

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 88) forecast:
Cloudy with scattered showers today;
partly cloudy tonight and tomorrow.
Temp. range: 77-62; yesterday: 81-61.
Temp.-Hum. Index: 70 to 75; yesterday: 72.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1963.

TEN CENTS

KENNEDY SIGNS BILL AVERTING A RAIL STRIKE

PRECEDENT IS SET

Arbitration Imposed by
Congress—Vote in
House 286-66

Text of Kennedy's statement
will be found on Page 13.

By JOHN D. POMFRET
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 —
Congress passed today a bill
that prevented a national rail-
road strike scheduled for mid-
night. President Kennedy signed
it immediately.

The House completed the Con-
gressional action. It adopted by
a standing vote of 286 to 66
the same joint resolution passed
yesterday by the Senate. The
measure provides for arbitration
of the two principal issues in
the railroad work rules dispute
and bars a strike for 180 days.
The action was without Fed-
eral precedent. Never before in
the history of peacetime labor
relations has Congress imposed
arbitration in a labor-manage-
ment dispute.

The failure of the railroads
and the five train operating
unions to resolve their dispute,
and the Congressional action
this made necessary, is con-
sidered by many to represent
a major failure for the collec-
tive bargaining system.

Many Are Reluctant

Even many Congressmen who
voted for the measure, con-
vinced that the economic con-
sequences of a national railroad
strike made action to head it
off essential, did so with great
reluctance. They said they
feared that their action might
set a precedent detrimental to
collective bargaining.

An arbitration board was cre-
ated by Congress to consider
the two key issues. These are
whether diesel locomotive fire-
men are necessary in freight
and yard service and the size
of train-service crews.

Congress organized negotiations
on the remaining issues on the
theory that with the two main
issues disposed of, the presum-
ably less important matters
could be settled by traditional
collective bargaining.

But some well-informed Gov-
ernment sources do not believe
the remaining issues will be

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LODI KILLER SLAIN; 2D MAN GIVES UP

Ex-Convict Is Shot 7 Times
in a Midtown Hotel

One of the killers of two New
Jersey policemen was shot to
death early yesterday by New
York detectives during a violent
struggle in his midtown
hotel room. Sixteen hours later,
the second man wanted in the
slayings quietly surrendered.

The slain killer, 25-year-old
Frank Falco, was asleep in his
underwear when the police, us-
ing a passkey, entered his room
at the Manhattan Hotel, Eighth
Avenue and 44th Street. Al-
though awakened with a revol-
ver pressed to his throat, he
fought desperately before being
killed by seven bullets. He died
snarling at the police and curs-
ing them.

Thomas (Rabbi Tom) Tran-
tino, 27, the second man, walked
into the East 22d Street station
house at 9:10 P.M., accompanied
by a lawyer. He was neatly
dressed and clean-shaven.

The men, both ex-convicts,
had been the object of a grim
police hunt since Detective Sgt.
Peter Voto and Gary Tedesco, a
police appointee, were gunned
down early Monday morning
in the Angel Lounge on Route
46 in Lodi, N. J. Mr. Tedesco
was to have officially joined the
Lodi force today.

A tip led the New York de-
tectives to the hotel, where
Falco had checked in at 8 P.M.
Tuesday under the name of J.
Rello of Newport, R. I.

Lieut. Thomas Quinn, a 53-
year-old police veteran with 16
citations for bravery, entered
Falco's 23d-floor room first, his

Continued on Page 35, Column 2

U. S. PRESSES U. N. TO CONDEMN SYRIA ON ISRAELI DEATHS

Stevenson Deplores Killing
of Youths—Thant Assures
Council on Cease-Fire

Text of Stevenson statement
appears on Page 2.

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH
Special to The New York Times
UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.,
Aug. 28 — Adlai E. Stevenson
declared today that the recent
slaying of two Israeli farmers
by Syrians was "wanton mur-
der" deserving the strongest
condemnation by the Security
Council.

The United States delegate,
followed by the British repre-
sentative, gave forceful support
to Israel's charges arising from
the Aug. 20 ambush killing of
two 19-year-old Israelis at the
Almagor farm settlement.

Mr. Stevenson rejected Syria's
countercharges against Israel as
"not corroborated" by United
Nations investigations.

The United States policy
statement drew a favorable re-
action from Michael S. Comay
of Israel, who said it encouraged
him to expect the Council to
take "firm and vigorous action."

Syrian Disapproves

However, there was disap-
proval from Dr. Salah el-Tarazi
of Syria, who criticized Mr.
Stevenson as "not particularly
objective." He added that Mr.
Stevenson in past years had
not deplored Syrian losses with
equal feeling.

The Council, resuming its air-
ing of the new crisis, was told
by the Secretary General, U.
Thant, that United Nations in-
spection showed "no evidence of
a military build-up on either
side" of the armistice line.

Mr. Thant reported that both
parties were heading the United
Nations cease-fire achieved last
Friday after the ambush and
subsequent exchanges of shoot-
ing greatly increased tension
in the area. Bullets collected at
one shooting site were on ex-
hibit in the Council chamber.

Both Mr. Stevenson and
Roger W. Jackling of Britain
urged Syria and Israel to accept
the suggestion by the United
Nations truce chief, Lieut. Gen.
Odd Bull, for avoiding new
eruptions along their border,
including an exchange of pris-
oners. Mr. Comay indicated a
favorable Israeli reaction.

Evidence Questioned

Dr. Tarazi, in his turn, in-
sisted that Israel's allegations
remained unproved and that
some evidence could have been
faked. He noted photographs
of footgear found at the ambush
scene and said Syrian soldiers
did not wear such shoes.

He was supported by Sidi
Baba of Morocco, who accused
Israel of making a "great su-
perfluous fuss" over the Al-
magor incident to create a cli-
mate for pressuring the Arabs
into signing a peace treaty.

The United States and Brit-
ain are understood to be draft-
ing a resolution that would con-
demn the killings and rebuke
Syria by implication, rather
than by outright condemnation,
as Israel has been asking. Sim-
ilar formulas have been used
in the past.

Such an indirect condemna-
tion might be blocked by a
veto from the Soviet Union,
however, which in the past has
rejected resolutions opposed by
the Arabs.

Mr. Stevenson told the 11-
nation Council that General
Bull's information was admit-
tedly incomplete.

2 Girls Murdered In E. 88th St. Flat

Two young women, one the
daughter of a writer and the
other of a prominent surgeon,
were bound and stabbed to
death yesterday in their apart-
ment at 57 East 88th Street.

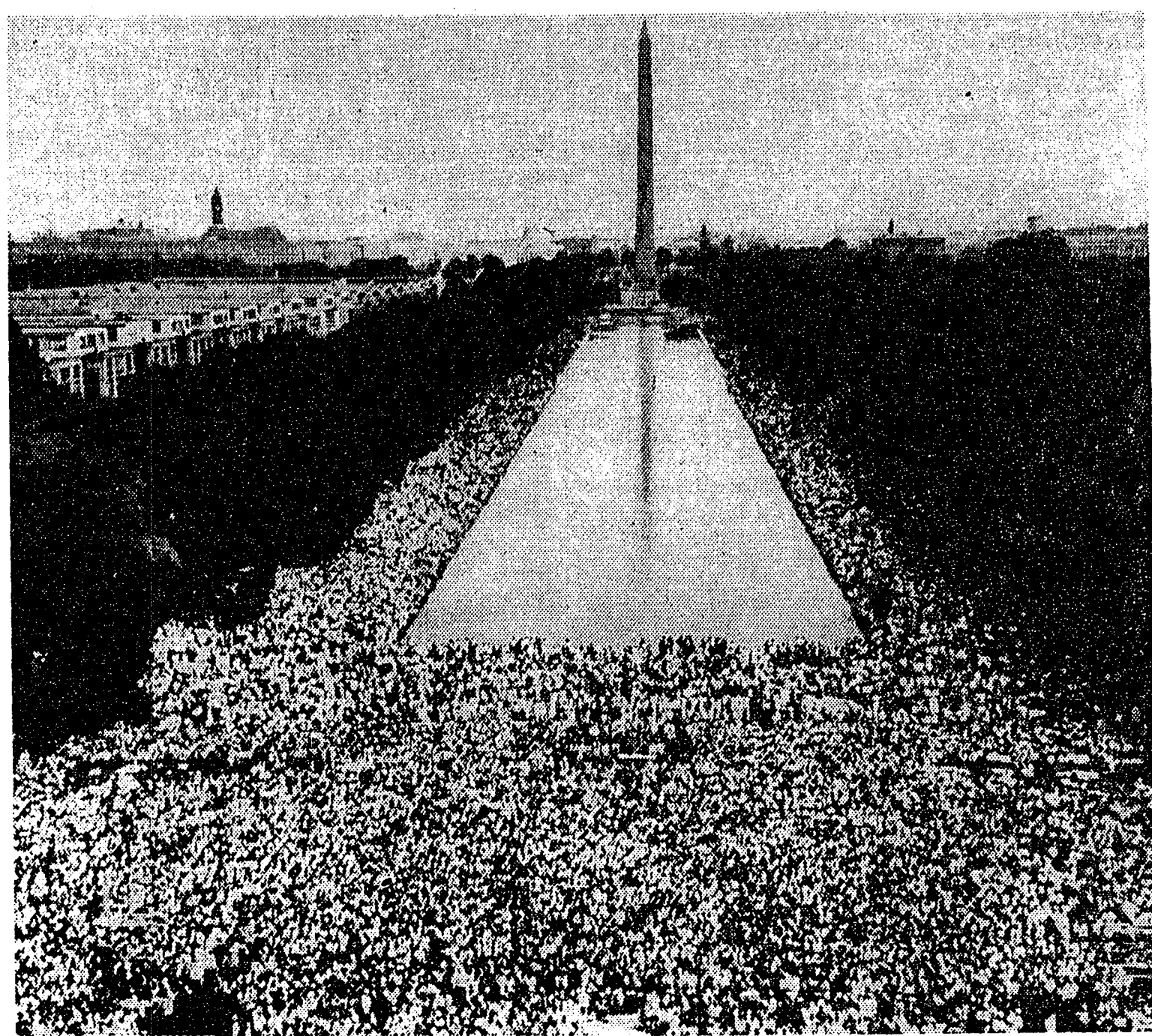
The victims, Janice Wylie, 21
years old, and Emily Hoffer, 23,
had been slashed repeatedly.
Three bloodstained kitchen
knives were found in the five-
room apartment, which the girls
shared with another young
woman. The suite had been
ransacked.

The bodies were found on a
bedroom floor by Janice's father,
the writer Max Wylie, and by
Patricia Tolles, 23, the third
roommate.

Mr. Wylie, who lives nearby,
at 55 East 86th Street, is a

Continued on Page 35, Column 5

200,000 MARCH FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN ORDERLY WASHINGTON RALLY; PRESIDENT SEES GAIN FOR NEGRO



VIEW FROM THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL: The scene during the march looking toward the Washington Monument



VIEW FROM THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT: Marchers assembling around Reflecting Pool at the Lincoln Memorial

CONGRESS CORDIAL BUT NOT SWAYED

Leaders of March Pay Calls
of Courtesy at Capitol

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 —
The civil rights demonstration
that swept more than 200,000
people through the capital to-
day appeared to have left much
of Congress untouched — physi-
cally, emotionally and politi-
cally.

In the morning, 13 demon-
stration leaders drove quietly up
Capitol Hill and paid courtesy
calls on Congressional leaders
of both parties. The atmosphere
was cordial, but there were no
conversions.

In the afternoon, about 75
Senators and Representatives
went from Capitol Hill to the
Lincoln Memorial to be intro-
duced, sit on the steps and
listen to Gospel singing and
speeches on civil rights.

A few demonstrators violated
marching orders and went up to
the Capitol to visit legislators
in their offices. A few Senators
welcomed trainloads and bus-
fuls of constituents in person.

Otherwise, there was really
very little contact between the
marchers and the group they
were working hardest to in-
press. And there was very little
evidence that the demonstra-
tion, however large and fervent,
would play a material role in
advancing civil rights legisla-
tion.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey,
one of the most enthusiastic of

'I Have a Dream ...'

Peroration by Dr. King Sums Up
A Day the Capital Will Remember

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 — American reformers. Roger
Abraham Lincoln, who presided
in his stone temple today above
the children of the slaves he
emancipated, may have used
just the right words to sum up
the general reaction to the
Negro's massive march on
Washington. "I think," he wrote
to Gov. Andrew G. Curtin of
Pennsylvania in 1861, "the nec-
essity of being ready for freedom.
It may not 'look to it' at once,
since it is looking to so many
things, but it will be a long
time before it forgets the melo-
dious and melancholy voice of
the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King
Jr. crying out his dreams to
the multitude."

It was Dr. King who, near
the end of the day, touched the
vast audience. Until then the
pilgrimage was merely a great
spectacle. Only those marchers
from the embattled towns in
the Old Confederacy had any-
thing like the old crusading
zeal. For many the day seemed
an adventure, a long outing in
the late summer sun—part lib-
eration from home, part Sunday
School picnic, part political con-
vention, and part fish-fry.

But Dr. King brought them
alive in the late afternoon with
a peroration that was an an-
guished echo from all the old

PRESIDENT MEETS MARCH LEADERS

Says Bipartisan Support Is
Needed for Rights Bill

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 —
President Kennedy served tea
and sympathy and blunt politi-
cal advice late today to the
tired but proud leaders of the
march on Washington.

In an hour-long conference,
the President told the 10 leaders
that "very strong bipartisan
support" would be needed to get
civil rights legislation enacted
this year.

In a statement issued im-
mediately after the conference,
Mr. Kennedy said that "the
cause of 20,000,000 Negroes has
been advanced" by the orderly
demonstration, "conducted so
of the symbolism of Lincoln and
appropriately before the na-
Gandhi, and the cadences of the
Bible. He was both militant and
sad, and he sent the crowd away
feeling that the long journey
had been worthwhile.

This demonstration impressed
political Washington because it
combined a number of things
no politician can ignore. It had
the force of numbers. It had
the melodies of both the church
and the theater. And it was
able to invoke the principles of
the founding fathers to rebuke
the inequalities and hypocrisies
of modern American life.

There was a paradox in the
day's performance. The Ne-

ACTION ASKED NOW

10 Leaders of Protest
Urge Laws to End
Racial Inequity

Excerpts from talks at rally
are printed on Page 21.

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 —
More than 200,000 Americans,
most of them black but many
of them white, demonstrated
here today for a full and speedy
program of civil rights and equal
job opportunities.

It was the greatest assembly
for a redress of grievances that
this capital has ever seen.

