Aim:

Are the leaders and organizers of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, an important milestone in winning full rights for African-Americans, role models for us today?

Instructional Objectives:

Students will be able to:

1. identify four of the principal leaders and organizers of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom – A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill and Rachelle Horowitz – and describe their contributions to the march, to the African-American freedom struggle and to the American labor movement;
2. based on their reading of primary and secondary texts, describe the individual qualities of these leaders, and explain how they overcame challenges to organize the 1963 March on Washington;
3. through writing and a simulated press conference, represent one of the leaders and organizers of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, illustrating his or her personal contributions.

Grade Level: Secondary, 9-12.

Common Core Standards

Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects

Grades 9-10

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.3 Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.4 Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.5 Analyze how a text uses structure to emphasize key points or advance an explanation or analysis.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.6 Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.8 Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.9 Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.10 By the end of grade 10, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 9–10 text complexity band independently and proficiently.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.1 Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.2 Write informative/explanatory texts, including the narration of historical events, scientific procedures/ experiments, or technical processes.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.4 Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.9 Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

Grades 11-12:
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.3 Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.4 Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including analyzing how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term over the course of a text (e.g., how Madison defines faction in Federalist No. 10).
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.5 Analyze in detail how a complex primary source is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text contribute to the whole.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.6 Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.
CSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.8 Evaluate an author's premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.10 By the end of grade 12, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band independently and proficiently.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.1 Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.2 Write informative/explanatory texts, including the narration of historical events, scientific procedures/ experiments, or technical processes.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.4 Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.9 Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

Overarching Understanding:
This lesson is designed to introduce students to the extraordinary accomplishments, against some very difficult challenges, of four leaders and organizers of the 1963 March of Washington for Jobs and Freedom, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill and Rachelle Horowitz.

Length:
Two 45-50 minute periods.

Resource Materials:
- March on Washington Photos
- A. Philip Randolph's Speech at 1963 March on Washington:
  Link to audio recording in http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/march-592217-the-march-begins; Link to text of speech at http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/march-592217-the-march-begins/print. Text of speech provided at the conclusion of this lesson plan.
- Life of A. Philip Randolph by A. Philip Randolph Institute:
  Link to text at http://www.apri.org/ht/d/sp/i/225/pid/225
- Bayard Rustin reads Demands of the March:
  Link to audio recording and text at http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/march-777724-bayard-rustin-reads-the-demands-of-the-march; Text of speech provided conclusion of this lesson plan.
- Bayard Rustin: "Bayard Rustin's place in history" in *Washington Post*, August 21, 2011.
- Norman Hill: *New York Sun* Article November 05, 2005; Text provided at conclusion of this lesson plan.
- Rachelle Horowitz: *Washington Post* August 21, 1963; Link to article at http://www.shankerinstitute.org/images/RachelleHorowitzWashPost8-21-63.pdf

About The Lesson:
This lesson can be included in a unit on the Civil Rights Movement in an American History class.

For preparatory homework, the students should read the texts at the conclusion of this lesson plan. Given the length of the complete set, students can be assigned only the relevant texts for the individual they will represent. As part of the homework assignment, students should be asked to identify in writing the personal qualities of the individual they represent, and the challenges that this individual had to overcome.

Motivating Exercise:
Day One:
Show or project a photograph of the 1963 March on Washington, provided at conclusion of lesson plan. Ask students to name three to five reasons why they think the March on Washington took place.

Have students record and share answers. Show or project the Demands of the March, provided at end of lesson plan, to students. Have students compare their answer with the Demands of

the March (e.g. equal access to jobs and living wages, freedom to vote and equal protection under the law, equal access to education and housing et al).

Lesson Development:
Tell students that in 1963, the March on Washington was the largest non-violent demonstration that had even taken place in United States history. Much planning and organization was necessary to pull off an event which brought a quarter of a million people to Washington DC – at a time when there was no cell phones, internet and other modern communications technology. Ask students to name the specific preparations needed for the event to take place (e.g., publicize the event across the nation, organize transportation, organize speakers and message, transportation to and from, food, water, bathrooms, creating a non-violent atmosphere etc.).

Tell students that the March on Washington was pivotal in securing the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (ending by law unequal application of voter registration, racial segregation in schools, the workplace and public facilities) and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (outlawing discriminatory practices used largely to disenfranchise African-Americans).

Tell students that they will now work in groups and pretend to be one of the following: A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill, or Rachelle Horowitz. Students will be provided the one page summary of the biographies of these four individuals. They must prepare a simulated press conference presentation at which they represent their individual, portray the importance of the March and the role this individual had in organizing the March. In the simulated press conference, one student will represent the individual and others will represent reporters asking questions of that individual.

Day Two:
Students will enact their simulated press conferences. During the press conference, the rest of the class will watch and take notes in order to complete the chart provided at the conclusion of this lesson plan.

