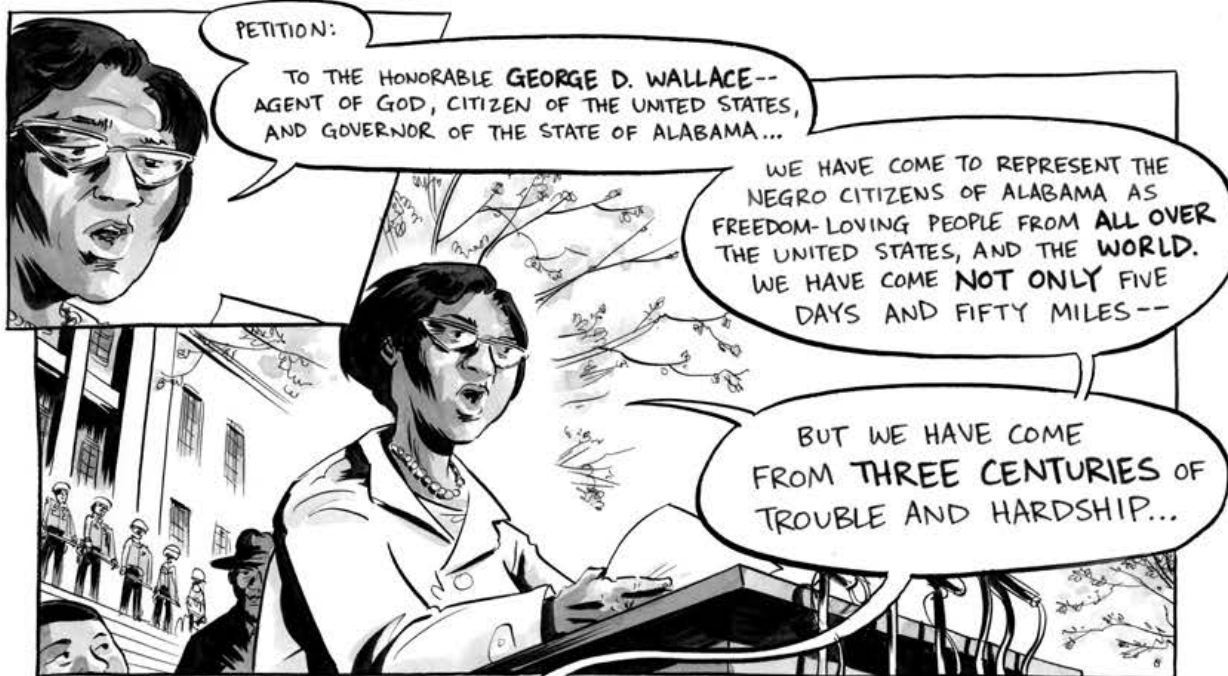


MARCH 25th
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA



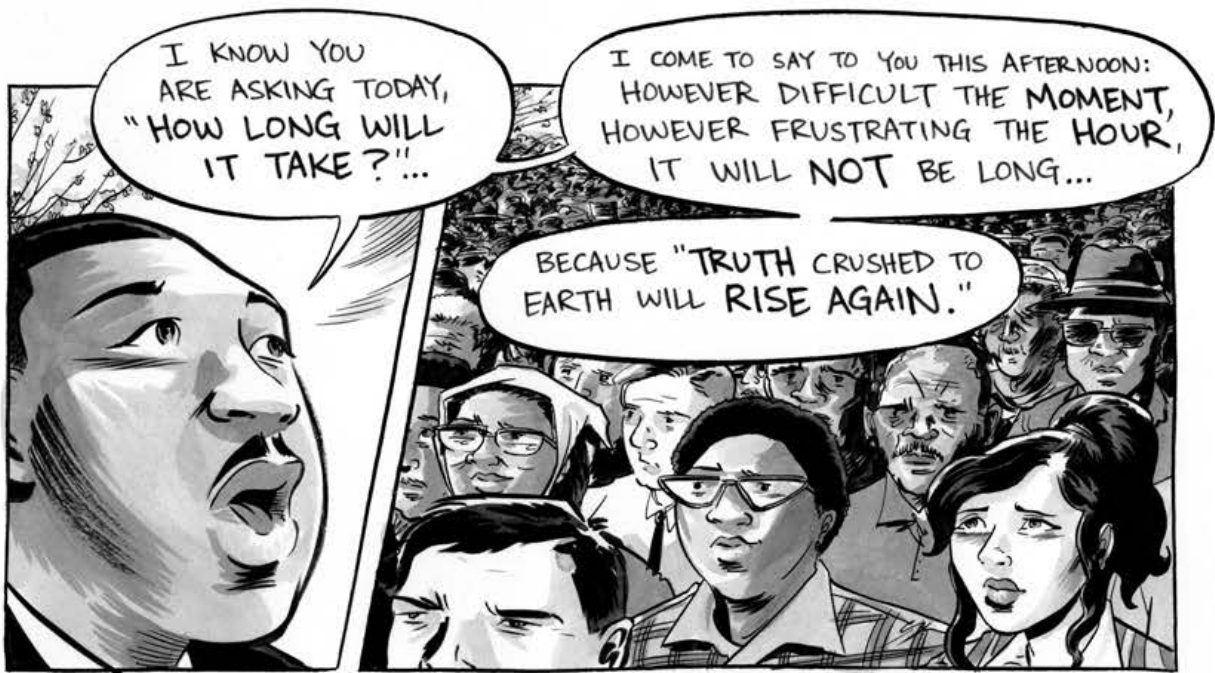


FOR THE FINAL RALLY, RALPH ABERNATHY MANAGED THE PLATFORM.









NONE OF IT STOPPED.

VIOLA LIUZZO WAS A 39-YEAR-OLD MOTHER FROM DETROIT
WHO HAD COME TO ALABAMA AFTER BLOODY SUNDAY.

AFTER THE RALLY AT THE CAPITOL, SHE AND LEROY MOTON,
A 19-YEAR-OLD ACTIVIST FROM DALLAS COUNTY, BEGAN
SHUTTLING VOLUNTEERS BACK TO SELMA.

ON THEIR WAY BACK TO MONTGOMERY TO PICK
UP ANOTHER CARLOAD OF VOLUNTEERS, THEY
REALIZED THEY WERE BEING FOLLOWED.

THE PURSUERS PULLED UP ALONGSIDE LIUZZO'S DRIVER-SIDE WINDOW

AND FIRED A SINGLE SHOT INTO HER HEAD,
KILLING HER.



FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS AFTER THAT DAY,
ON **AUGUST 6th**,

AFTER A LONG JOURNEY THROUGH BOTH
HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

THE **1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT** WAS
SIGNED INTO LAW BY PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON.



I WAS INVITED TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH THE PRESIDENT IN THE OVAL OFFICE THE MORNING BEFORE THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT'S SIGNING CEREMONY--



THIS WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE SINCE THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON,



AND MY FIRST ONE-ON-ONE VISIT WITH A PRESIDENT.



JOHNSON DOMINATED THE CONVERSATION FOR ABOUT 20 MINUTES.

NOW JOHN, YOU GOTTA GO BACK AND GET ALL THOSE FOLKS REGISTERED--



AND YOU GOTTA GO BACK AND GET THOSE BOYS BY THE BALLS.

JUST LIKE A BULL GETS ON TOP OF A COW.



YOU'VE GOTTA GET 'EM BY THE BALLS AND YOU GOTTA SQUEEZE--

SQUEEZE 'EM TILL THEY HURT.



AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY THAT AFTERNOON IN
THE CAPITOL-- IN THE SHADOW OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN--
I FELT DIFFERENT. I WAS DEEPLY MOVED, YES--

BUT I FELT SOMETHING CHANGE,
SOMETHING SHIFT.

