

CARTON 10:39

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

March on Washington

1941-1943



The Federal Government cannot with clear conscience call upon private industry and labor unions to abolish discrimination based upon race and color as long as it practices discrimination itself against Negro Americans.

Remember, our valiant and heroic forbears won the right for Negroes to enjoy the priceless gifts of freedom, justice and equality in America today. They won it through tears, toil, sweat and blood. It is a challenge to us to follow the glorious traditions of our forbears and struggle to bequeath to the Negro children of today and tomorrow the right to participate in the economic, political and social institutions and life of America upon a basis of absolute equality, and thereby, make American democracy what its founders and defenders intended it to be.

NEGROES' COMMITTEE TO MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR  
EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

2289 Seventh Avenue

New York City

EDgecombe 4-4340

/s/ Walter White  
Rev. William Lloyd Imes  
Lester B. Granger  
Frank R. Crosswaith  
Layle Lane  
Richard Parrish

Dr. Rayford Logan  
Henry K. Craft  
A. Philip Randolph  
J. Finley Wilson  
A. C. Powell, Jr.

"To March On Washington For Jobs And Equal Participation In  
National Defense" July 1st

6/11/41  
(on tapes only)

# CALL TO NEGRO AMERICA

"To March On Washington For Jobs And Equal  
Participation in National Defense"  
July 1st

GREETINGS:

We call upon you to fight for jobs in National Defense.

We call upon you to struggle for the integration of Negroes in the armed forces, such as the Air Corps, Navy, Army and Marine of the Nation.

We call upon you to demonstrate for the abolition of Jim-Crowism in all Government departments and defense employment.

This is an hour of crisis. It is a crisis of democracy. It is a crisis of minority groups. It is a crisis of Negro Americans.

What is this crisis?

To American Negroes, it is the denial of jobs in Government defense projects. It is racial discrimination in Government departments. It is widespread Jim-Crowism in the armed forces of the Nation.

While billions of the taxpayers' money are being spent for war weapons, Negro workers are being turned away from the gates of factories, mines and mills—being flatly told, "NOTHING DOING." Some employers refuse to give Negroes jobs when they are without "union cards," and some unions refuse Negro workers union cards when they are "without jobs."

What shall we do?

What a dilemma!

What a runaround!

What a disgrace!

What a blow below the belt!

"Though dark, doubtful and discouraging, all is not lost, all is not hopeless. Though battered and bruised, we are not beaten, broken or bewildered."

Verily, the Negroes' deepest disappointments and direst defeats, their tragic trials and outrageous oppressions in these dreadful days of destruction and



disaster to democracy and freedom, and the rights of minority peoples, and the dignity and independence of the human spirit, is the Negroes' greatest opportunity to rise to the highest heights of struggle for freedom and justice in Government, in industry, in labor unions, education, social service, religion and culture.

With faith and confidence of the Negro people in their own power for self-liberation, Negroes can break down the barriers of discrimination against employment in Nation Defense. Negroes can kill the deadly serpent of race hatred in the Army, Navy, Air and Marine Corps, and smash through and blast the Government, business and labor-union red tape to win the right to equal opportunity in vocational training and re-training in defense employment.

Most important and vital of all, Negroes, by the mobilization and coordination of their mass power, can cause PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, ARMY, NAVY, AIR CORPS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE JOBS.

Of course, the task is not easy. In very truth, it is big, tremendous and difficult.

It will cost money.

It will require sacrifice.

It will tax the Negroes' courage, determination and will to struggle. But we can, must and will triumph.

The Negroes' stake in national defense is big. It consists of jobs, thousands of jobs. It may represent millions, yes, hundreds of millions of dollars in wages. It consists of new industrial opportunities and hope. This is worth fighting for.

But to win our stakes, it will require an "all-out," bold and total effort and demonstration of colossal proportions.

Negroes can build a mammoth machine of mass action with a terrific and tremendous driving and striking power that can shatter and crush the evil fortress of race prejudice and hate, if they will only resolve to do so and never stop until victory comes.