Some of the items that may be included in the chart are as follows:

LEADERS/ ORGANIZERS	PERSONAL QUALITIES	CHALLENGES
A. Philip Randolph	• Organized and led Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first black labor union. • Edited the *Messenger Magazine*. • Organized the first March on Washington in 1941 and compelled FDR to sign an order integrating	• Organizing first union of African-Americans against very antagonistic employer • Had been organizing a 'March on Washington' since 1941, when he used the threat of March to compel FDR to sign an executive order

	the defense industries. • Had Truman sign order integrating armed forces. • In his speech at 1963 March, asked for equal access to jobs and quality education. • Was persistent and promised to come 'again and again' until goals of the March were met.	prohibiting racial segregation in defense industries. • Had to bring together many different people and organizations to organize the 1963 March. • Had to form the March Committee with organizers like Rustin to accomplish the largest demonstration in the history of the United States to that point.
Bayard Rustin	• Quaker and non-violent activist that fought (and got beaten) fighting segregation beginning in the 1940s. • Served two years in Prison for his non-violent beliefs. • In a speech listed the demands of the March including the end of segregation, discriminatory hiring practices, job training, an increase in the national minimum wage. • Openly gay man before gay rights movement of late 1960s	• Openly gay man facing homophobia among Civil Rights activists and larger American society. • Ridiculed for refusing to fight in World War II due to his non-violent Quaker beliefs. • Arrested over 25 times in civil disobedience against racism.
Norman Hill	• Served as staff coordinator for the 1963 March on Washington, helped coordinate Dr. Martin Luther King's get out the vote tour. • Led a campaign to integrate Rainbow Beach on the South Side of Chicago. • Planned an extensive get out the vote program. • Directed the civil rights demonstration at the 1964 Republican Convention. • Advocated for demonstrations and nonviolent mass action to fight for social, economic, and political equality.	• Helped lead efforts for integration in the 1960s. • Traveled all over the South and Midwest organizing individuals, groups, churches and others to attend the March. • Had no modern technology for organizing. • Was the victim of physical violence in efforts to fight for Civil Rights.
Rachelle Horowitz	• 24 year-old white woman from Brooklyn • Organized transportation (busses, planes, and trains) for over 100,000 people from across the U.S. to the March. • Worked daily until 2AM in the	• Youth and inexperience. • Being a white woman in a movement largely dominated by black males. • Being from Brooklyn. • Handling the logistics of 250,000 people coming to Washington DC

	three months leading up to the March. • As a teenage worked as a volunteer and paid staffer for the 1959 Youth March for Integrated Schools. • Worked for freedom and equality despite having a father who was a militant segregationist.	from all directions without the benefits of cell phones or the Internet.

Summary Exercise:
If time allows or for a homework assignment, have students write the following essay:

Theme: Individuals and Change
Task: Identify two leaders and/or organizers of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. In a well-organized essay using specific examples and details from primary or secondary source documents, for each leader/organizer:

- describe the historical background and personal characteristics and qualities this leader.
- describe the actions this person took and the challenges they overcame to lead and/or organize the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

LEADERS AND ORGANIZERS
OF THE 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

A. Philip Randolph

Seventy-four years old at the time of the March, Randolph was a storied Civil Rights and labor leader who had organized and led the first African-American labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, starting in the 1920s. He organized the first 'March on Washington' in 1941, but agreed to cancel it when a worried President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 establishing the first Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), a monumental step toward achieving Randolph's stated goal of ending racial discriminatory hiring practice in industries supplying materials for World War II. After, Randolph convinced President Truman to issue Executive Order 9981 ending racial segregation in the armed forces. Randolph brought multiple civil rights organizations and people of all races together to organize the March. In his youth, Randolph edited the *Messenger*, an African-American literary and political magazine.

Bayard Rustin

A Quaker, and a nonviolent activist for human rights, Rustin was jailed from 1944-1946 for refusing to fight in World War II. Rusting helped organize the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the 1947 Freedom Ride that challenged racially segregated bussing. Rustin had been an advisor to Martin Luther King since the early days of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and played a primary role in King's adoption of non-violence. He was the chief organizer of the March on Washington. Rustin was openly gay at a time when very few gay men and lesbians were open about their sexual orientation, and his political opponents – such as segregationist Strom Thurmond – often attempted to blackmail and smear him, his associates and the causes for which he worked.