TODAY IS A TRIUMPH FOR
FREEDOM AS HUGE AS ANY VICTORY
THAT HAS EVER BEEN WON ON
ANY BATTLEFIELD...

TODAY, THE NEGRO STORY
AND THE AMERICAN STORY
FUSE AND BIND.

THIS LAW COVERS MANY
PAGES. BUT THE HEART
OF THE LAW IS PLAIN--

WHEREVER, BY CLEAR AND OBJECTIVE
STANDARDS, STATES AND COUNTIES ARE
USING REGULATIONS, OR LAWS, OR TESTS TO
DENY THE RIGHT TO VOTE, THEN THEY
WILL BE STRUCK DOWN.

IF IT IS CLEAR THAT STATE OFFICIALS
STILL INTEND TO DISCRIMINATE, THEN FEDERAL
EXAMINERS WILL BE SENT IN TO REGISTER
ALL ELIGIBLE VOTERS...

IF ANY COUNTY IN THIS NATION
DOES NOT WANT FEDERAL INTERVENTION,
IT NEED ONLY OPEN ITS POLLING PLACES
TO ALL OF ITS PEOPLE.

THE VOTE IS THE MOST POWERFUL INSTRUMENT EVER DEVISED BY MAN FOR BREAKING
DOWN INJUSTICE AND DESTROYING THE TERRIBLE WALLS WHICH IMPRISON MEN
BECAUSE THEY ARE DIFFERENT FROM OTHER MEN.

TODAY, WHAT IS PERHAPS
THE LAST OF THE LEGAL
BARRIERS IS TUMBLING.

THERE WILL BE MANY
ACTIONS, AND MANY
DIFFICULTIES, BEFORE
THE RIGHTS WOVEN
INTO LAW ARE ALSO
WOVEN INTO THE FABRIC
OF OUR NATION--

BUT THE STRUGGLE FOR
EQUALITY MUST NOW MOVE
TOWARD A DIFFERENT
BATTLEFIELD.



THAT DAY WAS THE END OF A VERY LONG ROAD.



IT WAS THE LAST DAY OF THE
MOVEMENT AS I KNEW IT.





28 VOICE MAILS

JAN 20 6:12

Boop

Hi, John-- it's Ted Kennedy calling. I know it's early, but I was up. Couldn't sleep.

I was thinking of you.

