

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH DOCUMENTARY
FINAL SCRIPT
JANUARY 1996

TEASE

Randolph on camera giving a speech

RANDOLPH (O/C): Negroes want the same things that white citizens possess. All of their rights ...

ROBERT DEAN (V/O): We just believed in Mr. Randolph. And nobody couldn't tell us--me, especially-- against Mr. A. Philip, nobody.

RANDOLPH (O/C): ... and no force under the sun can stem and block and stop this civil rights revolution which is now on the way.

Randolph marching with other leaders of the '63 March on Washington; union leaders at convention and a black laborer with a child

NARRATION #T1: THROUGHOUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH STOOD AT THE LEADING EDGE OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE. IN THE NINETEEN-FIFTIES, HE CHALLENGED UNION BOSSES, DEMANDING EQUALITY FOR BLACK WORKERS.

Randolph on camera giving speech

LICHTENSTEIN V/O: A. Philip Randolph did more than anyone to set the agenda for the modern civil rights movements.

Protesters in front of the White House

NARRATION #T3: IN THE FORTIES, HE FACED DOWN TWO PRESIDENTS, TO END SEGREGATION IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND IN THE MILITARY...

Photo of Pullman Porters striking

IN THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES, HE LED BLACK WORKERS IN A FIGHT AGAINST A POWERFUL CORPORATION.

Photo of Randolph as a young man.

RANDOLPH V/O: The very nature of the struggle on the part of labor and minorities...

NARRATION #T4: AND IN 1919, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL CALLED HIM "THE MOST DANGEROUS NEGRO IN AMERICA."

ACT ONE

Images from Crescent City, FL;
interior and exterior shots of
Union Bethel AME Church

Music: piano solo of " Lift Ev'ry
Voice and Sing. " Piano solo by
Brian Keane

**NARRATION #1: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
WAS BORN IN 1889 IN CRESCENT CITY
FLORIDA. HE WAS THE SECOND SON OF
ELIZABETH AND THE REVEREND JAMES
RANDOLPH, PASTOR OF THE UNION
BETHEL CHURCH. THEY CHRISTENED
HIM ASA, AFTER A BIBLICAL KING WHO
DISTRIBUTED HIS WEALTH AMONG THE
PEOPLE OF HIS KINGDOM.**

HARRIS (VO): Randolph grew up in a home that was headed by an itinerant preacher of the AME church, whose most fiery member was Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, a man who argued that there had to be total social equality and that black people had a right to demand it--and violently, if necessary.

**Super: William Harris
Historian**

HARRIS (OC): So Randolph grew up with this kind of expanding of his mind at a very young age

Images of Rev. Randolph, Mrs.
Randolph, Asa Philip and James
Randolph in rural Florida

**Super: Voice of A. Philip
Randolph**

RANDOLPH (VO) : I, as a matter of fact, never felt--and my brother never felt--we never felt that we were inferior to any white boy. When we were told constantly and continuously that you are as able, you are as competent, you have as much intellectuality as any individual. And you're not supposed to bow and take a back seat for anybody.

Music: " Jesus is a Rock in a
Wearyland, " instrumental by
William Grant Still "
* Off the Records Music Service

Images of Randolph family hanging laundry.

NARRATION #2: TO SUPPLEMENT THE REVEREND'S INCOME, MRS. RANDOLPH TOOK IN SEWING, AND THE FAMILY SOLD WOOD AND MEAT. THEIR HOME WAS FILLED WITH IDEAS AND DEBATE ON THE BEST WAYS FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO ADVANCE IN AMERICA, JUST FORTY YEARS AFTER THE END OF SLAVERY.

STILL: High school photo of Randolph (APRI))

AS RANDOLPH ENTERED HIGH SCHOOL, MOST OF FLORIDA'S BLACK WORKERS WERE LIMITED TO LOW PAYING JOBS ON PLANTATIONS, OR AS DOMESTICS. THEY COULD NOT VOTE. THEY FACED A CONSTANT THREAT OF WHITE VIOLENCE.

RANDOLPH GRADUATED VALEDICTORIAN, AND VOWED TO GO NORTH.

Images of a passenger boat moving in the water

FOUR YEARS LATER, HE WAS ON A STEAMBOAT HEADING UP THE ATLANTIC COAST, EARNING HIS FARE AS A KITCHEN HAND. HIS DESTINATION WAS THE MECCA OF BLACK AMERICA AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY: HARLEM, NEW YORK.

Images of a body of water with a bridge in the background

Images of New York skyscrapers

BRACEY (VO): One of the wonderful things about being in Harlem ...

**Super: John H. Bracey, Jr.
Historian**

BRACEY (OC): ...during the period between nineteen hundred and the first World War, was the fantastic array ideologies and ideas being debated. And if you were a young thinker like A. Philip Randolph, and a person concerned with books and ideas, it was a kind of treasure trove, and a kind of feast of activity.

Images of early NYC; street scenes

Music: " La Guiablesse, "
Instrumental by Wm. Grant Still.
* Off the Record Music Service

Images of City College in NYC

Images of various socialist rallies in NYC

STILL: a dapper, young Randolph in NYC

STILL: Eugene Debs making a speech

STILL: Eugene Debs delivers anti-war speech

Super: Nelson Lichtenstein Historian

Images of Randolph preaching on a Harlem street corner

NARRATION #3: THE NEW YORK RANDOLPH FOUND IN 1911 WAS A BUSTLING PLACE, FILLED WITH MORE OPPORTUNITY AND LESS FEAR THAN BLACK PEOPLE KNEW IN THE SOUTH.

RANDOLPH TOOK A ROOM IN HARLEM, AND DREAMED OF BECOMING AN ACTOR. BUT WHILE ATTENDING CITY COLLEGE, HE WAS DRAWN TO A DIFFERENT STAGE--THE ARENA OF RADICAL POLITICS.

RANDOLPH WAS CAPTIVATED BY SOCIALISM. SOCIALIST PARTY SPOKESMAN EUGENE V. DEBS DREW LARGE CROWDS WITH TALK OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY, WHERE THE RICH WOULD NOT DOMINATE THE POOR, BUT ALL AMERICANS WOULD BE EQUAL.

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): Debs was a great tribune, he was a visionary. He could inspire thousands and tens of thousands of people. He won almost a million votes when he ran for president in 1912.

LICHTENSTEIN (OC): He was a great American Protestant in the best evangelical sense of that, and I think that Randolph--whatever differences he may have had with Debs--had to have learned, and in a certain way modeled himself, on that experience, that kind of a leader.

RANDOLPH (VO): The very nature of a struggle on the part of labor and minorities renders it inevitable that labor and minorities...join the camp of and take their stand by and for the forces of democracy. For it is only within the framework of democracy...that labor and minorities can achieve freedom, equality and justice.

BRACEY (Dual speaker VO): Randolph just kind of carved out a position as a democratic socialist and participated in these debates and was active on the street corners virtually every evening and every afternoon in Harlem.

STILL: Harlem Street Corner

STILL: Portrait shot of blond,
Lucille Green, wearing pearls.

**NARRATION #4: IN 1914, WHILE
SELLING RADICAL POLITICAL
PAMPHLETS, RANDOLPH MET LUCILLE
GREEN, A SUCCESSFUL HARLEM
BUSINESSWOMAN.**

KEMP (VO) : Lucille was a very elegant lady.
I think she originally was a teacher from Howard
University, came to New York,

**Super: Maida Springer
Harlem Resident**

KEMP (OC): ... and successfully took up the hair
dressing business, and was a close associate of Madame
C.J. Walker.

STILLS: Madame C.J. Walker
related photos; beauty products,
publicity photos. salons, etc.

**NARRATION #5: ONE OF THE GREAT
ENTREPRENEURS OF HER TIME,
MADAME WALKER WAS THE FIRST TO
CREATE A LINE OF HAIR AND SKIN
PRODUCTS SPECIFICALLY FOR BLACK
CONSUMERS. THEY WERE SOLD IN
ELEGANT SALONS, LIKE THE ONE
OWNED BY LUCILLE GREEN.**

Harlem ballroom dance, couples
chatting at party

**RANDOLPH HAD NO INTEREST IN
JOINING LUCILLE AT PARTIES GIVEN
BY HARLEM'S WEALTHY ELITE, PEOPLE
HE CONSIDERED "FLY BY NIGHT."
INSTEAD, HE CONVINCED HER TO JOIN
HIM AT SOCIALIST RALLIES.**

STILL: Socialist rally

Music: " Night " piano solo by
R. Nathaniel Dett
* Off the Record

Images of St. Philip's Episcopal
Church

**IN NOVEMBER OF 1914, THEY WERE
MARRIED--TO THE REGRET OF
LUCILLE'S MINISTER--AT THE ELITE ST.
PHILIP'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH.**

**RANDOLPH'S SOCIALISM MADE
HARLEM'S UPPER CLASS UNEASY.**

Recreated Images of Messenger office with magazines scattered on desk

STILL: Chandler Owen

Music: " MA " piano solo by Eubie Blake
* Off the Record Music Service

Bracey speaking

Images of Messenger magazines scattered on desk

Image of book, " Souls of Black Folk "

STILL: a young, W.E.B. DuBois

Image of the book, " Up from Slavery "

STILL: " The New Negro Has No Fear "

THREE YEARS LATER, WITH MONEY FROM LUCILLE'S BUSINESS, RANDOLPH LAUNCHED A POLITICAL JOURNAL WRITTEN WITH FELLOW SOCIALIST CHANDLER OWEN. THE MESSENGER BECAME A LOUD VOICE IN A GROWING MOVEMENT, LED BY ACTIVISTS KNOWN AS "THE NEW NEGRO RADICALS."