Norman Hill

Only thirty years old at the time of the March, Hill was a civil rights and labor leader and organizer. He was one of the first African-Americans to graduate from Haverford College in 1956 and later worked to integrate schools in Chicago and was involved in direct action that led to the desegregation of Rainbow beach on Chicago's south side. Hill traveled extensively over the Midwest and South recruiting people in churches, small town and big cities alike to participate in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. He later headed up the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Rachelle Horowitz

A 24 year-old recent graduate of Brooklyn College, Rachelle Horowitz worked with Bayard Rustin as the Transportation Coordinator for the March on Washington. From a headquarters in Harlem, Horowitz was one of the few women to play a leading role in the March, coordinated the logistics that brought 100,000 people from across the USA by plane, train, bus and automobile to the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. She later served as the Political Director of the American Federation of Teachers, the teachers union.

LEADERS/ ORGANIZERS	PERSONAL QUALITIES	CHALLENGES
A. Philip Randolph		
Bayard Rustin		
Norman Hill		
Rachelle Horowitz		

March on Washington
August 28, 1963

A. Philip Randolph's Speech at the 1963 March on Washington

Fellow Americans, we're gathered here for the longest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group, we are not an organization or a group of organizations, we are not a mob. We are the advanced guard of a massive, moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

This revolution reverberates throughout the land touching every city, every town, every village where black men are segregated, oppressed and exploited. But this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not.

And we know that we have no future in a society in which 6 million black and white people are unemployed and millions more live in poverty. Nor is the goal of our civil rights revolution merely the passage of civil rights legislation.

Yes, we want all public accommodations open to all citizens, but those accommodations will mean little to those who cannot afford to use them. Yes, we want a Fair Employment Practice Act, but what good will it do if profit-geared automation destroys the jobs of millions of workers black and white? We want integrated public schools, but that means we also want federal aid to education, all forms of education. We want a free, democratic society dedicated to the political, economic and social advancement of man along moral lines.

Now we know that real freedom will require many changes in the nation's political and social philosophies and institutions. For one thing we must destroy the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

It falls to the Negro to reassert this proper priority of values, because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property. It falls to us to demand new forms of social planning, to create full employment, and to put automation at the service of human needs, not at the service of profits—for we are the worst victims of unemployment. Negroes are in the forefront of today's movement for social and racial justice, because we know we cannot expect the realization of our aspirations through the same old anti-democratic social institutions and philosophies that have all along frustrated our aspirations.

And so we have taken our struggle into the streets as the labor movement took its struggle into the streets, as Jesus Christ led the multitude through the streets of Judaea. The plain and simple fact is that until we went into the streets the federal government was indifferent to our demands. It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. It was not until thousands demonstrated in the South that lunch counters and other public accommodations were integrated. It was not until the Freedom Riders were brutalized in Alabama that the 1946 Supreme Court decision banning

discrimination in interstate travel was enforced and it was not until construction sites were picketed in the North that Negro workers were hired.

Those who deplore our militancy, who exhort patience in the name of a false peace, are in fact supporting segregation and exploitation. They would have social peace at the expense of social and racial justice. They are more concerned with easing racial tension than enforcing racial democracy. The months and years ahead will bring new evidence of masses in motion for freedom. The March on Washington is not the climax of our struggle, but a new beginning not only for the Negro but for all Americans who thirst for freedom and a better life.

Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of Social Security, of federal aid to education and there you will find the enemy of the Negro, the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seek to dominate the Congress. We must develop strength in order that we may be able to back and support the civil rights program of President Kennedy. In the struggle against these forces, all of us should be prepared to take to the streets. The spirit and techniques that built the labor movement, founded churches, and now guide the civil rights revolution must be a massive crusade, must be launched against the unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and of the racists that seek to strangle Congress.

We here today are only the first wave. When we leave, it will be to carry on the civil rights revolution home with us into every nook and cranny of the land, and we shall return again and again to Washington in every growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less, and may God grant that we may have the courage, the strength, and faith in this hour of trial by fire never to falter.

Life of A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute

The words and deeds of A. Philip Randolph show us the unyielding strength of his life-long struggle for full human rights for the Blacks and all the disinherited of the nation. In his cry for freedom and justice, Mr. Randolph is echoing the fury of all the enslaved. They are fighting for their freedom, with the kind of desperate strength that only deep wounds can call forth. With none of his words, however, does Mr. Randolph turn aside the help of others. But these comrades-in-arms must share the vision that has led Mr. Randolph through his long years of search for equal human rights. From the day of his arrival in Harlem in 1911, Mr. Randolph had been in the thick of the struggle for freedom for Black Americans.

The civil rights revolution, which began in the 1950's, was a result of his efforts and the work of men like himself. Even when he had become an ''elder statesmen," his passion for justice remained as youthful and vigorous as ever. He still planned and organized such activities as the 1957 prayer pilgrimage for the civil rights bill, the 1958 and 1959 marches for school integration and the 1963 March on Washington. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 are all the fruits of the seed he and his co-workers sowed many years before A. Philip Randolph has always called for jobs and money as being the passports to human rights. At the same time, he did not let himself be led astray by the impractical economic promises of a man like Marcus Garvey, who called for a "return to Africa" back in the 1920's. As a man living in the bread-and-butter world, Mr. Randolph knew that a good weekly paycheck had to be won first. Then, after the children were fed, a better fight could be waged for dignity and self-pride.

