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Selma 3/5/00 [2]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-5-00

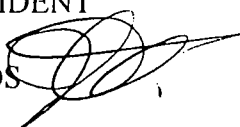
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS 

CC: JOHN PODESTA
MARIA ECHAVESTE
MINYON MOORE
BEN JOHNSON
LORETTA UCELLI

CC:
Speechwriting

SUBJECT: SELMA SPEECH

Attached please find a draft of your remarks for Selma on March 6. They reflect the thoughts you shared during our meeting in the Oval earlier this week. I have also spoken with Maria Echaveste, Minyon Moore, Sid Blumenthal, and Taylor Branch.

I will be traveling with you to California this weekend, and will be available to work with you on any revisions. Thank you.

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Draft 3/2/00 6:20pm

Edmonds

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF MARCH ACROSS EDMUND
PETTUS BRIDGE
SELMA, ALABAMA
MARCH 5, 2000

Acknowledgements: Rep. Lewis and Rep. Houghton, co-chairs of Faith and Politics; Rev. Harris, Coretta Scott King, Andy Young, Joe Lowry, State Senator Hank Sanders; Rose Sanders, President of the Voting Rights Museum; Mayor Smitherman; foot soldiers of the movement, my fellow Americans.

~~I am honored to join all of you in remembering~~ a single day in Selma ~~that~~ became a seminal moment in American history. (Thirty five years ago) On this bridge, America's long march toward freedom met a roadblock of violent resistance. ^{the people refused} But ~~they~~ ^{the} will of the ~~people would not be deterred and the road to freedom would not be detoured. It was a~~ ^{By 1965, their will to walk} ~~as the road to freedom~~ ^{by both} road that just before 1965, had been steeled ~~by both~~ triumph and tragedy. The breaking of the color line at Ole Miss in 1962 by James Meredith... the historic March on Washington... the assassinations of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X and President Kennedy... the bombing deaths of four little black girls at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham... the Mississippi Freedom Summer... the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964..

We should remember that John Lewis, Hosea Williams and the 600 foot soldiers, some of whom are with us today, absorbed with uncommon dignity, the unbridled force

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of racism on "bloody Sunday." They put their lives on the line for the ~~most basic right of~~
~~American democracy~~ -- the right to vote. ^{the right was} ~~Despite the guarantees spelled out in the~~
~~Fifteenth Amendment~~ ^{in 1865}, only 250 Blacks ^{in Dallas County} and one percent of voting-age Blacks in
Dallas County -- were registered to vote. ~~And~~ there was not a single Black elected
official ~~in this County~~. It wasn't indifference or alienation that kept them from the polls.
It was ^{systematic} ~~an overt system of~~ exclusion ^{poll taxes, bold faced} intimidation and literacy tests
that even the testers themselves couldn't pass -- all stood in the way of the Constitution.

So Big Brother,

It is hard for us to imagine today, ^{but Americans,} ~~that men and women~~, black and white, actually
lost their lives for the right to cast a ballot and ~~choose their own leaders. But they did.~~
~~And~~ many right here in Selma and Marion: Today, we honor the memory of Jimmy Lee
Jackson, Rev. James Reeb, Viola Liuzzo and ^{so many} ~~scores of~~ others whose names we may never
know, who made the supreme sacrifice for freedom.

But they did not die in vain. One week after Bloody Sunday, President Johnson
~~delivered some of the most stirring words of the civil rights movement when he went on~~
~~national television to proclaim~~ ^{spoke these words to the nation:}, "At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single
place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at
Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in
Selma, Alabama."

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Two weeks after Bloody Sunday, emboldened by their faith in God and the support of a white southerner in the Oval Office, Dr. King led 4,000 people across the Pettus Bridge on the 54 mile trek to Montgomery.

Six months later President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, proclaiming that "The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men."

~~Then it was 35 years away from that time when we took a better tomorrow~~
~~America took a leap of faith from this bridge and we are all better for it.~~ In 1964
there were only 300 Black elected officials nationwide, and just 3 African Americans in Congress. Today those numbers have swelled to nearly 9,000 Black elected officials, and 39 Black members of Congress. ~~Today, African Americans hold the majority in Selma's~~
City Council and School Board -- and the number of African American registered voters in Dallas County has risen from 250 in 1965 to more than 20,000 today.

~~The civil rights movement was also the catalyst for a broader human rights movement in America that included the fight for equal rights for all -- regardless of race, gender, religion or sexual orientation.~~

And, as Dr. King predicted, white Southerners and the entire region of the South, have also been transformed. He said, "Many Southern leaders are pathetically trapped by

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their own devices...It is history's wry paradox that when Negroes win their struggle to be free, those who have held them down will themselves be freed for the first time."

How might he have...
The South, indeed, has crossed a bridge. On the other side of isolation and national disdain, *we now see vibrant cities, thriving economies, some of the nation's finest colleges, professional sports teams and a renewed sense of community that has turned former adversaries into friends. That is something we can all take pride in.*

By the South,
Together, our entire nation has come a mighty long way. In the past seven years alone, we have created nearly 21 million new jobs. Unemployment is now at its lowest levels in 30 years. African American and Hispanic unemployment are at the lowest levels ever recorded. We have the lowest poverty rate in 20 years. Crime is at a 25-year low.

We've cut taxes for millions of hard-pressed working families, and welfare rolls have been cut in half to their lowest levels in 30 years.

But, while our nation enjoys unprecedented economic prosperity, there are still wide and disturbing disparities that fall along the color line -- in health, income, perceptions of justice and educational achievement. It is clear. We have built a bridge to the 21st century *that* we can all walk across. And we couldn't have gotten here *if we* hadn't crossed the Pettus Bridge *first*. But our journey is not over. Truth is marching on and there are bridges yet to cross.

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As long as African American income hovers near half that of whites, we know we have another bridge to cross. As long as African American and Hispanic children are still less likely than white children to attend or graduate from college, we know we have another bridge to cross.

As long as African Americans and other minorities suffer two, three and four times the rates of heart disease, AIDS, diabetes and cancer, we know we have another bridge to cross. As long as African Americans believe they are unfairly targeted by police because of the color of their skin, and police feel they are unfairly judged by the community because of the color of their uniforms, we know we have another bridge to cross. As long as the symbol of one person's pride creates another person's pain, we know we have another bridge to cross. As long as less than half of America's eligible voters exercise the right that so many here in Selma ~~fought~~ ^{Marched} and died for, we know we have another bridge to cross.

As long as the power of America's growing diversity is diminished by discrimination and violent acts of hatred, we know we have another bridge to cross.

We can get to the other side, and we shall overcome if we avoid the terrible traps of denial and complacency. Remember what Dr. King told us: "Human progress never rolls on the wheels of inevitability, it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God."

In the prologue of John Lewis' magnificent autobiography, "Walking with the Wind," he tells a stunning story about a woodframe house, a group of young children and a windstorm. That story has become a metaphor for his life and is a metaphor for the work we all have to do. He talks about one day when he was playing with his brothers and sisters and cousins in his aunt's very fragile house in Pike County, Alabama. Suddenly an enormous wind came and lifted a corner of the house into the air. The children were told to hold hands, walk to the corner of the rising house and "hold that trembling house down with the weight of their small bodies." Later in life, Lewis reflected, "Children holding hands, walking with the wind. That is America to me."

Together, we can build that beloved community. I believe everybody counts, everybody should have a chance to succeed, and we all do better when we hold hands, link arms and help each other. As we start our long march over this bridge and into a new century, let us remember those who crossed before us and pledge to finally build the One America of their dreams. Now is the time, as scripture tells us, to "build up, build up, prepare the way. Remove the obstacles out of the way of my people." [*Isaiah 57:14*]

We know we have another bridge to cross. We know we can get to the other side. And we know we shall overcome.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Final 3/4/00 9:00pm
Edmonds

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3-5-00

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

REMARKS AT 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF MARCH ACROSS EDMUND

PETTUS BRIDGE

SELMA, ALABAMA

MARCH 5, 2000

cc:
speechwriting

3-5-00

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Thirty-five years ago, a single day in Selma became a seminal moment in American history. On this bridge, America's long march toward freedom met a roadblock of violent resistance. But the marchers would not take a detour off the ^{freedom} road ~~to~~ ~~freedom~~.

By 1965, their will had been steeled by both triumph and tragedy. The breaking of the color line at Ole Miss by James Meredith... the historic March on Washington... the assassinations of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X and President Kennedy...the bombing deaths of four little black girls at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham...the Mississippi Freedom Summer...the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Thirty-five years ago on “bloody Sunday,” 600 foot soldiers, some of whom are with us today, absorbed with uncommon dignity, the unbridled force of racism.

3-5-00

They put their lives on the line for ^{that} ~~the~~ most basic
 American right -- the right to vote, a right ^{then} long
 guaranteed, but long denied. Here in Dallas County, ^{There were}
^{no elected}
^{Black officials,}
~~became~~ only one percent of voting-age Blacks, 250 people,
 were registered to vote. ~~And there was not a single~~
~~Black elected official.~~ ^{Black citizen} ~~They~~ ^{They} were kept from the
 polls, not by their own indifference or alienation, but
 by systematic exclusion, ^{by} poll taxes, ^{by} intimidation
^{by} ~~and~~ literacy tests that even the testers themselves
 couldn't pass. And by violence.