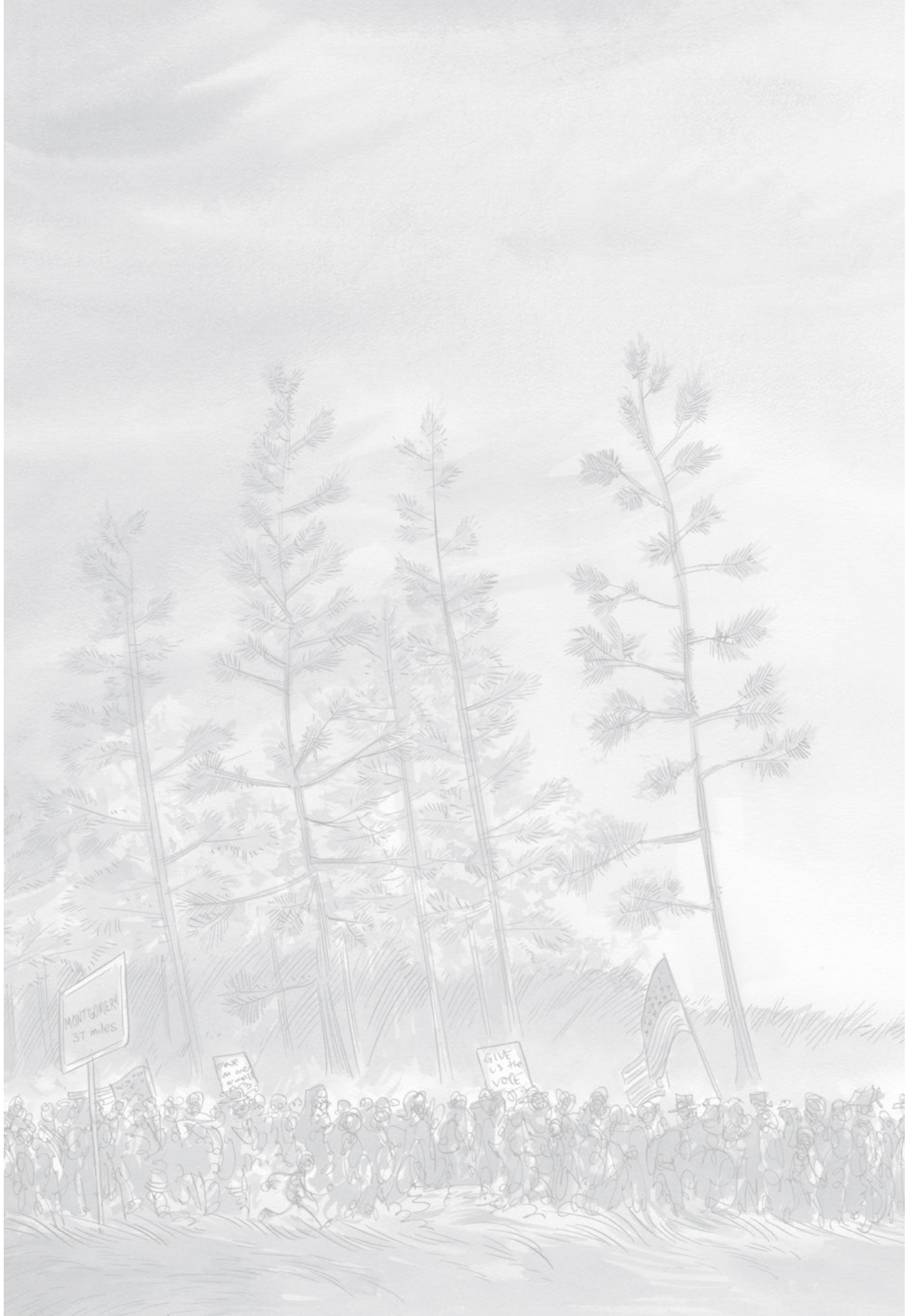
I was thinking of you and Martin.

I was thinking about the years of work, the bloodshed... the people who didn't live to see this day.

I was thinking about Jack and Bobby...







ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to Andrew Aydin and Nate Powell for their hard work, persistence, and commitment to making it real, making it plain, and telling the whole truth. I am also grateful to Leigh Walton for his work editing this book. And I want to thank IDW and Top Shelf for their openness, their support, and their powerful work.

John Lewis

I will forever be indebted to my mom for the opportunities in my life that her hard work and sacrifice made possible. I am more than grateful to John Lewis, whose trust, faith, and friendship have filled my life with purpose. I am in awe of Nate Powell's talent and grateful to have worked with him. I am deeply appreciative of Sara for her patience and support, Vaughn for his guidance and friendship, and Dom for reminding me to have fun. I wish Jordan could see this. And thank you, Mr. Parker, Mrs. Fuentes, Jacob Gillison, A.D. Frazier, Professor Uchimura, and all of the teachers and mentors that gave me the courage to walk this road.

Andrew Aydin

I'd like to dedicate my work on this book to the memory of Sarah Kirsch (1970–2012), whose compassion, humanity, vision, and talent deeply shaped the direction of my life from my early teenage years; to my wife, Rachel, a true original and cranky do-gooder committed to helping those who need a hand; and to our amazing daughters, Harper and Everly, in hopes of their growing into a world more humane, more considerate, more loving — a world they and their entire generation will inherit. Let's make the world worth it.

Nate Powell



ABOUT THE AUTHORS

JOHN LEWIS is the U.S. Representative for Georgia's fifth congressional district and an American icon widely known for his role in the civil rights movement.