Dear Fellow Negro Americans, be not dismayed in these terrible times. You possess power, great power. Our problem is to harness and hitch it up for action on the broadest, daring and most gigantic scale.

In this period of power politics, nothing counts but pressure, more pressure, and still more pressure, through the tactic and strategy of broad, organized, aggressive mass action behind the vital and important issues of the Negro. To this end, we propose that ten thousand Negroes MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND EQUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FIGHTING FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

An "all-out" thundering march on Washington, ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument will shake up white America.

It will shake up official Washington.

It will give encouragement to our white friends to fight all the harder by our side, with us, for our righteous cause.

It will gain respect for the Negro people.

It will create a new sense of self respect among Negroes.

But what of national unity?

We believe in national unity which recognizes equal opportunity of black and white citizens to jobs in national defense and the armed forces, and in all other institutions and endeavors in America. We condemn all dictatorships, Fascist, Nazi and Communist. We are loyal, patriotic Americans, all.

But, if American democracy will not defend its defenders; if American democracy will not protect its protectors; if American democracy will not give jobs to its toilers because of race or color; if American democracy will not insure equality of opportunity, freedom and justice to its citizens, black and white, it is a hollow mockery and belies the principles for which it is supposed to stand.

To the hard, difficult and trying problem of securing equal participation in national defense, we summon all Negro Americans to march on Washington. We summon Negro Americans to form committees in various cities to recruit and register marchers and raise funds through the sale of buttons and other legitimate means for the expenses of marchers to Washington by buses, train, private automobiles, trucks and on foot.

We summon Negro Americans to stage marches on their City Halls and Councils in their respective cities and urge them to memorialize the President to issue an executive order to abolish discrimination in the Government and national defense.

However, we sternly counsel against violence and ill-considered and intemperate action and the abuse of power. Mass power, like physical power, when misdirected is more harmful than helpful.

We summon you to mass action that is orderly and lawful, but aggressive and militant, for justice, equality and freedom.

Crispus Attucks marched and died as a martyr for American independence. Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel, Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass fought, bled and died for the emancipation of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy.

Abraham Lincoln, in times of the grave emergency of the Civil War, issued the Proclamation of Emancipation for the freedom of Negro slaves and the preservation of American democracy.

Today, we call upon President Roosevelt, a great humanitarian and idealist, to follow in the footsteps of his noble and illustrious predecessor and take the second decisive step in this world and national emergency and free American Negro citizens of the stigma, humiliation and insult of discrimination and Jim-Crowism in Government departments and national defense.



NEGRO MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON COMMITTEE CONDEMN, REPUDIATE AND REJECT OFFER  
OF COOPERATION FROM COMMUNISTS

6/10/41  
(An issue only)

Since the movement to mobilize 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington for jobs and justice in national defense began, the Communists, with their old Trojan Horse tricks, have sought to play the role of the Greeks bearing gifts to this movement, states A. Philip Randolph, National Director.

In the Tuesday, June 10th, issue of the Daily Worker, under the caption, "It Can Become the Voice of the Negro People," an editorial was carried stating in part, "This (referring to the march on Washington) can become an effective demonstration by expressing the sentiment of the Negro people against the Administration's entire war program."

It is apparent that this statement reflects the plot of the Communists to horn in on the Negro job march to Washington for the purpose of distorting and twisting it to serve the propaganda interests of the Soviet-Communist clique.

The editorial continues in a slanderous attack upon Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and National Director of the march, Mr. Randolph, styling them as the agents of Wall Street labor-haters and Negro baiters.

In another article carried in the Daily Worker on June 11th, Communists appealed to Negroes to join with their white friends and allies on the occasion of the march to make it a tremendous demonstration against Jim-Crowism and imperialist war. This is a definite and open demonstration of the nefarious, conspiracy methods of the Communists to penetrate movements to subvert them to their ulterior uses, but they will fail in this instance, observed the March Generalissimo Randolph.