One hundred years and 240
days after Abraham Lincoln en-
joined the emancipated slaves to
"abstain from all violence" and
"labor faithfully for reason-
able wages," this vast throng
proclaimed in march and song
and through the speeches of
their leaders that they were still
waiting for the freedom and
the jobs.

Children Clap and Sing

There was no violence to mar
the demonstration. In fact, at
times there was an air of hoot-
enanny about it as groups of
schoolchildren clapped hands
and swung into the familiar
freedom songs.

But if the crowd was good-
natured, the underlying tone was
one of dead seriousness. The
emphasis was on "freedom" and
"now." At the same time the
leaders emphasized, paradoxi-
cally but realistically, that the
struggle was just beginning.

On Capitol Hill, opinion was
divided about the impact of the
demonstration in stimulating
Congressional action on civil
rights legislation. But at the
White House, President Ken-
nedy declared that the cause
of 20,000,000 Negroes had been
advanced by the march.

The march leaders went from
the shadows of the Lincoln
Memorial to the White House
to meet with the President for
75 minutes. Afterward, Mr.
Kennedy issued a 400-word
statement praising the march-
ers for the "deep fervor and the
quiet dignity" that had charac-
terized the demonstration.

Says Nation Can Be Proud

The nation, the President
said, "can properly be proud
of the demonstration that has
occurred here today."

The main target of the demon-
stration was Congress, where
committees are now considering
the Administration's civil rights
bill.

At the Lincoln Memorial this
afternoon, some speakers, know-
ing little of the ways of Con-
gress, assumed that the passage
of a strengthened civil rights
bill had been assured by the
moving events of the day.

But from statements by Con-
gressional leaders, after they
had met with the march com-
mittee this morning, this did
not seem certain at all. These
statements came before the
demonstration.

Senator Mike Mansfield of
Montana, the Senate Demo-
cratic leader, said he could not
say whether the mass protest

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

Capital Is Occupied By a Gentle Army

By RUSSELL BAKER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 —
No one could remember an in-
vading army quite as gentle as
the 200,000 civil rights march-
ers who occupied Washington
today.

For the most part, they came
silently during the night and
early morning, occupied the
great shaded boulevards along
the Mall, and spread through
the parklands between the
Washington Monument and the
Potomac.

But instead of the emotional
horde of angry militants that
many had feared, what Wash-
ington saw was a vast army of
quiet, middle-class Americans

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200,000 Join Orderly March in Capital for Civil Rights; Kennedy Sees Negro Gain

LEADERS OF RALLY URGE ACTION NOW

Ask Laws Against Inequity — Picnic Air Prevails as Crowds Clap and Sing

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

would speed the legislation, which faces a filibuster by Southerners.

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader, said he thought the demonstration would be neither an advantage nor a disadvantage to the prospects for the civil rights bill.

The human tide that swept over the Mall between the shrines of Washington and Lincoln fell back faster than it came on. As soon as the ceremony broke up this afternoon, the exodus began. With astounding speed, the last buses and trains cleared the city by mid-evening.

At 8 P.M. the city was as calm as the waters of the Reflecting Pool between the two memorials.

At the Lincoln Memorial early in the afternoon, in the midst of a songfest before the addresses, Josephine Baker, the singer, who had flown from her home in Paris, said to the thousands stretching down both sides of the Reflecting Pool: "You are on the eve of a complete victory. You can't go wrong. The world is behind you."

Miss Baker said, as if she saw a dream coming true before her eyes, that "this is the happiest day of my life."

But of all the 10 leaders of the march on Washington who followed her, only the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, saw that dream so hopefully.

The other leaders, except for the three clergymen among the 10, concentrated on the struggle ahead and spoke in tough, even harsh, language.

But paradoxically it was Dr. King—who had suffered perhaps most of all—who ignited the crowd with words that might have been written by the sad, brooding man ensnared within.

As he arose, a great roar welled up from the crowd. When he started to speak, a hush fell. "Even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream," he said.

"It is a dream chiefly rooted in the American dream," he went on.

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

Dream of Brotherhood

"I have a dream . . ." The vast throng listening intently to him roared.

" . . . that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood."

"I have a dream . . ." The crowd roared.

" . . . that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice."

"I have a dream . . ." The crowd roared.

" . . . that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

"I have a dream . . ." The crowd roared.

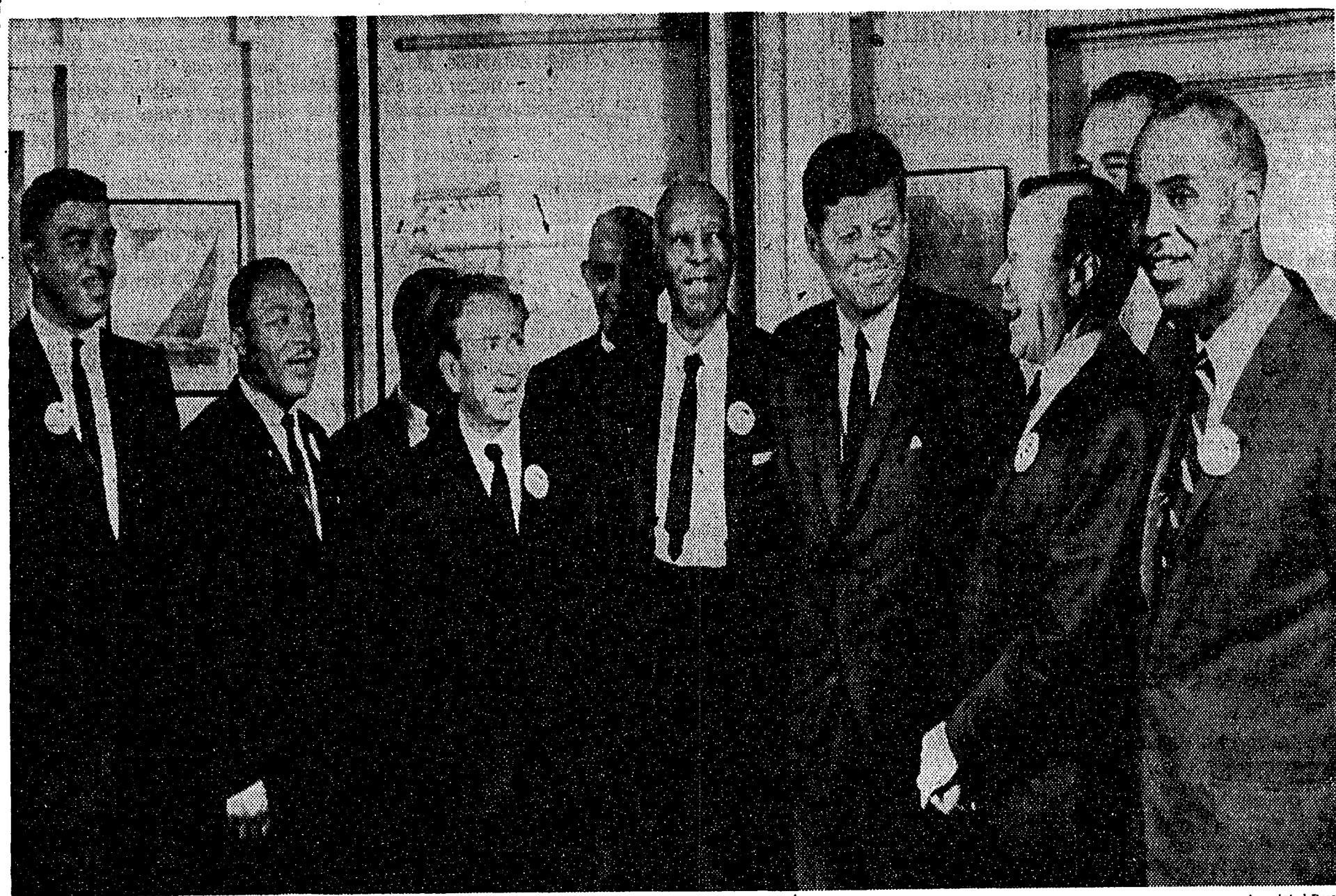
" . . . that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."

As Dr. King concluded with a quotation from a Negro hymn—"Free at last, free at last, thank God almighty"—the crowd, recognizing that he was finishing, roared once again and waved their signs and pennants.

But the civil rights leaders, who knew the strength of the forces arrayed against them from past battles, knew also that a hard struggle lay ahead. The tone of their speeches was frequently militant.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made plain that he and his colleagues thought the President's civil rights bill did not go nearly far enough. He said:

"The President's proposals



LEADERS MEET WITH KENNEDY: From left Whitney M. Young Jr., of National Urban League; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, partly hidden, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, American Jewish Congress; the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, United Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.; A. Philip Randolph, Negro American Labor Council; the President; Walter P. Reuther, the United Automobile Workers; Vice President Johnson, almost hidden, and Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P. Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson met with leaders of the civil rights march at the White House after the ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial.

Texts of the President's Statements on Rights and on Labor Day

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 — Following are the texts of President Kennedy's statement on the civil rights demonstration and his Labor Day statement:

Rights Statement

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

Although this summer has seen remarkable progress in translating civil rights from principles into practices, we have a very long way yet to travel. One cannot help but be impressed with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterizes the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government. History has seen many demonstrations—of widely varying character and for a whole host of reasons. As our thoughts travel to other demonstrations that have occurred in different parts of the world, this nation can properly be proud of the demonstration that has occurred here today. The leaders of the organizations sponsoring the march and all who have participated in it deserve our appreciation for the detailed preparations that made it possible and for the orderly manner in which it has been conducted.

The executive branch of the Federal Government will continue its efforts to obtain increased employment and to eliminate discrimination in employment practices, two

of the prime goals of the march. In addition, our efforts to secure enactment of the legislative proposals made to the Congress will be maintained, including not only the civil rights bill, but also proposals to broaden and strengthen the manpower development and training program, the youth employment bill, amendments to the vocational education program, the establishment of a work-study program for high-school-age youth, strengthening of the adult basic education provisions in the Administration's education program and the amendments proposed to the public welfare work-relief and training program. This nation can afford to achieve the goals of a full employment policy—it cannot afford to permit the potential skills and educational capacity of its citizens to be unrealized.

The cause of 20,000,000 Negroes has been advanced by the program conducted so appropriately before the nation's shrine to the Great Emancipator, but even more significant is the contribution to all mankind.

Labor Day Statement

On this Labor Day of 1963—the third within the period of my Administration—this nation once again salutes the role of labor in our national life.

The history of the United States is in vital respect the history of labor. Free men and women, working for a better life for themselves and their children, settled a continent, built a society and created and diffused an abundance hitherto unknown to history. Free men and women, affirming their dignity as individuals and asserting their rights as human beings, developed a philosophy of democratic liberty which holds out hope for oppressed peoples across the world. In commemorating the role of labor, we honor the most essential traditions in American life.

We honor, too, the contributions of labor to the strength and safety of our nation. America's capacity for leadership in the world depends on the character of our society at home; and, in a turbulent and uncertain world, our leadership would falter unless our domestic society is robust and progressive. The labor movement in the United States has made an indispensable contribution both to the vigor of our democracy and to the advancement of the ideals of freedom around the earth.

We can take satisfaction on this Labor Day in the health and energy of our national society. The events of this year have shown a quickening of democratic spirit and vitality among our people. We can take satisfaction, too, in the continued steady gain in living standards. The nation's income, output and employment have reached new heights. More than 70,000,000 men and women are working on our factories, on our farms and in our shops and services. The average factory wage is at an all-time high of more than \$100 a week. Prices have remained relatively stable, so the larger pay check means a real increase in purchasing power for the average American family.

Bids Nation Move Fast

Yet our achievements, notable as they are, must not distract us from the things we have yet to achieve. If satisfaction with the status quo had been the American way, we would still be 13 small colonies struggling along the Atlantic Coast. I urge all Americans, on this Labor Day, to consider what we can do as individuals and as a nation to move speedily ahead on four major fronts.

First, we must accelerate our effort against unemployment and for the expansion of jobs and opportunity. In spite of our prevailing prosperity, 4,250,000 of our fellow citizens cannot find useful employment. While automation increases productivity

and output, it also renders jobs and skills obsolete. While new industries emerge, old industries decline. While most of the country shows a high degree of economic activity, some areas have failed to share in the general recovery. And, while our economy continues to grow, it must grow even faster in the future if it is to provide for the 2,500,000 new persons entering the labor market every year. To combat unemployment, we need to pass the tax bill recently approved by the House Ways and Means Committee and thereby provide general stimulus to the economy. This bill will benefit every family, every business and every area of our country. We need, in addition, to continue and enlarge the measures designed to help the communities, industries and individuals bypassed by prosperity to help themselves and to increase their contributions to our society.

Second, we must accelerate our effort to strengthen our educational system. As our economy becomes increasingly complex, education becomes increasingly the key to employment. The fewer grades our boys and girls complete, the greater the probability that they will not find jobs. Inadequate schooling, inadequate training, inadequate skills—these are major obstacles to employment and a fruitful life. Dropping out of school today may well destroy a person's entire future. I hope that the Congress will enact legislation to strengthen the nation's educational system; and I ask all parents, for the sake of the future, their children's and the nation's, to have their children return to school this fall.

Calls for Opportunities

Third, we must accelerate our effort to offer constructive opportunities to our young people. Our youth are our national future. Today one out of every four persons in the labor force between 18 and 21 is out of school and

out of work. The persistence of unemployment and of juvenile delinquency is a sign of our society's failure to enlist the full energy and talent of our young men and women in positive tasks and purposes. The Youth Conservation Corps and the Home Town Youth Corps seem to me especially promising ways of improving both the skills of our young people and their contribution to the general welfare.

Fourth, we must accelerate our effort to achieve equal rights for all our citizens—in employment, in education, in voting and in all sectors of our national activity. This year, I believe, will go down as one of the turning points in the history of American labor. Foremost among the rights of labor is the right to equality of opportunity; and these recent months, 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, have seen the decisive recognition by the major part of our society that all our citizens are entitled to full membership in the national community. The gains of 1963 will never be reversed. They lay a solid foundation for the progress we must continue to make in the months and years to come. We can take satisfaction on this Labor Day that 1963 marks a long step forward toward assuring all Americans the opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness pledged by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence.

As we make progress in these four areas, we make progress toward improving both the strength of our national society and the quality of our national life. We demonstrate to the world that a free society provides men and women the best chance for decent and fulfilled lives. Most of all, we demonstrate to ourselves that our society is vital, that our purpose is steadfast, and that our determination to fulfill the promise of American life for all Americans is unconquerable. Let this be our solemn resolve on Labor Day, 1963.

President Meets March Chiefs; Urges Bipartisan Aid on Rights

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

canapes and sandwiches by Filipino mess boys.