As a student at American Baptist Theological Seminary in 1959, Lewis organized sit-in demonstrations at segregated lunch counters in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1961, he volunteered to participate in the Freedom Rides, which challenged segregation at interstate bus terminals across the South. He was beaten severely by angry mobs and arrested by police for challenging the injustice of "Jim Crow" segregation in the South.



Photo by Eric Etheridge

From 1963 to 1966, Lewis was Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). As head of SNCC, Lewis became a nationally recognized figure, dubbed one of the "Big Six" leaders of the civil rights movement. At the age of 23, he was an architect of and a keynote speaker at the historic March on Washington in August 1963.

In 1964, John Lewis coordinated SNCC efforts to organize voter registration drives and community action programs during the Mississippi Freedom Summer. The following year, Lewis helped spearhead one of the most seminal moments of the civil rights movement. Together with Hosea Williams, another notable civil rights leader, John Lewis led over 600 peaceful, orderly protesters across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, on March 7, 1965. They intended to march from Selma to Montgomery to demonstrate the need for voting rights in the state. The marchers were attacked by Alabama state troopers in a brutal confrontation that became known as "Bloody Sunday." News broadcasts and photographs revealing the senseless cruelty of the segregated South helped hasten the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Despite physical attacks, serious injuries, and more than 40 arrests, John Lewis remained a devoted advocate of the philosophy of nonviolence. After leaving SNCC in 1966, he continued to work for civil rights, first as Associate Director of the Field Foundation, then with the Southern Regional Council, where he became Executive Director of the Voter Education Project (VEP). In 1977, Lewis was appointed by President Jimmy Carter to direct more than 250,000 volunteers of ACTION, the federal volunteer agency.

In 1981, Lewis was elected to the Atlanta City Council. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in November 1986 and has represented Georgia's fifth district there ever since. In 2011 he was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Barack Obama.

Lewis's 1998 memoir, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, won numerous honors, including the Robert F. Kennedy, Lillian Smith, and Anisfield-Wolf Book Awards. His subsequent book, *Across That Bridge: Life Lessons and a Vision for Change*, won the NAACP Image Award.



(From left to right): Nate Powell, Congressman John Lewis, Andrew Aydin.

Photo by Sandi Villarreal

ANDREW AYDIN, an Atlanta native, currently serves as Digital Director & Policy Advisor in the Washington, D.C., office of Rep. John Lewis. After learning that his boss had been inspired as a young man by the 1950s comic book *Martin Luther King & The Montgomery Story*, Aydin conceived the *March* series and collaborated with Rep. Lewis to write it, while also composing a master's thesis on the history and impact of *The Montgomery Story*. Today, he continues to write comics and lecture about the history of comics in the civil rights movement.

Previously, he served as Communications Director and Press Secretary during Rep. Lewis's 2008 and 2010 re-election campaigns, as District Aide to Rep. John Larson (D-CT), and as Special Assistant to Connecticut Lt. Governor Kevin Sullivan. Aydin is a graduate of the Lovett School in Atlanta, Trinity College in Hartford, and Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. Visit www.andrewaydin.com for more information.

NATE POWELL is a *New York Times* best-selling graphic novelist born in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1978. He began self-publishing at age 14, and graduated from School of Visual Arts in 2000.

His work includes *You Don't Say*, *Any Empire*, *Swallow Me Whole*, *The Silence of Our Friends*, *The Year of the Beasts*, and Rick Riordan's *The Lost Hero*. Powell's comics have received such honors as the Eisner Award, two Ignatz Awards, four YALSA Great Graphic Novels for Teens selections, and a *Los Angeles Times* Book Prize finalist selection.