The March-on-Washington Committee serves notice upon Communists and their fellow-traveler allies that they are not wanted to participate, either in the local March-on-Washington Committees that serve as the nuclei for the mobilization of the marchers, nor as any of the

marchers. The march-on-Washington movement for jobs in national defense and integration into the armed forces of the Nation is definitely, positively and unequivocally organized for one thing, and one thing only, namely, to secure jobs for Negroes in national defense industries and to abolish Jim-Crowism, discrimination and segregation in all departments of the federal government, observed the national leader of the march, Randolph.

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The members of the National Committee, who are conducting the march and who signed the Call to Negro America for the march, are free from any sympathy for Communists, their tactics, policies or program. They consider the Communists a definite menace, pestilence and nuisance, as well as a danger to the Negro people and the organized workers of America, and are determined to have nothing to do with them and their works.

The march-on-Washington job movement for Negroes is not concerned with war or peace or the foreign policies of President Roosevelt. The National Committee which consists of Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Reverend William Lloyd Imes of the St. James Presbyterian Church, Lester B. Granger of the National Urban League, Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman of the Negro Labor Committee, Layle Lane of the American Federation of Teachers, Richard Parrish, President of the Association of Negro College Students of New York, Dr. Rayford Logan of Howard University, J. Finley Wilson of the Elks, Rev. Adam C. Powell, Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Noah A. Walters of the Laundry Workers Joint Board, E. E. Williams of the Blasters and Drillers Union and National Director Randolph, expressed the determination to see to it that if Communists march in on the local Committees of the March on Washington, they will be promptly marched out, concluded the leader of the march, Randolph, who is also the International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
March-on-Washington Committee  
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New York City  
Edgecombe 4-4340

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Full Name:

To March On Washington For Jobs And Equal Participation In National Defense July 1st

Office: 2289 7th Avenue  
New York, New York  
Tel. Ed. 4-4341

BULLETIN

Vol. 1 No. 2.

Negro-March-On-Washington-Committee

June 9, 1941

BUTTON SALE CAMPAIGN

Over 30,000 buttons have been distributed in the New York Metropolitan area, but the Chinese sold ten million buttons in New York City for the cause of China. If this small group can do this, then surely we can dispose of more than 30,000 for this project. Each Saturday is Button Day where everyone may secure buttons at the price of 10¢ each, distributed by young ladies on street corners and public spots that reach Negro America in New York. These sales are made in an effort to defray expenses arising out of this Great Movement. Why not act now and do your part--Buy a Button and Sell a Button.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION TO  
WASHINGTON

AmericanEBus Company  
165 West 46 Street

33 to 45 passengers-----\$4.00 per  
person

Greyhound Bus Company  
242 West 34 Street

37 passengers -----\$5.10 per  
person

Train

Pennsylvania R R &  
B & O

15 to 300 persons -----\$6.70 per  
person

300 & up -----\$4.50 per  
person

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

March on your City Hall--June 27  
March on Washington ---July 1

CERTIFICATES

Certificates of Social Action are now available. Please see that every organization has its quota. They will sell to individuals for at least one dollar and as much as possible. Many organizations are contributing \$25 and more.

The buses require 8 hours one way,  
two rest periods and one meal period.

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June 16th, 1941

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S STATEMENT ON RACIAL JOB BARRIERS

By A. Philip Randolph

The statement of the President on racial job barriers which appeared in the press, Monday, June 16th, is commendable, but it does not go to the root of the problem. Of course, if this statement had been issued several months ago, instead of at this time, it would have had the effect - no doubt - of doing much toward the elimination of discrimination against Negroes by various industrial concerns that possess defense contracts ranging into hundreds of millions of dollars.

While it is the strongest statement that he has yet made, it has no mandatory power and does not force business concerns holding defense contracts to employ Negro workers. Therefore, these factories may still resort to all sorts of evasions to get around giving the Negro a fair and square deal in employment. Some of them may put in a Negro here and there and consider that they have satisfied the President's request to eliminate racial barriers.