Several of the march leaders had not eaten during a long, exhausting day. The leaders, a mixed Negro and white group for whom A. Philip Randolph served as spokesman, made it plain in a news conference after their meeting with the President that they were exhilarated and encouraged by the day's events.

Mr. Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, called the march "one of the biggest, most creative and constructive demonstrations ever held in the history of our nation" and one of which "every American could be proud."

President Kennedy concurred. "One cannot help but be impressed," he said, "with the deep fervor and the quiet dignity that characterizes the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of Government."

The leaders of the march, most of whom spoke briefly at the White House news conference, emphasized their intention to seek strong bipartisan support for the civil rights legislation now pending in Congress.

Voices 'Grim Determination'

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that the President had "made it very clear that we would need very strong bipartisan support to get civil rights legislation this year."

He urged those in Congress who "are still on the fence" to come down on the side of civil rights. Those who had made the march on Washington, he said, "will go back to their communities and work with bold and grim determination" for Congressional support.

In effect, he said, the march had "subpoenaed the conscience of the nation to appear before the judgment seat of morality."

Mr. Kennedy apparently made a strong impression on the march leaders with his comments about the need for bipartisan support. All pledged themselves to an effort to arouse such support.

Mr. Randolph said the group was "looking forward" to bipartisan support, not only for pending legislation but also for fair employment practices legislation and for "Part Three."

"Part Three" refers to a section deleted from a civil rights bill passed in 1957. It would permit the Federal Government to institute legal action on behalf of aggrieved citizens in a variety of civil rights fields.

"It is our belief that it is possible to get civil rights legislation enacted in this Congress," Mr. Randolph said. But he acknowledged the task would not be easy.

Will Increase Efforts

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Mr. Kennedy had told the group "we could help a little more than we have been" in getting civil rights legislation enacted. He said that efforts would be stepped up.

"We invite Democrats and Republicans to come together in this great civil rights crisis," Mr. Wilkins said. He added that, in conferences today with leaders of both parties, the march leaders had received assurances of support.

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said the demonstration should have dispelled the notion that Negroes appealed to one party or the other for help. "Our clear aim is bipartisanship," he said.

In future, the only distinction will be between "those who are calloused and those who care," he said.

Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, noted the task lying beyond legislation—"to take the new tools" a civil rights bill would provide and to find ways to apply them to the "day-to-day job of fighting discrimination."

Thus, Mr. Reuther said, the true significance of the march on Washington was that it "laid the groundwork for building a functioning, broad coalition of conscience."

The Rev. Eugene Carson Blake of the National Council of Churches said the purpose of participating church groups demonstrators. The maximum had been achieved in that they "did produce an integrated

march." He said he hoped there need be no more all-Negro protest marches or demonstrations.

Mr. Randolph said the march also demonstrated "unity among leadership of the Negroes." But at the White House news conference there was what appeared to be some subtle jockeying for position among them.

Mr. Blake referred, for instance, to Dr. King as "clearly the religious leader of this demonstration."

Randolph Lauds Wilkins

Almost immediately, Mr. Randolph introduced Mr. Wilkins as "the acknowledged leader of the civil rights movement in America."

When it came time to introduce Dr. King, Mr. Randolph termed him "the moral leader of the nation."

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, chairman of the American Jewish Congress, said, however, that "the hero of this day was the people" who came from all over the nation for the demonstration.

Other march leaders meeting with the President were John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Matthew Ahmann of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; and Floyd B. McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality, who was replacing James Farmer of that organization. Mr. Farmer is in jail in Plaquemine, La., a recent scene of civil rights demonstrations.

Greeting these leaders with Mr. Kennedy were Vice President Johnson, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, and Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

The meeting was cordial, even jovial in tone. Mr. Kennedy told Dr. King that he had heard and seen several of the day's speeches on television.

Had he heard Mr. Reuther? Mr. King inquired.

"I didn't hear Walter," the President said, "but I've heard Walter before."

"I had a couple of new punchlines today," Mr. Reuther, a renowned orator, said.

As tens of thousands gathered on the Washington Monument grounds this morning, the sound of their songs drifted across the South Grounds of the White House to the Rose Garden outside the President's office.

Tourist traffic through the central corridor and the public rooms of the White House was light. Usually 9,000 to 10,000 tourists troop through daily; only 1,612 went in the east gate today.

There was no official White House delegation in the march or at the Lincoln Memorial, but a number of staff members walked down to Constitution Avenue, two blocks away, to see the marchers go past. Television sets were turned on and the President watched part of the ceremonies.

There was no picketing or demonstrating in front of the White House, where the broad sidewalk of Pennsylvania Avenue almost daily attracts someone with a placard.

Precautions Are Taken

Discreet security precautions had been taken, however, and an unusual number of uniformed White House guards were in evidence around the perimeter of the grounds.

Even before the demonstration began, Mr. Kennedy recognized it in an unusually early Labor Day message.

"We must accelerate our effort to achieve equal rights for all our citizens—in employment, in education, in voting and in all sectors of our national activity," the statement said. It went on:

"This year, I believe, will go down as one of the turning points in the history of American labor. Foremost among the rights of labor is the right to equality of opportunity and these recent months, 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, have seen the decisive recognition by the major part of our society that all our citizens are entitled to full membership in the national community."

"The gains of 1963 will never be reversed."

Marcher Falls Into Pool

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (AP)—Mrs. Kathleen Johnson of Newark fell into the reflecting pool between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial while taking pictures of the civil rights rally. She was helped from the water by other demonstrators. The maximum depth of the pool is two and one-half feet.

Goals of Rights March

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Following are the major goals of today's March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom:

QA comprehensive civil rights bill from the present Congress, including provisions guaranteeing access to public accommodations, adequate and integrated education, protection of the right to vote, better housing, and authority for the Attorney General to seek injunctive relief when individuals' constitutional rights are violated.

QWithholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.

QDesegregation of all public schools in 1963.

QA reduction in Congressional seats in states where citizens are disenfranchised.

QA stronger Executive order prohibiting discrimination in all housing programs supported by Federal funds.

QA massive Federal program to train and place unemployed workers.

QA increase in the minimum wage to \$2 an hour. The Federal minimum, covering workers in interstate industry, is now \$1.15 an hour and will rise to \$1.25 next Tuesday.

QExtension of the Fair Labor Standards Act to include exempted fields of employment.

QA Federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination in all employment.

Rights Marchers' Pledge

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (AP)—Civil rights marchers checking in for today's demonstration were given this pledge to sign at the headquarters tent:

Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August, in the centennial year of emancipation, I affirm my complete personal commitment for the struggle for jobs and freedom for all Americans.

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

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

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

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

Tour of the White House Has Only a Few Patrons

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—(UPI)—The civil rights march from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial left the White House tour, only a few blocks away, begging for tourists.

White House officials said the tour was so lightly patronized that plans to extend the hours today were dropped.

Only 1,612 people took the public tour today, compared with up to 10,000 on a normal day, the White House said. Many of those who did take the tour wore buttons identifying themselves as marchers, the White House said, and they went directly to the monument grounds after the tour.

his plump wife, stood and read with their lips.

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of the offenses which in the providence of God must needs come but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove . . ."

The day dawned clear and cool. At 7 A. M. the town had a Sunday appearance, except for the shuttle buses drawn up in front of Union Station, waiting.

By 10 A. M. there were 40,000 on the slopes around the Washington Monument. An hour later the police estimated the crowd at 90,000. And still they poured in.

Because some things went wrong at the monument, everything was right. Most of the stage and screen celebrities from New York and Hollywood who were scheduled to begin

entertaining the crowd at 10:15. As a result the whole affair at the monument grounds began to take on the spontaneity of a church picnic. Even before the entertainment was to begin, groups of high school students were singing with wonderful improvisations and hand-clapping all over the monument slopes.

Civil rights demonstrators, who had been released from jail in Danville, Va., were singing: "Move on, move on. Till all the world is free. And members of Local 144 of the Hotel and Allied Service Employees Union from New York City, an integrated local since 1950, were stomping: "Oh, freedom, we shall not be moved, we shall not be moved, Just like a tree that's planted by the water. Then the pros took over, starting with the folk singers. The crowd joined in with them. Joan Baez started things rolling with "the song"—"We Shall Overcome."

Oh deep in my heart I do believe We shall overcome some day. And Peter, Paul and Mary sang "How many times must a man look up before he can see the sky?"

And Odette's great, full-throated voice carried almost to Capitol Hill: "If they ask you who you are, tell them you're a child of God."

Jackie Robinson told the crowd that "we cannot be turned back" and Norman Thomas, the venerable Socialist, said: "I'm glad I lived long enough to see this day."

The march to the Lincoln Memorial was supposed to start at 11:30, behind the leaders. But at 11:20 it set off spontaneously down Constitution Avenue behind the Kenilworth

Knights, a local drum and bugle corps dazzling in yellow silk blazers, green trousers and green berets.

Apparently forgotten was the intention to make the march to the Lincoln Memorial a solemn tribute to Medgar W. Evers, N.A.A.C.P. official murdered in Jackson, Miss., last June 12, and others who had died for the cause of civil rights.

The leaders were lost, and they never did get to the head of the parade.

The leaders included also Walter P. Reuther, head of the United Automobile Workers; A. Philip Randolph, head of the American Negro Labor Council; the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches; Matthew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress; Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, and James Farmer, president of the Congress of Racial Equality.

All spoke at the memorial except Mr. Farmer, who is in jail in Louisiana, following his arrest as a result of a civil rights demonstration. His speech was read by Floyd B. McKissick, CORE national chairman.

At the close of the ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial, Bayard Rustin, the organizer of the march, asked Mr. Randolph, who conceived it, to lead the vast throng in a pledge.

Repeating after Mr. Randolph, the marchers pledged "complete personal commitment to the struggle for jobs and freedom for Americans" and "to carry the message of the march to my friends and neighbors back home and arouse them to an equal commitment and an equal effort."

Rights Chiefs See Leaders at Capitol, but Demonstration Fails to Sway Congress

75 LEGISLATORS AT MARCH SCENE

McCormack Says Rally May Bring Support—Others Are Doubtful of Effect

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

the 15 or more Senators who participated, summed it up as he stood on the steps of the memorial and looked down the jammed Mall.

"All this probably hasn't changed any votes on the civil rights bill," the Minnesota Democrat said, "but it's a good thing for Washington and the nation and the world."

Demonstration leaders had said they would announce the names of all members of Congress who attended the rally, or of all those who did not. But this plan to spotlight their friends and enemies was abandoned.

Apparently because Congressional attendance was relatively sparse, the Senators and Representatives were introduced as a group, with a claimed membership of 150 that was clearly generous.

As the legislators rose on the Memorial steps and waved at the demonstrators, those in the front began to chant "pass the bill." The rhythmic cry rolled back, rank by rank, through the massed thousands.

House Debates Rail Bill

House members had a valid excuse to be elsewhere. They were debating the railroad strike bill while the rally was under way. However, about 60 of them left the floor for an hour to take buses to the rally. The Senate had recessed at 1:15 P.M., 45 minutes before the formal program opened.

The morning visit to Capitol Hill by the demonstration leaders did not produce evidence that the politicians were prepared to be impressed.

The leaders of the Senate predicted that the demonstration would neither improve nor diminish the prospects for Congressional approval of civil rights legislation this year.

After a half-hour morning meeting with the leaders of the march, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader, was asked if he thought the mass protest would help speed Senate action on civil rights.

Dirksen Doubts Effect

"I couldn't say," he replied. "These things are either right or wrong. That's the way you have to face up to these problems, whatever else is involved."

An hour later, after he saw the same group in his office, Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader, said he did not believe the demonstration would prove to be an advantage or disadvantage to the Administration's civil rights proposals.

"I go on feeling," Senator Dirksen declared, "that the members of the national legislature have a responsibility to get all the facts and, mindful always of their constitutional responsibilities, proceed from that broad base."

Speaker John W. McCormack was the only Congressional leader to voice the belief that the demonstration might stimulate more activity and support in Congress. The Massachusetts Democrat said "an orderly march would be helpful" in getting the Administration bill through the House.

Privately, the Congressional leaders agreed that a disorderly demonstration, culminating in violence would have cost civil rights legislation considerable support among uncommitted members of both parties.

A Courteous Atmosphere

Throughout the two hours that the march leaders spent on Capitol Hill this morning, the atmosphere was one of courtesy and restraint, by both the civil rights advocates and the Congressmen.

The demonstration leaders were obviously anxious to avoid any impression that they were attempting to put pressure on the Congressional leaders to adopt their cause. They did not discuss the demonstration itself, the prospect of a Senate filibuster or any ensuing attempt to close off debate.

"There was no pressure, there was no insistence," Mr. Dirksen reported afterward. "It was rather that they were expressing the hope that we could see the picture as they see the picture."

By and large, the Congressional leaders told the march leaders just what they had been saying publicly about civil rights for some time.

Dirksen Reaffirms Stand

Senator Mansfield said he hoped to receive from the House "early in October" an omnibus civil rights bill, including a section barring discrimination in places of public accommodation.

Senator Dirksen reaffirmed his opposition to the public accommodations proposal but promised to support all other provisions in the Administration bill.

The march leaders paid three separate calls on Capitol Hill. First, they saw Mr. Mansfield in the Old Senate Office Building. Then they joined Senator Dirksen and Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana, the House Republican leader, in Mr. Dirksen's Capitol office.

Finally they spent nearly an hour with Speaker McCormack and Representative Carl Albert of Oklahoma, the House Democratic leader, in the Speaker's office.

A. Philip Randolph, national chairman of the march, summed up the group's reaction to its



Marcher From Alabama Hazel Mangle Rivers

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Hazel Mangle Rivers has not seen much of this world, and until today most of life's excitement was denied to her. But today Mrs. Rivers marched on Washington. She said that her life would never be the same.

Mrs. Rivers was born some years ago—she declines to tell just how many—to George and Savannah Mangle, farmers near Athens, Ga. As a Negro, Hazel Mangle learned early in life not to expect too much from the world.

She went to Birmingham and was married to James Rivers. Together they brought six girls and two boys into the world. She recalled all their names, after a little hesitation, today. They are Hazel, Shirley, Carolyn, Elaine, Shelly May, Bonita, Johnny and Alvin. They all live in Birmingham, Ala., where Mr. Rivers is a truck driver.

About two years ago, Mrs. Rivers said, she felt the passion of the civil rights movement. She had always been a believer in integration, she said, but one day she realized that the national movement concerned her as an individual.

She started attending mass meetings in Birmingham. She agreed to picket and boycott. In May she picketed in downtown Birmingham. She was arrested twice.