With this always in mind, Mr. Randolph traveled throughout the nation just before World War II, in 1940 and 1941. His mission was to unite Blacks against the discrimination, which shut them out of well-paying jobs in the factories. Although many Whites, and even Blacks knocked his efforts in the beginning his message caught fire. All over the United States committees of Blacks were forming to "March on Washington" in protest. Influential people tried to turn Mr. Randolph away from his goal, but he remained strong and steadfast. Finally, recognizing that Mr. Randolph could not be swayed, President Franklin D Roosevelt signed an order, six months before Pearl Harbor, in June 1941, which called for an end to discrimination in defense plant jobs. Here was the beginning of "fair employment practices." This, the first 'March on Washington,' never had to be held. The most powerful leader in the world, the President of the United States, had yielded to the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. From this start have come all of the many laws trying to guarantee a fair and equal chance to all Blacks looking for jobs. About seven years later, in July of 1948, Mr. Randolph again moved to fight discrimination. This time, it was against segregation and Jim Crow in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Once more, the power of his persuasion and the justice of his complaints swayed another President of the United States, Harry S. Truman. President Truman signed an order

commanding that there would be an end to this kind of discrimination not only in the armed forces, but also in federal civil service jobs. In 1963, another high point in Mr. Randolph's struggle for equality for oppressed people was reached when he headed the famous 'March on Washington,' in which more than 250,000 Americans joined together under the slogan of 'Jobs and Freedom.' Still relentlessly pressing for full economic freedom, Mr. Randolph then presented, in 1966, the Freedom Budget to the nation. This budget called for the spending of $185 billion over ten years by the U.S. government to fight against poverty.

"The labor movement traditionally has been the only haven for the dispossessed, the despised, the neglected, the downtrodden and the poor." So spoke A. Philip Randolph from the convention floor of the AFL-CIO. And so believed A. Philip Randolph all his life long. It was this belief that sustained his spirit through the long, long, bitter years when he was the voice crying in the wilderness. It was this belief that enabled him to go on with the uphill fight for racial equality and opportunity for all Americans.

The story of Randolph the labor leader is the story of many beginnings, a tale of many defeats and many victories. Even in defeat he sowed the seed that afterwards blossomed and bore fruit-for Black workers and White workers alike. By the early 1920's, Mr. Randolph could look back upon ''a career of glorious failures," as one writer put it. He had run for Assembly twice and Comptroller once and lost each time. As far as organizing Blacks went, he had been at it from his first days in Harlem, but had little to show for his efforts. He began to come into his own when a group of Pullman porters came to him for help. The porters wanted the right to bargain for better wages and improvements in working conditions. They wanted a chance to run their own affairs. After a number of secret meetings, the organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was announced at Elks Hall on August 25, 1925. But it was going to be a long and tough fight to get the powerful Pullman Company to sit down and bargain with the workers. It took all of 12 years. The odds against the newly born union were huge. The company used all of its strength in attacking Mr. Randolph, calling him a Bolshevik and accusing him of being a hustler out for a fast buck. Pullman fired union members. It tried to put fear into the men by threatening them with tougher assignments, fewer assignments, or no work at all. The law also failed the Brotherhood. Mediation failed, so did arbitration. And when the men prepared for a strike as a last resort, the company recruited strikebreakers and private police. At the last moment, the strike was called off.

The leadership of the union decided that the Brotherhood was simply not strong enough to win at that time. Now began the struggle to keep the organization together without funds, without much support from the outside, and in the midst of a depression. Mr. Randolph would travel to Chicago on Brotherhood business and have only a one-way train ticket in his pocket. But somehow he survived and his message with him. Wherever he went, Mr. Randolph had one important sermon for the porters. They were Black men who were being called upon to prove that "Black men are able to measure up." And the men never forgot that message and in the end it won for them. By 1935, not only had the Brotherhood survived, but also it had won an election supervised, by the National Mediation Board. The same year, the American Federation

of Labor reversed its previous position and voted to grant an international charter to the Brotherhood It took two more years of negotiations but finally the Pullman Company signed a contract. This was more than a victory for better wages and working conditions. As one scholar wrote "A small band of brothers—Black— had stood together and won against a corporation that had said it would never sit down and negotiate with porters."