The Negro March-on-Washington Committee wishes to reiterate its proposal that the President issue an executive order, which has teeth in it and is part of his legislative-executive power, which will compel all concerns that have government contracts or that will receive government contracts to put Negroes to work, representing their population ratio at least. In fact, Negroes should be employed in the industries producing defense munitions in numbers exceeding their population ratio. Because they have been kept out of such jobs since the defense crisis began, and not only defense jobs but out of general industry, thereby compelling them to resort to relief.

For instance, although Negroes constitute but 5% of the population of New York, they are 23% of the relief population. This is

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due definitely to the fact that Negroes are barred from employment purely on racial and not qualification grounds.

• I wish it definitely understood that this statement of the President will not stop the march of Negroes on Washington. Local committees in different parts of the country, which are the agencies for the mobilization of 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington for jobs and justice in National Defense, are redoubling their efforts - and from reports that have been received - the enthusiasm is mounting high.

In addition to jobs in National Defense, the Negro march on Washington movement wants the President also to issue an executive order to abolish discriminations in all federal departments of the government. Competent Negroes who pass civil service examinations are being denied the opportunity to serve, merely because the machinery for selecting the applicants is subject to manipulation, and Negroes are often the victims despite the fact that they sometimes make the highest ratings.

Plans are afoot to hold a big mass meeting in Washington this Friday for the purpose of discussing the statement of the President and intensifying the work of mobilizing the Negroes for the march.

A series of street rallies are planned in Harlem to also acquaint the Negro community with the fact that the movement to march on Washington is proceeding apace with greater intensity.

Meetings are planned throughout the country to acquaint Negroes with the significance of the President's statement, and to step up the activities for the march.

A. Philip Randolph, National Director  
National Negro March-on-Washington Committee  
N.Y. Office - 2289 Seventh Avenue  
Edgecombe 4-4341



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DETROIT, MICHIGAN



TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS

## AN INTERNATIONAL UNION

AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.

217 WEST 125TH STREET  
(ROOM 301)  
NEW YORK CITY

MO 2-5080-1  
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS  
UNIVERSITY 4-8262

440

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

C. L. DELLUMS  
4TH INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT  
1716 SEVENTH STREET  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

July 2nd, 1941

Mr. C. L. Dellums  
4th International Vice-President  
1716 Seventh Street  
Oakland, California

Dear Dell:

I am sorry to know that you were so little informed on the March to Washington program and I am sending you whatever literature I have at hand.

As you are no doubt aware, Negroes were receiving very few jobs in defense industries. Many conferences were held with the Administration officials, including the President, and although much courtesy was extended to the conferees and many promises were offered, no tangible results ensued. Brother Randolph then called together a group of representatives of outstanding Negro associations and they agreed to pool their combined interests in making a demand upon the Administration for more jobs in defense industries and more recognition for Negroes in all walks of life.

The outcome of this get-together was the determination to March to Washington on July 1st.

Brother Randolph then wrote a very fine letter to Mr. Roosevelt outlining the position of the Negroes and showing how untenable that position was in relation to democratic government and democratic ideals. The letter brought Mrs. Roosevelt to New York with Aubrey Williams and a conference was held with Mr. Randolph and others, and later other conferences were held in Washington with Secretary Knox and Secretary Stimson and representatives of various organizations. The President was opposed to the March, although he definitely agreed that something had to be done and asked for time in order to formulate some program that would be workable. At that conference Mr. Randolph made it quite plain that nothing short of an Executive Order would meet the bill.



A committee was formed to draw up plans, with Mayor LaGuardia as head. The plans were to be submitted, first to the President and later to Mr. Randolph. That was done, and last Thursday, I believe, Mr. Randolph was called to Washington, enroute to Houston Texas.

I am not advised of just what took place, but that same night, the order was issued by the President, and following that, Mr. Randolph called off the March.

Many units were set up all over the country in preparation for this March and it promised to have been quite a success.

The Administration was definitely afraid of this concerted movement on the part of Negroes, and felt that something had to be done, in order to offset it in some way. You will get the facts in the material I have enclosed.