Signed Up for March

And when the word went out that there would be a civil rights march on Washington, Mr. Rivers was one of the first to sign up.

The \$8 bus ticket represented more than one-tenth of her husband's weekly salary, and there were other sacrifices. But Mrs. Rivers was determined to march on Washington.

So yesterday morning she boarded a bus in Birmingham and rode all night. Today at noon she alighted—farther

north than she has ever been before—picked up a flag, and marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial.

Afterward, sitting on the wall of a Government building and waiting for her bus to start the long trip back home, Mrs. Rivers was more fervent than ever about civil rights.

Her Doubts Resolved

"If I ever had any doubts before," she said, "they're gone now. When I get back home I'm going to follow this far. When I get back there tomorrow I'm going to do whatever needs to be done—I don't care if it's picketing or marching or sitting-in or what. I'm ready to do it."

"I'm ready to march on Montgomery or even march in Birmingham again. When they march I'm going to march."

Mrs. Rivers was equally fervent in her praise of Washington, praise that might bring disagreement from Northern civil rights workers. But to the Southern housewife who had been jailed twice in Alabama, this city today was the acme of freedom.

"The people are lots better up here than they are down South," Mrs. Rivers said. "They treat you much nicer. Why, when I was out there at the march a white man stepped on my foot, and he said 'Excuse me,' and I said 'Certainly.'"

"That's the first time that has ever happened to me. I believe that was the first time a white person has ever really been nice to me."

Mrs. Rivers thought a moment, as hundreds of tired marchers walked past on their way back to their buses, and as the clear, almost crisp day neared its end, and she said:

"As a matter of fact, I think I'd like to stay here. I'd like to live here. I think maybe someday we'll move here to live."

Tired New Yorkers Head Home Full of Praise for Capital Rally

By THEODORE JONES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—New Yorkers left no doubt today in their appraisal of the March on Washington rally.

Although tired and exhausted from the long day's activities, they found only praise for the rally, its leaders and the decorum of the marchers.

"It was wonderful," declared Mrs. Ioelle Coleman, a Manhattan garment worker, "I've never been so proud of my people. Everything went so well. It was just amazing."

Mrs. Coleman, who lives at 29 Putnam Avenue, Brooklyn, described the program from start to finish as "excellent." However, she singled out the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and said he "stole the show."

"He said so much," she said, "it was just uplifting. And so were the others and so were the people."

Harvey Swados, a freelance writer, admitted that he had been "uneasy" about how the Negro and white residents of Washington would behave at the rally.

"They conducted themselves in an orderly fashion just like everybody else," he said. "I was impressed and relieved."

Mr. Swados described the march as "magnificent," declaring that it could not help but exert "a great influence" on Congress to pass the President's civil rights bill.

His views were seconded by his 15-year-old son, Marco, who attends Nyack High School. The youth observed that both the march and Dr. King "had come off very successfully."

"It was a tremendous event as far as the Negro's fight for his rights is concerned," Mrs. Doris Offley, a Manhattan nurse, said. "Dr. King talked about racial harmony, and there it was for all to see."

Another person interviewed as he prepared to board the six o'clock train for home at Union Station was Milton Master, who works in the City's Department of Real Estate and resides in Whitestone, Queens.

"It was thrilling," he said.

"But more than that they accomplished their point."

One particular group who also established their point were the 15 New York and Brooklyn members of the Congress of Racial Equality, who started a walk to Washington on Aug. 15.

They arrived in the capital on Tuesday night with five other members, who joined the march in Philadelphia. Today, they were all honored with seats on the guest's platform during the Lincoln Memorial program.

The march also served to renew the faith of a Hungarian Freedom Fighter, who now makes his home in New York and is a computer programmer with International Business Machines.

Thomas Mandey said during an early morning conversation on a bus coming to Washington that he had wanted "to do something in the civil rights fight."

"I wrote a letter to C.O.R.E.," he explained, "asking what I could do. But I guess they were so busy that they couldn't answer. So the rally was the obvious thing."

After the rally, Mr. Mandey, who came to this country in December, 1956, following the Hungarian uprising, smiled and simply said, "Tremendous."

Another marcher, Mrs. Rosa Arnold, a nurse's aide who lives at 525 West 138th Street, was more verbose. The rally, she declared, "has given us real recognition as a group."

"It shows that we are together and that we want freedom now!" she said.

3 Rights Buses Are Stoned
BALTIMORE, Aug. 28 (AP)—Three buses, homeward-bound for Connecticut with demonstrators from the civil rights march on Washington today, were pelted with stones near the entrance to the Baltimore Harbor tunnel. The police said no one was injured although a stone crashed through the windshield of one bus.

DR. KING ECHOES NEGROES' DREAM

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gro leaders demanded equality "now," while insisting that this was only the "beginning" of the struggle. Yet it was clear that the "now," which appeared on almost every placard on Constitution Avenue, was merely an opening demand, while the exhortation to increase the struggle was what was really on the leaders' minds.

The question of the day, of course, was raised by Dr. King's theme: Was this all a dream or will it help the dream come true?

No doubt this vast effort helped the Negro drive against discrimination. It was better covered by television and the press than any event here since President Kennedy's inauguration, and, since indifference is almost as great a problem to the Negro as hostility, this was a plus.

None of the dreadful things Washington feared came about. The racial hooligans were scarce. Even the local Nazi, George Lincoln Rockwell, minded his manners, which is an extraordinary innovation for him. And there were fewer arrests than any normal day for Washington, probably because all the saloons and hootch peddlers were closed.

Politicians Are Impressed

The crowd obviously impressed the politicians. The presence of nearly a quarter of a million petitioners anywhere always makes a Senator think. He seldom ignores that many potential votes, and it did not escape the notice of Congressmen that these Negro organizations, some of which had almost as much trouble getting out a crowd as the Washington Senators several years ago, were now capable of organizing the largest demonstrating throng ever gathered at one spot in the District of Columbia.

It is a question whether this rally raised too many hopes among the Negroes or inspired the Negroes here to work hard for equality when they got back home. Most observers here think the latter is true, even though all the talk of "Freedom NOW" and instant integration is bound to lead to some disappointment.

The meetings between the Negro leaders on the one hand and President Kennedy and the Congressional leaders on the other also went well and probably helped the Negro cause. The Negro leaders were careful not to seem to be putting improper pressure on Congress. They made no specific requests or threats, but they argued their case in small groups and kept the crowd off Capitol Hill.

Whether this will win any new votes for the civil rights and economic legislation will probably depend on the over-all effect of the day's events on the television audience.

Every store in the downtown section had a bad day," said William Press, executive vice president of the Washington Board of Trade.

He put the loss of business at "hundreds of thousands of dollars."

While thousands of Washingtonians kept to their homes, the normal inflow of tourists and other visitors also was much reduced. The Washington Hotel Association reported double the normal number of vacant rooms, with 5,000 available last night and 6,000 tonight.

Holidays Encouraged
Both the Government and private employers encouraged their employees to stay home if they wanted to. Some private concerns closed down. The Government left the matter to its employees, encouraging them to take a day off at the expense of one day of annual leave.

The effects differed widely among the agencies, but an early estimate was that about half of the 160,000 Federal and District of Columbia employees who work downtown stayed home.

The policy was designed primarily to avoid a massive traffic jam, while an important part of the downtown area was closed off for the march. The policy seemed to work better than had been expected.

Liquor Sales Forbidden
All bars and liquor stores were closed and restaurants and hotels forbidden to serve alcoholic beverages by order of the District Commissioners. Many normally jammed restaurants were only half or two-thirds full. Some closed for the day.

It was clear that business Washington was unhappy about the situation, regardless of the individual's views on racial issues.

"You can hardly expect me to jump with joy," said one store proprietor, who had had only three customers in the morning.

**Penalty Urged for States
With Voting Discrimination**
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (AP)—Reapportionment of the House by reducing the number of Representatives from states that deny the franchise to qualified voters has been proposed by Representative Abraham J. Multer, Democrat of Brooklyn.

He introduced a resolution yesterday calling for creation of a committee to determine the number of Representatives each state should have under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment provides that a state's representation shall be reduced in the proportion that the number of citizens denied the right to vote shall bear to the whole number of citizens over 21 years of age.

Gentle Army Occupies Capital; Politeness Is Order of the Day

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

who had come in the spirit of the church outing.

And instead of the tensions that had been expected, they gave this city a day of sad music, strange silences and good feeling in the streets.

It was apparent from early morning that this would be an extraordinary day. At 8 A.M. when rush-hour traffic is normally creeping bumper-to-bumper across the Virginia bridges and down the main boulevards from Maryland, the streets had the abandoned look of Sunday morning.

From a helicopter over the city, it was possible to see caravans of chartered buses streaming down New York Avenue from Baltimore and points North, but the downtown streets were empty. Nothing moved in front of the White House, nor on Pennsylvania Avenue.

A Day of Siege

For the natives, this was obviously a day of siege and the streets were being left to the marchers.

By 9:30, the number of marchers at the assembly point by the Washington Monument had reached about 40,000, but it was a crowd without fire. Mostly, people who had traveled together sat on the grass or posed for group portraits against the monument, like tourists on a rare visit to the capital.

Here and there, little groups stood in the sunlight and sang. A group of 75 young people from Danville, Va., came dressed in white sweatshirts with crudely cut black mourning bands on their sleeves.

"We're mourning injustice in Danville," explained James Bruce, a 15-year-old who said he has been arrested three times for participating in demonstrations there.

Standing together, the group sang of the freedom fight in a sad melody with words that went, "Move on, move on, move on, move on, we're fighting for equal rights."

Other hymns came from groups scattered over the grounds, but there was no cohesion in the crowd.

Instead, a fair grounds atmosphere prevailed. Marchers kept straggling off to ride the elevators to the top of the monument. Women sat on the grass and concentrated on feeding babies.

Among the younger members of the crowd, beards were in high vogue. "It's just that we're so busy saving the world that we don't have time to shave," Kyle Valkar, 19-year-old Washingtonian, explained.

Up on the slope near the monument's base, Peter Otley, president of the Building Service International Union, Local 144, in New York City, was ignoring the loudspeaker and holding a press conference before about 100 of his delegates.

He thought the march would "convince the legislators that something must be done, because it is the will of the people to give equality to all."

In the background, the amplifier was presenting Joan Baez, the folk singer.

One Note of Bitterness
In one section of the ground, a group from Americus and Albany, Ga., was gathered under its own placards singing its own hymn. The placards conveyed an uncharacteristic note of bitterness.

"What is a state without justice but a robber band enlarged?" asked one. Another bore the following inscription: "Milton Wilkerson—20 stitches. Emanuel McClelland—3 stitches (Age 67). James Williams—broken leg."

Charles Macken, 15, of Albany, explained the placard in a deep Georgia accent.

"That's where the police beat these people up," he said.

Over the loudspeaker, Roosevelt Johnson was urged to come claim his lost son, Lawrence.

From the monument grounds the loudspeaker boomed an announcement that the police had estimated that 90,000 marchers were already on the scene.

At 10:56 the loudspeaker announced desperately that "we are trying to locate Miss Lena Horne," and a group from Cambridge, Md., was kneeling while the Rev. Charles M. Bowen of Bethel A.M.E. Church prayed.

"We know truly that we will—we shall—overcome—some day," he was saying.

The Cambridge group rose and began a gospel hymn and clapped and swayed. The loudspeaker was saying, "Lena—wherever you are—"

Many were simply picnicking. They had brought picnic baskets and thermos jugs and camp stools, and lunched leisurely in the soft August sunshine. Some stretched out to doze on the grass.

Singer Introduced
At 11:10 Bobby Darin, the teen-age pop singer, was being introduced over the amplifier. He was, he announced, "Here as a singer, and I'm proud and kind of choked up."

The marchers by this time, however, had had enough of the Monument grounds. Spontaneously, without advice from the platform, they began to flow away, moving toward the Lincoln Memorial, where the official program was to begin at noon.

Thousands simply began to move out into Constitution Avenue, and in a few minutes it was tens of thousands. They trooped leisurely out into the boulevard and moved happily along in a strange mood of quiet contentment.

By 11:55, much of the crowd had regrouped at the Lincoln Memorial, where the speaker's platform was set on the top step under the Lincoln statue. This made an impressive

stage for the star performers, but it was a bad theater for most of the audience, which was dispersed down the sides of the reflecting pool for a third of a mile.

Still the crowd remained in good temper, and many who could not find comfortable space in the open with a clear view up to the Memorial steps filtered back under the trees and sat down on their placards.

On the platform, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, surveyed the sea of people and said, "I'm very satisfied. It looks like a Yankee game."

Photographers Busy
Inside, under the Lincoln statue, the photographers were deployed five deep around Burt Lancaster, Harry Belafonte and Charlton Heston. On metal chairs in the guest sections, Marion Brando and Paul Newman were submitting to microphone interviews.

As the crowd on the steps thickened and gradually became an impassable mass, the extraordinary politeness that characterized the day was dramatized every time an elbow was crooked.

People excused themselves for momentarily obstructing a view, excused themselves for dropping cigarette ashes on shoes.

When the marshals called for a clear path, hundreds hastened to fall aside with a good-bye rarely seen in the typical urban crowd. The sweetness and politeness of the crowd may have set some sort of national high-water mark in mass decency.

The program at the Memorial began with more music. Paul and Mary, a folk-singing trio, were there "to express in song what this meeting is all about," as Ossie Davis, the master of ceremonies, put it.

Then there was Josh White, in a gray short-sleeved sports shirt, singing "Ain't nobody gonna stop me, nobody gonna keep me, from marchin' down freedom's road."

And the Freedom Singers from Mississippi, a hand-clapping group of hot gospel shouters whom Mr. Davis introduced as "straight from one of the prisons of the South."

"They've been in so many, I forget which one it is," he added.

At 1:19 P.M. there was the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and a leader of the Birmingham demonstrations.

A 1:28 P.M. Miss Baez was singing "Little baby, don't worry, you know your mama won't die, all your trials will soon be over."

As she sang, Mayor Wagner of New York made his appearance, walking down the Memorial steps.

Bunche Speaks
Miss Baez was followed by Dr. Ralph Bunche.

"Anyone who cannot understand the significance of your presence here today," he said, "is blind and deaf." The crowd roared approval.

Then came Dick Gregory, the comedian.

"The last time I saw this many of us," he said, "Bill Connor was doing all the talking." The reference was to Eugene (Bull) Connor, who was police commissioner of Birmingham during the spring demonstrations there.

To many of the marchers, the program must have begun to seem like eternity, and the great crowd slowly began dissolving from the edges. Mr. Lancaster read a lengthy statement from 1,500 Americans in Europe. They were in favor of the march. Mr. Belafonte read a statement endorsed by a large group of writers, artists and entertainers. They also favored the march.