In 1936, A. Philip Randolph was drafted presidency of a new organization called the National Negro Congress. The NNC was made up of a number of groups, which planned to build a Black mass movement, by working with and through trade unions. Although the NNC was successful in a number of organization drives led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), when Mr. Randolph realized he had come under Communist control, he quit. He was attacked by the Communists as a traitor because he refused to support a stand against aid to the enemies of Hitler at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Russia pact. But when the Germans turned around and invaded Russia, he was again attacked by the Communist, this time for refusing to help the Soviet Union.

Throughout the hard years of struggle to obtain dignity and decent treatment for porters, Mr. Randolph forgot that there were other workers that also needed help. As one observer wrote ''he became a familiar and lonely figure on the floor of AFL-ClO conventions" to his role as champion of the underdog. He was conscience of organized labor in seeking to get the trade union to set its own house in order and to remove the last remnants of racial discrimination from ranks of the AFL-CIO. He spoke for all other dispossessed, Mexicans Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor Whites alike. He helped to draft ''the strongest statement of labor's position on our rights ever to come before a convention of the AFL-CIO." This resolution put organized labor in "a front line role in the civil rights revolution."

A. Philip Randolph's chosen home is the labor movement—which he believes is the real home of all working men. In 1955 he became a vice-president of the AFL-CIO's Executive Council, and in 1959 he helped to found the Negro American Labor Council. The NALC's job is to present Black workers' demands to the labor movement and to do what Mr. Randolph has always tried to do— keep the Black people and organized labor together and working for common goals. A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, is also a dreamer of dreams He has tried to put flesh and bones on his dreams by working for a labor movement that would be free of all prejudice and which would play a key role in changing society for the better. It is that dream that has made A. Philip Randolph one of the giants of the American labor movement. At the heart of A. Philip Randolph's vision as a socialist is his belief that a decent and well-paying job is the first step towards social and political freedom. Therefore, while he supported the needs of Blacks as Blacks, Mr. Randolph also maintained that those who are poor, or earn little money whether they are Black or White have basic interests in common, and that they should join together. As a socialist, Mr. Randolph believes that workers and their labor unions are the key forces in any political effort to redistribute society's wealth more justly. Mr. Randolph has continuously advised Black people to develop political alliances with other groups – labor, liberal and civil rights groups – to fight for common aims.

Mr. Randolph has never abandoned those principles that have given his outlook qualities of depth and honor. He is a firm believer in both integration and non-violence. As an integrationist he opposed the "Back-to-Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey in the 1920's, as he has opposed the separatist beliefs of the "Black Power" advocates of the late 1960s. At the same time, Mr. Randolph has rejected violence as a tactic of struggle, on both moral and practical grounds. A. Philip Randolph has not seen the problem of Black people in America as the problem of one isolated group. He views the condition of American Blacks as the symptom of a larger social illness, an illness which is caused by an unfair distribution of power, wealth, and resources.

For the socialist ideals on which his political wisdom is built, Mr. Randolph looked to the giants of American socialism—Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas. The agent for spreading Mr. Randolph's socialism was a magazine called the MESSENGER, founded in 1917, "the only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world published by Negroes." He co-edited the magazine with Chandler Owen, a fellow socialist who came to be Mr. Randolph's closest friend. Though both men were well aware that many unions and many socialists discriminated, they continued in their conviction that only through the organization of the workers into unions could society be changed. Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen outlined the purpose of their socialist publication in an early editorial, saying: "The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing classes recognize no race lines, They will exploit a White man as readily as a Black man . . . they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits. "The combination of Black and White workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, Black and White, is conscious of its interests and power. This will prove that unions are not based upon race lines, but upon class lines. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class conscious, intelligent, militant group."

Though Mr. Randolph was an integrationist, he believed that organizations which had come into existence to wage the Black and working class struggle ought to be headed by the leaders from those groups. He disagreed with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leader W.E.B. DuBois' claim that a "talented tenth" of the race would pave the way for its entry into society. The gap between Mr. Randolph and Mr. DuBois widened when, during World War 1, Mr. DuBois called on Blacks to "close ranks," put aside their grievances, and support the war. Mr. Randolph was definitely opposed to the war. He believed that the American idea of ''making the world safe for democracy'' was outright falsity, and "a tremendous offense to the intelligence of the Blacks because at that time the Blacks were being lynched and denied the right to vote, in the South especially, and were the victims of segregation and discrimination all over the nation." The MESSENGER repeatedly stressed the anti-war stand of its editor's and, as a result, the U.S. Justice Department kept a close watch on Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen. Finally, they were jailed in Cleveland on charges of treason. They managed to get out under the custody of Seymour Stedman, a socialist lawyer, and they promptly continued their public protest against the war. World War I ended just one day before Mr. Randolph was scheduled to leave for war himself as a new draftee.