It may be hard for young people to believe, but
 just 35 years ago, Americans, Black and white,
^{in the voting rights ~~struggle~~ crusade.}
~~actually~~ lost their lives ~~in their peaceful struggle to~~
~~vote.~~

Some died in Selma and Marion: Today, we honor them for the patriots they were: Jimmy Lee Jackson, Rev. James Reeb, Viola Liuzzo and others whose names we may never know, ~~who made the supreme sacrifice for freedom.~~

~~They gave their lives for freedom.~~

They did not die in vain. One week after Bloody Sunday, President Johnson spoke to the nation in stirring words: "At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. . . . Their cause must be our cause."

Two weeks after Bloody Sunday, emboldened by their faith in God and the support of a white southerner in the Oval Office, Dr. King led 4,000 people across the Pettus Bridge on the 54 mile trek to Montgomery.

Six months later President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act ~~of 1965~~, proclaiming that “The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men.”

Those who walked by faith across this bridge led us all to a better tomorrow. In 1964 there were only 300 Black elected officials nationwide, and just 3 African Americans in Congress. Today those numbers have swelled to nearly 9,000 Black elected officials, and 39 Black members of Congress.

Today, African Americans hold the majority in Selma's City Council and School Board because the number of African American registered voters in Dallas County has risen from 250 in 1965 to more than 20,000 today.

~~And~~^{Just}, as Dr. King predicted, the rise of Black Southerners to full citizenship also lifted their white neighbors.

He said, "It is history's wry paradox that when
Negroes win their struggle to be free, those who have
held them down will themselves be freed for the first
time."

After Selma, free
~~Together~~[^], white and Black Southerners crossed a
bridge to the New South, leaving hatred and isolation
on the far side...building vibrant cities, thriving
economies, and great universities, still enriched by
the old-time rhythms and rituals they all love, now
open to all things modern and people from all over
the world.

The advance of freedom and opportunity has taken our entire nation a mighty long way. We begin the new millennium with great prosperity and the lowest levels of African American and Hispanic unemployment ever recorded. With greater diversity in all walks of life and a cherished role in helping those beyond our borders to leave their own racial, ethnic, tribal and religious ^{conflicts} ~~conflicts~~ behind.

We have built a bridge to the 21st century ~~that~~ we can all walk across. ^{We could have today to say not done it} ~~And~~ We couldn't have ~~gotten~~ ^{brave Americans} ~~here~~ ^{hadn't walked across} if ~~our~~ brave Americans hadn't ~~cross~~ the Pettus

Bridge first. But our journey is not over. ~~yes~~

TT Yr, we have come a mighty long way. 

3-5-00

Despite^{on} unprecedented prosperity and real social progress, there are still wide and disturbing disparities that fall along the color line -- in health, income, educational achievement and perceptions of justice.

My fellow Americans, there are bridges yet to cross.

As long as African American income hovers near half that of whites, we have another bridge to cross. As long as African American and Hispanic children are more likely than white children to live in poverty and less likely to attend or graduate from college, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as African Americans and other minorities suffer two, three and four times the rates of heart disease, AIDS, diabetes and cancer, we have another bridge to cross. As long as African Americans and Latinos believe they are unfairly targeted by police because of the color of their skin, and police feel they are unfairly judged by the community because of the color of their uniforms, we have another bridge to cross. As long as the ^{wearing} symbol of one American's pride is the symbol of another American's pain, we have another bridge to cross.

As long as less than half of our eligible voters
exercise the right that so many here in Selma
marched and died for, we have another bridge to
cross.



As long as the power of America's growing
diversity remains diminished by discrimination and
~~violence lurking in the dark corners of the heart~~
~~torn by violent acts of hatred~~, we have another bridge
to cross.

But the bridges are there,^{to be crossed} standing on the strong
foundation^s of our Constitution, built through^{the} silent
tears and weary years ~~of labor~~ by our forbears, ^{wanting}
to take us ~~to~~ on to higher ground.

3-5-00

On yep, the bridges are built. We can see them clearly.
~~They have built the bridge,~~ But to get to the other
~~side,~~ side, we too will have to march.

is words:
 Remember ~~what~~ Dr. King ~~told us~~: "Human
 progress never rolls on the wheels of inevitability, it
 comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to
 be co-workers with God."

This day had special meaning to me, for I too am a
 son of the South, the old segregated South, and then of you who
 marched for me free on bloody Sunday, for to know you, to work with you
 to love you, to raise my voice to demand our differences and hallow our common
 humanity.
~~In the prologue of John Lewis' magnificent~~
 Thank you all. Thank you ~~for~~ Rudy, and Jay, and Tex.
 Thank you Colette for giving up ~~for~~ your beloved husband and the
 autobiography, "Walking with the Wind," he tells a
 beautiful story of a normal life. Thank you John for the feelings you took
 and the heart you kept whole. Thank you for walking with the wind,
 stunning story about his aunt's woodframe house in
 hands in hand with your brother and sister to hold America's
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 Pike County, Alabama, a group of young children
 beloved community, an America at peace with itself.
 and a windstorm.

3-5-00

One day, as John was playing with his brothers, sisters, and cousins, an enormous wind blew and lifted a corner of the house into the air. His aunt told the children to hold hands, walk to the corner of the rising house and "hold that trembling house down with the weight of their small bodies." When another corner rose, they walked there together. And on and on, until the wind died down. Later in life, John reflected, "Children holding hands, walking with the wind. That is America to me."

As long as we are willing to hold hands, we can walk with any wind, cross any bridge.

Deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-5-00

~~As we start our long march over this bridge and
into a new century, let us honor those who crossed
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firm faith that we shall overcome.~~

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Final 3/4/00 9:00pm
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REMARKS AT 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF MARCH ACROSS EDMUND

PETTUS BRIDGE

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CC:
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By 1965, their will had been steeled by both triumph and tragedy. The breaking of the color line at Ole Miss by James Meredith... the historic March on Washington... the assassinations of Medgar Evers, Malcolm X and President Kennedy...the bombing deaths of four little black girls at the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham...the Mississippi Freedom Summer...the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

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3-5-00

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Those who walked by faith across this bridge led us all to a better tomorrow. In 1964 there were only 300 Black elected officials nationwide, and just 3 African Americans in Congress. Today those numbers have swelled to nearly 9,000 Black elected officials, and 39 Black members of Congress. Today, African Americans hold the majority in Selma's City Council and School Board because the number of African American registered voters in Dallas County has risen from 250 in 1965 to more than 20,000 today.

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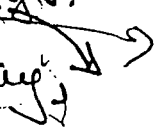
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This day has special meaning to me, for I too am a
 son of the South, the old segregated South, and then of you who
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 to love you, to raise my child to cherish our differences and hallow our common
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~~In the prologue of John Lewis' magnificent~~
 Thank you all. Thank you ~~for~~ Rudy, and Jay and Jesse.
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Thank you and God bless you all.

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3-5-00

By

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3-5-00

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 in their peaceful struggle to vote,
 right to cast a ballot and choose their own leaders.

Some died

~~But they did.~~ And many right here in Selma and

than for the part that they were:

Marion: Today, we honor ~~the memory of~~ Jimmy Lee

Jackson, Rev. James Reeb, Viola Liuzzo and scores

of others whose names we may never know, who

made the supreme sacrifice for freedom.

~~But~~ They did not die in vain.

3-5-00

One week after Bloody Sunday, President Johnson ~~delivered some of the most stirring words of the civil rights movement when he went on national television to proclaim,~~ ^{spoke to the nation in} “At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man’s unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.”

Two weeks after Bloody Sunday, emboldened by their faith in God and the support of a white southerner in the Oval Office, Dr. King led 4,000 people across the Pettus Bridge on the 54 mile trek to Montgomery.

Six months ^{later,} ~~later~~ President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, proclaiming that "The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men."

~~Those who walked by faith across~~
~~America took a leap of faith from this bridge and~~
~~led us all to a better tomorrow.~~
~~we are all better for it.~~ In 1964 there were only 300 Black elected officials nationwide, and just 3 African Americans in Congress. Today those numbers have swelled to nearly 9,000 Black elected officials, and 39 Black members of Congress.

Today, African Americans hold the majority in
Selma's City Council and School Board -- ^{beside} ~~and~~ the
number of African American registered voters in
Dallas County has risen from 250 in 1965 to more
than 20,000 today.

~~The civil rights movement was also the catalyst
for a broader human rights movement in America
that included the fight for equal rights for all --
regardless of race, gender, religion or sexual
orientation.~~

~~And, as Dr. King predicted, white Southerners~~
<sup>The new black South has to fully integrate
themselves with the
also offer their neighborhood.</sup>

~~and the entire region of the South, have also been
transformed.~~

3-5-00

He said, "~~Many Southern leaders are pathetically~~
~~trapped by their own devices...~~ It is history's wry
 paradox that when Negroes win their struggle to be
 free; those who have held them down will themselves
 be freed for the first time."