Bob Dylan, a young folk singer, rendered a lugubrious mountain song about "The day Edgar Evers was buried from a bullet that he caught." Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Belafonte and Mr. Heston found time dragging, stood up to stretch and chat, and set off pandemonium among the photographers. Mr. Brando submitted to another microphone interview.

Speaking Begins
At 1:59 the official speaking began. For those who listened it was full of noble statement about democracy and religious sincerity, but the crowd was dissolving fast now. Tens of dissolving fast now.

These missed two of the emotional high points of the day. One was Mahalia Jackson's singing, which seemed to bounce off the Capitol far up the mall. The other was the speech of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Long before that, however, huge portions of the crowd had drifted out of earshot. Thousands had moved back into Constitution Avenue to walk dreamily in the sun. The grass for blocks around was covered with sleepers. Here and there, a man sat under a tree and sang to a guitar.

Mostly though, the "marchers" just strolled in the sunshine. Most looked contented and tired and rather pleased with what they had done.

Mississippians Do Extra Duty
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28 (UPI)—About 25 demonstrators from Clarksdale, Miss., marched back to the Washington Monument grounds today, while some groups were still headed for the civil rights rally at the Lincoln Memorial. Members of the group felt Mississippi had a peculiar problem and they wanted to do extra marching to demonstrate that, a spokesman said.

The March on Washington: A Polite but Pressing Insistence on Civil Rights 'Now'

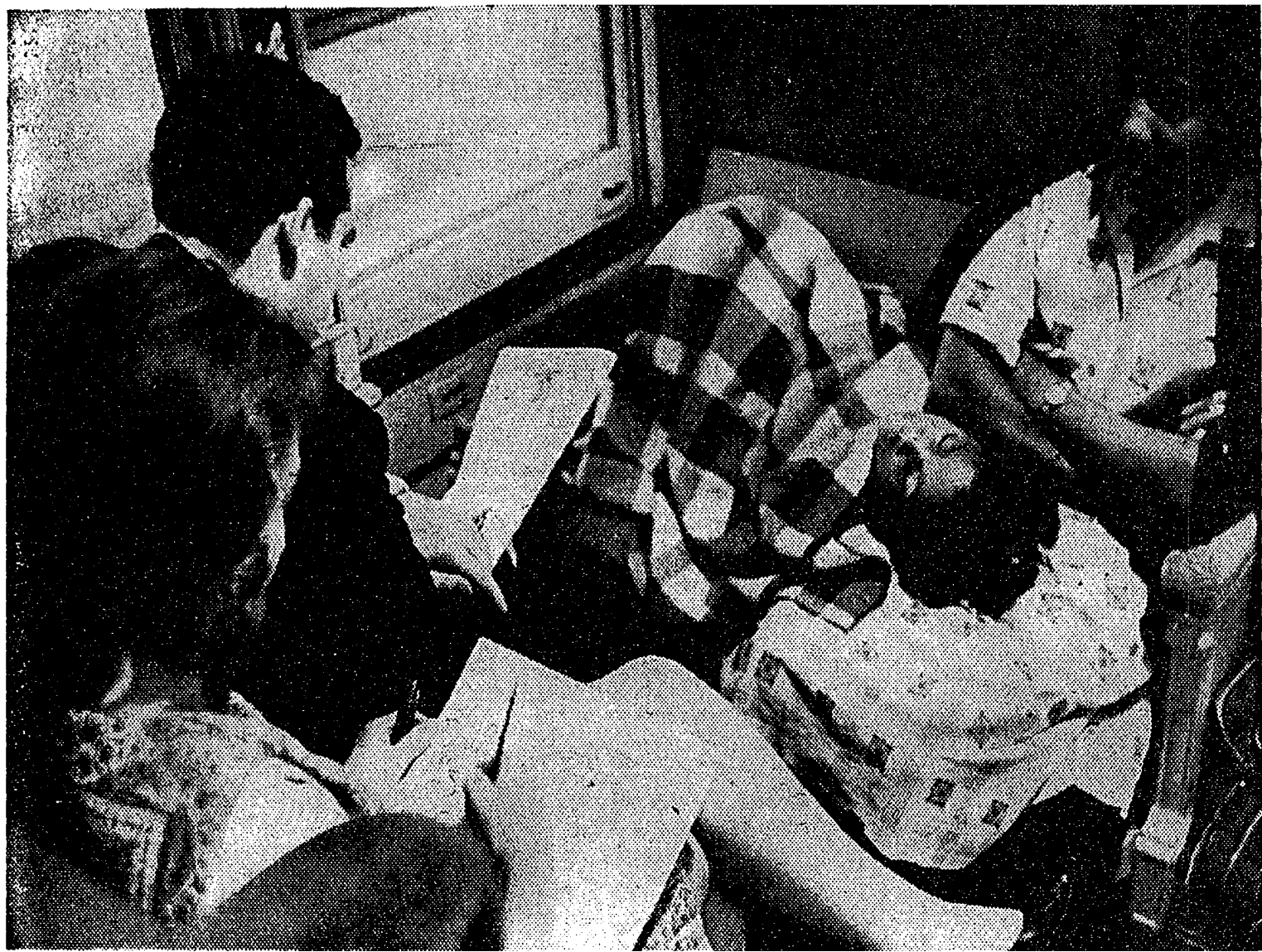
The New York Times (By Carl T. Gosset Jr.), Associated Press United Press International

New York Times (1923-Current file); Aug 29, 1963;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009)

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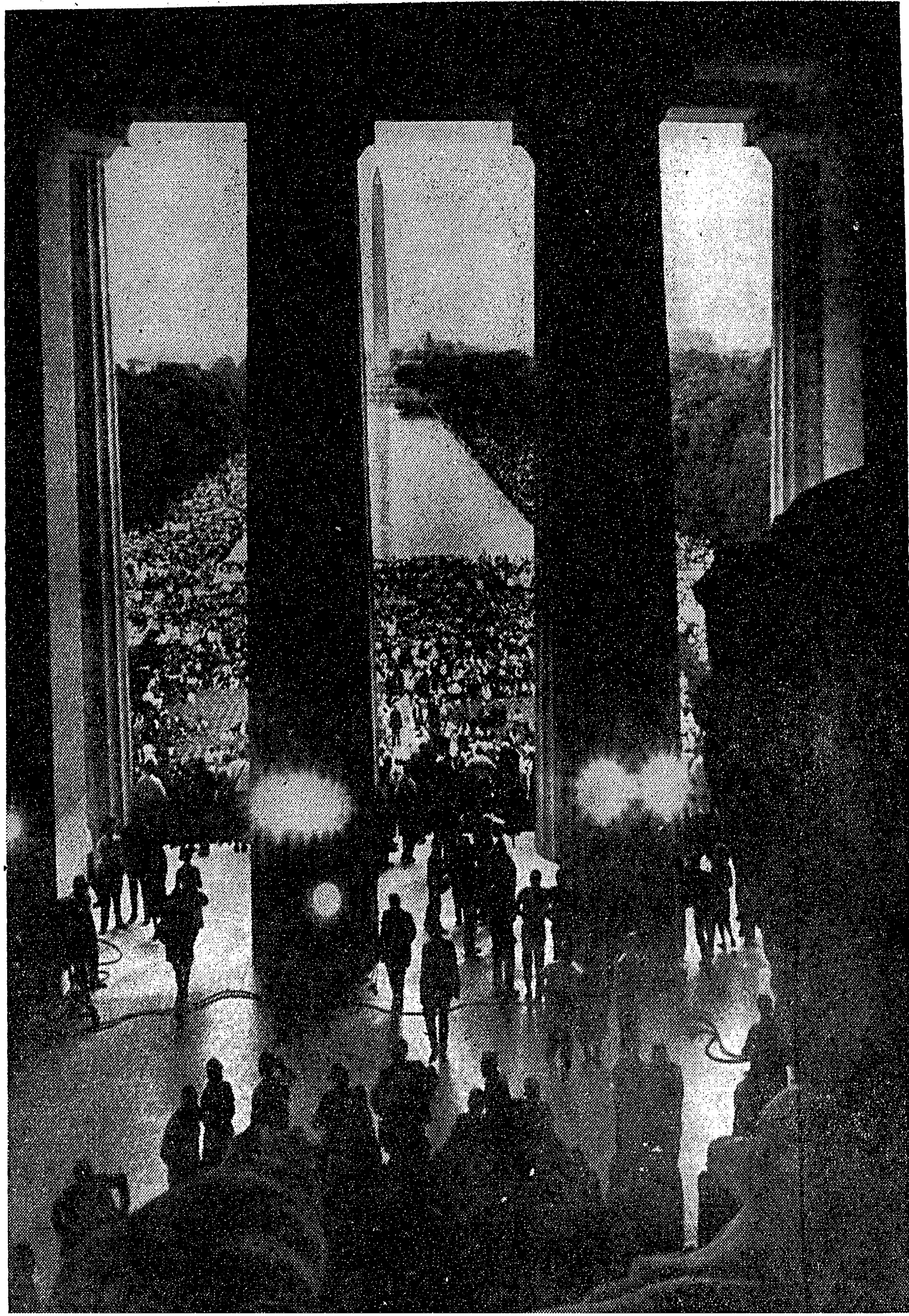
The March on Washington: A Polite but Pressing Insistence on Civil Rights 'Now'



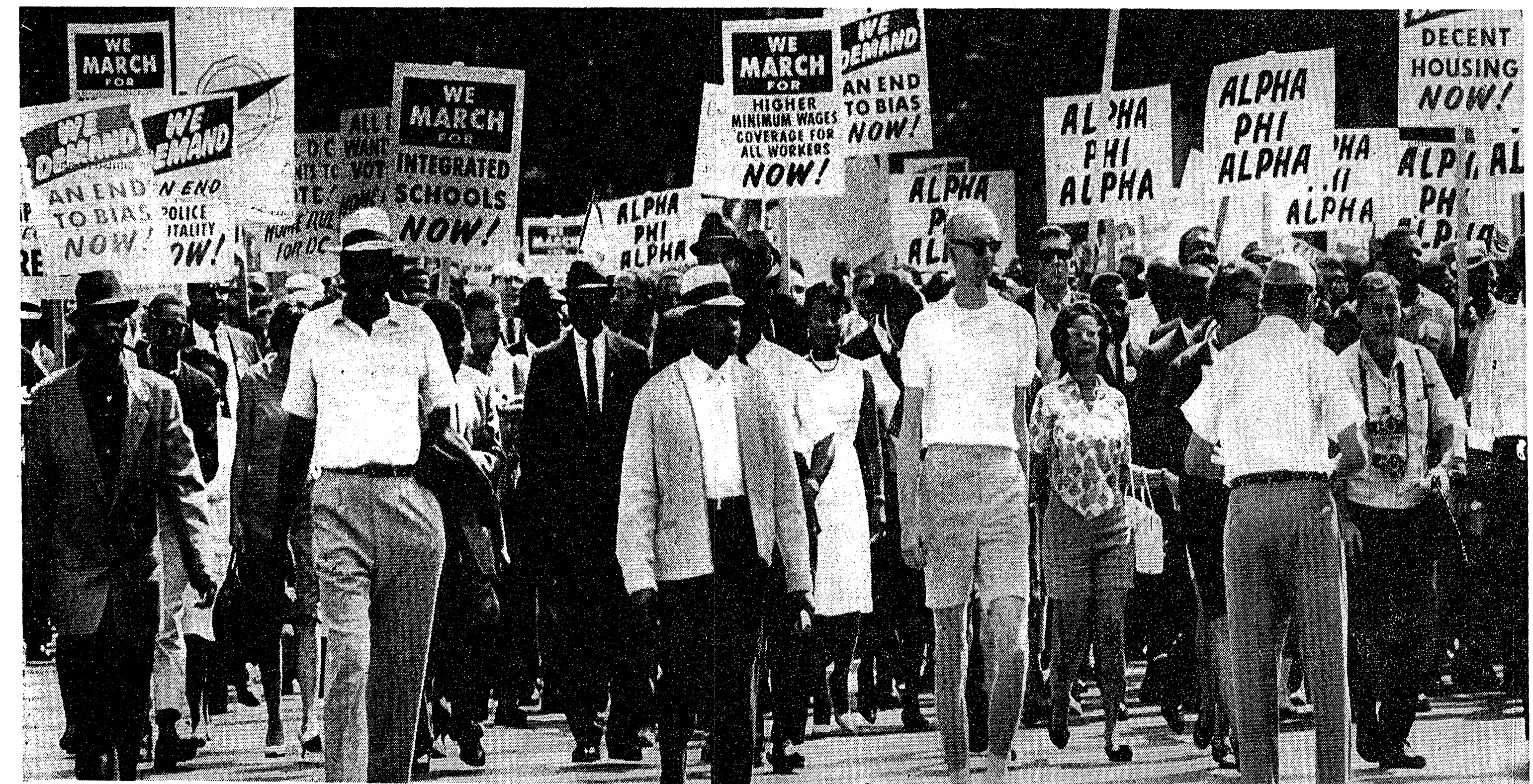
On the train trip from New York, there were various ways to while away the hours: reading, sketching and napping



After leaving trains at Union Station, marchers take shuttle buses to marshalling area at Washington Monument



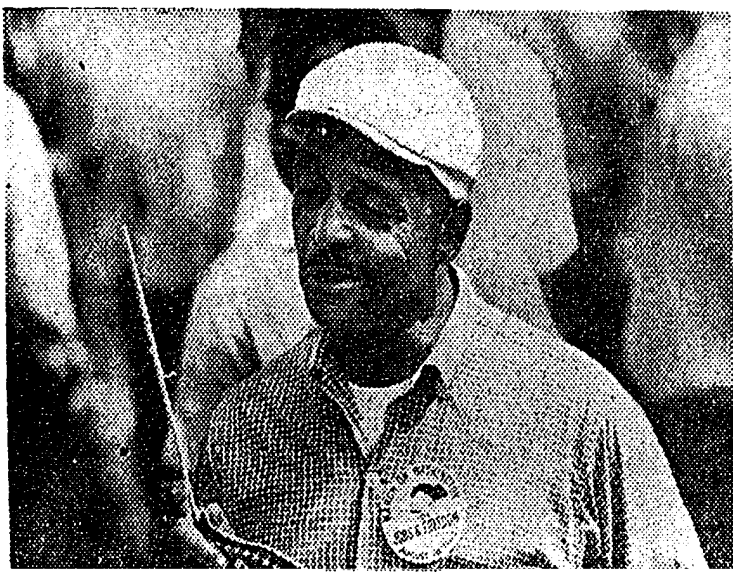
Lincoln Memorial frames part of the crowd. In the distance are the Washington Monument and the Reflecting Pool.