BRACEY (OC): It became the most radical, you know, and outspoken publication among black Americans during this period. It was openly socialist. It was pro-armed struggle.

BRACEY (VO): It launched drastic attacks on the black middle class and the developing black middle class. And it was extreme by any standards of black journalism at any period of time in history.

NARRATION #6: AMONG THEORIES OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT, TWO DOMINATED. W.E.B. DuBOIS ADVOCATED A STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY. A FOUNDER OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, THE NAACP, DuBOIS CALLED FOR THE BLACK INTELLECTUAL ELITE--A GROUP HE CALLED THE "TALENTED TENTH"--TO LEAD THEIR RACE.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, A FORMER SLAVE, HAD PUSHED FOR BLACKS TO BE EDUCATED IN THE TRADES AND OTHER PROFESSIONS. HE DOWNPLAYED SOCIAL ACTIVISM, ARGUING INSTEAD FOR STEADY ECONOMIC GAIN.

ONE THING THAT DuBOIS AND WASHINGTON DID HAVE IN COMMON WAS THE DISDAIN OF RANDOLPH AND THE OTHER "NEW NEGRO RADICALS."

FRANKLIN (V.O.): The various groups that had their own positions on how to solve the problems of African-Americans,

**Super: John Hope Franklin
Historian**

FRANKLIN: (O.C.)surely became bitter rivals for the attention of the masses of blacks in the community.

STILL: Photo of Garvey watching a parade on the streets of Harlem.

NARRATION #7: TOWARD THE END OF THE DECADE, A FLAMBOYANT NEW LEADER EMERGED, A JAMAICAN IMMIGRANT NAMED MARCUS GARVEY.

**Super: Voice of Marcus
Garvey**

GARVEY (VO): Fellow citizens of Africa, I greet you in the name of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African communities league of the world. You may ask. " What organization is that ? " It is no need to inform you that the Universal Negro Improvement Association, is an organization that seeks to unite into one solid body the four hundred million Negroes of the world.

STILL: Uniformed Garveyites standing on steps

NARRATION #8: IN HIS OWN JOURNAL AND IN SPEECHES, GARVEY ARGUED THAT FORMER SLAVES SHOULD JOIN A WORLD-WIDE "RETURN TO AFRICA" MOVEMENT. HARLEM'S BLACK COMMUNITY RESPONDED WITH ENTHUSIASM. COMPETING BLACK LEADERS DID NOT.

Images of a parade in Harlem

STILL: Garvey riding in the back of a carriage

BRACEY (VO): DuBois called Garvey "a man with big head and beady eyes." Garvey read DuBois out of the race, saying he was therefore no longer a Negro.

Super: John H. Bracey, Jr.
(2nd I.D.)

BRACEY (OC): DuBois was appalled at just the foolishness of it all. And Randolph thought that it didn't have any class content and thought that Garvey was just a charlatan, you know and said that over, over and over again.

Image of UNIA parade

Super: Voice of A. Philip Randolph

RANDOLPH (VO): I told him that it was impossible for him to take Negroes from this country and carry them to Africa to build an empire, for Black people in Africa. In the first place, the people in Africa wouldn't permit you to come there to take over their land, and so forth. They're black and you're black, but that doesn't mean that they agree for you to come over there and exploit them.

Images of Garvey at UNIA parade

Kemp speaking

KEMP (OC): There were sharp differences of method between A. Philip Randolph's approach, the NAACP's approach, and Mr. DuBois was probably the more outspoken in terms of his negative attitude about Garvey. But in retrospect, they were moving in the same direction. They were concerned about the black man and woman's status in the United States.

Parades in support of the war effort.

NARRATION #9: AS THE U.S. PREPARED TO ENTER WORLD WAR I, PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON BEGAN RALLYING AMERICANS, INCLUDING BLACKS, TO SUPPORT THE WAR. AFTER FOUR YEARS IN OFFICE, WILSON HAD DONE LITTLE ON BEHALF OF BLACK AMERICANS, EVEN REFUSING TO ENDORSE LEGISLATION AGAINST LYNCHING. DESPITE WILSON'S RECORD, DuBOIS URGED BLACK AMERICANS TO SUPPORT THE WAR BECAUSE OF GERMAN HATRED OF ALL DARKER RACES.

Woodrow Wilson signs legislation

Group of people waving American flags;

MUSIC: Let's All Be American Now " by I. Berlin, performed by American Quartet * Off the Record Music Service

Music under, above visuals.

Kemp speaking

KEMP (OC): There was turmoil in the Black community because this was World War I. And Randolph was an opponent of blacks going into the military because he felt they did not have a stake in this society.

Franklin speaking

FRANKLIN (OC): Not only was he opposed to the war, as a war, but he was opposed to American participation in that war. And in his and Chandler Owen's magazine, The Messenger, they took strong positions, condemned the government, condemned the war effort, condemned the NAACP and W.E. B. DuBois for supporting the war.

Black soldiers on boat that is ready to sail.

FRANKLIN (VO): And they implied that those who were being loyal to the United States were traitors to their race.

Black soldiers in World War I

NARRATION #10: IN THE MESSENGER, RANDOLPH ADVISED DUBOIS TO GO TO FRANCE IF HE WAS SO EAGER TO FIGHT A WAR TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY. INSTEAD OF FIGHTING IN EUROPE, RANDOLPH WROTE, HE WOULD RATHER MAKE GEORGIA SAFE FOR THE NEGRO. BUT SOME 400,000 BLACK MEN DID GO TO FIGHT FOR THE U.S. STILL, RANDOLPH PERSISTED IN HIS ANTI-WAR, ANTI-GOVERNMENT STAND, ALL THE WHILE ATTACKING PRESIDENT WILSON AS A RACIST ON THE HOME FRONT.

STILL: APR speaking

Franklin speaking

FRANKLIN (OC): During and immediately after the war, there was great panic in the United States,

Peasants in Red Square; Lenin speaking; bringing down banner; armed peasants marching through streets; Lenin looking on

FRANKLIN (VO): ...panic over the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and the call for the internationalization of this revolution.

Franklin speaking

FRANKLIN (OC): There was the feeling that Randolph, and Owen, and others like them, were dangerous, treacherous, and they should be watched.

Kemp speaking

KEMP (OC): A. Philip Randolph was, uh, considered by the Attorney General of the United States to be "the most dangerous Negro in the United States."

Recreated image of APR and Owen being jailed

STILL: Randolph in hat

Parade for returning black soldiers

MUSIC: " On Jersey Shore " by A. Pryor . * Off the Record

Franklin speaking

STILLS: Red Summer photos. Police beating black man, wounded black man in streets; police carrying away the wounded

Images of riot torn area

NARRATION #11: IN AUGUST 1918, RANDOLPH AND CHANDLER OWEN WERE ARRESTED AT AN ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION IN CLEVELAND. THEY WERE CHARGED WITH TREASON. TWO DAYS LATER, THE JUDGE DROPPED THE CHARGES, BUT ADVISED THE PAIR TO LEAVE TOWN. THAT NOVEMBER, RANDOLPH WAS DRAFTED, BUT DAYS LATER THE WAR ENDED.

THOUSANDS OF BLACK SOLDIERS RETURNED HOME, AND HOPES WERE HIGH THAT BLACK PATRIOTISM WOULD BE REPAID WITH RACIAL EQUALITY.

FRANKLIN (OC): You had deliberate efforts on the part of whites to be certain that blacks would go back into the same niches where they were before the war. That kind of thing--the blacks having fought abroad to save the world for democracy, whites in the United States wanting to make certain that blacks did not presume to enjoy rights which they had not had before the war--you've got the makings of conflict.

NARRATION #12: IN THE RED SUMMER OF 1919, THERE WERE MORE THAN TWENTY RACE RIOTS ACROSS THE NATION. RANDOLPH WROTE IN THE MESSENGER, "'NEW NEGROES' ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY SHALL NOT TRAVEL THROUGH THE 'VALLEY OF DEATH' ALONE, BUT SOME OF THEIR OPPRESSORS SHALL BE THEIR COMPANIONS."

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): The riot of 1919 was a bloody and horrible one.

Lichtenstein speaking

LICHTENSTEIN (OC): But it was different from previous race riots [sic] in the sense that African-Americans were defending themselves. Before, whites had marauded through black neighborhoods maiming and killing. Now, the African-American community fought back, fought against its white oppressors and white vigilante activity. And that was a switch, a change, and it signified a shift in the consciousness of masses of African Americans, that they were going to demand their rights in the twentieth century.

Variety of black workers

NARRATION #13: TO RANDOLPH, THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE BLACK RIGHTS WAS BY CREATING OPPORTUNITY AND PROTECTION FOR BLACK WORKERS. HE CONTINUED TO USE THE MESSENGER TO PUSH FOR UNIONIZATION.