Together, white and black Southerners ^{to the New South, leaving}
~~The South, indeed, has~~ crossed a bridge. ~~On the~~
^{other side} ~~other side~~ of isolation and national disdain, ~~we now~~
^{and} see vibrant cities, thriving economies, ~~some of the~~
^{great universities, still surrounded by the old time rhythms and}
~~nation's finest colleges, professional sports teams and~~
^{rituals they all love, now open to all things modern and}
~~a renewed sense of community that has turned former~~
^{people from all over the world,}
~~adversaries into friends. That is something we can~~
~~all take pride in.~~

~~The advance of freedom and opportunity has taken.~~
Together, our entire nation ~~has come~~ a mighty

~~We begin the new millennium with great prosperity~~
long way. ~~In the past seven years alone, we have~~

~~and the lowest level of~~
created nearly 21 million new jobs. African

American and Hispanic unemployment ~~is at the~~

~~lowest levels ever recorded,~~ ^{at greater severity in all} ~~We have the lowest~~
~~working life and a cherished role in keeping those~~
~~poverty rate in 20 years. Crime is at a 25-year-low.~~

~~beyond our borders to leave their own moral, ethical, and~~
~~We've cut taxes for millions of hard-pressed working~~
~~and religious conflicts behind.~~
~~families, and welfare rolls have been cut in half to~~

~~their lowest levels in 30 years.~~

^{4 Despite}
[But, while our nation enjoys unprecedented
^{and local moral progress}
~~economic prosperity,~~ there are still wide and

disturbing disparities that fall along the color line --

in health, income, perceptions of justice and

educational achievement.]

3-5-00

¹
~~It is clear:~~ We have built a bridge to the 21st
 century that we can all walk across.¹ And we couldn't
 have gotten here if ^{600 brave Americans} ~~we~~ hadn't crossed the Pettus
 Bridge first.³ But our journey is not over. ~~[Truth is~~
^{5 My fellow Americans,}
 marching on and there are bridges yet to cross.

As long as African American income hovers
 near half that of whites, ~~we know~~ we have another
 bridge to cross. As long as African American and
^{than white children}
^{more likely to live in poverty and}
 Hispanic children are ~~still~~ less likely ~~than white~~
~~children~~ to attend or graduate from college, [^] ~~we know~~
 we have another bridge to cross.

As long as African Americans and other minorities suffer two, three and four times the rates of heart disease, AIDS, diabetes and cancer, ~~we~~ ~~know~~ we have another bridge to cross. As long as African Americans and Latinos believe they are unfairly targeted by police because of the color of their skin, and police feel they are unfairly judged by the community because of the color of their uniforms, ~~we know~~ we have another bridge to cross. As long as the symbol of one ^{American} ~~person~~'s pride is the symbol of another ^{American} ~~person~~'s pain, ~~we know~~ we have another bridge to cross.

As long as less than half of ^{our} ~~America~~'s eligible
voters exercise the right that so many here in Selma
~~man and died~~
~~might have been~~
fought and died for, ~~we know~~ we have another bridge
to cross.

As long as the power of America's growing
^{remains} diversity ~~is~~ diminished by discrimination and ^{born by} violent
acts of hatred, ~~we know~~ we have another bridge to
cross.

But the bridges are there, standing on the strong foundation
of our constitution, built through silent tears and weary years,
of labor by our forebears. They have built the bridge, but to
~~We can~~ get to the other side, and ~~we shall~~
~~We too will have to march, and they must have~~
~~overcome if we avoid the terrible traps of denial and~~
~~the cowardly fear of change. We must not~~
complacency.

3-5-00

Remember what Dr. King told us: "Human progress never rolls on the wheels of inevitability, it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God."

! In the prologue of John Lewis' magnificent autobiography, "Walking with the Wind," he tells a stunning story about ^{his aunt's} a woodframe house, ^{in Pike County Alabama,} a group of young children and a windstorm. ~~That story has become a metaphor for his life and is a metaphor for the work we all have to do. He talks about one day when he was playing with his brothers and sisters and cousins in his aunt's very fragile house in Pike County, Alabama.~~

3-5-00

One day, as John was playing with his brother, sister, and cousins

² Suddenly an enormous wind ~~came~~ and lifted a

corner of the house into the air. ^{His aunt told} The children ~~were~~

~~told~~ to hold hands, walk to the corner of the rising

house and "hold that trembling house down with the

^{When another corner rose, they walked there together.}
weight of their small bodies." Later in life, ~~Lewis~~ John
Anderson, with the wind died down.

reflected, "Children holding hands, walking with the

wind. That is America to me."

<sup>As long as we are willing to hold hands, we can
withstand any wind, cross any bridge.</sup>

~~Together, we can build that beloved community.~~

~~I believe everybody counts, everybody should have a~~

~~chance to succeed, and we all do better when we hold~~

~~hands, link arms and help each other.~~

9-5-00

As we start our long march over this bridge and
 into a new century, let us ^{honor} ~~remember~~ those who
 crossed before us, ^{with our pledge to keep on marching towards} ~~and pledge to finally build~~ the One
 America ^{the beloved community and ours, with a happy heart} ~~of their dreams, Now is the time, as~~
^{and a firm faith that} ~~scripture tells us, to "build up, build up, prepare the~~
~~way. Remove the obstacles out of the way of my~~
~~people."~~ [*Isaiah 57:14*]

~~We know we have another bridge to cross. We~~
~~know we will get to the other side. And we know we~~
 shall overcome.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Draft 3/3/00 6:00pm
Edmonds

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF MARCH ACROSS EDMUND
PETTUS BRIDGE
SELMA, ALABAMA
MARCH 5, 2000

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The New York Times, March 11, 1995

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March 11, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: George C. Wallace

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 984 words

HEADLINE: Emotional March Gains a Repentant Wallace

BYLINE: By RICK BRAGG

DATELINE: MONTGOMERY, Ala, March 10

BODY:

The marchers swarmed around the old man in the wheelchair, some to tell him he was forgiven, some to whisper that he could never be forgiven, not today, not a million years from now. Yet to all of the people who retraced the steps of the **Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march** 30 years ago, George C. Wallace offered an apology for a doomed ideal.

The former Alabama Governor, whose name became shorthand for much of the worst of white Southern opposition to the **civil rights** movement, held hands with men and women he had once held down with the power of his office. To one aging **civil rights** war horse, he mumbled, "I love you."

Three decades ago, he was preaching the evil of integration and found approval, even adoration, in the eyes of many white Alabamians. There was the legendary stand in the schoolhouse door, to keep blacks from registering at the University of Alabama. It was his state troopers who used billy clubs and tear gas to control and intimidate marchers on the way to Selma. Then, he took his message nationwide in a run for President in 1968.

A would-be assassin's bullet in a Maryland shopping center in 1972 made him a cripple, but his old words and views echo today on the lips of conservative politicians and others, even though the man people here just call "Th' Guv'na" has long since capitulated, apologized and begged for forgiveness.

Now 75, in a wheelchair for a third of his life, he was too old and sick to make a speech to the 200 marchers, mostly black, who gathered at the St. Jude School in Montgomery, as they did on this day three decades ago. Instead, an aide read his remarks as Mr. Wallace, who is almost completely deaf, sat in silence.

"My friends," the aide read, "I have been watching your progress this week as you retrace your footsteps of 30 years ago and cannot help but reflect on those days that remain so vivid in my

memory. Those were different days and we all in our own ways were different people. We have learned hard and important lessons in the 30 years that have passed between us since the days surrounding your first walk along Highway 80."

A woman in a brown beret quietly said, "Amen."

"Those days were filled with passionate convictions and a magnified sense of purpose that imposed a feeling on us all that events of the day were bigger than any one individual," the speech continued in its borrowed voice. "Much has transpired since those days. A great deal has been lost and a great deal has been gained, and here we are. My message to you today is, Welcome to Montgomery."

"May your message be heard. May your lessons never be forgotten. May our history be always remembered."

The marchers applauded. For 10 years now, Mr. Wallace has admitted the wrongness of his deeds 30 years ago. Still, to many of the people who suffered at the hands of the law-enforcement officers he commanded, it was important that he said it on this symbolic day.

But 30 yards away, 58-year-old Rufus Venable sat in the shade of a tall pine tree and refused to hear.

"I ain't even interested in what he's saying," said Mr. Venable, a retired construction worker who was part of the march that was bloodied on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. "If you lived through it, you wouldn't be either. If he thinks this will ease his mind in some way, let him do it. I'm not interested in looking at his face. It brings back too many memories."

"Seeing him say that he's sorry ain't gonna do me no good at all."

Like many others in the crowd, he said Mr. Wallace, a religious man, was trying more to clear a path to heaven than to soothe the painful memories of others. He said that he held no malice for Mr. Wallace and that he even believed the former Governor had changed, "but it means a hell of a lot more to him that it does to me."

"He's trying to get right with his maker, that's what he's doing," Mr. Venable said. "It was hell. Any man who'd sic dogs on a child. He ain't made up for it."

As the marchers sang "We Shall Overcome," Mr. Venable sat under his tree and sang to himself. Mr. Wallace, lost in the crowd, never saw him, either.

Others were more forgiving.

"Thank you, for coming out of your sickness to meet us," said Joseph E. Lowery, the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and an organizer of that first march. "You are a different George Wallace today. We both serve a God who can make the desert bloom. We ask God's blessing on you."

The politics and economics of race are more complicated now, and the marchers, including the old survivors of meaner days, worry that the nation is going backward in its racial tolerance. They hear modern-day leaders blame blacks, because of crime and welfare, for what is wrong with America.

The marchers said they hoped those leaders were watching as George Wallace joined hands with them and bowed his head with them. It might be only symbolism, they said, but it was the right kind of symbolism.

"It's very important, in this day and time," said Gerri Perry, the principal at St. Jude. "It is important for people to see him, saying this."

"Back then, 30 years ago, I didn't think I would ever see anything like this."