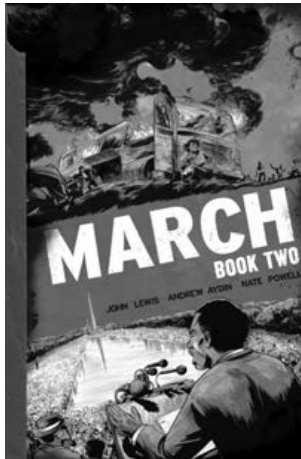
In addition to *March*, Powell has spoken about his work at the United Nations and created animated illustrations for SPLC's documentary *Selma: The Bridge to the Ballot*.

Powell is currently writing and drawing his next book, *Cover*, and drawing *Two Dead* with writer Van Jansen. He lives in Bloomington, Indiana. Visit Nate's website at www.seemybrotherdance.org for more information.

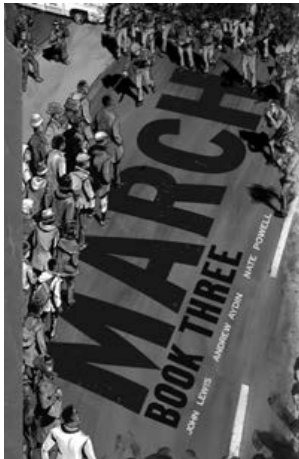
PRAISE FOR THE *MARCH* TRILOGY



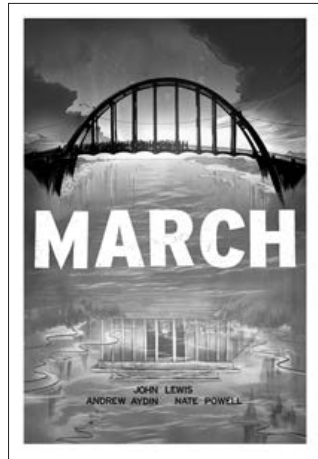
March: Book One
128 pages, \$14.95 (US)
ISBN: 978-1-60309-300-2



March: Book Two
192 pages, \$19.95 (US)
ISBN: 978-1-60309-400-9



March: Book Three
256 pages, \$19.99 (US)
ISBN: 978-1-60309-402-3



March (Trilogy Slipcase Set)
Three Volumes, \$49.99 (US)
ISBN: 978-1-60309-395-8

#1 *New York Times* and *Washington Post* Bestseller
Coretta Scott King Book Award—Author Honor
Robert F. Kennedy Book Award—Special Recognition
Street Literature Book Award Medal
ALA Notable Books

YALSA's Top 10 Great Graphic Novels for Teens
YALSA's Outstanding Books for the College Bound
***Reader's Digest's* Graphic Novels Every Grown-Up Should Read**
Added to New York City Schools curriculum and taught in over 40 states
Selected for college & university reading programs across America

“Congressman John Lewis has been a resounding moral voice in the quest for equality for more than 50 years, and I’m so pleased that he is sharing his memories of the Civil Rights Movement with America’s young leaders. In *March*, he brings a whole new generation with him across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, from a past of clenched fists into a future of outstretched hands.”

—President Bill Clinton

“With *March*, Congressman John Lewis takes us behind the scenes of some of the most pivotal moments of the Civil Rights Movement. In graphic novel form, his first-hand account makes these historic events both accessible and relevant to an entire new generation of Americans.”

— LeVar Burton

“*March* is one of the most important graphic novels ever created—an extraordinary presentation of an extraordinary life, and proof that young people can change the world. I’m stunned by the power of these comics, and grateful that Congressman Lewis’s story will enlighten and inspire future generations of readers and leaders.”

— Raina Telgemeier

“There is perhaps no more important modern book to be stocked in American school libraries than *March*.”

— *The Washington Post*

“Essential reading...*March* is a moving and important achievement...the story of a true American superhero.”