RANDOLPH (VO) The labor movement in the United States of America is the most valuable single, human institution in this nation so far as the working people are concerned. It is his rock in the wilderness; it is his salvation.

**Super: Dorothy Height
Harlem Resident**

HEIGHT (OC): It was very hard for people to understand what Mr. Randolph was saying, though he was the most eloquent of speakers, and as he talked about the economic situation, about the importance of organizing and of unions, they seemed far removed to so many people.

STILL: Group shot of black laborers

Pfeffer speaking

PFEFFER (VO): Most of the unions, the trade unions, at the time had color bars in their constitutions.

**Super: Paula F. Pfeffer
Historian**

PFEFFER (OC): ...so that African Americans could only find union type jobs when they would act as strike breakers, and then the white union members would say,

STILL: black tunnel builders

PFEFFER (VO): ... "well, we can't have them in our unions because they act as strike breakers."

RANDOLPH (VO): Uh, following slavery.

RANDOLPH (OC): ...why the national labor union perhaps admitted a few Negroes,

STILL: face of black worker
Image of the A. F. of L. emblem

RANDOLPH (VO): ...but there was no sentiment for the organization of Negro workers. This was true in the old A. F. of L.

Images of white laborers
working in factories

NARRATION #14: THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR INCLUDED MORE THAN EIGHTY-PERCENT OF THE NATION'S LABOR UNIONS. THESE INDIVIDUAL UNIONS, ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION, WERE CLOSED TO BLACK WORKERS.

Images of S. Gompers waving a
U.S. flag, a sea of flag wavers in
an audience

SAMUEL GOMPERS, HEAD OF THE A.F. OF L., REFUSED TO INTERCEDE WITH LOCAL UNIONS--OR AT TIMES, THEIR EMPLOYERS.

Trains in motion and workers

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): In the nineteenth century, the railroad companies were the biggest corporations in America. They were organized in a military fashion. In their view, workers were expected to obey orders and shut up.

MUSIC: " Get on Board "
Instrumental by William Grant
Still. * Off the Record
STILL: George Pullman

BRACEY (VO): A giant among the railway industry people was George Pullman and the Pullman Company. And what Pullman did was to get a monopoly on a unique kind of feature, which was the Pullman car, which was, in effect, what he called a kind of home on wheels, or a kind of palace on wheels. And Pullman made millions and millions of dollars off owning these cars and then leasing them to the railroads and then providing black people as servants on these cars.

Images of Pullman car interiors
from Elgin, IL

Music: " This Train " by Little
Brother Montgomery * Off the
Record

STILL: Black porter standing by
train.

STILLS: Porter helping woman
on train; Porter giving woman a
drink

NARRATION #15: THE PULLMAN CAR PORTER WAS A JOB CREATED FOR FREED SLAVES. THE PULLMAN COMPANY SAW THE EX-SLAVES AS WELL TRAINED SERVANTS--EXPERIENCED AT ATTENDING TO EVERY WHIM OF RICH WHITES. BY 1920, THE PULLMAN CO. WAS THE LARGEST EMPLOYER OF BLACKS IN THE NATION.

STILLS: Porter making bed on
upper berth.

STILL: Porter with passengers

SHACKELFORD (VO): When I started working for the Pullman company, this was classified as one of the best jobs.

Super-Leroy J. Shackelford, Jr
Pullman Porter

SHACKELFORD (OC): You didn't have any problems getting credit. And you always had a check coming. And they paid their bills and everything. It was one of those things. It was a good job.

Scenes from "Emperor Jones"

WOMAN: Um-um honey, you sure is wonderful in them clothes.

EMPEROR JONES: Yes, I suppose these clothes is something to look at...

NARRATION #16: IN THE FILM "EMPEROR JONES," PAUL ROBESON PLAYED A PULLMAN PORTER, A WORKER WHO HAD SOME MONEY AND TRAVELED THE NATION.

Music: " Pullman Porter Blues, "
by Ulrich & Hamilton performed
by Clarence Williams
* Off the Record

Images of a Pullman cap and a porter preparing for duty

HARRIS (VO): The porters wore caps with the sign on the front of them that said "Porter." But people had become, by custom, to ignore the idea of calling them "porter," and had come to calling all of the porters "George." George was the first name of George Mortimer Pullman, the founder of the company, and this again demonstrates the pervasiveness of that man.

STILLS: CU- Porter standing

DELLUMS (VO): They had no rights, that the Pullman company or any passenger--and in those days all the passengers were Caucasians--

Super: C.L. Dellums
Pullman Porter

DELLUMS (OC): ...so the porters didn't have a single right that anyone had to respect, and of course they didn't.

Images of uniformed porters standing by a boarding gate.

Porters tending to train and passengers

Porters serving and shining shoes

**Super: E.D. Nixon
Pullman Porter**

STILL: Porter dusting off the jacket of white male traveler.

Train heading down the tracks

STILL: Porters at meeting

MUSIC: " Jim Crow Train " instrumental by Josh White
* Off the Record

Images of a Pullman Hat and a porter reading a Messenger mag.

Images of the Messenger article, "Pullman Porters Need Own Union "

Images of a porter reading a Messenger mag.

NARRATION #17: IN THE EARLY '20S, PULLMAN PORTERS WERE EARNING ABOUT \$15, PER WEEK -- FOR WORKING MORE THAN EIGHTY HOURS EACH WEEK.

THEIR MEAGER WAGES WERE SUPPLEMENTED BY TIPS. TO GET THESE TIPS PORTERS HAD TO BOW AND OFFER A LOT OF "YES MA'AMS" AND "YES'SIRS" TO WHITE TRAVELERS. THAT LED SOME TO CRITICIZE THEM AS "UNCLE TOMS."

NIXON (OC): The porter played the role of Uncle Tom to an advantage that he made money out of it. You got a whole lot of people who played the role of Uncle Tom and don't get nothing out of it.

NIXON (VO): And the role that a whole lot of porters played, he played it to the advantage, and the white man paid for it.

NARRATION #18: COMPLAINTS OVER PAY AND WORKING HOURS SPREAD QUICKLY DOWN THE RAIL LINES. SOME PORTERS BEGAN TO DISCUSS CREATING A UNION TO REPLACE THE WEAK, COMPANY-CONTROLLED UNION THAT CURRENTLY REPRESENTED THEM.

RANDOLPH KEPT THE MESSENGER FILLED WITH TALK OF BLACKS JOINING THE UNION MOVEMENT. HE WROTE STINGING CRITIQUES OF WHITE INDUSTRIALISTS AND CONTINUED TO ATTACK THE BLACK UPPER CLASS FOR IT'S SUPPORT OF CAPITALISM. HIS WRITINGS BROUGHT HIM TO THE PORTERS' ATTENTION. THEY ASKED HIM TO CREATE A GENUINE UNION TO REPRESENT THEM.

**Super: William Harris
Historian (2nd ID)**

HARRIS (OC): The group that came and decided they wanted to organize a union, determined--and, I think, with a streak of brilliance--that in order to organize the union, they needed somebody to lead it who was outside the reach of the Pullman Company.

STILL: A. Philip Randolph

HARRIS: (VO): They found that man in a street corner orator and publicist named A. Philip Randolph.

Feet of porters walking to the Elks Lodge

NARRATION #19 : ON AUGUST 25, 1925, RANDOLPH ARRANGED A SECRET MEETING WITH THE PORTERS AT THE IMPERIAL LODGE OF ELKS ON 129TH STREET IN HARLEM. 500 ATTENDED.

Interior of the Elks Lodge

**Super: Voice of A. Philip
Randolph**

RANDOLPH (VO): It was quite a meeting, because there was great fear among the porters that stool pigeons would penetrate the meeting and carry news back to the superintendent as to who was there, and the superintendents were ruthless and would fire a porter if they had the slightest idea that he was trying to become a part of a union. And then I got up and told them, "You have to take responsibility upon your own shoulders building something upon which you can depend, that you have to get what you can take and keep what you can hold. You can't take anything without power, and you can't hold anything without power, and you can't get power unless you're organized." You could hear a pin fall, because it was looked upon as simply hopeless to try to organize a group of men who were under the grip, the moral and intellectual and economic grip, of a mighty corporation such as the Pullman Co. was.

STILL: Founding Fathers of BSCP and A. Philip Randolph on Elks Lodge stage

ACT TWO

MUSIC: " Hold the Fort ." by Philip Bliss
* Off the Record Music Service

Man filling out a BSCP application

NARRATION #20: THE FOLLOWING DAY, MORE THAN 200 MEN Poured INTO THE MESSENGER'S OFFICES TO JOIN "THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS" UNION.

Various moving trains, shots of railroad tracks

MUSIC - " Honky Tonk Train Blues " piano solo by Meade Lux Lewis
* Off the Record Music Service

Porter helping passengers off of train

STILL: Milton Webster at group meeting

Shackelford speaking

STILL: Two shot of APR and Webster (taken from a BSCP group photo)

STILLS: BSCP meeting posters, and shot of porter group

STILL: Close up shots of the male faces in audience

TWO MONTHS LATER, WITH A GRANT OF TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS FROM A SOCIALIST GROUP, RANDOLPH BEGAN A NATIONWIDE UNION-ORGANIZING TOUR THAT TOOK HIM TO CHICAGO, ST. LOUIS, AND OAKLAND.