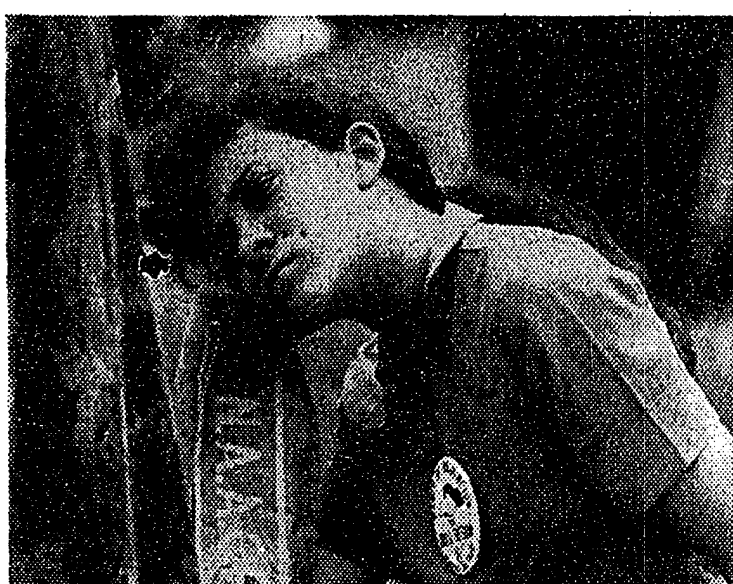
The marchers, singing and chanting, sweep along Constitution Avenue from the Washington Monument toward the Lincoln Memorial. The most significant point of their signs was the emphasis that what they wanted, they wanted "now."



Mahalia Jackson sings on podium at the Lincoln Memorial



Tired



Exhausted



Normally the Reflecting Pool is a key element in a formal setting, but yesterday it lent a touch of informality

Traffic Control Works Smoothly in Capital Although Volume Exceeds Predictions

DELAYS ARE FEW AND SHORT-LIVED

Task of Police Is Eased as Thousands of Residents Stay in Their Homes

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Some came by dawn's early light.

The freedom march was a thin line then. Nor was it long. Viewed from a helicopter, the grounds around the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial were a lush green, dotted by a few early arrivals. Traffic was light on all arteries and moved swiftly. Slowly the tempo rose. By 10, the pouring was tremendous. This went on for two hours. The great crush of humanity on the monument grounds spilled over into Constitution Avenue and edged westward like a great lava flow.

At 2:35 the helicoptering police reported to their amazement 1,514 parked buses. This far exceeded their careful estimates.

Not the Biggest Crowd

The police estimated that more than 175,000 persons had jammed into the few acres east of the memorial and that 25,000 were scattered.

The capital has dealt with larger crowds, but this was something new. The inaugurations of 1952 and 1953 brought 750,000 persons downtown Washington, but most of them were spectators. Today, nearly all were participants. Besides, they rolled in and out within a few hours.

Traffic control was close to flawless. Some congestion occurred on three arteries leading into the city, but it was short-lived.

The police task was eased because thousands stayed at home. Many employees of the Federal and District Governments took a day of their annual leave, but apparently enough of them reported for work to give the traffic experts concern. District employees were released at 3:15 and Federal employees, at the request of the police, at 3:30.

By 2:30, hundreds of participants were leaving the scene of the ceremonies, long before the Lincoln Memorial. But once they were in flight, the demonstrators sang no songs. Their mood was one of get close enough to see the speakers and performers. They were tired and wanted a place to sit down.

Later in the afternoon as trains got away on schedule, the police reported that the station crowd was orderly and "in a jovial mood."

By 6:10 P.M., 50 per cent of the special buses had left the city. Viewed from a helicopter, Washington was impressive for its magnificent distances and the richness of its trees and lawns. But it revealed little that was different from any other summer's day unless one knew what he was looking for.

Room for the Traffic

Connecticut Avenue, an artery for Maryland commuters, is ordinarily four lanes of screaming brakes in the rush hour. Today there was plenty of bumper room, although traffic had not quite thinned down to the density of a Sunday morning.

The Washington-Baltimore parkway, a high-density artery any business day, showed thin, swift movements at 7:30. At Union Station, outbound train movements seemed to exceed the inbound. This was deceptive.

The stationmaster reported that the first two specials arrived at 7 A.M. one from Pittsburgh, another from Cincinnati. By 10:15, eleven specials had arrived.

Altogether, 21 special and 16 regular trains pulled into the sheds. They had to be backed out for locomotive turnarounds and, from the air, looked like departures.

Beginning about 10, the parkway from Baltimore and points north began to choke up a bit. But by 11:15, or earlier, traffic flowed swiftly straight for the monument grounds. There were almost as many buses as private cars in the southbound lanes. On they came in singles and sixes, and once a cluster of eight.

More Buses Than Expected

Capt. Thomas I. Herlihy of the special investigation squad had checked as thoroughly as possible on probable bus arrivals. Every police chief in the land had been queried on the latest network.

Captain Herlihy had checked with Greyhound and Trailways and with the Interstate Commerce Commission. The estimate was 800 to 900. Instead, more than 1,500 buses came.

They were parked in reserved spaces along the Mall and around the Ellipse south of the White House. The monument grounds were not far off, except for those who had spent the night on the road.

Four chartered planes brought about 100 each. One crossed the continent from California. Two came from Chicago, and one from New York.

The first focus was the monument. Across the tidal basin, somewhat inaccessible to the freedom worshippers, stood the white-domed memorial to one of freedom's fathers, Thomas Jefferson, looking neglected and lonely.



TIME OUT: Marchers pause for lunch at one of the mobile refreshment stands set up between the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument. Military policeman stands guard.

Marchers Sing and Voice Hope On Way to Washington Rally

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—By airplane, bus, train, and automobile the demonstrators came to the nation's capital today, singing similar songs and expressing similar hopes.

Eighty-seven Negroes and whites boarded a chartered airliner in Los Angeles and arrived in Washington eight hours later.

It took four hours for 1,076 persons to travel here from New York on a special 14-car train. Other New Yorkers arrived by bus in about six hours.

A delegation of 260 Alabamians arrived at noon today after a 22-hour bus ride through the South.

In each case, there was some singing of freedom songs. But often the singing gave way to quiet, serious conversations about the meaning of the march and the direction of the non-violent protest movement.

A Determined Mood

The Los Angeles group sang "We Shall Overcome" for local television cameramen at the Los Angeles International Airport. But once they were in flight, the demonstrators sang no songs. Their mood was one of get close enough to see the speakers and performers. They were tired and wanted a place to sit down.

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Another group of New Yorkers got an earlier start. They left the city at 2:30 A.M. in buses that lacked foamy cushions, reading lamps and air conditioning. About all the riders could do was sing and talk.

Mike Sussman, a 20-year-old white student of 4523 Broadway, Fort Tryon Park, said, "I'm not looking out for myself; I'm looking out for my Negro. This is something that everybody has to support, and not sit around and wait and see."

Albert Paxton, a Negro taxi driver from 164 West 144th Street, explained why he came to Washington: "It was a duty for me. I drove a cab for a while this [Tuesday] evening, and then said, 'That's it. I'm going to Washington because it's a duty that has to be done.'"

The demonstrators from Alabama sang freedom songs on their long trip from Birmingham, but for the most part they talked. There were hours of conversations about last spring's civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham.

One of the six busloads of Alabamians moaned almost en masse when a white policeman stopped the bus to give instructions on the outskirts of Washington.

But when the bus approached the march area and a smartly uniformed Negro military policeman gave further directions, there was a different reaction.

"Now that's what I call good police work," said one of the marchers.

As the delegation from Alabama pulled into Washington, some passengers expressed regret that they had no banners flying from their buses. Many of the other buses had banners and signs.

"They ought to know who we are," said one man from Birmingham. "After all, we're the ones who started the whole freedom movement."

"Yeah," replied a fellow passenger, "but can you see us getting through Alabama with signs all over these buses? We'll let 'em know who we are once we get to the Washington Monument."

14,000 Return by Train More than 14,000 persons returned to the city last night by train after participating in the March on Washington. Thousands of others returned by bus and private car. The first of 14 special trains from the Capital arrived at Pennsylvania Station about 9:15 P.M. By 11:30, 11 out of the 14 had returned and the police reported no incidents.

Food From New York Fails to Lure Marchers

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Two large trucks from New York dispensed 50-cent-a-bag lunches to the civil rights marchers today. Trade at these two stands was relatively slim, however.

By midafternoon, fewer than half the estimated total of 80,000 lunches in the shipment had been sold. Some marchers complained about the skimpiness of the fare, which consisted of a cheese sandwich, slice of cake and an apple.

It appeared that most marchers had brought food with them. Thousands spread out picnic lunches under the trees beginning about noon, and munched sandwiches and fruit through the early part of the ceremonies on the memorial steps.

Many hundreds of marchers, after the parade from the monument, made at once for the reflecting pool in front of the Lincoln Memorial. They took off their shoes and dunked their feet in the cool water while eating lunch.

Those who depended on the seven licensed vendors for sandwiches and ice cream did not fare so well.

Crowds of a hundred or more either stretched out in block-long lines throughout the day or pushed and shoved their way to each counter. At most of these the fare was restricted to hot dogs, soft drinks and ice cream sticks.

Aside from heat and weariness, apparently the most acute discomfort suffered was the inadequacy of public toilet facilities.

There were approximately a dozen portable units, each with 10 individual toilets, for the demonstrators. Most of the day long lines of men, women and children queued up before them.

Sixty-six persons were sent by ambulance to hospitals, but only four were sufficiently ill to be admitted for treatment.

No fatalities were reported. Health services were provided not only by the district government, but also by the Red Cross and National Guard. Much difficulty was experienced by the first aid workers in getting through the tightly packed crowds around the Lincoln Memorial to reach the fainting victims.

In at least one instance, an unconscious woman was passed hand by hand over the heads of the crowd for almost twenty feet to a cleared space where stretcher bearers were waiting.

EATING FACILITIES TAXED TO FULLEST

Medical Posts Swamped but Illnesses Are Minor

By CABELL PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Food, medical and sanitary facilities for the tens of thousands of marchers today were nearly stretched to the breaking point.

Two dozen first aid stations scattered about the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial treated more than 1,700 patients by late afternoon. Only four, however, were hospitalized.

Headlines in London LONDON, Aug. 28 (AP)—The March drew major headlines in the British press today. The newspapers discussed the tensions underlying United States racial conflicts, but generally avoided partisan issues and offering solutions.

The Herald, a labor paper, was an exception. It said in a dispatch from Washington that President Kennedy "could well have done without the embarrassment of a freedom march at such a time as this."

His Administration have dragged their feet over Negro rights as long as they could, since this troublesome business is the canker in the Democratic party's soul.

"Now, however, he must make a liberal if it chokes him," the Express, a Conservative paper, used a front-page headline to describe Washington as a "city of nerves."

"The British people are not the kind to show anything but understanding for the Americans on this difficult day," the Express commented.

Another conservative newspaper, The Telegraph, said their ends only by getting and keeping the support of the majority of white Americans, especially in the North.

The Financial Times counseled for time, education and patience to overcome discriminatory attitudes, and for legislation against material conditions reflecting such attitudes.

Played Up in Paris PARIS, Aug. 28—The march on Washington was the most publicized of today's foreign domestic events here.

It dominated the front pages of the Paris press in detailed advance articles, some of which included maps of the major points in Washington.

Accounts of the event will not be available until tomorrow morning because of the five-hour time difference but millions of persons were able to view the event on their television sets this evening. Telecasts were relayed here by the Telstar satellite but they were not put on until this evening.

Protest Lodged in Munich Special to The New York Times
MUNICH, Aug. 28—A group of thirty Americans and Germans marched on the Consulate General in Munich today to express their solidarity with the marchers in Washington.

Al Hoosman, a boxer turned actor living in the Bavarian capital, acted as spokesman for the group. He handed Deputy Consul General Neil M. Ruge a petition demanding full civil rights for all minorities in the United States. The demonstration, which took place in the rain, was without incident.

Cairo Rally Suppressed Special to The New York Times
CAIRO, Aug. 28—Thirty Africans representing nationalist organizations in nine African countries delivered to the United States Embassy here today a message supporting the march.

A demonstration by the African League at the Embassy, however, was not permitted by the Cairo police. The league is formed by exiles and other leaders from African territories seeking independence.

The would-be demonstrators came from Mozambique, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, Kenya and Swaziland.

The police stopped 10 taxicabs carrying Africans a block from the Embassy. Eventually the authorities allowed two groups from the group to enter the Embassy with a "message for President Kennedy." In the absence of Ambassador John S. Badeau, the message was accepted by Michael Sterner, political attaché. The message denounced discrimination practices in the United States.

Ben Bella in Salute Special to The New York Times
ALGERIA, Aug. 28—Premier Ahmed Ben Bella expressed today Algeria's "solidarity" with the marchers and praised the Kennedy Administration's efforts in behalf of racial equality.

In a statement to Revolution Africaine, a Government-influenced weekly published tomorrow, the Algerian Premier declared:

"This march began, in fact, several decades ago in order to obtain total abolition of segregation in every area. Several years ago the American Negroes were still alone, oppressed and fighting a more or less general hostility. Today we would like to salute, along with the freedom march, the effort undertaken by the American Government in the direction of racial integration."

Ghana Decries Promises ACCRA, Ghana, Aug. 28 (Reuters)—The Ghanaian Times in a front-page editorial said today the "Voice of the Afro-American cries out loud for freedom in America, the champion of the 'free world.'"

The pro-Government newspaper, commenting on today's march in Washington said a "great challenge" faced the United States.

"Time is running out and what practical things the United States Government does to bring about sanity and racial equality will weigh more than empty words and promises of justice and civil rights for Afro-Americans," the editorial said.

IZVESTIA PLACES RALLY ON PAGE ONE

It Says Men Seeking Dignity 'Will Never Turn Back'

By HENRY TANNER

Special to The New York Times
MOSCOW, Aug. 28—Izvestia, the Soviet Government newspaper, declared today that the participants in the civil rights march in Washington had been wished success by the "whole of progressive humanity."

In a front-page article the newspaper wrote that the demonstration was "only the beginning of a long, hard road."

"The men fighting for their human dignity will never turn aside, will never turn back," it said.

Tass, the official press agency, said in a commentary that the march focused attention on "the most acute domestic problems of the biggest capitalist power."

