# Complete text of I have a dream'

The historic address given by Dr. Martin Luther King on the occasion of the Aug. 28, 1963 March on Washington is printed here in full in this exclusive Souvenir Edition of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers — on the occasion of the second March on Washington.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The historic Aug. 28, 1963 March on Washington had some major highlights but the one that most captured the imagination of millions of Americans was Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have A Dream" address.

Actually, the "I Have A Dream" portion of the address that so stirred the nation was not a part of the prepared text but the words came so freely and the oratory was so moving that few of his listeners

The sniper's bullet that ended the life of the champion of nonviolence on Thursday night, April 4, 1968 in Memphis, Tenn., robbed Dr. King of an opportunity to see his dream for America come true. Here is the address, which so beautifully wrapped up the dreams,

hopes and aspirations of millions of the nation's citizens: (Delivered before an interracial audience of 250,000 persons by Dr. Martin Luther King.)

#### THE DAWN OF HISTORY

WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 28, 1963 — I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

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

But one hundred years later the colored American is still not free. One hundred years later the life of the colored American is still sad-

#### 100 YEARS

One hundred years later the colored American lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity One hundred years later, the colored American is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condi-

In a sense we have come to our Nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our great republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note which every American was to fall heir.

This note was a promise that all men, yes black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given its colored people a bad check, a check that has come back marked insufficient funds.

#### DISBELIEVE

But we refused to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of NOW. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism.

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With Pride We Take This Opportunity to Salute YOU—

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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## Complete text of 'I have a dream'

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NOW IS THE TIME

NOW is the time to make the real promises of democracy. NOW is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

NOW is the time to make justice a reality to all of God's children. NOW is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of its colored citizens. This sweltering summer of the colored people's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end but a beginning. Those who hope that the colored Americans needed to blow off steam and will now be content, will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns to business as

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the colored citizen is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

NO BITTERNESS, HATRED

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate

Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the colored community must not lead us to a distrust

of all white people, for many of our white brothers, evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our

We cannot walk alone.

WE CAN NOT TURN BACK

As we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?"

We can never be satisfied as long as the colored person is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We can not be satisfied as long as the colored person's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for

We cannot be satisfied as long as a colored person in Mississippi cannot vote and a colored person in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

PERSECUTION, SUFFERING

No, no we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of your trials and tribulations. Some of you have come straight from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality.

You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

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