What she saw was an old man wanting to set things right, for whatever reasons. The marchers did not ask him to be there. He asked them if they would give him a few minutes of their time.

He might be the only Alabama Governor to meet them. As of Friday afternoon, the marchers and Gov. Fob James, a Republican who ran on a conservative platform, had still not agreed to meet.

Instead, the marchers gathered around the man they had once hated. That old Wallace, the fiery judge who stood on the back of trucks and shouted, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," was nowhere around.

"He's been about to die for the last 10 years, and he's still living," Mr. Venable said. "God's gonna make him pay."

GRAPHIC: Photos: The scene on March 7, 1965, when Alabama state troopers dispersed marchers in Selma. (Associated Press); Ex-Gov. George C. Wallace and the Rev. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (Alan S. Weiner for The New York Times)(pg. 1)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 11, 1995

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The Ethnic NewsWatch, March 29, 1995

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The Ethnic NewsWatch

Tri-State Defender

March 29, 1995

SECTION: Vol. 45; No. 12; Pg. 5a

LENGTH: 615 words

HEADLINE: Remembering Bloody Sunday

BYLINE: Jackson, Bernice P.

BODY:

Remembering Bloody Sunday.

By Bernice P. Jackson

Only 30 years ago men and women were viciously beaten in Selma, Alabama so that African-Americans might have the right to vote. A Black and a White man lost their lives in those bloody days. Theirs is a sacrifice that we dare not forget. Are you registered to vote?

A walk through the Birmingham **Civil Rights** Institute is a walk through our history. This three-year-old facility is a self-directed, multimedia journey which shows you everything from Colored and White water fountains to a burned out Freedom Ride bus to the prison door where Dr. King wrote his letter from a Birmingham jail. It also shows the march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965.

It was 30 years ago this March that a young Black activist, Jimmy Lee Jackson was murdered. His killing prompted a 54-mile protest march sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. The marchers, 1500 strong and led by Hosea Williams and John Lewis (now a U.S. congressman from Atlanta), left Brown Chapel church that Sunday morning, but as they began to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge they could see Alabama state troopers and others blocking their way. After a brief warning, the troopers rushed forward, as did the mounted possemen. Tear gas was shot at the unarmed marchers. Nightsticks flailing, the troopers beat many of the marchers and onlookers threw bricks and bottles at them. John Lewis was among those badly beaten. That day, March 7, 1965, became known as Bloody Sunday.

The SCLC immediately planned a second attempt of the **Selma to Montgomery march** for March 9, which would be led by Dr. King and other national **civil rights** leaders. Under a federal court injunction and pressured by national and local law enforcement officials, the marchers went only across the bridge and then turned back. That evening a White clergyman from Boston, Rev. James Reeb, was fatally beaten in downtown Selma.

Three weeks later, on March 21, Dr. King and others led thousands of marchers across the Edmund

Pettus Bridge and began the long trek to Montgomery. By the time they assembled in downtown Montgomery several days later, they were 25,000 strong. Five months later the Voting Rights Act was passed and Alabama Black voters were at last guaranteed the right to vote.

This March SCLC and the National Voting Rights Museum in Selma are sponsoring a commemoration of the 30th **anniversary** of Bloody Sunday and the **Selma to Montgomery march**. This commemoration will include a women's conference, honoring the "Invisible Giants" of the **civil rights** movement; a cultural jubilee festival, a legal conference sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, an interfaith religious service and a National Voting Rights Museum Hall of Fame Induction Ceremony.

But lifting up the past won't be the entirety of the week. A national student and youth gathering, "Countdown 2000: Setting the Black Youth Agenda: will bring together students and youth from across the country to guild a **civil rights** agenda for the future. Many of these young people have already been actively involved in local voter registration efforts and have been organizing their local communities against violence and community problems such as environmental racism.

Only 30 years ago men and women were viciously beaten in Selma, Alabama so that African-Americans might have the right to vote. A Black and a White man lost their lives in those bloody days. Theirs is a sacrifice that we dare not forget. Are you registered to vote?

For additional information contact the National Voting Rights Museum, 1012 Water Avenue, Selma, AL 36702 - (205) 481-0800).

ETHNIC-GROUP: African/Caribbean

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 22, 1995

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The Ethnic NewsWatch, March 25, 1995

Copyright 1995 SOFTLINE INFORMATION, INC.

The Ethnic NewsWatch

Michigan Citizen

March 25, 1995

SECTION: Vol. XVII; No. 17; Pg. A7

LENGTH: 547 words

HEADLINE: Remembering Bloody Sunday

BYLINE: Jackson, Bernice Powell

BODY:

Remembering Bloody Sunday.

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ETHNIC-GROUP: African/Caribbean

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 22, 1995

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The Christian Science Monitor, March 21, 1995

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The Christian Science Monitor

March 21, 1995, Tuesday

SECTION: OPINION/ESSAYS; Pg. 20

LENGTH: 600 words

HEADLINE: Remembering Selma 1965

BYLINE: Nicolaus Mills; Nicolaus Mills is professor of American studies at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N.Y., and author of "Like a Holy Crusade: Mississippi 1964."

BODY:

MARCH 21, 1965: Along with thousands of other **civil-rights** protesters, I huddle in the early morning cold outside Brown's Chapel in Selma, Ala. It is the start of what would later be called the **Selma-to-Montgomery March**. But this morning my mind is not on how historians will view the day. I am wondering if we will make it as far as the Edmund Pettus Bridge a few miles away or whether, like earlier marchers who had come to Selma to support a voting-rights drive, we, too, will meet with violence at the bridge.

That earlier violence had caused President Johnson to go before Congress and in a nationally televised address urge swift passage of the legislation that would become the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

But the president's words -- his comparison of Selma to Lexington and Concord -- do not seem like much assurance this morning. By midafternoon we did make it to the bridge, and four days later the march reached Montgomery, where it was joined by 25,000 supporters at a rally in front of the old state capitol.

But in 1995 it is not nostalgia I feel for Selma. My memories are more mixed, black and white pictures that have changed over time. My first memory is of a newspaper photo taken two weeks before I arrived in Selma on a day now known as Bloody Sunday. The picture is not sharp. The overcast sky, the photographer's distance from the violence have muted the clarity the picture should have. The picture is dominated by Alabama state troopers clubbing black **civil-rights** demonstrators. There is no looking at this picture and saying you do not see it all.

The second picture is much happier. It was taken on the day the second Selma march began. I am in this picture, but nobody's face, not even that of the men leading the parade -- Martin Luther King and, on either side of him, Ralph Bunche and Ralph Abernathy -- can be seen. I find the anonymity reassuring. It reflects the fact that at its best the **civil-rights** movement was a mass movement, the sacrifices of many rather than the heroism of a few. Yet something about this photo makes me uneasy. It hides the fact that along the highway the federalized Alabama National Guard stood watch. It mutes the shouts of "white nigger" that came from everywhere.

The picture I like best is one never taken. It is Monday, and 20 of us are clearing a pasture where the Selma marchers will stop and rest for the night. Without enough rakes and shovels, it is slow going. But the sun is warm, and we know we will have the tents up by evening. Suddenly a caravan of cars pulls up along the highway, and the men in them pile out. We are too far away to hear their shouts, but we can see the rebel flags draped over their car hoods. Hemmed in by barbed wire, there is no place we can run or hide. We can only hope they do not have guns. But we are also strangely calm. There is no place we would rather be.

At the end of the week, I returned North and wrote a small piece about Selma in the newspaper of the university I was attending. A few days later the hate calls started. Always obscene. Always late at night.

We have come a long way since then. John Lewis, the former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and one of those badly beaten on Bloody Sunday, now sits in Congress.

But these days I worry more about **civil rights** than I did in 1965. I worry that the next step we take as we struggle to move to real equality will generate more resistance than anyone realizes. Most of all, I worry that the satisfaction my generation of blacks and whites took in finding common cause is gone.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The Record, March 5, 1995

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March 5, 1995; SUNDAY; ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A12

LENGTH: 728 words

HEADLINE: MARCHERS TO RETRACE 54-MILE **CIVIL-RIGHTS** TREK
REMEMBERING BLOODY SUNDAY'

SOURCE: Wire services

BYLINE: PAUL NEWBERRY, The Associated Press

BODY:

Every day, Marcus Rush walks by the Byzantine architecture of the Brown Chapel AME Church in Selma, Ala., where thousands of people once started a 54-mile trek that would change the nation.

Every day, he passes the imposing granite monument on the church's front sidewalk immortalizing the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., another reminder of the 1965 **Selma-to-Montgomery march** that inspired passage of the Voting Rights Act.

Still, amid 30th **anniversary** events and a commemorative march that begins at the church Sunday, the 21-year-old who lives at a public housing project across the street wonders what all the fuss is about.

Even such a momentous episode, guaranteeing blacks access to the ballot booth in a region where they once were slaves, doesn't have much relevance three decades later to a jobless black man.

"I don't know too much about it," Rush said. "That was before my time."

As it was for Lee Marshall, 32, who calls the famous march "ancient history."

"I'm just trying to make it in this world," Marshall said. "I'm just trying to survive before this world comes to an end. It's almost there with some of the things that are going on, the crime and drugs and all that."

The troubles of the day were different on March 7, 1965, as hundreds

of protesters set out from the Selma church, attempting to march to the state Capitol in Montgomery for a voting rights demonstration.