CHICAGO WAS HOME TO MORE PORTERS THAN ANY OTHER CITY IN THE NATION AND HEADQUARTERS OF THE PULLMAN COMPANY. OVER THE YEARS, MILTON PRICE WEBSTER HAD TRIED TO ORGANIZE THE PORTERS, BUT WAS STOPPED BY THE POWERFUL PULLMAN COMPANY.

SHACKELFORD (VO): Mr. Webster told me that someone had recommended Mr. Randolph and told him about how he could speak and so forth.

SHACKELFORD (OC): And he said, "I don't know, I'd have to hear him." So when Mr. Randolph did speak, he heard him, and he looked, and he said, "well", he said, " I think this is the guy that we ought to chose as our leader."

NARRATION #21: RANDOLPH AND WEBSTER HELD MEETINGS EVERY NIGHT FOR TWO WEEKS.

RANDOLPH (VO): Brothers & Sisters and fellow workers, I am very glad to have the opportunity to come out and have a talk with you about some of the problems in which we are all concerned.

NARRATION #22: PAST ATTEMPTS TO FORM A PORTERS UNION IN CHICAGO HAD LED TO HARASSMENT, BEATINGS, AND DISMISSAL. THE PULLMAN COMPANY'S REACH WAS EXTENSIVE.

HARRIS (VO): The Pullman Company began to pull in its chips in the black community.

STILL: Chicago Defender newspaper deliverers next to delivery truck

HARRIS (OC) It told black preachers, "preach a sermon against these unions." It told the Chicago Defender that "it's about time you start writing some editorials opposed to this union." So the Pullman Company used every influence it had possible against the Porters.

STILL: BSCP poster with main carrying torch

Images of porters passing a hat and putting money in it.

NARRATION #23: ACROSS THE COUNTRY, UNION ACTIVITY COST HUNDREDS OF PORTERS THEIR JOBS. RANDOLPH WAS BROKE, AT TIMES PASSING A HAT JUST TO GET TRAIN FARE HOME. BUT BY THE END OF 1926, THERE WERE BROTHERHOOD LOCALS IN MORE THAN TWENTY CITIES, INCLUDING CHICAGO.

Nixon speaking

NIXON (OC): So when I got home, before I got off the train, the superintendent there told me, "I understand you attended the meeting of the brotherhood yesterday in St. Louis." I said, "yes I did." He said, "I'm going to tell you right now, we're not going to have none of our porters attending the brotherhood meeting." I said, "Well, if some porter told you I attended the meeting, maybe he told you also that I joined yesterday." Before he could answer me, I said, "Of course before I joined, I thought about what lawyer I wanted to handle my case if you started messing with my job, and that's what I'm going to do, and I'm going to drag anybody into court who messes with my job," and I didn't even know a lawyer's name at that time. But I bluffed him out of it. From then on, I was a strong supporter of A. Philip Randolph.

Images of the Messenger office

NARRATION #24: FOR NEARLY A DECADE, RANDOLPH SPOKE TO THE NATION THROUGH THE MESSENGER. BUT HIS CRITICISM OF HARLEM'S ELITE DRAINED CLIENTS FROM LUCILLE'S BEAUTY SHOP, AND IN 1928, IT CLOSED. WITHOUT HER FINANCIAL SUPPORT, THE MESSENGER ALSO FOLDED.

STILL: Medium shot of Randolph , Zoom-out.

RANDOLPH, NEARLY FORTY, HAD LOST ONE DREAM. HE WAS DETERMINED NOT TO LOSE ANOTHER. HE ASKED THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO ACCEPT THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS INTO ITS MEMBERSHIP.

THE A.F. OF L. SAID "NO."

Bracey speaking

BRACEY (OC): And so the Pullman Porters were starting off fighting kind of two battles. They were trying to fight for the support of the white working class, the white-organized trade union movement, while they were trying to take on the Pullman Company on the other hand, and it's an extremely difficult work, and extremely kind of time consuming. But it characterized the relationship of black workers in the labor movement. You always had to fight this dual fight, you know. You fight for the right to organize with white workers, and then you turn around and fight the corporations to get a fair share in collective bargaining agreement.

STILL: APR and William Green

NARRATION #25: LATER THAT YEAR, RANDOLPH CONVINCED A.F. OF L. PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN, TO GRANT THE BROTHERHOOD AN INDEPENDENT AFFILIATION.

STILL: BSCP convention group photo

BUT THE PULLMAN COMPANY STILL REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE BROTHERHOOD AS THE PORTERS' UNION. RANDOLPH REALIZED THAT HE HAD TO APPLY MORE PRESSURE.

STILL: " Strike Notice; to all Pullman Porters and Maids "

RANDOLPH (VO): We were at the point in the organization of the movement where we saw no immediate hope of getting any larger number of porters into the union. I called a strike.

HEADLINE: "Pullman Porters Ready for Strike"

HEADLINE: " 7000 Pullman Porters Ready for Strike Call"

Harris speaking

Porter preparing a bed inside a sleeping car

STILL: Randolph facing camera seated behind desk

STILL: Group photo of BSCP members

STILL: Randolph, Webster and Dellums

Dellums speaking

STILL: Randolph, at podium, wiping his forehead

Great Depression scenes

HARRIS (VO): Pullman had begun to line up strike breakers

HARRIS (OC): from around the country and bring them in to its rail yards. Now you don't have to have a whole lot of deep training to be a Pullman porter.

HARRIS (VO): You aren't as good the first day as the guys who had been there for three or four years, but they could be replaced.

NARRATION #26: RANDOLPH FAILED TO WIN SUPPORT OF OTHER RAILROAD UNIONS, THE A F OF L, OR FEDERAL MEDIATORS. HE WAS FORCED TO CANCEL THE STRIKE. DISAPPOINTED BY THE CANCELLATION, HALF OF THE UNION MEMBERS QUIT. NOW, AFTER A THREE-YEAR STRUGGLE, THE VERY LIFE OF THE BROTHERHOOD WAS IN QUESTION.

DELLUMS (VO): Mr. Randolph talked to Webster and myself, and he said, "We can save the brotherhood. We can find a way to win this fight."

DELLUMS (OC): If we can keep the doors open in New York, Chicago and Oakland, we'll survive." He said." Now, I'm going to pledge you what I would do and then I'll ask you fellows. So, now let's join hands and pledge ourselves, that we are going to save the Brotherhood, that we are going to win this fight, or we'll report to our Gods the reason why."

HARRIS (VO): The union was in despair, and the Great Depression was about to come on.

HARRIS(VO): And when the Depression was coming, a man wanted, more than anything, a job. He wasn't concerned really about all these amenities, if he could just have a job when that terrible time came.

MUSIC: " Mean Low Blues "

STILL: Group photo of the Ladies Auxiliary (CHS)

NARRATION #27: AFTER THE GREAT DEPRESSION STRUCK IN 1929, HALF OF ALL BLACKS WERE LEFT UNEMPLOYED. PORTERS WERE MORE RELUCTANT THAN EVER TO RISK THEIR JOBS FOR THE UNION. MEMBERSHIP DWINDLED TO 700 NATIONWIDE. THE "LADIES AUXILIARY," AN ORGANIZATION OF PORTERS' WIVES, RAISED MONEY IN A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO HOLD THE UNION TOGETHER.

BRACEY (VO): If your husband is laid off for being an organizer, then somebody has to feed the family, so the women would kick in money, in an insurance policy kind of way.

Bracey speaking

BRACEY (OC): And there are those legendary kind of stories of Randolph getting off a train with a hole in his shirt, and one of the members of the Women's Auxiliary kind of running along behind him, trying to either put on a new shirt or sew the hole in the old one.

STILL: Randolph standing behind podium wearing a light colored suit

BRACEY (VO):so that when Mr. Randolph stood up on the platform he looked presentable.

MUSIC: " Happy Days are Here Again "

FDR inauguration parade, FDR's motorcade and FDR

NARRATION: #28: IN 1933, ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE BROTHERHOOD SAW HOPE FOR THE FUTURE IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, AND HIS PROMISE OF A NEW DEAL.

FDR at podium and of crowd listening to FDR's speech

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT (OC): Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem, if we take it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part, by...

Crowds listening

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): The idea of the New Deal was twofold. On the one hand, end the depression by raising the wages of workers, creating purchasing power.

**Super: Nelson Lichtenstein
Historian**

LICHTENSTEIN (OC): Second, creating industrial democracy in industry, giving workers a voice so they could create a more democratic work place, and raise their wages.

Workers congregated outside of plant

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): This together was a powerful movement.

Labor related violence and strikes

NARRATION #29: IN 1934, HUNDREDS OF LABOR STRIKES ERUPTED ACROSS AMERICA.

THE NATIONAL GUARD WAS CALLED OUT TO HALT VIOLENCE IN 16 STATES.

**HEADLINE, " Roosevelt signs
The Wagner Bill as 'Just
Labor ' "**

TO CALM WORKERS' ANGER WITH BIG BUSINESS, ROOSEVELT SIGNED SEVERAL PIECES OF PRO-LABOR LEGISLATION, GIVING WORKERS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN UNION.