Because of the time difference between Washington and Moscow, today's comments were written before the march got under way. The Moscow radio gave a brief account tonight of the gathering before the Lincoln Memorial and of the meeting of the leaders of the march with members of Congress.

The Tass article stressed that American whites as well as Negroes were participating in the movement for racial equality.

The purpose of the march, the agency said, was to obtain economic as well as political equality for the Negro.

President Kennedy's civil rights bill, although a "definite step forward," said nothing about equal pay for equal work for whites and Negroes," the Tass commentator noted.

"The ideology of racism is extremely profitable for the owners of monopolies, plantations and big and small enterprises. It has been estimated that last year the American employers received \$4,000,000,000 of additional profits from the difference in pay between whites and Negroes," the article said.

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A Happy Day in Harlem

Bar Patron's 'Wish I Was There' Tells Feeling of Many Watching Rally on TV

By GAY TALESE

THEY sat around Harlem's bars all day listening to it on the radio or watching it on television, and they seemed excited and very happy—the way they used to seem in such bars on nights when Joe Louis was fighting.

"Oh, I wish I was there," said a man at the Empire Bar on 125th Street. The talk of more than 200,000 in Washington demonstration for equal rights, "Yeah," said the bartender, emptying a bottle.

Suddenly, the bartender scowled and turned his head; someone at the far side of the room had dropped a coin in the juke box, and now rock'n'roll music blared from the machine.

"Who did that?" the bartender demanded. A drinker at the bar nodded to a girl sitting with her boyfriend at the booth in the corner.

The bartender swore to himself. Then, stretching toward the television, he turned the volume up so loud that it drowned out the juke box. The drinkers at the bar nodded approvingly; at this time they were interested only in the tenor of Roy Wilkins coming from the Lincoln Memorial.

OUTSIDE, the streets of Harlem were quiet. Some pedestrians walked in the sun carrying transistors tuned to Washington. A small crowd watched television at the Barber Queen, a shop on 125th Street.

"Oh, this is the greatest day in the black man's history," said a man in the No. 3 chair. "That Reuther made a helluva speech, didn't he?" said the man next to him.

"Yeah," said a customer, Eddie Johns, stepping into the shop and looking for his favorite barber, Johnny Wilson.

"Went to Washington," "I should go myself," said Eddie Johns, waving and walking toward Seventh Avenue.

SEVENTH Avenue is the liveliest street in Harlem. It is the center of the better shops and better bars. Here and there one finds some fine, tall buildings designed by Stanford White—before 1900, which is how the Negroes moved up town in a mass to this ghetto.

But in the evening, the deck of the 26th Precinct, reported no robberies or other crime.

"It's certainly been a wonderful day for Harlem," said Mrs. Edna Brazier, walking home as twilight began to descend on white men into denying what she knows to be right, into denying the law of his God?

Rabbi Prinz, who knew Nazi persecution in Berlin 30 years ago, recalled the ancient history of the Jews, which he said, began with "slavery and yearning for freedom."

Seated on the platform were 34 other ministers and lay representatives of religious groups. Among them were:

The Right Rev. William F. Creighton, Bishop of the Washington Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church; former Gov. Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, marching for the American Baptist Convention; Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord of Washington, and the Rev. Gardner Taylor, pastor of the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn.

Also, the Rev. John LaFarge, editor of America, the Jesuit weekly; Raymond Hillard, chairman of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and Bishop John J. Rustice of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond.

Archbishop Opens Ceremony Aslo, Irving J. Fain, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Rabbi Leon Foyer, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; George Maklan, president of the United Synagogue, and Shad Polier, chairman of the National Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress.

The Most Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington, read the invocation that opened the ceremonies. Rabbi Yu Miller, president of the Synagogue Council of America, which represents all branches of Judaism, delivered a prayer. The benediction closing the demonstration was pronounced by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, a Negro institution in Atlanta.

Delegates of Reform Judaism carried placards in Hebrew and English. One was from Leviticus, and is also inscribed on the Liberty Bell:

"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, and unto all the inhabitants thereof."

In his prayer, Archbishop O'Boyle appealed to the demonstrators to advance their cause "without bitterness, even when confronted with prejudice and discrimination."

Crowd Hails a Chicagoan Who Skated to the Capital WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (UPI)—Some of the loudest applause received by anyone introduced today prior to the main speeches at the Lincoln Memorial integration rally went to a man who had roller-skated to the march from Chicago.

Ledger Smith, who took 10 days to make the 700-mile trip, told the crowd, "I'm tired."

Mr. Smith, a Negro, declined to say much more. "Let my legs speak for me," he said.

OTTAWA Embassy Picketed OTTAWA, Aug. 28 (Canadian Press)—Four teen-aged girls pickedet the United States Embassy here bearing placards expressing sympathy for the march.

The girls are members of the New Democratic Youth, junior wing of the New Democratic party.

THREE FAITHS JOIN IN RIGHTS DEMAND

Leaders Speak at Memorial —Laymen in March

By IRVING SPIEGEL

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—The march on Washington today brought together the nation's three major faiths—Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish—in support of the Negroes' militant bid for full equality.

For several months, lay and religious leaders had worked closely with Negro civil rights groups in planning the demonstration and in drawing up the demands that were presented to President Kennedy at the White House. This cooperative effort was demonstrated in force today.

Representatives of the three religious groups were among the ten chairmen of the march and spoke from the platform at the Lincoln Memorial.

They were the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and vice chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches; Matthew Ahmann, executive director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress.

It was estimated that 10,000 church and synagogue members—led by 200 religious leaders—from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. Many carried placards testifying:

"We march together—Catholics, Jews, Protestants—for dignity and brotherhood of all men under God. Now!"

Dr. Blake indicted the Protestant churches for having "failed to put their own house in order."

"After 100 years of the Emancipation Proclamation, 175 years after the adoption of the Constitution, 174 years after the Bill of Rights, the United States still faces a racial crisis," he said.

Mr. Ahmann, a lay Roman Catholic leader, asked: "Who can call himself a man of God and take part in a system of racial segregation which frightens the white man into denying what he knows to be right, into denying the law of his God?"

Rabbi Prinz, who knew Nazi persecution in Berlin 30 years ago, recalled the ancient history of the Jews, which he said, began with "slavery and yearning for freedom."

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Police Precautions and Festive Spirit of Capital Keep Disorders at a Minimum

ONLY 4 ARRESTED, INCLUDING A NAZI

Rockwell and Cohorts Are Quickly Cordoned Off—Bomb Scare Arises

By ROBERT C. TOTH
Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Elaborate and publicized police precautions, including the separation of some self-styled Nazis, helped to keep disturbances at a minimum during the civil rights rally today.

The demonstrators carried out their march with surprisingly few incidents for a gathering of more than 200,000. Their mood, more festive than restive, contributed to the lack of disturbances.

From the beginning, the march leaders had pleaded for nonviolence. Any disturbances, they said repeatedly, would hurt the cause for which they assembled. These admonitions were heeded meticulously.

Only four persons were arrested. One was Karl R. Allen of Tallahassee, Fla., 32-year-old deputy commander of the American Nazi party, who clearly had asked to be seized.

He attempted to address about 80 sympathizers whom the police had cordoned off across the street from the Washington Monument, where the march began.

Mr. Allen completed a sentence before the police reminded him that he could not speak without a permit. He started again, and got a second warning. When he began a third time, he was escorted to a waiting police car.

Youths Look Seedy

An official of the Congress of Racial Equality said he regretted that the Nazis had not been permitted to speak. He held that it was their right, regardless of their views.

Park officials had refused such permission, the only request from counter-demonstrators, on the ground that the number of marchers would tax the city's facilities.

The Nazi group, made up largely of seedy youths, then left in single file. They walked more than a mile and crossed a Potomac bridge to Arlington, where the party has its headquarters.

Mr. Allen was released on \$500 bail within two hours after his arraignment on a charge of speaking on park grounds without a permit. He faces up to six months in jail and a \$500 fine when his case comes up Friday.

Robert L. Dugan, 21, of Alexandria, Va., was seized when a shotgun was spotted in the front seat of his white convertible.

Mr. Dugan, a computer operator who works at night, said he was carrying the loaded gun "for his own protection."

He was charged with carrying and possessing a deadly weapon, two misdemeanors which carry penalties of up to a year in jail on each count. The police said he may be charged also by Federal attorneys tomorrow with possession of a prohibited weapon, in violation of a Federal law.

In other incidents, Edward Schell, 20, of Chicago, was arrested after he had broken into the marchers on Constitution Avenue and torn a placard. He paid a \$10 fine on the misdemeanor charge and was released.

A youth in Hyattsville, Md., was picked up by the park police for having stoned march buses on the Baltimore-Washington Expressway.

There was a scare when an anonymous caller told the police that bombs had been planted at the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. The monument was ordered closed and a search was made, but nothing was found.

135 Communists on Hand

Authorities estimated that 135 Communist party members had come for the demonstration. Many were said to be from New York, including Gus Hall, the party secretary.

Malcolm X, chief spokesman for the Black Muslims, held a nearly nonstop news conference in a hotel during the march. He denounced the Negro demonstrators for "seeking favors" from the "white man's Government." The militant Muslims want a separate Negro state.

Except for the march area, the city was quiet.

The sale of alcoholic beverages was banned during the day. It was said to be the first time since at least the repeal of Prohibition 30 years ago that beer and wine had not been sold in the District of Columbia.

Police Chief Robert V. Murray was gratified at the lack of disturbances.

"This has been a very orderly crowd, the largest crowd actually participating in an event in the history of this city," he said.

However, he warned of the danger of violence after marchers had dispersed into small groups.

At 9 P.M., Chief Murray issued the final order relieving all special details of the police. He declared the city "back to normal."

His carefully trained force of 5,000 officers—police, National Guardsmen and reservists—was backed by a special 222-man riot squad and off-duty policemen from New York and other cities who served as march marshals. The marshals wore gold armbands.

Washington policemen were ordered not to wear extra equipment, such as hand cuffs and clubs. They carried revolvers as usual.

Every man up to detective sergeant was ordered into uniform so as to be "visible." Police



AFTER MARCH: Discarded signs and other debris litter the lawn around the Reflecting Pool across from the Lincoln Memorial after march. Washington Monument is in distance.

For 200,000 Who Were There It Was a Date to Live Forever

By NAN ROBERTSON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—If any button worn today captured the emotion that moved all who saw the great civil rights march on Washington, it was the "I Was There" button that thousands bought.

For Aug. 28, 1963, was a historic day. The 200,000 persons who streamed into the capital and moved like a mighty river up to the steps of the Lincoln Memorial knew it was a day they would remember. The number alone—the sheer masses of humanity spread over Washington's wide, grassy spaces—was awesome.

A Negro woman, wearing from much walking and the hot sun more than a mile and crossed the bridge to Arlington, where the party has its headquarters.

"I may have to sleep in the car. But I'm proud to be here," she said.

Miss Anderson Slings

The Negro contralto Marian Anderson, tied up by traffic, arrived in tears and too late to sing the National Anthem that began ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial. It was sung by Camilla Williams. Miss Anderson later sang one of her most beloved spirituals: "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands."

The ten chairmen, who spent some of the morning with members of Congress on Capitol Hill, were nowhere to be seen as the march started early—and without them.

The spontaneous surge westward from the Washington Monument toward the Lincoln Memorial began at 11:20 A.M. This was 10 minutes before the scheduled step-off. Twenty minutes later the leaders still had not showed up. A plaintive appeal came over the loudspeakers:

"We've lost the leaders' delegation. They are hereby instructed to join the march and go to the Lincoln Memorial. Will the leaders' delegation please sound off?"

They finally caught up with the demonstration.

Youth Are Exuberant

Some older members of the march gazed with astonishment at the new generation of civil rights Negroes—the exuberant, singing youngsters from the Southern sit-ins. Here is typical dialogue between a Virginia song-leader and his group as they moved along Constitution Avenue:

Leader, with a revivalist swing: "Freedom, freedom, freedom, freedom. Goin' to take it to the President!"

Group: "Yeah, man."

cars that were usually unmarked had cardboard signs.

A special course in human relations was given to all policemen. Deputy Chief George R. Wallrod told a group of officers this morning:

"We're not interested in the political or sociological aspects of this. We're police officers."

He cautioned against arrests for minor infractions. Some out-of-town people, he added, may have had bad experiences with policemen and may be anti-cop; don't let them get under your skin.

The riot squad, known as the civil disturbance unit, was stationed at undisclosed places. Members carried clubs, gas masks, tear-gas and shotguns. They were not allowed to move except by direct order from Chief Murray.

George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi party, arrived at the Washington Monument with his followers before dawn. He predicted a turnout of at least 200 party sympathizers, although he said he had pledged from 12,000 to appear.

"I'm ashamed of my race," he said of the Nazi turnout. He described members of the white-supremacy Citizens Council, whom he had asked to attend, as "cowards." Asked about Ku Klux Klan, he said he had not solicited their members.

"They are anti-Catholic," he said. "Some of our best people are Catholics."

The police allowed the Rock-

"Goin' to take it to the Representatives!"

"Yeah, man."

"Goin' to take it to the press!"

"Yeah, man."

"Goin' to read it in the paper!"

"Yeah, man."

"Are you satisfied?"

"Satisfied!"

A matronly Negro woman watching them from the curb said:

"My he's quite a singer."

"Yeah, he's going to knock himself out," her husband said.

Organist Is 'Overcome'

"We Shall Overcome," the battle hymn of the civil rights movement, was sang everywhere near the demonstration today. But it faded the organist at the Lincoln Memorial, heard by scores of thousands. He couldn't play it from memory and his sheet music was in a car bogged down in traffic.

An unidentified Negro minister rushed to the organist's side and sketched the notes for him. Soon, "We Shall Overcome" surged over the loudspeakers.

Norman Thomas Present

Norman Thomas, the 79-year-old Socialist leader who has long championed the civil rights cause, was among honored guests who sat at the memorial ceremonies. He expressed sorrow that he could not walk with the marchers.

"I have reached the age when I can only sit," he said. "My legs got old faster than I did."

Farmer's Speech Read

The man who wasn't there was James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, in jail after a civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, La. Mr. Farmer was the only one of the 10 march leaders who could not make it to the capital. But his words did get to Washington.

His speech was read by Floyd McKissick from the steps of the Memorial. "We will not stop," Mr. Farmer said, "until the dogs stop biting us in the South and the rats stop biting us in the North."

Miss Baker Files In

Josephine Baker, the ageless Negro chanteuse, flew in from Paris, where she has lived for decades. She was not invited, but like many, she said she felt she had to come.

"I've been following this movement for 30 years," she said. "Now that the fruit is ripe I want to be here. You can't put liberty at the tip of the lip and expect people not to drink it."

well group to gather off monument grounds in a grassy area about 25 yards square. About 35 policemen, reinforced by twice that number of Air National Guard M.P.'s were spaced around the area.