Instead, they barely made it out of downtown Selma before getting mauled at the foot of the Edmund Pettus Bridge by a posse of lawmen. The unforgiving use of billy clubs and tear gas provided one of the grimmest, goriest spectacles of the **civil-rights** movement.

Two weeks after "Bloody Sunday" horrified the nation, King and others led a second march authorized by a federal judge and protected by thousands of federal troops.

Later that year, Congress approved the law that ensured blacks would no longer be denied the right to vote through chicanery or intimidation across the South.

"Of all the things that have happened in our lifetime, this is the single most historic piece of legislation ever passed," said Joe Smitherman, a white who was mayor then. Now, drawing a modicum of black support, he's still mayor.

The Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Rep. John Lewis, D-Ga., who suffered a blow to the head on "Bloody Sunday," will be among those participating in Sunday's ceremonies. The commemorative march begins at the church, goes over the bridge again and culminates Saturday at the Alabama Capitol.

"This is a wonderful opportunity that has risen out of a very painful event 30 years ago," said state Sen. Hank Sanders, a black lawyer who stood with the white mayor at an **anniversary** event.

Sanders and Smitherman rattle off what they see as the signs of Selma's progressiveness, most notably the shift of political power in a county that's 58 percent black. In 1965, Dallas County didn't have a single elected official who was black. Now, blacks hold the majority on the City Council, as well as on the city and county school boards.

Still, like many U.S. cities, Selma is a town divided along racial lines. Blacks and whites may chat amiably on a downtown street corner during working hours, but public schools, churches, and the Elks Club, among other things, remain segregated.

Rush speaks for those who see voting as a useless exercise.

"It ain't going to change too much," he said. "They still won't bring no jobs in here."

"They don't really understand," said Rush's mother, Zola Myles, who was 8 when the **Selma-to-Montgomery march** took place.

She remembers Viola Liuzzo, a white homemaker from Detroit, stopping by her home to help Myles mother register for a welfare program. The next night, Liuzzo was killed by Ku Klux Klansmen while she drove demonstrators back to Selma.

"It still has meaning to me because I understand it," Myles said of the **civil-rights** movement. "It means a lot more to older black people

than the younger ones because they don't understand it.

"We're trying to teach them and tell them the meaning of it, but they don't have that kind of concern.... They already have the freedom to do pretty much anything they want to do."

GRAPHIC: 2 ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOS 1 - State troopers using billy clubs and tear gas to break up a march for equal voting rights in Selma, Ala., on "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965.
2 - Marcus Rush standing near the Selma, Ala., church where a **civil-rights** march 30 years ago inspired passage of the Voting Rights Act.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: March 7, 1995

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The Morning Call (Allentown)

September 19, 1999, Sunday, SECOND EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL, Pg. A1**LENGTH:** 3689 words**HEADLINE:** UNREST BROUGHT BLACK VOTING RIGHTS**BYLINE:** KEITH HERBERT; The Morning Call**BODY:**

Joanne Bland has lived the history that surrounds her at the National Voting Rights Museum and Institute, a three-story, red-canopied building that borders the Alabama River.

The state police surveillance photos that hang on the walls show marchers gathering outside Brown Chapel AME Church, walking shoulder to shoulder across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, fleeing tear gas unleashed by a blue fence of state troopers.

The photos capture some of the chaos that ensued here on the afternoon of March 7, 1965, the day a march for voting rights for blacks in the Deep South turned into Bloody Sunday.

"First, I heard screams," said Bland, who was 11 when she joined the marchers, "then, what I thought were gunshots. They were shooting the tear gas canisters, I learned from the footage.

"There was so much confusion. But then we started to run. People in front of us were being attacked. We were falling over each other."

A nation saw the clash that day between the state police and marchers, as television crews and photographers captured it. The contrast on the bridge - belligerent law enforcement officers beating non-threatening church-goers seeking the right to vote -- was as clear as black and white.

It shocked the nation and angered President Lyndon Johnson.

"I would call it a key event in the final stages of the Southern civil rights movement," said Edward P. Morgan, who teaches a class on the 1960s at Lehigh University. "That really triggered the Voting Rights Act, the last piece of civil rights legislation."

Five months after Bloody Sunday, on Aug. 6, 1965, Johnson signed the law that eliminated barriers that kept blacks in the South from voting. It was one defining moment in a decade of defining moments.

From Dallas to Memphis to Los Angeles to Vietnam, the 1960s was a decade of bloodshed and tears.

The sit-ins that began when four black college students refused to move from a whites-only counter in a Woolworth store in Greensboro, N.C., initiated a wave of protests in the South. In 1961, Freedom Riders -- activists who rode buses throughout the South and attempted to integrate public places -- were beaten and their bus was set on fire in Anniston, Ala.

In 1963, a bomb exploded in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., killing four choir girls. That year, authorities there turned their high-power fire hoses on protesters. Three civil rights workers reported missing in 1964 in Mississippi turned up dead. The decade made youthful men martyrs, with the deaths of President John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

And more than 58,000 Americans with less famous names died in Vietnam by the war's end.

Images of people arm in arm in the streets, singing freedom songs, are cemented in America's collective memory, as well as scenes of people clashing with police and marching by the thousands on Washington to fight for civil rights, and later, to oppose the unpopular Vietnam War.

Forging social change from civil unrest is symbolic of the decade.

"People acting together to empower themselves -- that's the inspiring part of it," Morgan said.

After Bloody Sunday, the next time Bland, executive director of the voting rights museum, walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge was in 1990, when the museum opened on the 25th anniversary of the march. Memories and emotions overloaded her senses.

"The closer we got to the bridge, the harder my heart beat. When we crested the bridge, all of it started coming back, the tear gas, everything," Bland said.

She can't watch news footage of Bloody Sunday, like that in the film "Eyes on the Prize," shown on a large-screen television at the museum.

"I get mad, feel angry," Bland said. "It affects the way I deal with people, especially with non-African American people. I become immediately defensive. It became, 'Oh, no, I'm not going to let you hurt me again.' I knew that it was something I had to deal with.

"I've seen so much change," Bland said. "I know that after I'm gone, there will be more change. What makes me sad is we're about to enter this new century and we still have these same ills. We go from blatant racism to not acknowledging that racism still exists."

A RALLYING CRY

Events in Marion, Ala., in February 1965 set in motion the drama that would climax at the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, 30 miles away.

There wouldn't have been a Bloody Sunday without Marion. And no Bloody Sunday, no voting rights legislation, said Albert Turner, a civil rights activist who was helping to organize voter-registration demonstrations there.

"I have no doubt in my mind, this was the spark," said Turner, now 63. "We would have never been on that bridge."

By 1965, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had been organizing blacks for two years in Marion, Perry County, and elsewhere in Alabama where blacks were the majority but virtually nonexistent on voter rolls. Turner's job was to teach fellow blacks how to pass Alabama's literacy test, a requirement for voting in local and national elections. For at least 10 years in Perry County, blacks consistently failed the test, said Turner, now an elected Perry County commissioner.

Changing the way blacks thought about voting was key to making them embrace civil unrest as a vehicle for social change, he said. "We had got people to the point where they were ready to die because we had convinced people that their every thing depended on the right to vote," he said.

On the night of Feb. 18, 1965, after a two-hour rally for voting rights at Zion Methodist Church in Marion, 400 blacks prepared to leave for a march around the Perry County Courthouse. Most marchers never got out of the church. The front of the line got as far as the courthouse across the street, when it was met by state troopers and deputy sheriffs.

Police and others opposing the march shot out streetlights. Troopers beat newsmen, who had their cameras destroyed or sprayed with black paint.

Marchers ran to a back door of the church for safety.

Jimmie Lee Jackson, 27, tried to carry his injured grandfather to a hospital from a cafe behind the church. A trooper stopped him. His mother saw the scuffle and hit one of the troopers with a soda bottle. The troopers knocked her out cold, Turner said.

"They picked Jimmie up and shoved him into the corner of the cafe, put the gun at his side and shot him," he said.

Troopers grabbed Jackson and ran him toward the church, into a gauntlet of billy-club swingers.

"He got to the front of the church, he fell there," Turner said. "He was picked up and carried to the hospital. He died a week later."

In the aftermath of the shooting, voting rights organizers had two concerns: They needed to ease the tension of the marchers, and they needed to keep the momentum going for voting rights.

Lucy Foster, an older woman who opened her home to civil rights workers from out of town, had an idea.

"She told ... us we ought to take his damn body to the Capitol and put his body on the steps, (Gov.) George Wallace's steps. That's where the idea came from," Turner said. "We started talking, Dr. (Martin Luther) King said, 'No, don't do that. All of us needed to go to Montgomery and protest.'"

The day Jackson was buried, King delivered the eulogy at Zion Methodist Church. Drenched by daylong rain, 1,500 to 2,000 mourners walked along Route 14 -- from the church to Hood Cemetery outside Marion, where former slaves and Jackson's close relatives were buried. It rained so hard that day that Turner's suit shrank on his body.

Today, the large granite headstone on top of Jackson's grave is riddled with more than a dozen bullet holes.

Vandalism was so bad at one point about 10 years ago, the headstone was temporarily removed and kept at Jackson's mother's home. The vandals just wouldn't let it stay up.

"We decided we wouldn't let it die, and they decided they had to kill him all over again," Turner said.

TENSION WAS BREWING

Annie Cooper worked in a Selma, Dallas County, nursing home when she joined the voting-rights demonstrations. She attended prayer meetings at Brown Chapel and marched to the Dallas County Courthouse to try to register to vote.