STILL: Photo of porters

NOW, AFTER YEARS OF STRUGGLE, THE PORTERS HAD THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE: THE COMPANY UNION, OR THE BROTHERHOOD.

MORE THAN 7,000 PORTERS VOTED. THREE OUT OF FOUR CHOSE THE BROTHERHOOD.

NIXON (VO): After the Brotherhood had won the right to organize the Porters.

**Super: E.D. Nixon
Pullman Porter**

NIXON (OC): ...the Pullman Company found that they had been defeated. And to make their selves look good, they sent A. Philip Randolph a check, a signed check,

STILL: Randolph in seated behind desk, chair turned slightly outward

NIXON (VO): ...and all he'd have to do was to put the amount of money he wanted on the check, and on the bottom of it, it said, "not to exceed a million dollars," but Randolph made a photostatic copy of that check, and framed it, and hung it on his wall, and sent the original check back to the Pullman Company, and told them the Negro principle was not for sale.

Randolph speaking

RANDOLPH (OC): So that this was a long period of some twelve years, before we had the opportunity of walking into the office of the Pullman Company, for the purpose of sitting around the board to negotiate a contract.

STILL: Group photo of the BSCP

NARRATION #30: NEVER BEFORE HAD A BLACK UNION FORCED A MAJOR AMERICAN COMPANY TO NEGOTIATE. ONE BROTHERHOOD OFFICIAL RECALLED, "THE PULLMAN COMPANY COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF NEGROES SITTING ACROSS THE TABLE TALKING TO THEM AS EQUALS." THE CONTRACT REDUCED THE PORTERS WORK WEEK FROM EIGHTY TO SIXTY HOURS, AND NEARLY DOUBLED SOME PORTERS WAGES.

STILL: Cover of the contract between the Pullman Co. & the BSCP

Music, BSCP " Hold the Fort " song by Philip Bliss

STILL: BSCP parade

KEMP (VO): When the Brotherhood won that agreement from the Pullman Company, I thought my heart would burst. I was so proud to be a member...

**SUPER: Maida Springer
Harlem Resident**

KEMP (OC): of a delegation going to march with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

STILL: Randolph standing in the doorway of a train car with his hat raised in the air

Franklin Speaking.

Images of workers and of people getting ready for WW II

MUSIC- " G. I. Jive " by Louis Jordan * Off the Record Music Service

Lichtenstein speaking

STILL: Two shot of Milton Webster and APR from group photo

View of countryside and of tracks shot from train

Super: Voice of Milton Webster

MUSIC:

FRANKLIN (VO): The victory of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters meant a great deal, not only to the porters, but to the African-American community in general.

FRANKLIN (OC): It gave them a sense of belonging. It gave them a greater self-confidence. It gave them a feeling that perhaps if they continued to struggle, they could gain more, and that therefore they were encouraged to do so.

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): In 1940 and 41 the Roosevelt administration was gearing up for WW II, mobilizing the country, transforming the defense industries. There was a great deal of political conflict, with isolationists on the right, with some elements of the American labor movement on the left.

LICHTENSTEIN (OC): It was in this context, in the spring of 1941, that Randolph saw a moment of opportunity, in which he could make a demand of the administration for the integration of the defense industries for jobs for Black Americans in the defense industries, and he would have the most leverage, the most power at that particular moment.

NARRATION #31: RANDOLPH CONSULTED WITH HIS CLOSE FRIEND, MILTON WEBSTER, AS THEY TRAVELED BY TRAIN TO VISIT BROTHERHOOD LOCALS IN THE SOUTH.

WEBSTER (VO): Brother Randolph said to me, he said, "You know Web, we got to do something about these jobs around here". And of course knowing brother Randolph, I said, "Well, here comes something else." "Well," he says, "I think we ought to get ten thousand Negroes and march down Pennsylvania Avenue and protest. What do you think about it?" I said, "I think it's all right. Where are you going to get the ten thousand Negroes?" He said, "I believe we can get them."

STILL: Broadside with a picture of Randolph, "Negroes Must Have Jobs"

STILLS: Audience shots.

STILL: Randolph standing at podium with American flags on both sides of him

STILL: Randolph pointing to a March on Washington banner

Franklin speaking

STILL: Audience shot.

STILL: Randolph speaking from a podium w/ a red, white a blue banner draped across it

**Super: James Farmer
Activist**

STILL: White House

NARRATION #32: RANDOLPH USED LOCAL BROTHERHOOD OFFICES TO ORGANIZE SUPPORT FOR HIS MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

RANDOLPH DEMANDED AN END TO SEGREGATION IN THE MILITARY. HE CALLED FOR DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND GOVERNMENT TO STOP DISCRIMINATING AGAINST BLACK WORKERS.

FRANKLIN (VO): I shall never forget when there was so much excitement, so much interest on the part of the young people.

FRANKLIN (OC): They were enlisting people to go, they were having meetings, they were revving up their enthusiasm, and they felt that this was something really worthwhile.

FARMER (VO): He called mass meetings in Polo Grounds and Soldiers Field and public ball parks around the country.

FARMER (OC): Leaflets were distributed, in mass, tens of thousands: "A. Philip Randolph will speak!"

FARMER (VO): He says, "The Congress of the United States and the President must see five thousand, ten thousand, twenty-five thousand Negroes congregated on the lawn of the White House in protest."

FARMER (OC): And the mass audiences rose to their feet, because this is something new. This was not a leader who would go in behind closed doors and try to make a deal. Here was a man who demanded, with the people behind him.

NARRATION #33: CONCERN GREW OVER THE PROSPECT OF THOUSANDS OF BLACK AMERICANS MARCHING DOWN PENNSYLVANIA AVE. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ASKED RANDOLPH TO COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

STILL: Roosevelt sitting at a desk

RANDOLPH (VO): The president made, as his first comment, he said, " Phil Randolph, we can't have a hundred thousand Negroes marching on Washington. If anything such as that were to occur,

Randolph speaking

RANDOLPH (OC): ...you wouldn't be able to manage them. We might have bloodshed and death." He said, "Now, let us get down to business here and find out what can be done." So I said, "Well Mr. President, what we're concerned about is jobs, jobs in the munitions industries, and we want to abolish discrimination against Negroes in the government, where there are many jobs."

STILL: President Roosevelt

RANDOLPH (VO): And he said, " You are indicating that the government discriminates against Negroes?" I said, "It's one of the worst offenders."

Randolph speaking

RANDOLPH (OC): We had talked at length, and finally he said, "Well what do you want me to do?" I said, "We want you to issue an executive order, abolishing discrimination in munitions jobs and also in the government."

Farmer speaking

FARMER (OC): And Roosevelt could not take that chance, that twenty-five thousand people would be in Washington at a time when he was calling the United States the "arsenal of democracy, which must keep Britain and France afloat as they carry the banner for freedom and liberty and justice and democracy." Then if twenty-five thousand Negroes came to Washington, then he would look like a fool.

Randolph speaking

RANDOLPH (OC): He said, "Now, I'm going to have a committee set up here to study this question, but I want you to call off this march first." I said, "That, Mr. President, I can't do." I said, "As a matter of fact, the people wouldn't even follow me if I were to come out and call off the march, because they would consider that I had betrayed them."

STILL: Profile shot of President Roosevelt w/ out glasses

RANDOLPH (VO): And he said, "Will you march against the President of the United States?" I said, "We have no other alternative."

Farmer speaking

FARMER (OC): Randolph was the master of the strategic bluff, or the tactical bluff, if you will. Maybe he couldn't have marched on Washington; maybe there wouldn't have been five thousand, ten thousand, twenty-five thousand people there. Indeed, Walter White of the NAACP said later that they couldn't have had anybody in Washington because it was not organized. Randolph was bluffing, but Roosevelt did not know that.

STILL: FDR sitting at desk, signing papers and looking at the camera

HEADLINE: " President Moves to Lift Job Bars "

NARRATION # 34: SIX DAYS BEFORE THE MARCH, THE PRESIDENT SIGNED EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802. IT CALLED FOR AN END TO DISCRIMINATION IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND DEFENSE INDUSTRIES. AND IT CREATED, FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR, A FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION.

STILL: President Roosevelt sitting at a desk signing papers

RANDOLPH (VO): This was a real confrontation between the black and white in the White House.

Randolph speaking

RANDOLPH (OC): It demonstrated the ability of the black masses to win a victory themselves, and it gave them a new spirit, new hope, new determination, and a belief in themselves.

HEADLINE: " EXTRA ! DC. March for Jobs Called Off

STILL: a young, Bayard Rustin

NARRATION #35: RANDOLPH'S DECISION TO CANCEL THE MARCH DREW FIRE FROM A NEW GENERATION OF RADICALS, INCLUDING BAYARD RUSTIN. THEY COMPLAINED THAT ROOSEVELT'S ORDER DID NOT ADDRESS THE SEGREGATION OF BLACK SOLDIERS, AND OFFERED NO JOB PROTECTION IN PEACETIME.

**Super: John H. Bracey, Jr.
Historian**

BRACEY (VO): People were upset because it meant that you had to rely on Roosevelt's word.

