a hundred years they would follow the leadership of men like Philip Randolph and Dr. Martin Luther King. No one can be sure of that because there is among the Negro people a special kind of religious quality that perhaps makes them willing to follow a struggle which is essentially framed and based upon the concepts of a Mahatma Gandhi, a struggle to achieve their objectives within the framework of a free society with the weapon of nonviolence.

Why have the American Negroes listened to Philip Randolph? It is because they believe as Philip Randolph believes, that there is enough basic good will in America and enough sense of national purpose so, despite the hundred years of neglect, we can find the answers.

Phil Randolph knows, as we all need to know, that there is no halfway house on the way to freedom; there is no tokenism that will satisfy people who ask nothing more than the dignity and the privileges and the rights that only full freedom can give you. But we are fortunate that we can join hands with men like Philip Randolph and together call upon men of good will in every religion, every race, every group, every political persuasion and say, "Let us join in the spirit of brotherhood, let us search together in the light of reason, let us work together to implement responsibility and rational action so that we can bring to fulfillment the dream of an America in which all citizens enjoy the blessings of full citizenship rights."

But what we need to understand is that, unless we work together in the spirit of good will and take rational and responsible action, the vacuums created by our failures will be filled by the apostles of hatred, and reason will yield to riots and brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed, and we will shatter the very fabric of our free society. Therefore the great choice in America is not whether we are going to solve the civil rights revolution. The great question is how. Will we do it by good will and cooperation and understanding, and will we wrap up all the things that we need to do within the framework of the concept of human brotherhood, or will we merely give lip service to these things and then let the apostles of hatred fill the vacuum?

I believe that men of good will can find the answers, and I believe that men like Philip Randolph are making a great contribution in helping American democracy find those answers in the light of reason.

Therefore, it is a great privilege and a distinct pleasure for me to present to you a friend, a great trade unionist, and one of the great leaders of the civil rights revolution, Philip Randolph.

TODAY'S CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

an address
by
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president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
and vice-president of the AFL-CIO
Before the
FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
of the
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
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