BACKGROUND:
This manual, written by Rustin, was distributed shortly before the August 28, 1963, March on Washington. It contains final plans and instructions for the March and reflects Rustin’s unparalleled skill as an organizer.

Final Plans for the

MARCH ON WASHINGTON
FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

AUGUST 28, 1963

This is the SECOND and LAST Organizing Manual of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

READ IT CAREFULLY. There have been changes in arrangements since the publication of Organizing Manual No. 1.

1. There will be NO separate state locations. All buses will proceed directly to the Washington Monument.

2. The NEW routes of March are Independence and Constitution Avenues.
(Read further for full details)

Distribute this manual today. Time is short. If you need additional copies, let us know TODAY!

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
170 West 130th Street • New York, N.Y. 10027 • FI 8-1900

Cleveland Robinson
Chairman, Administrative Committee

Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
WHO IS SPONSORING THE MARCH?
The Ten Chairmen of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom are:

Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, Vice-Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America
James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality
Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference
John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Chairman of the American Jewish Congress
A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council
Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and Chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League

In addition, the March has been endorsed by major religious, fraternal, labor and civil rights organizations. A full list, too long to include here, will be published.

WHY WE MARCH

We march to redress old grievances and to help resolve an American crisis.

That crisis is born of the twin evils of racism and economic deprivation. They rob all people, Negro and white, of dignity, self-respect, and freedom. They impose a special burden on the Negro, who is denied the right to vote, economically exploited, refused access to public accommodations, subjected to inferior education, and relegated to substandard ghetto housing.

Discrimination in education and apprenticeship training renders Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and other minorities helpless in our mechanized, industrial society. Lacking specialized training, they are the first victims of automation. Thus the rate of Negro unemployment is nearly three times that of whites.

Their livelihoods destroyed, the Negro unemployed are thrown into the streets, driven to despair, to hatred, to crime, to violence. All America is robbed of their potential contribution.
Despite this crisis, reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress are still working to defeat effective civil rights legislation. They fight against the rights of all workers and minority groups. They are sworn enemies of freedom and justice. They proclaim states rights in order to destroy human rights.

The Southern Democrats came to power by disfranchising the Negro. They know that as long as black workers are voiceless, exploited, and underpaid, the fight of the white workers for decent wages and working conditions will fail. They know that semi-slavery for one means semi-slavery for all.

We march to demonstrate, massively and dramatically, our unalterable opposition to these forces—and to their century-long robbery of the American people. Our bodies, numbering over 100,000, will bear witness—will serve historic notice—that Jobs and Freedom are needed NOW.

WHAT WE DEMAND

1. Comprehensive and effective civil rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans access to all public accommodations, decent housing, adequate and integrated education, the right to vote.

2. Withholding of Federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.

3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.

4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment—reducing Congressional representation of states where citizens are disfranchised.

5. A new Executive Order banning discrimination in all housing supported by federal funds.

6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.

7. A massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.

8. A national minimum wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living. (Government surveys show that anything less than $2.00 an hour fails to do this.)

9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.

10. A federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination by federal, state, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade unions.

*Support of the March does not necessarily indicate endorsement of every demand listed. Some organizations have not had an opportunity to take an official position on all of the demands advocated here.

HOW OUR DEMANDS WILL BE PRESENTED TO CONGRESS

The March on Washington projects a new concept of lobbying.

For more than a century we have written to Congressmen and visit Presidents. For more than a century our leaders have walked in the legislative halls bearing petitions and appeals. For more than a century our experts have drafted and proposed far-sighted remedies for the diseases that beset our society.

Progress, if any, has been slow.

On August 28, our leaders will once again lay our demands before the powers of government. That morning, they will meet with the President and the leaders of both political parties. But in keeping with this new—and more profound—concept of lobbying, our 100,000 marchers will not go to Capitol Hill, nor to the White House.

Instead, we have invited every single Congressman and Senator to come to us—to hear our demands for jobs and freedom, NOW.

Reserved seats will await them at the Lincoln Memorial and we shall make public the names of those who attend.

The more than 100,000 Americans of all races and colors will serve historic notice to Congress and the entire nation that a profound change has taken place in the rapidly growing civil rights revolution.