BRACEY (OC): And Roosevelt did not have that much credibility among African-Americans about anything. He had not demonstrated any great commitment to civil rights. He had not demonstrated any commitment at all to equal employment opportunities, certainly. And a piece of paper with Roosevelt's name on it didn't mean a whole lot to a lot of black people. And it was those black Americans-- Bayard Rustin, one of them--who wanted to in fact have a march to make the point more forcibly, to in fact demonstrate black American political power, so they could get, in fact, even more.

STILL: MS of Randolph portrait
shot

NARRATION #36: RANDOLPH DEFENDED HIS ACTION. AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE EXECUTIVE ORDER, ONE MILLION BLACK AMERICANS WERE ADDED TO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE.

Black female workers in
industrial plant

BLACK (OC) : As a result of this order, immediately and dramatically,

Black speaking

BLACK (VO): ...people began to feel good about it. People began to get the kind of jobs that they were more entitled to. It was noticeable to me in the way in which their attitudes changed about themselves and about others around them--they felt good about themselves.

African-Americans at work in
factories, etc.

**Super: Timuel D. Black
Chicago Resident**

BLACK (OC) : Mr. Randolph made one of the greatest social and economic impacts on our lives, without having to overturn anything. Such a dramatic, such an immediate effect, that we began to feel better in fact, more loyal even, to the country which had deprived us of so much for so long.

Images of black troops in
W.W.II

NARRATION #37: BY MID-DECEMBER 1941, THE UNITED STATES WAS AT WAR WITH GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN. ONCE AGAIN, BLACK AMERICANS WERE DEFENDING THE U.S. IN A GLOBAL CONFLICT. ONCE AGAIN, THEY FACED DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION, THAT EXTENDED EVEN INTO THE MILITARY'S BLOOD BANKS.

W.W.III victory street
celebrations

Black soldiers return celebrations **BLACK (VO)** : We arrived back in the United States having served, but having been ourselves poorly served. We came back, we were prepared to make a difference, to make a change.

STILL: Harry Truman

NARRATION #38: ROOSEVELT'S SUCCESSOR, PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN, CALLED FOR UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING, A PEACETIME DRAFT.

Soldiers military training

AS IN WARTIME, BLACK SOLDIERS WOULD BE SEGREGATED.

Super: Nelson Lichtenstein
Historian

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): This was a period when Universal Military Training was very controversial.

LICHTENSTEIN (OC): It was a period when American politics was still in flux, moving from a kind of W.W.II period of an alliance with the Soviets, to one in which the Soviets would be an enemy. It was another one of those moments of opportunity that A. Philip Randolph was so good at grasping. And he used that period, when the controversy was at its height about permanent peacetime draft, to interject himself and his movement into the debate and demand the desegregation of the armed forces--if black America was to going to sort of sign on to American foreign policy.

Black speaking

BLACK (OC): Mr. Randolph said, in essence, if the army is not integrated, he would ask all Negro soldiers, those to be inducted, to not serve in a segregated army.

Super: Rachelle Horowitz
Assistant to Bayard
Rustin

HOROWITZ (OC): A. Philip Randolph, in conjunction with a group of radical pacifists, began a movement to integrate the armed forces.

STILL: Bayard Rustin at the head of a demonstration protesting a Jim Crow military

HOROWITZ (VO): That movement had lots of tracks to it. There were people lobbying in Washington, there were protests, and there was a radical wing which engaged in civil disobedience. Bayard Rustin was very involved in the radical wing of that movement.

Extreme close-up shot of Randolph's face (eyes)

NARRATION #39: ON MARCH 22, 1948, RANDOLPH CONFRONTED TRUMAN AT A WHITE HOUSE MEETING.

STILL: Profile shot of Truman sitting at desk, looking into sunlight.

RANDOLPH (VO): The president was perfectly friendly until I told him that my recent visit to the West impressed me with a feeling that Negroes today were in no mood to shoulder a gun again to fight for democracy abroad until they got democracy at home. Until I made that comment, the president was quite calm, and judicial, but upon that statement, he was a little nettled, and, uh, I think, a bit irritated.

STILL: Demonstrators

STILL: Frontal shot of Truman looking to the left

PRESIDENT TRUMAN (OC): I had to decide what to do about the Negro talk that they would not serve in the armed forces. That was just pure treason. But the situation had to be met in some manner, Every American is obliged to serve the country when it is in danger.

Super: President Harry S. Truman

Jim Crow protesters demonstrating in front of the White House

NARRATION #40: ON MAY 7TH, RANDOLPH AND SUPPORTERS MARCHED IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

STILL: Randolph protesting at the Democratic National Conv. '48

TWO MONTHS LATER, RANDOLPH CONTINUED TO PRESSURE THE PRESIDENT BY PICKETING THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Truman making a speech, groups of blacks and whites in support of Truman

IN A TIGHT PRESIDENTIAL RACE, TRUMAN NEEDED STRONG BLACK SUPPORT. KNOWING THAT, RANDOLPH TURNED UP THE PRESSURE FOR AN INTEGRATED MILITARY. TRUMAN CONCEDED, AND ISSUED EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981, CALLING FOR AN END TO DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES.

STILL: Photo of Truman signing a document

Super: John Hope Franklin Historian

FRANKLIN (OC): This was a dramatic, historic, significant move toward ending racial discrimination in a very important sector of American society. It would be an example for the rest of the country, and it would be a kind of beacon-light that would demonstrate the practicability of desegregation, and even of integration.

STILL: Bayard Rustin protesting, carrying a sign that reads, " Free Imprisoned War Objectors "

NARRATION #41: RANDOLPH BELIEVED HE HAD WON A GREAT VICTORY, BUT BAYARD RUSTIN AND OTHER RADICAL PACIFISTS FELT BETRAYED. THEY ARGUED THAT TRUMAN'S EXECUTIVE ORDER WAS A SHAM; IT DID NOT IMMEDIATELY END SEGREGATION IN THE MILITARY, AND SOME PACIFISTS REMAINED IN JAILS.

Farmer speaking

FARMER (OC): The master of the tactical bluff was being charged with doing no more than bluffing. When he had threatened a strike against the Pullman Co., that the strike was called off before it came about. When he had threatened a march on Washington in 1941, that march was called off when the executive order was issued by FDR. Now, when he had threatened civil disobedience campaign, and the armed forces, against the armed forces for discrimination, that campaign was called off because of Truman's executive order. Rustin and Lynn (?) and others criticized Randolph for never following through; they said, "he will bluff but he will not act," and they wanted action.

Bracey speaking

BRACEY (OC): And you began to get questions at that point that maybe Randolph is out of touch, he doesn't understand the mood of this younger, post-W.W.II generation.

STILL: Randolph seated behind desk, turned towards the camera

BRACEY (VO): And it's not clear, you know, at the end of 1948, what Randolph's role is; he has no organization. The porters are starting their long decline, and it's not clear what his future will be.

ACT THREE

Newsreel showing Meany taking over the leadership of the A.F. of L.

NEWSREEL (VO): Washington, the American Federation of Labor's new President, George Meany, successor to the late William Green. Once Green's chief aide, Meany now heads the 8 million member labor organization.

Meany and Reuther joining forces to merge the AFL and the CIO, audience shots

STILL: Group photo of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO (APR is on far left side)

AFL-CIO banner hanging at convention

STILL: MS of APR speaking from a podium

STILL: Randolph speaking from a American Federation of Labor podium

Bracey speaking

STILL: Group photo of Webster and the BSCP delegation at an AFL-CIO conference

STILL: Two shot of Meany w/ cigar and APR

Randolph speaking to group from behind podium

NARRATION #42: THREE YEARS LATER, IN 1955, THE AF OF L MERGED WITH THE CIO TO CREATE THE MOST POWERFUL LABOR ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA. GEORGE MEANY BECAME HEAD OF THIS NEW ORGANIZATION. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH WAS ELECTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

THE AF OF L - CIO CONSTITUTION NOW CALLED FOR AN END TO DISCRIMINATION.

RANDOLPH PUSHED FOR STRICT ENFORCEMENT.

BRACEY (VO): One of the more frustrating aspects of Randolph's career, was his long history of showing up to AF of L conventions and taking to the floor to make speeches about racism in the trade union movement.

BRACEY (OC): What usually happened was, the minute Randolph began to speak, was that large numbers of the white workers would walk out to take a cigarette break, or go get a drink, or they would turn their back on Randolph and just hold loud and disruptive conversations at their tables.

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): Randolph was the leader of a small union and one which was declining in strength.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO felt they did not have to take him quite so seriously. After all, he didn't lead the big battalion; he didn't have the troops. That meant that Randolph had to make his impact felt with his voice and his moral authority.

RANDOLPH (OC) Now we don't charge that George Meany is anti-Negro. We don't contend that he does not want to see racial discrimination eliminated. But we do know that he does not possess the urgency, the sense of urgency, that action must be taken now in order that Negro workers may become fully free in the house of labor.

STILL: Randolph sitting with
Lucille on wooden bench

NARRATION #43: NOW 66 YEARS OLD, AND WANTING TO SPEND MORE TIME WITH HIS AILING WIFE, LUCILLE, RANDOLPH REPOSITIONS HIMSELF AS ELDER STATESMAN AND ADVISOR TO THE LEADERS OF THE EMERGING BLACK PROTEST MOVEMENT.