The voting office was only open two days a month, but the marchers would go there daily and line up to be registered. Inevitably, deputy sheriffs would order the crowd to disperse. The marchers would refuse, claiming they had a right to register to vote, and were arrested.

After participating in one march, Cooper, who is black, received a call at home from her boss.

"They said I was fired and not to come to work," Cooper recalled. "They said I had went down there with them niggers and I wasn't needed any more."

Cooper, now 89, had earlier lived in the North, where blacks enjoyed the voting franchise. Cooper was perplexed by the situation.

"I was in Cleveland, (Ohio) and everywhere I had been, they were paying you to vote," she said. "I couldn't imagine down here that they didn't want you to vote."

Without a job, Cooper had little else to do but go to the courthouse every day and try to register.

Cooper became a legend on Jan. 25, 1965, when she stood up to, and knocked down, notorious Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark.

After a prayer meeting at Brown Chapel, Cooper and other marchers led by King headed for the courthouse.

Wilson Baker, Selma's public safety director, ordered the marchers from in front of the courthouse, claiming they were blocking access. Demonstrators refused. When Baker began kicking a young person with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Cooper came to the student's defense.

Clark grabbed Cooper.

"I said, 'Humph, ain't nobody afraid,'" Cooper said. The sheriff filled his hands with Cooper's coat, which was draped over her shoulders, and tumbled to the ground.

"I told him don't jerk me like that," Cooper said.

Once back on his feet, Clark swung his billy club. Despite Cooper's "death grip" on the club, Clark managed to strike a blow to the back of her neck.

"It kind of stung," Cooper said. "Then I went into him and started fighting."

One blow caused bleeding inside her mouth. Cooper was handcuffed and spent 11 hours in jail without medical treatment.

The untreated wound caused a tumor at the base of her tongue, she said. Tests showed it was malignant, and doctors in 1966 had to remove half of her tongue, giving her speech a lispy sound. She prayed the cancer wouldn't return; it didn't.

"I'm a freedom fighter," said Cooper, whose picture hangs in the Voting Rights Museum. "I don't feel like a celebrity. I say I'm just a child of God."

BLOODY SUNDAY

With Jackson's death, momentum built for a march from Selma, the center of many of the voting rights demonstrations, to the state capital to dramatize the blacks' struggle across the Deep South.

On March 7, 1965, hundreds of blacks gathered in Brown Chapel and debated whether to march 50 miles to Montgomery to petition Gov. Wallace. Leaders phoned Martin Luther King in Atlanta and got

permission to march. About 500-strong left the church in the noonday sun to begin the trek across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, along rolling Highway 80 and into Montgomery.

Among the marchers -- both white and black -- were Turner, John Lewis, now a congressman from Alabama, and the Rev. Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Alliance.

It was a cool day.

Joanne Bland and her sister, Lynda Lowery, left the church together, but they became separated as each girl looked for friends. Bland retreated into the line of marchers, and her sister moved forward.

The marchers made their way to the hump of the bridge, and looking over the downward slope, saw Alabama state troopers and deputy sheriffs waiting at the end.

The marchers kept on going.

Sheyann Webb, 8, who was had beenskippping school to join the demonstrations, spotted the troopers, on horseback and armed with tear gas, bull whips and billy clubs.

The look on the troopers' faces scared Webb the most.

"I saw bitterness, hatred, meanness," said the 43-year-old Webb. "Just faces of brutality."

The troopers told the marchers their assembly was unlawful and ordered them to return to their church. The marchers stood there, some kneeling to pray.

The trooper line advanced, pushing back the marchers with billy clubs and unleashing tear gas. Marchers began running back across the bridge. Chaos reigned.

Bland got as far as the middle of the bridge when the front of the line stopped. As people began fleeing, falling over each other, Bland fainted.

When she woke she was in the back of a car, receiving treatment from a school nurse.

Lowery, her sister, was knocked unconscious and needed stitches.

Police knocked down Turner, but he was uninjured. A trooper hit Lewis in the head with a nightstick; he was left lying there, bleeding, in a cloud of tear gas. Williams picked up Webb and tried to carry her away from the advancing police. But Webb told him to put her down; she could run faster.

Sixty-five people were injured.

"That was like a massacre in a sense, when I reflect on it," said Webb. "People being treated like dogs, not as human beings."

ANOTHER VIEW

Through windows of the Glass House restaurant, a flat-roof structure on Highway 80 at the slope of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Henry Dunkin and Edward Prather can look over their shoulders and see the spot where marchers and state troopers clashed.

To Dunkin and Prather, Bloody Sunday wasn't a big deal.

King was an outside agitator who brought a bunch of troublemakers to town in 1965, giving Selma a bad name, they said.

At the restaurant, where the breakfast special includes two eggs any style, bacon, sausage or

bologna, grits and toast or a biscuit for \$ 2.38, these regulars don't give Bloody Sunday as much significance as it gets in history books.

"I was here at the Glass House the day they started coming across the bridge," Dunkin said. "We all got up and went outside to watch the activities. Back then, it was no big sensational thing."

"It was just another day," said Prather, a postman, in uniform, pipe clenched between teeth.

Dunkin, in a plaid shirt, smoking a cigarette and drinking coffee, pointed to a sign near the highway where he stood and watched as the marchers met the troopers.

"Martin Luther King, he would come in and stir it up and leave," said Dunkin, who added that if the slain civil rights leader were alive today, "he should be hanged."

The men, both white, defended their state's then voter-registration tests, made illegal by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, despite that they kept all but 1 percent of Dallas County's black residents from the voting rolls. The tests, they said, were valuable for preventing voter fraud.

"If you can't read and write, I can take you up there and say, Who you want to vote for? George Wallace? And I write Joe Blow. If you can't read and write, there's nothing you can do about it," said Prather, then a national guardsman who went on to protect the demonstrators along Highway 80.

Dunkin said he too had to take the voter-registration test. "I was lucky enough to pass it," he said. It wasn't easy, and it took some people two or three times before they passed. You had to know "something about history, and Alabama history."

Events on the bridge, and the social changes that followed, improved conditions for blacks, but relationships between blacks and whites have brimmed with tension, he said.

"After the march, a lot of people didn't trust each other," Dunkin said. "I'd say the relations haven't got any better."

Glass House owner June Carter, also white, disagrees. Carter was embarrassed about the opinions Duncan voiced on King and the march inside her restaurant.

"People like him will forever make us look bad," Carter said.

A NATION WATCHES

After Bloody Sunday, voting rights organizers kept the pressure on.

King led a second Montgomery-bound march two days later, having asked out-of-town clergy to help. Police again blocked the marchers' path at the foot of the bridge; a federal court order prevented marchers from continuing. King turned the marchers around after they knelt and prayed on what came to be known as Turn Around Tuesday.

One of the clergy who had responded to King's nationwide call for assistance was James Reeb, a Unitarian minister from Boston. After the march, Reeb and two dinner companions were attacked by four white men as they walked past the Silver Moon Cafe, a Selma bar known to have segregationist patrons. Reeb, who was hit in the head with a pipe, was hospitalized and died two days later.

President Johnson demanded that Gov. Wallace protect the marchers, going on television to announce his plans to introduce voting-rights legislation before Congress.

Borrowing a rallying cry from the civil rights marchers, Johnson said: "Their cause must be our cause, too. And we shall overcome."

On March 17, 1965, federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. issued an injunction protecting marchers to Montgomery from interference by state officials.

On March 21, the Selma-to-Montgomery march began, again at Brown Chapel. Led by King, about 3,000 people spilled across the Edmund Pettus Bridge. This time, federalized guardsmen lined the streets, guarding their way.

In all, the march would take five days along the meandering, rural highway, parts of which were unpaved.

The marchers covered 7.3 miles the first day and camped on black-owned land. Many later turned back, in compliance with the federal court order, as the road narrowed to two lanes.

On Day 2 of the march, about 300 people covered 16 miles through Lowndes County. Hot, weary and hungry, marchers set up camp on land owned by Gardinia White's grandmother, Rosie Steele. The marchers again used black-owned land for campgrounds, because white landowners refused to allow them to use their land.

"I was out there looking at them coming over the hill," said White, who still lives in Lowndes County. "That was the most beautiful sight I ever seen, seeing all those people coming down over that hill. It was just a beautiful sight, seeing all those people coming together to make things better for everybody."

It was early evening. The marchers washed and ate inside White's grandmother's home, and cleaned out the shelves of her grandfather's small grocery store. National guardsmen were there.

"We stay up three days and three nights cooking food," said White, now 70, who has eight children and 30-plus grandchildren. "I fried every egg. We had sold out everything that was there that was edible."

To restock the store shelves, Roosevelt Steele, White's grandfather, made several trips to Selma.

White recalled King's helicopter landing on a spot where a relative has since built a home. (King left the march for a day to give a speech in Ohio.)

She also recalled talking with another marcher: Viola Luizzo, a white Detroit homemaker. "She stayed around about here," White said.

"I had a baby at the time. That morning before she left, she washed my baby up and fed her. ... She was a very pleasant lady. She was quite the talker, everybody knew her. To me, she was just happy to be a part of it."

Luizzo was killed days later by Ku Klux Klan members as she drove back to Montgomery after taking marchers to Selma.

When the marchers left White's grandmother's land, White joined them. Despite a torrential rain, they went another 16 miles before camping again in Lowndes County.