Our demonstration—the largest and most significant in the history of Washington—will bear eloquent witness that we do not come to beg or plead for rights denied for centuries. Our massive March from the Washington Monument to Lincoln Memorial, our enormous rally at the Memorial, will speak out to Congress and the nation with a single voice—for jobs and freedom, NOW.

- For these reasons, there will be no separate state locations in Washington. All marchers will, instead, proceed directly on arrival to the Washington Monument.

- Do not seek appointments with your Senators and Representatives on Capitol Hill. This will make it more difficult for Congressmen to be present at the Lincoln Memorial programs.

- All buses must proceed directly to the Washington Monument without detour.

- Participating groups should not schedule separate meetings that day.
WHO WILL MARCH?

• All Americans of good will who will subscribe to the aims and purposes of the March.
• All Americans who demand an end to the twin evils of racism and economic degradation.

Politically the March is non-partisan. Neither funds nor sponsorship will be accepted from political parties. And we expressly reject the aid or participation of totalitarian or subversive groups of all persuasions.

Organizational sponsorship is invited only from the established Civil Rights organizations, from major religious and fraternal groups, and from labor unions. Such groups are invited to form committees, to sponsor the March, and to send delegations to Washington in their own names.

Other groups are invited to publicize the March, to raise funds for it, and to send groups to Washington under the banner of the March on Washington itself. These would include, for example, student and youth organizations, settlement houses, committees and other organizations of the unemployed, professional organizations (doctors, teachers, etc.), and Greek Letter organizations.

WHAT ARE OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS?

1. Publicizing the March:
   Our time is short. MAKE THE MARCH KNOWN. Get to the press, to church services, to union meetings. Take our literature into the streets. Distribute it everywhere. The National Office will provide you, free of charge, with a supply of the following literature:
   THE MARCH CALL, entitled "The Time Is Now," gives detailed information on the aims and sponsorship of the March.
   LEAFLET, entitled "An Appeal To You," is intended for mass distribution. Groups are invited to help us economize by duplicating this item at their own expense.
   ORGANIZING MANUAL #2: If you need more copies of this manual order today.
   Keep your local press informed of your activities. Make your press releases short and concrete. Include names, addresses and titles of Committee members. Letters to the editor are also effective.

2. Organize Transportation
   Set up your transportation committees at once. Appoint a hardworking person as its chairman, to whom bus captains are responsible. Fill your buses, trains or planes NOW—and let us know how many you have.

3. Organize the Unemployed for the March
   It will serve no purpose to hold a March for Jobs and Freedom if unemployed people are not able to come and add their voices and presence at the demonstration. Organizations must make it a main task to get the news of the March to the unemployed and to encourage the unemployed, where possible, to establish their own March Committees. Guarantee the presence of the unemployed in Washington by
   (a) assigning a given number of seats in buses and trains to the unemployed, and
   (b) raising funds to pay for these assigned seats.
   Make it your goal to send one unemployed person to Washington for every three who can pay their own way. We hope that not a bus will go, nor a train start, that does not have its quota of the unemployed.

4. Call for Jobs and Freedom Day Proclamations
   Ask your Governor and City Officials to proclaim August 28th as JOBS AND FREEDOM DAY. Ask ministers and rabbis to offer special prayers August 24-25 for the success of the March. Ask employers to enable workers to come to Washington, without loss of pay.

5. Raise Funds
   While your primary task is getting people to Washington, the National Office needs funds. We have a waiting list of unemployed workers who need our help in getting to Washington. Thousands of Southern Freedom Fighters want to join us, but lack funds. Make checks payable to MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

6. Sell Buttons
   This is the easiest way to raise funds. The button is 2½” in diameter; it shows a black and white handclasp and the title: MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM. Buttons sell for one price only: 25¢ apiece. Every Marcher should wear a button in Washington. Every Marcher should sell them. Order from us today. Send checks. We will pay shipping costs.
   IMPORTANT: If you have buttons on consignment, send in your money now! The need for funds is urgent.

HOW DO I GET TO WASHINGTON?