STILL: Rosa Parks and E.D.
Nixon walking up the steps of a
building

IN MONTGOMERY ALABAMA IN 1955, A BLACK WOMAN, ROSA PARKS, WAS ARRESTED FOR NOT MOVING TO THE BACK OF THE CITY BUS. A PULLMAN PORTER, E.D. NIXON, BEGAN CALLING COMMUNITY LEADERS TO GATHER SUPPORT FOR A BUS BOYCOTT.

Nixon speaking.

NIXON (VO): The third person that I called

NIXON (OC):was Martin Luther King, and he said, "Brother Nixon, let me think about it a while and call me back." So I went on and called 18 people and called him back and he said, "Yeah, Brother Nixon I decided I'm gonna go along with ya." I said, "I'm glad you decided to go along with it Rev. King." I said, "Your church is the only church right downtown, and I told 18 other people to meet at your church this evening at 3:00, and it'd look kind of bad to have that many people coming up to your church for a meeting of this kind and you weren't there."

Dexter Avenue. Baptist Church
exterior; E. D. Nixon outside
with others. Church interior.

NARRATION #44: THAT NIGHT "THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION" WAS FORMED, WITH TWENTY-SIX-YEAR-OLD MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AT ITS HEAD.

Nixon speaking.

NIXON (OC): I called Mr. Randolph at his office and I told him what had just happened, and I had been elected treasurer, and I said, "It's my responsibility to raise some money. I said I need your help." He said, "all right," he said, "I'll pass the word around, and wherever you go somebody will know about it, so it won't be no problem you be getting able to talk to people." And he did that. And everywhere I got, I was received, and to make a long story short in four months time I raised \$97,000 dollars, paid five automobiles, and I done it solely because of the influence of A. Philip Randolph, who knew his way around.

Music: "I'm So Glad,"
performed by the Montgomery
Gospel Trio

Montgomery Boycotters
walking; empty bus stops and
buses.

**NARRATION #45: THROUGH THE
WINTER, SPRING, AND SUMMER,
MONTGOMERY'S BLACK RESIDENTS
STAYED OFF THE BUSES. NATIONAL
ATTENTION WAS DRAWN TO THE
BOYCOTT AND ITS CHARISMATIC YOUNG
LEADER.**

KING (VO): For several weeks now, we the Negro
citizens of Montgomery have been...

**Super: Rev. Martin Luther
King, Jr.**

KING (OC): ...involved in a non-violent protest
against the injustices which we have experienced on the
buses for a number of years.

Bus Boycotters walking

KING (VO): This is a non-violent protest. We are
depending on moral and spiritual forces....

Boycotters walking; nearly
empty buses driving through the
city.

**NARRATION #46: THEY STAYED OFF THE
BUSES FOR NEARLY A YEAR. SOME
WALKED MILES TO GET TO WORK, OR TO
CHURCH; OTHERS FORMED
COMPLICATED CARPOOLING NETWORKS.
THAT NOVEMBER, THE SUPREME COURT
RULED THAT SEGREGATION ON
MONTGOMERY'S BUS LINES WAS
ILLEGAL.**

Removal of segregation signs
from the buses;

NIXON (VO): If I had never met Randolph,

Nixon speaking.

NIXON (OC): ...I'd have been probably like the
average person in my city. I'd a went along with
whatever was happening because I wouldn't have
known no way to turn. And after I met Randolph, I
learned how to deal with these problems. I represented
his union and if I had done anything wrong, he'd call
me and want to know when I had a long layover, and
I'd tell him, "I need you in my office, I need to talk to
you." And he'd sit down and talk to you like you was
his son, and explain these things to you. And because
of that, if it had not been for Randolph there wouldn't
have been an E. D. Nixon. And if it hadn't been a E.
D. Nixon, you would have never known Martin Luther
King.

Scenes from Little Rock, AR and early sit-in's

NARRATION #47: AS GAINS WERE MADE IN THE NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, RANDOLPH PUSHED FOR AN END TO DISCRIMINATION WITHIN THE HOUSE OF LABOR.

Delegates entering 1959 AFL-CIO convention; Meany at podium

AT THE 1959 CONVENTION, RANDOLPH AND AFL/CIO HEAD GEORGE MEANY CLASHED OVER MEANY'S SUPPORT OF UNIONS, BLACK AS WELL AS WHITE, THAT BASED MEMBERSHIP ON RACE.

Freeze Frame, Slow zoom into Randolph at podium

RANDOLPH (VO): Mr. Chairman.

MEANY (VO): Brother Randolph

RANDOLPH (VO): This resolution is a declaration of a new policy, and it is a policy against racially segregated unions. It isn't logical to permit an organization to carry on a given type of behavior merely because the members want it. Therefore, we cannot conclude that because a group of Negro members in a union want a racially segregated union that that is proper and sound, and in harmony with the constitution, and the spirit, and the letter of the constitution of the AFL-CIO.

Freeze Frames, George Meany at podium

MEANY (VO): Is this your idea of a democratic process, that you don't care what the Negro members think? You don't care if they want to maintain the union they've had for so many years? I'd like an answer to that...

RANDOLPH: Yes...

Freeze frame of AFL-CIO delegates clapping

MEANY: That's your policy, well, that's not my policy. I'm for the democratic rights of the Negro members to maintain a union if they want it. Who the hell appointed you as the guardian of all the Negro members in America?

Freeze frame, slow zoom into Randolph

Freeze frame of AFL-CIO delegates at the tables.

STILL: Randolph speaking at podium. Meany sitting beside him with head resting in hands.

Lichtenstein speaking

STILL: Randolph in an informal group meeting with AF of L representatives

Lichtenstein speaking

STILL: APR carrying sign on NALC picket line

RANDOLPH: I would say this Brother President, and I want to make it clear, and we don't have to become emotional about it, and that is this: I don't believe that the members of a union have a right to maintain a Jim Crow local. I don't believe that a group of Negro members of a union have a right to maintain a Jim Crow local, if we believe in a democratic trade union policy.

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): George Meany was mad at Randolph for bringing up this issue of the segregated locals on the convention floor,

LICHTENSTEIN (OC): ...because he liked to run AFL-CIO like a club.

LICHTENSTEIN (VO): They would play gin rummy, they would go to the races, they would sit around, and they would work it out in the executive council. And, of course. Meany had the last word. He didn't want

LICHTENSTEIN (OC):Randolph or Walter Reuther, mobilizing forces in the union movement, or outside the union movement, to put pressure on him.

NARRATION #48: IN MAY 1960, YOUNG BLACK UNION MEMBERS FORMED "THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL" TO FIGHT FOR BLACK RIGHTS INSIDE THE AFL/CIO. THEY ASKED RANDOLPH TO SERVE AS PRESIDENT.

THIS ALLIANCE WAS STRAINED WHEN THE YOUNGER ACTIVISTS PUSHED FOR ACTION THAT WOULD LEAVE HUNDREDS OF WORKERS WITHOUT UNION PROTECTION.

Super: Timuel D. Black
Negro American
Labor Council

BLACK (OC): We suggested that we start moving toward decertify-- towards a demand for decertification of certain unions, unless they complied with the issue of equity and fairness. Well, Mr. Randolph became riled. I think two reasons: one, within his own union, he had never met such open opposition before, challenging his wisdom and his integrity. That gave the impression it was kind of an insult. But on the other hand, he made the point that we are in the house of labor, that we are brothers and sisters in the house of labor, and therefore we couldn't take our battles outside of that house.

Bracey speaking

BRACEY (OC): Meany saw the Negro American Labor Council as a direct assault, you know, on his autonomy, and an attempt to embarrass him publicly to make a move on an issue he did not want to confront his white workers on.

STILL: Extreme, close up of Meany and Randolph wearing glasses

BRACEY (VO): ...and so his response, of course, was to call in Randolph behind closed doors and says, like, make up your mind; are you going to be with me or are you going to be with them?

Black speaking.

BLACK (OC): There were those within the NALC who began to ask, when they saw the resistance on the part of Mr. Randolph, began to ask the question: why would he resist this, when we came into existence on the basis of protest, and all we are doing is extending that protest? What are the things around it? It began to raise some questions in some of our minds about the independence in terms of thought and action that Mr. Randolph could or could not exert.

STILL: APR speaking from behind a podium

KIRKLAND (VO): It is important to remember that Phil was a trade unionist through and through.

Super: Lane Kirkland
Assistant to
George Meany
(check)

KIRKLAND (OC): He realized he was first and foremost and always, of course, a firm voice for racial justice and for righting the wrongs that existed in society at large, and within the trade union movement. But he never, ever believed that you could separate trade unionism from the pursuit of racial justice, that they were firmly and extricably linked.

Randolph at the National Press Club

Super: A. Philip Randolph
(check sp)

RANDOLPH (OC): Negroes want the same things that white citizens possess, all of their rights. They want no reservations. They want complete equality--social, economic and political. And no force under the sun, can stem and block and stop this civil rights revolution which is now under way.

Civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham; children being hosed.