As a socialist associated with radical, leftwing causes, Mr. Randolph was subject to pressures from other radical groups, including the Communists. When a split struck the Socialist Party in 1919, over the question of whether or not to support the Bolsheviks in their leadership of the Russian Revolution, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Owen stayed with the non-Communist faction of the party. When the Communists began to concern themselves with the issue of Blacks in the labor movement, Mr. Randolph had already begun his organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Communists were so jealous of Mr. Randolph's efforts, they took pains to prevent any mention of him in their publications. A. Philip Randolph's position, whether an attitude toward labor unions, an anti-war stand, or a political position with an aim of economic change, has consistently reflected his socialist ideas. He has always believed in a movement based on the workers as the main force, and has always been committed to the idea that a democratic redistribution of wealth is the first step toward greater freedom for all people, Black as well as White.

Bayard Rustin reads Demands of 1963 March on Washington

A. Philip Randolph:
A philosopher of a non-violent system of behavior in seeking to bring about social change for the advancement of justice, and freedom and human dignity. I want to introduce now Brother Bayard Rustin, who will read the demands of the March on Washington Movement. Everyone must listen to these demands. That is why we are here. And now, Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the March will read the demands.

Rustin:
Friends, at five o'clock today the leaders whom you have heard will go to President Kennedy to carry the demands of this revolution. It is now time for you to act. I will read each demand and you will respond to it. So that when Mr. Wilkins and Dr. King and the other eight leaders go, they are carrying with them the demands which you have given your approval to. The first demand is that we have effective Civil Rights legislation, no compromise, no filibuster, and that it include public accommodations, decent housing, integrated education, FEPC, and the right to vote. What do you say?
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
Number two. Number two. They want that we demand the withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists. What do you say?
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
We demand that segregation be ended in every school district in the year 1963.
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
We demand the enforcement of the 14th Amendment, the reducing of congressional representation of states where citizens are disenfranchised.
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
We demand an Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by Federal funds.
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
We demand that every person in this nation, black or white, be given training and work with dignity to defeat unemployment and automation.
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
We demand that there be an increase in the national minimum wage so that men may live in dignity.
[Crowd - cheers]

Rustin:
We finally demand that all of the rights that are given to any citizen be given to black men and men of every minority group including a strong FEPC. We demand.
[Crowd - cheers]

Bayard Rustin's place in history

Bayard Rustin, organizer of the March on Washington, was crucial to the movement

By Steve Hendrix
Washington Post, August 21, 2011

It was around this point in August 1963, in the sweltering days before the March on Washington, that Eleanor Holmes Norton was waiting for someone to say something really nasty about her boss.

She was a march volunteer. The boss was Bayard Rustin, the march's chief organizer and the man widely viewed as the only civil rights activist capable of pulling off a protest of such unprecedented scale.

And he was gay. Openly gay. That year again? 1963.

"I was sure the attacks would come because I knew what they could attack Bayard for," says Norton, now the District's non-voting delegate to Congress.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom will be forever known as the day that ensured the success of the civil rights movement and launched the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. into the highest pantheon of American champions. Next week, on the 48th anniversary of the march, King will be anointed into that ultra-selective fraternity of national leaders memorialized on the Mall.

But for hundreds of civil rights veterans, Aug. 28 will also always be Bayard's Day, the crowning achievement of one of the movement's most effective, and unconventional, activists.

"When the anniversary comes around, frankly I think of Bayard as much as I think of King," says Norton. "King could hardly have given the speech if the march had not been so well attended and so well organized. If there had been any kind of disturbance, that would have been the story."

In the weeks before the march, planners were checking off details by the thousand: buses booked, speeches vetted, slogans written, portable toilets rented. At the Harlem headquarters, Rustin toggled between the political (brokering podium time for dozens of competing groups) and the practical (determining whether peanut butter or sandwiches with mayonnaise would stand up better in a Washington August).

Between phone calls, he drilled the hundreds of off-duty police officers and firefighters who had volunteered to serve as marshals. He made them take off their guns and coached them in the techniques of nonviolent crowd control he had brought back from a pilgrimage to India.

"We used to go out to the courtyard to watch," says Rachelle Horowitz, a longtime Rustin lieutenant who served as the march's transportation coordinator. "It was like, see Bayard tame the police."

Horowitz and his other disciples, meanwhile, waited for someone in the enemy camp to notice that the only thing bigger than the responsibilities on Rustin's shoulders were the targets on his back.

The 53-year-old known at the time as "Mr. March-on-Washington" was a lanky, cane-swinging, poetry-quoting black Quaker intellectual who wore his hair in a graying pompadour. He'd had a fleeting association with a communist youth group in the 1930s and had been a Harlem nightclub singer in the 1940s (and was still given to filling corridors and meeting rooms with his high troubadour tenor). He had gone to prison as a conscientious objector during World War II — he used his time there to take up the lute — and had been jailed more than 25 other times as a protester.