On the fourth day of the march, they reached a point that was 1.7 miles inside Montgomery, staying at the City of St. Jude, a Catholic hospital used predominantly by blacks. More than 10,000 people arrived to join them in the last leg of their journey.

On March 25, King was there to lead them into the state capital. Now the crowd swelled to 25,000 and was peppered with celebrities, among them Harry Belafonte, Lena Horne, Sammy Davis Jr., Dick Gregory and Joan Baez.

At the base of the Capitol's marble steps, virtually on the same spot where Jefferson Davis was

inaugurated as president of the Confederacy in 1861, King addressed a sea of supporters.

"We are on the move now," King said. "The burning of our churches will not deter us. We are on the move now. The bombing of our homes will not dissuade us. We are on the move now. The beating and killing of our clergymen and young people will not divert us. We are on the move now."

Photographer Spider Martin, well known for his civil rights photos, shared a fried chicken lunch with Baez under the podium.

"It comes down to what (King) said right there," said Martin, pointing to the Capitol steps. "I believe this march will go down as one of the greatest struggles for freedom and dignity in the nation's history."

* * * * *

Today, the Edmund Pettus Bridge stands as a symbol of contemporary struggles for human dignity.

On a recent summer day, just after 10 a.m. -- before the Alabama sun reached its apex --teen-agers visiting from Houston wore T-shirts that read: "Racism is an illness. Are you sick?" and gathered in front of the voting-rights museum on Selma's Walter Avenue. The air was still, and the humidity felt like a second skin.

The teens prepared to trace the steps of the men and women they'd read about in history books, and whose faces they saw in photographs on the museum walls.

They piled past Brown Chapel and stomped across the bridge in a Dallas County that differs significantly in at least one way from 1965. Today, blacks comprise 60 percent of Dallas County's registered, active voters. In Perry County, where Jimmie Lee Jackson was killed, 85 percent of blacks are registered to vote.

Said group chaperon Deloyd Parker: "We want them to say they actually walked in the footprints of John Lewis and Dr. King."

* * * * *

Next month: Watergate

GRAPHIC: 3 PHOTOS by FRANK WIESE, The Morning Call CAPTION: Walter Milo, 13, (right) and Jerry Brown, 16, reflect after participating in the re-enactment march over the Edmund pettus Bridge. CAPTION: Highway 80 represents the route of the Selma-to-Montgomery march for voting rights in 1965. CAPTION: Teens are greeting by honks of support as they walk through Selma to re-enact the 1965 march. 2 PHOTOS by FRANK WIESE, The Morning Call and AP CAPTION: At left, youngsters from the surrounding projects watch a youth group swarm around Brown Chapel in Selma. The chapel was the starting point of the 1965 march. Above, Martin Luther King Jr. leads marchers across the Alabama River on March 21, 1965, on the first day of a five-day march to Montgomery. 9 PHOTOS by FRANK WIESE, The Morning Call CAPTION: Grand and great-grandchildren lean on Gardenia White. Her grandmother, Rosie Steele, hosted the voting rights marchers. CAPTION: Today, Joanne Bland tells visitors to the Voting Rights Museum about the March 7, 1965 march in which she participated. CAPTION: The Edmund Pettus Bridge is a symbol of comtemporany struggles for human dignity. Marchers met resistance there in 1965 CAPTION: Hands connect generations as Tierria Robinson, 4, participates in a prayer circle July 25, 1999 in First Baptist Church in Selma. The church was a safe haven for voting rights marchers in the 1960s. CAPTION: At left, Warden Bobby Effinger oversees the prison at the Selma Police Station. He was involved in the struggled for voting rights outside Brown Chapel. The prison became filled with protesters in 1965. Above, Albert Turner points to the bullet holds in the gravestone of Jimmie Lee Jackson. Turner led the night march in Marion during which Jackson was fatally shot by state troopers. The stone has been shot several times over the years by extremists. CAPTION: Andrew

Mezvinsky and Keisha Salters cross the bridge as part of a group working to repair Jewish-African American relations. CAPTION: At far left, Henry Dunkin, 64, (left) and postman Edward Prather talk during breakfast in the Glass House, a Selma diner. Dunkin witnessed Bloody Sunday. At left, John Rudolph, 60, at Billy's Tire along Route 80 recalls that he returned from serving in Vietnam but was not permitted to vote in his own country. The march passed the location. GRAPHIC by UNKNOWN (13 photos) CAPTION: Through the Years 1960: Sit-ins begin when four African-American college students refuse to move from whites-only counter in Woolworth store in Greensboro, N.C. United States launches first weather satellite, Tiros I. U-2, U.S. spy plane, shot down over Soviet Union and leads to cancellation of Paris summit. United States announces backing of right-wing group in Laos. Sen. John F. Kennedy, Democrat, elected president over Republican Vice President Richard Nixon. Mobs attack U.S. embassy in Panama over dispute about flying U.S. and Panama flags. 1961: U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba at Bay of Pigs fails. Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes first man to orbit Earth. Alan Shephard, astronaut, becomes first American in space. President Kennedy orders resuming of atomic testing after Soviet tests resume. Writer Ernest Hemingway kills himself in Idaho. Pulitzer Prize awarded to Harper Lee for "To Kill a Mockingbird." 1962: African-American baseball player Jackie Robinson elected to Baseball Hall of Fame. John H. Glenn becomes first American to orbit Earth. James Meredith becomes first African-American to attend University of Mississippi after 3,000 federal troops put down riots. U.S. and Soviet Union go to brink of nuclear war over Soviet missiles in Cuba. Richard Nixon is defeated in race for governor of California. Tells press, "you won't have Nixon to kick around anymore." Rachel Carson's book "Silent Spring" launches environmental movement. 1963: In Gideon v. Wainwright, U.S. Supreme Court rules that all indigent defendants are entitled to court-appointed legal counsel in criminal cases. Civil rights march led by Martin Luther King Jr. brings 200,000 to Washington, D.C., where he makes his "I Have A Dream" speech. U.S., Soviet Union and Britain sign limited nuclear test ban treaty. William Faulkner wins Pulitzer prize in fiction. President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam assassinated in coup. JFK assassinated in Dallas, Texas; Vice President Lyndon Johnson assumes office. 1964: Omnibus civil rights bill passes, banning discrimination in voting, jobs, public accommodations, etc. Three civil rights workers reported missing in Mississippi. Warren Commission issues report naming Lee Harvey Oswald sole assassin of JFK. Congress passes Gulf of Tonkin resolution to support action against North Vietnam after reported attack on two U.S. destroyers. British rock group The Beatles arrives in New York and appears on Ed Sullivan television show. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur dies. 1965: World's tallest monument, 630-foot Gateway Arch, opens in St. Louis. Power failure strikes Northeast U.S., blacks out seven states and Ontario for two days. U.S. goes on offensive in Vietnam with bombing, troops; U.S. forces reach 184,300 by year's end. Rioting kills 34 in Watts African-American neighborhood of Los Angeles. Writer Alan Ginsburg coins term "Flower Power" at anti-war rally. Lorna Elizabeth Lockwood of Arizona becomes first woman named chief justice of a state supreme court. 1966: James Meredith, first African-American to graduate from the University of Mississippi, is shot in the back while taking part in civil rights march. After colliding with jet fueler, a B-52 bomber armed with four hydrogen bombs crashes in sea off Palomares, Spain. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wins National Book Award and Pulitzer Prize for book on Kennedy administration, "A Thousand Days." Bombing of Hanoi by U.S. planes begins. By year's end, 385,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Vietnam. White mobs assault African-American children and their parents at newly integrated schools in Grenada, Miss.. Ronald Reagan defeats Edmund Brown for governor of California. 1967: Three astronauts are killed when a flash fire sweeps their Apollo space capsule. Senate approves appointment of Thurgood Marshall as first African-American on Supreme Court. Jury convicts 11 of 18 in 1964 slaying of civil rights workers in Mississippi. Riots in African-American neighborhoods in Newark, N.J., and Detroit, Mich., leave at least 70 dead and many homeless. Anti-war protests escalate; 475,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam by year's end. Stanford University biochemists announce they have successfully synthesized DNA. 1968 Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated in Memphis, Tenn. Robert F. Kennedy, brother of JFK, assassinated in Los Angeles while running for president. Communists launch Tet offensive, attack Saigon, 30 provincial capitals. Police and students clash at Democratic national convention in Chicago. Shirley Chisholm becomes first African-American woman elected to Congress. Republican Richard Nixon is elected president, defeating Democratic Vice President Hubert Humphrey. 1969: U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong becomes first man to walk on moon. Police raid in New York on Stonewall gay bar meets resistance, sparks gay-rights movement. Nixon begins Vietnamization to turn war over to South Vietnam's troops. Dwight D. Eisenhower, general and former president, dies. Anti-Vietnam war protest reaches peak as 250,000 march on

Washington. White House press secretary Ron Ziegler coins the term "photo-opportunity." Woodstock, N.Y., music festival is held. GRAPHIC by UNKNOWN (1 photo) Sources: "The Great Song Thesaurus," The Morning Call, Encyclopaedia of Fashion. RESEARCH by DIANNE KNAUSS, The Morning Call CAPTION: LIVING IN THE 1960s Hottest Fashion Women experimented with skirt lengths, which meant minis, midis, and maxis were all part of the fashion scene. Summer Fun Hibachi grills. \$ 5.99 -- At Hess's, Allentown Zoorama

"See the Hippo ... Free"