—*USA Today*

“Brave acts of civil disobedience...[give] *March* its educational value even as Powell’s drawings give Lewis’s crisp narration an emotional power.”
—*The New York Times*

“Superbly told history.”
—*Publishers Weekly* (starred review)

“Powell captures the danger and tension in stunning cinematic spreads, which dramatically complement Lewis’s powerful story...The story of the civil rights movement is a triumphant one, but Lewis’s account is full of nuance and personal struggle, both of which impart an empowering human element to an often mythologized period of history...this is a must-read.”
— *Booklist* (starred review)

“An astonishingly accomplished graphic memoir that brings to life a vivid portrait of the civil rights era, Lewis’s extraordinary history and accomplishments, and the movement he helped lead...Its power, accessibility and artistry destine it for awards, and a well-deserved place at the pinnacle of the comics canon.”
—NPR

“*March* provides a potent reminder that the sit-ins, far from being casually assembled, were well-coordinated, disciplined events informed by a rigorous philosophy...Likely to prove inspirational to readers for years to come.”
—*Barnes and Noble Review*

“A riveting chronicle of Lewis’s extraordinary life...it powerfully illustrates how much perseverance is needed to achieve fundamental social change.”
—*O, The Oprah Magazine*

“*March* offers a poignant portrait of an iconic figure that both entertains and edifies, and deserves to be placed alongside other historical graphic memoirs like *Persepolis* and *Maus*.”
—*Entertainment Weekly*

“The civil rights movement can seem to some like a distant memory...John Lewis refreshes our memories in dramatic fashion.”
—*The Chicago Tribune*

“When a graphic novel tries to interest young readers in an important topic, it often feels forced. Not so with the exhilarating *March*...Powerful words and pictures.”
—*The Boston Globe*

“This memoir puts a human face on a struggle that many students will primarily know from textbooks... Visually stunning, the black-and-white illustrations convey the emotions of this turbulent time...This insider’s view of the civil rights movement should be required reading for young and old; not to be missed.”
—*School Library Journal* (starred review)

“A powerful tale of courage and principle igniting sweeping social change, told by a strong-minded, uniquely qualified eyewitness...The heroism of those who sat and marched...comes through with vivid, inspiring clarity.”
—*Kirkus Reviews* (starred review)

“Lewis’s remarkable life has been skillfully translated into graphics...Segregation’s insult to personhood comes across here with a visual, visceral punch. This version of Lewis’s life story belongs in libraries to teach readers about the heroes of America.”
—*Library Journal* (starred review)

“Powell’s drawings in *March* combine the epic sweep of history with the intimate personal details of memoir, and bring Lewis’s story to life in a way that feels entirely unfamiliar. *March* is shaping up to be a major work of history and graphic literature.”
—*Slate*

“In a new graphic memoir, the civil rights leader shows youth how to get in trouble—good trouble.”
—*In These Times*



March: Book Three © 2016 John Lewis and Andrew Aydin.

Written by John Lewis and Andrew Aydin
Art by Nate Powell

Published by Top Shelf Productions
PO Box 1282
Marietta, GA 30061-1282
USA

Editor-in-Chief: Chris Staros

Top Shelf Productions is an imprint of IDW Publishing, a division of Idea and Design Works, LLC. Offices: 2765 Truxtun Road, San Diego, CA 92106. Top Shelf Productions®, the Top Shelf logo, Idea and Design Works®, and the IDW logo are registered trademarks of Idea and Design Works, LLC. All Rights Reserved. With the exception of small excerpts of artwork used for review purposes, none of the contents of this publication may be reprinted without the permission of IDW Publishing. IDW Publishing does not read or accept unsolicited submissions of ideas, stories, or artwork.

Edited by Leigh Walton
Coloring on Three-Volume Collected Slipcase Edition: José Villarrubia
Designed by Chris Ross and Nate Powell

Visit our online catalog at www.topshelfcomix.com.

Printed in Canada.



THE #1 NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLING TRILOGY CONCLUDES

"March is one of the most important graphic novels ever created—an extraordinary presentation of an extraordinary life, and proof that young people can change the world. I'm stunned by the power of these comics, and grateful that Congressman Lewis's story will enlighten and inspire future generations of readers and leaders."

Raina Telgemeier