And, one time, he was jailed on a "morals charge," after being caught entangled with two other men in a parked car, which was a crime in Pasadena, Calif., in 1953.

"He absolutely didn't hide it," Horowitz says. "He'd never heard there was a closet."

Rustin began a lifelong, one-man march for dignity in his teen years in West Chester, Pa., where he was born in 1912. He was raised by a Quaker grandmother.

As a standout football player at a mostly white high school, Rustin was known to recite classical verse as he helped bewildered opposing linemen to their feet. He insisted that black players be housed with white players at out-of-town games and was arrested as a teenager for refusing to vacate the white areas in the town movie theater, restaurants and YMCA.

And Rustin was still a young man when he told his grandmother that he simply preferred the company of other young men.

"At his very earliest, it was apparent that Bayard liked to cause trouble for the institutions he chafed against," says Wade Henderson, president of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights. "He began a lifetime of challenging conventions of politics, race and sexuality."

Rustin proved a natural at strategic thinking and organizing. He would sing to crowds, debate opponents, go limp for policemen. As his 10,000-page FBI file details, he plunged into a hit parade of protest causes over his lifetime: segregation, Japanese internees, draft resisters, workers' rights, chain-gang prisoners, the anti-nuclear movement, South African apartheid.

"He's like the Zelig of the 20th century — he pops up in so many places," says Bennett Singer, co-producer with Nancy Kates of "Brother Outsider," an acclaimed 2003 documentary about Rustin.

By the late 1950s, Rustin had emerged as a key adviser to King. He was a strategist during the Montgomery bus boycott, helped launch the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and was credited with persuading the civil rights leader to embrace the tenets of Gandhian nonviolence. But other black leaders disapproved of his frank sexuality and its attendant arrest record.

In 1960, Adam Clayton Powell, the minister-congressman from Harlem, threatened to float a rumor that King was one of Rustin's lovers if King didn't exile him from his inner circle. King pushed him away, reluctantly, and Rustin resigned from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"Bayard had a lot of baggage — communist youth member, conscientious objector," says Walter Naegle, Rustin's partner for the last decade of his life. "But being gay was the one thing that was still unforgivable to a lot of civil rights leaders."

But others never abandoned him, most notably A. Philip Randolph, a dean of the movement and Rustin's longtime mentor. When the moment came for an unprecedented mass gathering in Washington, Randolph pushed Rustin forward as the logical choice to organize it.

"The details for him had real meaning," Horowitz says. "It had to be well organized, nonviolent and peaceful, because nobody believed that black Americans could organize a march of this size. Even liberals said there would be riots."

In mid-August, with the march looming over Washington as a growing juggernaut, it was then-Sen. Strom Thurmond who took aim at the man steering it. Speaking on the Senate floor, the South Carolina segregationist, then a Democrat, filled eight pages of the Congressional Record with detailed denunciations of Rustin as a draft-dodging communist homosexual and a convicted "sex pervert." Thurmond had the entire Pasadena arrest file entered in the record.

In the overcrowded offices in Harlem, they braced for the worst. This time, it never came.

Randolph and King both expressed confidence in their eccentrically brilliant organizer. The march toward the march continued.

"It flared up and then flared right back down," Norton says. "Thank God, because there was no substitute for Bayard."

The day before the throngs were expected, as the team decamped for Washington, Norton volunteered to stay behind. In the age before call forwarding (not to mention cellphones, fax machines or desktop computers), someone had to answer the phones until the last minute.

She caught a flight early the next morning. Flying over the Mall, she looked down in time to watch the shadow of the plane skim over acres and acres of densely packed Americans, more than anyone had ever seen.

“That’s when I knew that the march was going to work,” she recalls.

The marchers weren’t rioting. They weren’t trashing the place. More than 200,000 were guided by thousands of “bus captains,” each referring frequently to Rustin’s 12-page manual on where to park, what to shout, where the bathrooms were.

“I remember how incredibly dignified everyone was,” says Henderson, then a 15-year-old who had ridden his bicycle down from Northeast Washington without his parents’ permission. “A lot of people wore ties.”

“Very early on we realized that the mood was wonderful,” Horowitz says. “At that point, you knew not only that this was big, but this was good.”

Rustin was everywhere. In films of the rally, he is a constant presence on the podium, blowing cigarette smoke behind Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, mouthing the words to “Stand by Me” with Mahalia Jackson. He is at King’s side, mesmerized, or maybe exhausted, as King thunders across the ages, “Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, we are free at last!”

A week later, Rustin’s picture was on the cover of Life magazine, standing next to Randolph at the feet of the towering marble Lincoln.

Rustin continued traveling and organizing until his death in 1987. But he faded from the shortlist of well-known civil rights lions.