Now, as far as the Soldier Special from Ocean Port to Fort Lewis is concerned, I have no information on the matter. No Porter has brought his book to me, but I will attempt to see if I can pick up any information. We have so many movements here that it is difficult to pin down these specific cases. However, after coming back from Chicago, I continually dealt with the information that the men should only carry in their time-books, the actual sleep that they received and should not, under any circumstance, be charged arbitrarily with eight hours sleep which they did not receive.

The Chief, Web, Totten and Mac left here on the 30th for Washington. A committee is to be set up by the President to investigate discrimination against Negroes in defense industries and to make any other suggestions that may be valuable in handling the race question. It is expected that someone from the Organization will be selected among the members of the committee. They have not returned as yet, but I am expecting them today.

There are many questions dealing with the application of the Agreement, as well as cases that I have appealed to Chicago that I wish to talk to Web about, and he will return with the men from Washington after the conference.

I have got together a few items that were not outlined in the Agreement, but which were verbally agreed upon between the Organization and the Management. It is not complete, but from time to time, I will send them to the local officers in the Eastern Zone.

I am enclosing one, you may give me your criticisms on it and add any other pertinent ideas you see fit. Don't be afraid to do so, this is still a democracy, enroute.

I will keep in touch with you and give you such information as I glean from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

*Pat.*

Pat.

*Thomas Patterson*  
*Secy of RSCP*  
*Exec board*  
*& NY organize*

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*TP/sd*  
Enclosures



BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS  
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION  
AFFILIATED WITH THE AFOFL

217 West 125th Street  
Room #301  
New York City

May 28th, 1941

To The Presidents, Secretary-Treasurers, Chairmen of Committees, and Members

Dear Sir and Brother:

Subject: March On Washington.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is concerned about Negroes receiving jobs and justice in national defense. To this end, the International President has proposed a march of 10,000 to 50,000 Negroes on Washington. In order that this may be carried out on a huge and effective scale, we are organizing March On Washington Committees in cities where Negroes reside in fairly large numbers.

It is the hope of the Central Committee for the March on Washington in New York that every city in the country will be represented with a delegation with their banner at Washington, July 1st, to march up and down Pennsylvania Avenue for jobs and justice in national defense.

If this march is a great and monster demonstration as we hope to make it, it may represent hundreds of millions of dollars in wages for Negro people and thousands of jobs. The stake is big enough to fight for.

Therefore, I want to request that Brotherhood officials call upon the President of the NAACP branch and the Urban League and other Negro groups in your community, and advise them that you are ready to join with them in setting up a March on Washington Committee which will do the following things:

1. Raise money in your first meeting to purchase buttons from the Central Committee in New York at five (\$.05) cents, to be sold for ten (\$.10) cents for the purpose of financing the marchers to Washington.
2. Establish headquarters in the heart of the Negro section with a huge banner, "Headquarters To Mobilize Negroes For March On Washington For Jobs And Justice In National Defense."
3. Proceed to record the names and addresses of marchers.
4. Plan also to march on the City Hall in your city a week before the march on Washington, to be ended by a big mass meeting. The march on the City Hall is for the purpose of urging the Mayor and the President of the City Council to memorialize the President of the United States to issue an executive order to abolish discrimination in national defense and all departments of the government.

We have ample time to make this program a success because the nature of the program demands that it be executed in a short period so that there will be no lag of interest.

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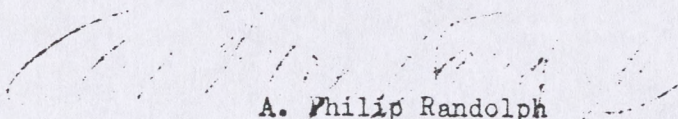


We must have some Negroes from every city so that we can show to white America that the Negroes are united in making this a total all-out march and demonstration for jobs and justice in national defense.