NARRATION #49: FOR HALF A CENTURY, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH HAD BEEN FIGHTING TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF BLACK AMERICANS. ONCE AGAIN, HE SAW A NEED FOR MASS ACTION AND CALLED FOR A NEW MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM.

Super: Rachelle Horowitz
Assistant to Bayard
Rustin

HOROWITZ (OC): After a year of Birmingham demonstrations, Medgar Evers being assassinated, it became clear to him that unless there was a March on Washington that summer, there might be riots all over the United States. But certainly all redress had to take place at the federal level. There had to be a civil rights bill. There had to be a voters' rights bill.

Randolph and Bayard (seated) at a MOW '63 press conference

HOROWITZ (VO): And he and Bayard conceived of the March and talked about how it should take place.

STILL: Lucille seated on couch wearing a fur lined coat

STILL: MS of Randolph taken outdoors

NARRATION #50: IN APRIL 1963, AS RANDOLPH BEGAN TO PLAN THE MARCH, HIS WIFE LUCILLE DIED. THEY HAD BEEN MARRIED FOR 48 YEARS AND HAD NO CHILDREN.

BUT RANDOLPH PUSHED AHEAD WITH THE DIFFICULT TASK OF UNITING THE CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

HOROWITZ (VO): Randolph was the only civil rights leader at that point...

HOROWITZ (OC): ...who could in fact get all the rest of them to come into the same room. If Jim Farmer called Roy Wilkins, Roy Wilkins might have another appointment. But neither Jim Farmer, nor Roy Wilkins, nor Whitney Young, nor Dr. King, would ignore a call from A. Philip Randolph. That was the first thing. They would definitely come to the meeting.

STILL: Organizers of the 1963 March on Washington

NARRATION #51: RANDOLPH CALLED TOGETHER ROY WILKINS OF THE NAACP; JAMES FARMER OF CORE.; MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE; WHITNEY YOUNG OF THE URBAN LEAGUE; AND JOHN LEWIS OF SNCC.

**Super: James Farmer
Congress of
Racial Equality**

FARMER (OC): Randolph said, "For some time I have thought now that it is necessary for Negroes to march on Washington, 5,000, 10,000, 25,000!" He repeated, in phrases reminiscent of his 1941 calls, to march on Washington and protest against discrimination. "Now that the civil rights revolution is well under way, I think this is a proper time for us to march."

STILL: Bayard in front of a map outlining the areas for the MOW '63

NARRATION #52: RANDOLPH'S CHOICE OF BAYARD RUSTIN AS CHIEF ORGANIZER THREATENED THE FRAGILE COALITION. SOME BELIEVED RUSTIN'S HOMOSEXUALITY AND RADICAL PAST WOULD BE USED TO DISCREDIT THE MARCH.

STILL: Randolph speaking from behind desk to people in his office

Truck going down street with billboards promoting the march. People making preparations for the march.

STILL: Randolph talking to press at a March on Washington '63 press meeting

Front exterior of the White House

Image of Kennedy signing a document

Super: John Lewis
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating
Committee

Preparation for the march-- people erecting tents, making signs.

Super: Arnold Aronson
Leadership
Conference on
Civil Rights

People steaming down streets of DC.

KNOWING RUSTIN'S BRILLIANT ORGANIZING SKILLS, RANDOLPH STUCK WITH HIS DECISION.

MOW ANNOUNCER (VO): We are requesting all citizens to move into Washington to go by plane, car, bus, anyway that you can get there, walk if necessary. We are pushing for jobs, housing, desegregated schools. This is an urgent request, please join, go to Washington.

NARRATION #53: RANDOLPH WAS AGAIN CALLED TO THE WHITE HOUSE, THIS TIME BY PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. TWO DAYS EARLIER, THE PRESIDENT HAD SUBMITTED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION TO CONGRESS.

LEWIS (VO): And I will never forget that Saturday morning, as we walked into the White House following A. Philip Randolph. And we took a seat round the table with President Kennedy.

LEWIS (OC): ...and during the discussion, Mr. Randolph said to the President, "Mr. President," and he said it in his baritone voice, "Mr. President, the masses are restless and we are going to March on Washington." And you can tell President Kennedy didn't like what he heard. He moved, he twist in his chair, and he came back and said, "Mr. Randolph, if you bring all these people to Washington, won't there be violence and disorder?" And Mr. Randolph responded by saying, "Mr. President, this will be an orderly, peaceful and non-violent protest."

ARONSON (VO): The climate the day of the March on Washington, it's really hard to project the feeling. There was such fear and trepidation.

ARONSON (OC): When we drove up early that morning to the capital to meet with the congressional leadership, it looked like a deserted city. And I can recall when we got through with those meetings, I was in the limousine with Dr. King,

ARONSON (VO): ...and we could see people streaming down from Union Station all -- as they were coming, and he shouted, "They're really coming. They're here!"

MUSIC: "We Shall Overcome"
(New Market, Tenn.)

People marching with signs;
Lincoln Memorial: Leaders
walking to the Memorial

**NARRATION #54: FEARING VIOLENCE,
THE AFL-CIO REFUSED TO ENDORSE THE
MARCH. BUT RANDOLPH WON
FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE UNITED
AUTO WORKERS AND VARIOUS
RELIGIOUS GROUPS.**

**AFTER A LIFETIME OF CALLS FOR MASS
ACTION, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH GAVE
THE FIRST SPEECH AT THE MARCH ON
WASHINGTON.**

Crowd at the Memorial

RANDOLPH (VO): Fellow Americans, we are
gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history
of this nation.

Randolph at podium

RANDOLPH (OC): ...to let the nation and the world
know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a
pressure group.

Crowd shots

RANDOLPH (VO): We are not an organization, or a
group of organizations. We are not a mob.

Randolph at podium

RANDOLPH (OC): We are the advance guard of a
massive, moral revolution for jobs and freedom.

Applause from crowd.

**NARRATION #55: EVEN AS HE SPOKE,
THE COALITION RANDOLPH HAD BUILT
WAS UNDER STRAIN. JOHN LEWIS WAS
PLANNING A SPEECH THAT DENOUNCED
KENNEDY'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, AND
THREATENED THAT BLACKS WOULD
FIND THEIR OWN WAYS TO END
DISCRIMINATION.**

Lewis speaking

LEWIS (OC): And people really had some real problems with the use of the word "revolution," the use of the word "masses." And that's when A. Philip Randolph came to my rescue and said, "There is nothing wrong with the use of the word 'revolution,' there is nothing wrong with the use of the word 'masses'; I used it myself sometimes." But he did appeal to me in the name of unity, saying that, "We have come this far together, Brother Lewis, let's stay together. Let's change it." And I couldn't say "no" to A. Philip Randolph, and I did change it for peace and for us to stay together.

LS crowd on the mall

NARRATION #56: MORE THAN 250,000 PEOPLE WAITED WITH GREAT ANTICIPATION FOR THE LAST SPEAKER.

Crowd pov of stage

RANDOLPH (VO): At this time I have the honor to present to you...

Randolph at mic

RANDOLPH (OC): ...the moral leader of our nation. A great dedicated man.

Applause from crowds

Randolph at mic

RANDOLPH (OC): A philosopher of the non-violent system of behavior in seeking to bring about social change for the advancement of justice, and freedom, and human dignity. I have the pleasure to present to you Dr. Martin Luther King, J. R.

Applause from crowds, Dr. King steps to mic.

Black speaking

BLACK (OC): When he introduced King, it was poetic. There were no dry eyes. Symbolically, it was like passing the torch from one generation of fighters to a new generation of fighters.

Crowd applause

King speaking

KING (OC): Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring. And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring.... When we let it ring from every village, every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children - black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last, thank God almighty we are free at last."

STILL: MS of Randolph wearing a checkered jacket with a MOW '63 button

LEWIS (VO): A. Philip Randolph, on the day of the March on Washington, this man was beside himself. He was so happy. He was so pleased. He was so gratified. And you could tell by his very being, by his very presence,

Lewis speaking

LEWIS (OC): ...that this was a dream come true, this is what he had been waiting for. You know, he's tried years before. He talked about a March on Washington, mass action, and he saw it there.

Randolph with President Kennedy after the march

NARRATION #57: AFTER THE MARCH, RANDOLPH MET WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO PUSH FOR PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

STILL: President Johnson signing Civil Rights Act with Randolph and Wilkins

A YEAR LATER, PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNED INTO LAW THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

Franklin speaking

FRANKLIN (OC): He stands at the pinnacle of leadership, performing tasks that certainly no one else could do, not even Martin Luther King could do, tasks that involve putting coalitions together, challenging the government, making demands, and standing firm until those demands were acceded to.

LEWIS (OC): If he had been born in another period, maybe of another color, he probably would have been President. In another land he probably would have been, maybe, Prime Minister, but Head of State. But in a real sense, he was head of the building of a new nation, of a better America.

Still: APR at desk with glasses
in hand.

NARRATION #58: IN 1968, A. PHILIP
RANDOLPH RETIRED FROM THE
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR
PORTERS AND THE AFL-CIO.

HE LIVED ALONE IN A SMALL, NEW
YORK CITY APARTMENT.

STILL: APR with a slight smile
on his face

IN 1979 A. PHILIP RANDOLPH DIED AT
THE AGE OF 90.