“It’s amazing how many students we talk to at top colleges who come up and say they’ve never heard of him,” Singer says. “It was his homosexuality that was always the rub.”

But in the 1970s, the world began to catch up to Rustin’s comfort with homosexuality, and he took up gay rights as his latest public movement. Gay men and lesbians adopted him as a profile in courage, and a new generation marveled at his remarkable story. Singer is invited to show his documentary at an increasing number of schools, government agencies, law firms. New biographies have come out, and a book of Rustin’s letters will be published next spring.

"In a year in which we saw the end of 'don't ask, don't tell' and other changes, this is a propitious time to put the Rustin story back before the American people," says Henderson. His organization is part of the "Rustin Initiative," an effort to link the civil rights and gay rights communities. "Having him acknowledged as an extraordinary leader who was himself gay, that shows where this broader movement for civil and human rights can go."

A Tribute to Norman Hill

Knickerbocker
By GARY SHAPIRO | November 25, 2005

Norman Hill himself was greeting guests at the entrance to the second floor hall of the New-York Historical Society, where more than 100 friends and admirers had gathered to make their salute. Mr. Hill was in his usual good humor, though he has lost his sight and carries a white cane. It is often said of him that he may have lost his sight, but he hasn't lost his vision, which is of a civil rights struggle invested in the principles of racial equality, the free trade union movement, and political democracy.

Over his long career, Mr. Hill worked with the Congress of Racial Equality, the American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organizations, before he headed the institute named for A. Philip Randolph, who, in the 1920s, had organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters into one of the most important labor unions in American history and, in the early days of World War II, forced FDR to sign an order integrating the defense industries.

The press handout on Mr. Hill characterized his career this way: "During the 1960s, Hill led campaigns that integrated the work force at major companies throughout the country including the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, A &P stores, and the Trailways bus company and desegregated restaurants from Baltimore to Washington, D.C. Hill also served as staff coordinator for the 1963 March on Washington, helped coordinate Dr. Martin Luther King's get out the vote tour, and planned and directed the civil rights demonstration at the 1964 Republican Convention."

The reception included veterans of many of these campaigns. *The Knickerbocker* spoke with Arch Puddington and Adrian Karatnycky of Freedom House, both of whom worked for Mr. Hill at the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The work included registering large numbers of voters. The Knick also spoke with Mr. Hill's wife, Velma Murphy Hill, herself a memorable figure in the civil rights movement and a national board member of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Edith 'Eadie' Shanker, the widow of the former president of the American Federation of Teachers, Albert Shanker.

The APRI president, Clayola Brown, chaired the program that evening. Speakers included the president of the New York City Central Labor Council/AFL-CIO, Brian McLaughlin; a City Council member, Alan Gerson, and the executive vice president of UNITE HERE, Edgar Romney, national secretary of the A. Philip Randolph Institute. The event co-chairs were the president emerita of

the National Council of Negro Women, Dorothy Height, the AFL-CIO president, John Sweeney, and Rep. John Lewis, a Democrat of Georgia.

Senators Schumer and Clinton sent greetings, as did Rep. Jerrold Nadler, Mayor Bloomberg, and Mr. Lewis, another towering figure in the civil rights movement. The president of Manhattan, C. Virginia Fields, issued a formal proclamation saluting Mr. Hill "for his many outstanding achievements and activities toward promoting racial equality and economic justice."

The Knickerbocker spoke later with National Endowment for Democracy's president, Carl Gershman, who worked at the APRI between 1969 and 1971. He said Mr. Hill's sophisticated worldview encompassed not just American race relations and domestic politics but that he had "a global perspective" of politics and a commitment to the struggle for democracy internationally.

At the event, Mrs. Hill spoke about how she and her husband had met during a civil rights demonstration in Chicago at the Republican Party Convention in 1960. During the summers of 1960 and 1961, they led a campaign to integrate Rainbow Beach on the South Side of Chicago. At the time, she was president of the NAACP youth chapter in Chicago. As they were leaving Rainbow Beach during the "wade-in" campaign, a gang of white youths attacked, and Mrs. Hill was hit in the head with a rock, resulting in an injury requiring 17 stitches. Mr. Hill carried her off the beach.

Mr. Hill spoke about how he was influenced and guided by both A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. He spoke of the five principles that served as the undergirding for their labor and civil rights activities: These were, firstly, a commitment to a society in which racial equality and economic justice would prevail; secondly, development of a majoritarian strategy that would include coalition politics to pursue racial equality and economic justice; thirdly, that the initiative for change should come from those who are mistreated, exploited, and discriminated against (such that they gain strength, awareness, and confidence); fourthly, a commitment to mass action, whether it be through demonstration, rally, march, picket line, or boycott, and finally, that the commitment be to nonviolent mass action.