The National Committee does not have facilities for chartering transportation. Each group must charter its own bus, train or plane. We are prepared, however, to assist and advise you. If you have difficulty securing satisfactory transportation, call the Transportation Department at our office, Fl 8-1900. Meanwhile, here’s how to proceed:

BY BUS:
   Secure a bus through a local bus company, charter service, or travel agent. Read your contract carefully and bear these points in mind:
1. Your bus must be licensed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. All buses thus licensed are required to carry insurance.
2. Charter prices should be less than half the normally scheduled fares. Do not pay extra for parking facilities since these have already been secured by the national office.
3. Your destination is the Washington Monument. As you approach it your bus will be intercepted and led to its assigned parking site. These sites have been arranged by the Washington Police in cooperation with our office. There is no need to ask about these sites in advance.

BY TRAIN:
Contact your local railroad to charter coaches or an entire train. Trains are especially recommended for large groups because they offer a means of keeping up to a thousand people together with better internal communication. They also have more extensive comfort facilities than buses. Try to combine with other groups in your area and charter a train. Perhaps our office can help.

Here again, read your contract carefully. Your destination is Union Station in Washington. From there buses will take you to the Washington Monument. Bus fares in Washington will be collected on a per capita basis.

BY PLANE:
Contact an airline company that will charter flights to Washington. Planes are especially advantageous for those coming long distances, and group charter plans reduce rates considerably.

Be sure all passengers know what time to arrive at the airport. Your charter agent will inform you of your destination. This office will provide transportation to and from Washington National Airport only. You must make arrangements with your charter agent if you are arriving at any other airport.

BY CAR:
Heretofore, we have discouraged travel to Washington by car. However, because some groups have reported difficulty in securing other means of transportation, many marchers may arrive by car. They are urged to make signs reading MARCH ON WASHINGTON and place these on their cars. Cars thus identified will be intercepted by Washington Police and directed to special parking areas. These areas are:
- CARTER BARRON, N.W. (Vicinity of 17th Street and Colorado Avenue)
- SOLDIERS' HOME, N.E. (Vicinity of Kenyon Street and North Capitol)
- COLUMBIA ISLAND, S.W. (Vicinity of Columbia Island and Mt. Vernon Memorial Parkway)
- SOUTH CAPITAL STREET (Vicinity of D.C. Tree Nursery)

Start organizing car pools today. Let us know if you have room for extra passengers. We want the maximum number of passengers in the minimum number of vehicles.

LET OUR OFFICE KNOW how you are going to Washington, and how many are in your group. Use the form at the end of this manual. We must know the names of your captains.

THE SCHEDULE IN WASHINGTON

BY 10:00 A.M.: All participants should arrive at the Washington Monument. We will have offices set up there from which signs will be distributed. While Marchers are assembling on the Washington Monument grounds, there will be a special program.

AT 12 NOON: The March will begin down Independence Avenue and Constitution Avenue, to the Lincoln Memorial. The March will be a solemn and dignified tribute to Medgar Evers of the NAACP, William Moore of CORE, Herbert Lee of SNCC and the thousands of nameless heroes who have given their lives in the struggle for full equality. Along the line of march 100,000 voices, accompanied by bands and choirs, will sing "WE SHALL OVERCOME." Please wear your MARCH ON WASHINGTON buttons (see page 7). No other means of identification will be furnished to marchers.

AT 2 P.M.: The main program will begin at the Lincoln Memorial. A report on the meetings with the President and Congressional leaders will be submitted. Brief addresses will be made by the leaders of the movement highlighting our demands. America's foremost actors and actresses will appear in a moving, dramatic presentation based on the struggle for true equality.

HOW DO WE LEAVE WASHINGTON?

At the conclusion of the Lincoln Memorial program, Marchers will return directly to where their buses were parked, and depart from the city.

Those who came by train will proceed to Constitution Avenue between 14th and 15th streets. There, buses marked "UNION STATION EXPRESS" will be waiting to shuttle them back to Union Station in time to catch their trains.

Those who came by plane and have not made their own shuttle arrangement should be in touch with the National office.

Those who came by car may proceed directly to the special parking areas to which their cars were assigned.