The Nazis were cautioned that they could stay as long as they did not make speeches, wear uniforms or show placards. A man in the compound, who identified himself as Cal Mende of Minnesota, boomed loudly from the loudspeaker at the rally said the crowd had grown to more than 90,000.

Mr. Rockwell ordered him out of the area. Mr. Mende said he was not a Nazi, but an advocate of civil rights for whites. Mr. Rockwell then called a policeman, who warned Mr. Mende against repeating the outburst.

An hour later Mr. Rockwell ordered his followers to face him. Mr. Allen, who had notes in his hand, Mr. Allen said, "We are here to protest in a peaceful manner the occupation of the nation's capital with people deadly to the welfare of the country." The police then moved in.

Most Negro and white demonstrators seemed unaware of the Nazi group.

A Negro newspaper photographer got into the area, and sat down to rest. The group gathered around him hostilely, and Mr. Rockwell asked for his credentials. He produced them, then realized where he was and left with the comment that he wanted "nothing to do with a protest group."

PRELATE OBJECTS TO RIGHTS SPEECH

Archbishop Gives Invocation After Talk Is Revised

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—The Most Rev. Patrick J. O'Boyle, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Washington, threatened to withdraw from the program of the march on Washington unless changes were made in one of the scheduled speeches, it was reported today.

The Archbishop did pronounce the invocation at the ceremonies this afternoon on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. But he did so only after John Lewis, chairman of the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, had reprised passages of his prepared speech. The Archbishop had found the passage objectionable.

Mr. Lewis confirmed that he had rewritten parts of his speech to accommodate the prelate. Archbishop O'Boyle refused to comment.

March Like Sherman

One offending passage, according to advance copies of the speech available here today, was:

"We will march through the South, through the streets of Jackson, through the streets of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own (scorched earth) policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground—nonviolently."

As delivered by Mr. Lewis at the Lincoln Memorial this afternoon, this portion of his talk was as follows:

"We will march through the South, through the streets of Jackson, through the streets of Cambridge, through the streets of Birmingham. But we will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today."

Mr. Lewis told reporters he had not meant the original wording to be inflammatory, but rather to be "a symbolic gesture of nonviolence."

Tired of Waiting

Another portion of the original text declared:

"The nonviolent revolution is saying, 'we will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory.'"

In place of this passage the following was inserted:

"To those who are saying, 'be patient and wait,' we must say that we cannot be patient. We do not want our freedom gradually, but we want to be free now."

Archbishop O'Boyle, it is known, discussed Mr. Lewis' speech last night with A. Philip Randolph and Walter P. Reuther, leaders of the march. They both agreed, it was reported, that the speech in its original form was "not consistent with the tenor" of the rest of the program.

It was at their suggestion that the speech was revised.

Inmates Watch on TV In Washington Prisons

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—Donald Clemmer, Director of Department of Corrections for the District of Columbia, gave his prisoners half a day off from their regular work today so they could watch the freedom march on television.

"It took the steam off," he said. He explained that prison officials had been somewhat uneasy because 70 per cent of the jail population of 4,600 is Negro.

The prisoners were called in from the fields, the shops, factories so they could watch. Their reaction, Mr. Clemmer reported, was one of "gentlemanly behavior and appreciation."

MARCHERS AWARE 'TODAY IS HISTORY'

Yet Throng Is Lighthearted—Participants Give Views

By JACK LANGGUTH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—"Today is history," Mrs. B. J. Wilson, a 67-year-old Negro dressmaker from Memphis, explained as she marched to the Lincoln Memorial.

"And I said to myself, 'I'm going to lay aside my patterns and be a part of it.'"

That they were walking onto a page of American history was an aspect of the march often mentioned by both Negroes and whites. But no one seemed weighed down.

Instead, the early atmosphere was lighthearted as crowds gathered with banners and pennants at the Washington Monument. While the throng grew steadily, tension did not increase.

"What impressed me," said the Rev. Jacob Justiss, a Negro clergyman from Pottsville, Pa., "was the dignified attitude of the people. It could be a religious meeting instead of one on civil rights."

Calls Day An Anticlimax

Harry Graham, a white lawyer with the Federal Trade Commission, said that today was "anticlimactic."

"The march has already had its effect in Washington," he said, "and the thrill came a couple of months ago, planning it."

Mr. Graham, representing the Hope United Church, said his own interest in the movement was heightened because he had had to sign a restrictive covenant when he brought his home in Alexandria, Va.

"It's wrong and I oppose it," he said, "but I signed."

In describing the effect of their demonstration on pending civil rights legislation, the marchers often used the word "hope."

"I hope this will bring results," said Fred Williams, a 25-year-old Negro electrical engineer from Hempstead, L. I.

Dorothy Ambers, a 14-year-old Negro student from Washington, D. C., said, "I hope this will make people more aware." She was wearing a sandwich board she had painted. It read: "Must we wait 100 or 200 more years for equality?"

The girl's 10-year-old cousin, Bobby Brown, also of Washington, wore a sign asking, "What's after college for me?"

'Something Positive'

"Hope is the force that drew most of the people here," the Rev. Kenneth Dannenhauer, a 42-year-old white Baptist minister from Princeton, N. J., said. "They want to say something positive, and they hope being here today will help."

Many of the marchers were speculating on how news of the march would be received in their own communities.

Mrs. I. S. Hankins, a Negro from Orlando, Fla., observed:

"In a city like ours, where we've been making progress without clashes, the manner and decorum of the march will please everyone."

Her husband, a doctor, is a member of the Mayor's interracial committee in Orlando.

That today's march might not be the last was a prediction of both whites and Negroes.

"This will start showing the world the collective power of the American Negro," said A. C. Howard, a 52-year-old Negro department store executive from New York. "But it is only a start. We have to continue until we reach our goal."

Adam Putter, a 16-year-old student from Eastchester, N. Y., was marching with his mother and his twin brother, Jed.

"The color of a person's skin has nothing to do with what he is," said the youth, who is white. "I believe in the rights of all peoples."

A white union official, Clifford W. Depin, suggested that the march might have had its greatest effect on the marchers themselves.

Mr. Depin, district manager in Scranton, Pa., for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, explained:

"We came here with about 50 members, and I'm not sure most of them were awakened to the real issues until we started to march and sing. That turned the trick."

Coast Demonstrations Held By Rights Group and Nazis

Special to The New York Times
LOS ANGELES, Aug. 28—Both civil rights advocates and self-styled Nazis staged demonstrations here today keyed to the march on Washington.

Twenty members of the Congress of Racial Equality held a sit-down in the entrance of the Federal building while others picketed outside.

They described it as the start of a campaign, entitled "Operation Payday," to open 5,000 new jobs to Negroes here. The Federal Government is only one of several targets, they said.

Meanwhile, the man who calls himself the Western leader of the American Nazi party, Ralph Forbes, spoke to about 100 persons in McCambridge Park in suburban Burbank.

He was booed and taunted as he denounced the Washington demonstration as an effort to secure civil rights by "violence and slaughter."

The local United Civil Rights Committee, consisting of the Freedom Now Committee at Walker, who lost his command track about 600 marchers to a two-mile march from East Austin, to the capital. About 100 were white. The leader,

3½-Year-Old Protest Movement Comes of Age in Capital Rally

Militancy, Sparked by Sit-In in 1960, Has Swept Nation, Giving Negroes Confidence and Determination

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 28—70,000 Negroes and whites had actively participated in the protests. The campaign had spread to all of the Southern and Border states, as well as into Nevada, Illinois and Ohio—twenty in all. An estimated total of 3,600 students and their supporters had been arrested.

But these, perhaps, were the least important results of the demonstrations. Profound changes began to become apparent with the civil rights movement, its leaders and its organizations. These changes included the formation of a new group.

This took place in April, 1960, when representatives of student groups in the South and North met at Shaw University in Raleigh on Easter weekend and formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Members of SNCC, as it is popularly known, soon became and remain today the shock troops of the civil rights struggle in the South.

The Congress of Racial Equality, which had pioneered the sit-ins following its founding in Chicago in 1941, guided and advised many of the demonstrations in 1960 and thus gained a foothold in the South.

Dr. King Enters Picture

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who had gained prominence as a leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, stepped up the activity of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He founded the organization, chiefly a coalition of local groups led by Negro ministers, in 1957.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, oldest and largest of the civil rights organizations, began to place increasing emphasis on sit-ins and other forms of direct action against racial barriers. The stimulus came from criticism that its leaders had relied too heavily on legal action.

One success followed another as the movement picked up strength and intensity. Additional impetus came from the Kennedy Administration's inauguration of a much stronger civil rights policy. Negroes continued to find a sympathetic hearing in the Federal courts, especially above the District Court level.

The Freedom Riders met a riotous reception in Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1961. This phase of the movement was short-lived and involved no more than 1,000 persons. But it brought a ruling from the Interstate Commerce Commission prohibiting segregation on buses and in bus terminals and it spurred Justice Department action against all segregation in public transportation.

In Albany, Ga., local Negroes assisted by Dr. King and other sympathizers from both the South and North encountered a pattern of sophisticated resistance to change as yet unmatched in any other community. There was little or no violence during the campaign's initial stages in 1961, only in 1962 when it was renewed. The police, under Chief Laurie Pritchett, simply arrested virtually every person who persisted in protesting in the streets.

By far the most serious Federal-state controversy since the Civil War developed over Federal Court orders directing the University of Mississippi to accept James H. Meredith last year. When he finally entered the university after repeated acts of defiance by Gov. Ross R. Barnett and Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, a riot erupted in which two men died and 375 were wounded. President Kennedy was forced to dispatch troops to assist deputy Federal marshals in restoring order.

This year brought what some already are calling the turning point of the fight for equality. It began with a spirited drive by Negroes of the Mississippi Delta for voter registration, highlighted by the demonstrations and arrests in Greenwood.

But it was the conflict between Negroes and resisting white segregationists in Birmingham, with its police dogs and fire hoses, that caught the attention of the nation and touched off demonstrations in the South and North.

Out of Birmingham, one observer has said, came a realization that "the alternatives may not be those of the civil war—indivisible union or irreparable separation—but they are no less stark and serious: total equality or total repression."

In a very real sense, this is the question some observers think was put to the Congress today.

COMPETING MARCHES ARE HELD IN AUSTIN

AUSTIN, Tex., Aug. 28 (AP)—Demonstrators for and against civil rights for Negroes marched the streets here today in 101-degree heat.

There were no major incidents and no arrests.

An anti-integrationist group called the Indignant White Citizens Council had predicted 3,000 persons would parade in opposition to civil rights demonstrators. Only 11 supporters showed up.

A rally sponsored by the Freedom Now Committee at Dallas, who lost his command track about 600 marchers to a two-mile march from East Austin, to the capital. About 100 were white. The leader,

NEGROES' LEADER A MAN OF DIGNITY

Randolph Deeply Influenced in Youth by Dr. DuBois

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

The prologue to Asa Philip Randolph's leadership of the March on Washington goes back more than 60 years to a Florida lynching that never took place and a book that was read by a Negro boy.

"The men [all Negroes] of the town had gone to the county jail, stood all night like sentries in the street and kept the lynch mob from coming."

Mr. Randolph once told an interviewer. "I'll never forget it. It had a tremendous effect on me."

From this the boy of 9 had learned that he and his people had strength.

Several years later he read William E. B. DuBois' "Souls of Black Folk" and from it learned his people had talent. Dr. DuBois, who died this week, wrote of the "talented 10th"—that is, one of 10 Negroes should be trained to help other Negroes rise to whatever heights their talents and education allowed. Young Randolph decided to become one of the "talented 10th."

Since then he has preached nonviolence and self-reliance to the Negro and has practiced politics with the aim of "revolutionizing the conscious and subconscious mind of the dominant white people."

His chief tactic has been an unshakable dignity that has been used not as a rock to batter the barriers of racial prejudice but as water to engulf and drown them.

Meetings At White House

Three Presidents before John F. Kennedy have been so engaged. In 1941, Mr. Randolph planned his first mass march of Negroes on Washington to protest the Negro exclusion from any significant role in war industry.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt summoned him to the White House, and used all his charm to talk him out of the march. Mr. Randolph was inflexible, and the President issued the order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission, forerunner to similar laws barring racial restrictions in employment in the United States. That march was called off.

In 1948, Mr. Randolph was back at the White House, telling President Harry S. Truman that Negroes would refuse to register for the draft unless the armed forces became integrated. An Executive order ending segregation in the military was issued shortly thereafter.

Ten years later, he met with President Dwight D. Eisenhower to urge civil rights legislation and a swifter implementation of the Supreme Court school integration decision. "The President was very pleasant, full of good will, but without apparent familiarity with the problems of the Negro people or readiness to do anything about them," Mr. Randolph said without rancor.

To America's 19,000,000 Negroes Mr. Randolph is as much a moral force as a man. He is tall, thin and serene. His voice is soft and deep, almost like an organ, and his language, biblical in its eloquence, never seems to be directed at his immediate audience, but at somewhere out beyond, perhaps the whole human race.

Father Was Clergyman

Mr. Randolph was born in Crescent City, Fla., April 15, 1889, the son of a circuit-riding African Methodist Episcopal Church preacher, who also worked as a tailor to feed his wife, Asa, and Asa's brother, James.

Mr. Randolph's father could not give the boys good clothes, but he outfitted them with an interest in literature and fine English speech. Mr. Randolph speaks with a broad-A, and President Roosevelt once asked him:

"Phil, what year did you finish Harvard?"

When he was graduated from high school he came north to make his living as an elevator operator, dishwasher and waiter. He also studied political science, economics and philosophy at night at City College.

In 1917, Mr. Randolph and Chandler Owen started a monthly magazine called The Messenger. It was described as "the only radical Negro magazine in America."

The magazine scoffed at the World War I slogan of "making the world safe for democracy," an impossible task so long as "Negroes were lynched, Jim Crowed, disfranchised and segregated in America."

In 1918, while speaking in this vein, he was arrested by the Justice Department, and one newspaper called him "the most dangerous Negro in America."

He was a vigorous opponent of Communism, but he was also a practicing socialist. Many persons did not know the difference, and Mr. Randolph lived for a while beneath a shadow even in the Negro community. He was to drop out of the Socialist party when he disagreed with its policy in World War II. He became founder and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925; forced the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to outlaw discrimination on racial grounds when they merged in 1955. In 1960 he became president of the Negro American Labor Council.

His wife, Lucille Green Randolph, whom he married in 1955, died this year, the day before Mr. Randolph's 74th birthday.