"See the Polar Bear ... Free"

-- At Dorney Park, "The Natural Spot," South Whitehall Township. "Direct from New York" Joe Quijano and his Conjunto Cachana -- At the American-Mexican Azteca Society, Bethlehem On the Road Datsun 1966 four-door sedan, fully equipped. \$ 1,666 -- At Rothrock Motor Sales, Fullerton '66 T-Bird hardtop. Full power, air conditioned. \$ 4,249 At Bethlehem Suburban Ford Pocket Notes Food Louella butter bread, white or wheat 10-lb. loaf: 29 cents -- Available at Acme Markets, Allentown Large-size eggs: 53 cents/dozen -- Available at A&P, Allentown Virginia baked hams: 99 cents/lb. -- Available at the Mohican Market, Allentown. Houses for Sale Three-bedroom ranch in West End of Allentown. Spacious living room with stone fireplace, formal dining room, mahogany-paneled family room, two baths, two-car garage. \$ 32,400 Four-bedroom, three-story brick home in Coopersburg. Three-car garage. Tastefully landscaped 1 1/2 acres. \$ 26,500 Clothing Boy's short-sleeved cotton knit shirts: \$ 1.99 Big and little girls' tennis dresses, shifts: \$ 1.99 -- At Hess's, Allentown Men's suits: \$ 40 to \$ 70 -- At Leh & Co., Allentown Furniture Seven-piece colonial maple dining room suite. \$ 163 -- At Levitz, Whitehall Township 21-inch, console color TV "Enjoy Color So Natural It's Like Having a Box Seat at Every Game" \$ 399 -- At Sears, Allentown Top Songs "I Want to Hold Your Hand," "Yesterday," "Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band," "Hey Jude," by The Beatles. "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction," by The Rolling Stones, led by Mick Jagger. At the Movies Walt Disney's "Mary Poppins" starring Julie Andrews and Dick Van Dyke Tickets: Adults, \$ 1 to \$ 1.25; children, 50 cents -- At the Rialto, Allentown "Do Not Disturb" starring Doris Day and Rod Taylor Tickets: adults, 75 cents; children, free -- At Shankweiler's Drive-In Theatre, North Whitehall Township. Rogers and Hammerstein's "The Sound of Music" Tickets: \$ 2.25 to \$ 2.50; Matinee, \$ 1.75 to \$ 2 -- At the Boyd Theatre, Allentown What people were reading "Valley of the Dolls" by Jacqueline Susann "In Cold Blood" by Truman Capote "Human Sexual Response" by Masters & Johnson "Unsafe At Any Speed" by Ralph Nader

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The Ethnic NewsWatch, March 31, 1995

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March 31, 1995

SECTION: Vol. 6; No. 5; Pg. 44

LENGTH: 702 words

HEADLINE: CIVIL RIGHTS: REPORT CARD

BYLINE: Peoples, Betsy

BODY:

CIVIL RIGHTS: REPORT CARD.

This is the first of what will become Emerge's annual compilation of votes in Congress on key issues affecting African-Americans.

Civil rights issues will face increased scrutiny, now that conservative Republicans have taken over the House and Senate for the first time in four decades. The 103rd United States Congress (1993-94) fared well on **civil rights** issues but **civil rights** leaders are apprehensive about what could come next.

"You need to measure people by deeds, not words," say Laura Murphy Lee, director of the Washington, D. C., office of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

When **civil rights** were threatened by the Reagan and Bush administrations, activists knew they could turn to Congress. Now, they aren't too sure.

"People have to make certain that we lose no ground in the protection of our right to vote," says Wade Henderson, director of the Washington bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). "Most importantly, Black people have to register to vote. There has to be an ongoing aggressive campaign for voter participation."

Many activists feared Ronald Reagan's efforts to dismantle **civil rights**.

"When that happened 15 years ago, people in the **civil rights** community had to regroup and create bipartisan strategies," says Ralph G. Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on **Civil Rights**, a coalition of 180 national organizations representing women, persons with disabilities, labor, religious groups and older Americans. Over the objection of the White House, Congress passed the **Civil Rights** Act of 1991, the Americans with Disabilities Act, the **Civil Rights** Restoration Act, the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension, Japanese-American Redress Bill, South African sanctions legislation, and the Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988.

"In looking over the last 30 years, all of the **civil rights** laws add up to a second of the **civil rights** laws add up to a second American Revolution in which many of the dreams embodied in our Constitution have been given some measure of reality," Neas says. "Literally millions of Americans have been given an equal opportunity in voting, employment, education and housing. But there is also no question that we have a long way to go."

Ironically, Neas' observation that we have "a long way to go" comes exactly 30 years after the famous **Selma-to-Montgomery March** led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Chairman John Lewis. Instead of facing Gov. George C. Wallace's state troopers, today's assault has come in the form of legal challenges, such as Shaw v. Reno.

In Shaw, the 1993 North Carolina case that has challenged redistricting law, the U.S. Supreme Court left a gray area in respect to racial considerations in drawing up new districts. Now, several other lawsuits are challenging majority-Black congressional district seats that were created as a result of remapping for increased Black representation in Congress.

"It's no question that the poor as a group came out of the 1980s worse off than they came out of the 1970s, that's a tragedy," says Neas.

"I would hope with every passing day, month and year, the consensus in Congress, the **civil rights** community and across the nation is to address the economic opportunity issues and not reopen these **civil rights** issues that have been settled for a long time."

NAACP officials consider those senators and representatives with grades of 70 percent or better as "special friends" of the organization. Those with the worst record, less than 60 percent, include 40 senators and 206 representatives from both political parties.

What can people expect from the 104th congress?

"Subtle racism in the form of dismantling existing **civil rights** laws," says Lee. "They're too smart to say this is an anti-**civil rights** proposal."

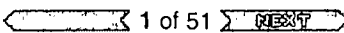
"This isn't about a balanced federal budget or cutting back on entitlement spending," says Lee.

"This is about continued disenfranchisement of groups of people based on their class, race and gender. We are not dealing with police dogs and fire hoses," Lee explains. "We're dealing with much more subtle exclusionary practices."

ETHNIC-GROUP: African-American

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 1, 1995

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The Associated Press, March 6, 1995

The Associated Press

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March 6, 1995, Monday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 639 words

HEADLINE: SELMA: 30 Years After "Bloody Sunday" ...

BYLINE: By PAUL NEWBERRY, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: SELMA, Ala.

BODY:

John Lewis was locked arm-in-arm with other veterans of the **civil rights** movement, marching, singing and chanting in a scene straight out of the 1960s.

Suddenly, the Georgia Democrat dropped from the line and wandered over to the side of the road to chat with some Alabama state troopers, members of the same force that clubbed him unconscious 30 years ago.

"You didn't have any blacks who were state troopers in 1965," said Lewis, recalling the all-white posse who took part in the "Bloody Sunday" mauling at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, an event that turned the tide of the **civil rights** movement.

Lewis, an Alabama native who now represents a congressional district in Atlanta, returned to this city on the banks of the Alabama River with Coretta Scott King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference president Joseph Lowery, Jesse Jackson and three other black congressmen to mark the **anniversary of the Selma-to-Montgomery march**.

About 2,000 people walked across the bridge Sunday, and 100 were continuing today on a weeklong, 54-mile trek to Montgomery, where a rally is scheduled Saturday on the steps of the Alabama Capitol.

Lewis was a leader of the original march on March 7, 1965, the one that was turned back at the Selma bridge by state troopers and other lawmen who plunged into the crowd with billy clubs and tear gas.

"I thought I was going to die," Lewis recalled.

He was knocked unconscious and to this day doesn't remember being carried back across the bridge to the Brown Chapel AME Church, where the march originated. Once he regained his senses, he

remembers telling the crowd something to the effect:

"I don't understand how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam but he can't send troops to Selma to protect people whose only desire is to register and vote."

As it turned out, the gory spectacle shocked the nation and prompted Johnson to send federal troops to protect a second, larger march two weeks later. Led by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., this one proceeded all the way to Montgomery; a few months later, the Voting Rights Act was signed into law.

Selma is still a landmark city in the **civil rights** crusade, but things have changed. This time, marchers were escorted by a convoy of patrol cars, blue lights flashing on the gray, drizzly afternoon.

"It's gratifying to come back and see all the changes that have occurred," Lewis said. "To see the number of registered voters and the number of black elected officials in the state of Alabama. To be able to walk with other members of Congress that are African-American."

The march also was a call to arms against the Republican-controlled Congress, which has threatened to dismantle legislation responsible for changes many blacks hold dear, such as affirmative action, welfare, "motor voter" registration and congressional redistricting to elect more blacks.

Lowery estimated that only 30 percent of eligible blacks voted in November, opening the door for Republicans to seize control of both chambers for the first time in 40 years.

"We've got to continue with our struggle," said James Armstrong, a 71-year-old barber from Birmingham who carried an American flag in front of the other marchers. "The voters let us down last time. This means a lot to me now because the voters didn't come out like they should have."

But Selma Mayor Joe Smitherman chastised the **civil rights** leaders.

Smitherman - a white segregationist in 1965 who later denounced race laws and continues to hold office in a city that is majority black - said they should have been out in force long before the election.

"You've gone to sleep," he told the largely black crowd in the Brown Chapel sanctuary before the march. "Many of the people sitting right in this room, black leaders, are just as responsible for the Republican turnaround as anyone."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: March 6, 1995

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