Bus, train, and plane captains must make sure that no one in their charge has been left behind. Careful passenger counts must be made at all points of discharge and reboarding.

But every Marcher must be his own captain. Don't lose touch with your captain. And don't forget where your bus is parked.
SIGNS AND BANNERS

Two kinds of signs will be carried in the March:

1. Signs of Identification: These signs may be made and carried only by groups that fall into one of the following categories:
   a) religious groups
   b) labor unions and bodies
   c) fraternal organizations
   d) sponsoring civil rights organizations and their affiliates.

   Groups in these four categories may put signs or streamers of identification on their buses as well. All other groups may identify their bus only with signs or streamers reading MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM, AUGUST 28, 1963.

2. Slogans: All slogans carried in this March will be designed exclusively by the National Committee and will be distributed at the Washington Monument.

FOOD, HEALTH, AND SANITATION FACILITIES

FOOD: We urge all marchers to take 2 box lunches—one for midday, one for supper. These box lunches should be kept simple and balanced. Exclude perishable or spoilable foods—no mayonnaise or salads, for example. We suggest:

   peanut butter and jelly sandwiches
   an apple or other fruit
   a brownie or plain cake
   a soft drink.

   HEALTH AND SANITATION: Several government agencies, Church World Service, and local churches have cooperated with the National Committee to provide for your health and comfort. First-aid units and mobile toilets will be available. Cots, blankets, and other rest facilities will be provided. Ample drinking water will be accessible at many points.

   A word of advice. You can help relieve pressure on these facilities by taking good care of yourself:
   1. Get a good night’s sleep the night before.
   2. Take advantage of rest facilities en route to Washington.
   3. Be kind to your stomach—don’t eat or drink the wrong foods in the wrong quantities.

CHILDREN AND OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATIONS

This is a one day demonstration

The size and scope of this March make it imperative that all participants come in and go out on the same day—August 28th.

You are strongly advised not to bring children under 14; children over 14 should be accompanied by a parent or guardian.

Should an emergency or unusual circumstance require your remaining overnight, call the Washington Urban League at REpublic 7-0367.

CAPTAINS

Every bus, train, and plane must have a captain. Here are the duties of a captain:

1. He must have an accurate list of the passengers under his charge—including their names and addresses. He must check this list at every discharge and boarding point.

2. He must be sure that each member of his group knows when the bus (train or plane) leaves.

3. En route to Washington, he must read to his passengers the March schedule and regulations presented in this manual.

4. He must make sure that there are first aid supplies on his bus, and pay special attention to this manual’s instructions on food and health.

5. Before permitting passengers to leave the bus in Washington, the captain must give each passenger an index card. On this card each passenger should write the parking location and license plate number of the bus, as dictated by the captain.

6. In general, captains are responsible for the welfare and discipline of their groups—on the road and in Washington. Every captain should have this number to call in case of emergency in Washington: REpublic 7-0367.

   All local groups must gather their captains together in advance for briefings. Make sure that every captain has read this manual thoroughly and can explain its contents to others. If you have any questions, call or write our office.

MARSCHALS

We have our own system of internal marshaling. Some 2,000 trained men stand ready to assist you in maintaining order and comfort during the March.

These marshals will be conspicuously identified. An elaborate communications network will enable them to be in contact with each other and with the Washington police.

Should problems of order or discipline arise, bus captains should call upon a marshal.
TRANSPORTATION REPORT FORM

(Return this form as soon as you have the necessary information)

ORGANIZATION .................................................................

ADDRESS .................................................................

CITY ........................................... ZONE .............. STATE ..........

NUMBER OF

- TRAINS ................................
- BUSES .................................. APPROXIMATE
- PLANES .................................. NUMBER OF
- CARS .................................. PASSENGERS PER

TRAIN ........................................
BUS ........................................
PLANE .....................................
CAR ........................................

TIME OF DEPARTURE ..................................................

PLACE OF DEPARTURE .............................................
(exact street)

We must have names, addresses and phone numbers of your Bus Captains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ADDRESS</th>
<th>PHONE NO. (Area Code)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(If necessary attach additional sheet)

Report Submitted by: .................................................

Address .................................................................