You may write to Mr. Warren Brown, 217 West 125th Street, for buttons. Act today, don't delay. This is one of the most important moves Negroes have made as a collective mass for their rights since emancipation.

Let me hear from you right away on this matter if you please.

Fraternally yours,



A. Philip Randolph  
International President

apr/mf



6/18/81  
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT OPPOSES NEGRO MARCH ON WASHINGTON

At the White House conference which was held in the White House in Washington, D. C., Wednesday, June 18th, from 2 to 2:30 pm, those in attendance were the President; Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson; Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox; William S. Knudsen and Sidney Hillman, Directors of the Office of Production Management; Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York; Aubrey Williams, Director of the National Youth Administration; Anna Rosenberg, Co-ordinator of the Social Security Board; Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman of the Negro Labor Committee; Layle Lane, Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers and A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the Negro March-On-Washington Committee.

At the beginning of the conference, President Roosevelt opened up the discussion by expressing his firm and positive and definite opposition to the Negro march on Washington. He stated in his characteristic, emphatic manner, that it is bad and unintelligent. He continued that problems of discriminations from which Negroes suffer have to be dealt with by methods that are well thought out and planned, but that a march on Washington would give the impression to the American people that Negroes are seeking to exercise force to compel the Government to do certain things and this attitude will do more harm than good.

Randolph explained to the President the cause and nature of the Negro march-on-Washington movement, pointing out that a wave of resentment, bitterness, disillusionment and desperation was sweeping the Negroes throughout the country because of discriminations in national defense and federal departments of the Government. He insisted that the Negroes are demanding action that will provide jobs for them in all national defense industries. He stated that an executive order was necessary that had teeth in it that would compel defense industries to give Negroes employment. Mr. Randolph asserted that the march-on-Washington movement was not planned, developed and fostered by any irresponsible, wild-eyed crackpots, but that it is sponsored and carried on by a national committee composed of sane, sober and responsible Negro citizens, including Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Rev. William Lloyd Ines of the St. James Presbyterian Church, Lester B. Granger of the National Urban League, Frank R. Crosswaith, of the Negro Labor Committee, Layle Lane of the American Federation of Teachers, Richard Parrish of the Association of Negro College Students of New York, Dr. Rayford Logan of Howard University, J. Finley Wilson of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, Rev. Adam C. Powell, Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Noah Walters of the Laundry

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Workers Joint Board and E. E. Williams of the Blasters and Drillers Union, and that none of these people had any sympathy with, or interest in Communists, the Communist Party, its tactics, program or policies, but on the contrary were definitely opposed to them. The endorsement of the March on Washington by the New England Baptist Conference in Philadelphia, June 12th, was also cited together with the support which the movement is receiving from Negro fraternities, sororities, civic and social organizations throughout the country.

But the President reiterated his opposition, stating that he thought it was a grave mistake and would not accomplish the object sought, but on the contrary may create serious trouble. The President said, "What would happen if Irish and Jewish people were to march on Washington?" He said, "It would create resentment among the American people because such a march would be considered as an effort to coerce the Government and make it do certain things. Randolph stated, "There is no comparison between a march on Washington by Jews and Irish people, and the Negroes. The public knows that the Negroes have justification for bringing their grievances to the President and to present them to the American people.

When Mr. Randolph requested the President to speak to the marchers, he replied that he could not speak to them because he does not speak to any groups who come to Washington. Walter White commented that the President had spoken to the American Youth Congress. He was a little nonplussed and added, "and you see what happened, too." At the time the President spoke to the American Youth Congress, he was booed and hissed by the American Youth Congress which was dominated by Communists. Walter White continued that no such conduct would be carried on by Negroes at the rally at the Lincoln Memorial, but the President did not relent in his opposition to the march on Washington.

However, President Roosevelt definitely stated that he wanted to see discriminations against Negroes in national defense eliminated, and that he would put the force and weight of the office of the President behind efforts to secure jobs for qualified Negroes in the defense program. Walter White observed that discriminations against Negroes in defense industries were increasing and that Negroes who were seeking to work out a program with the Government to remove these discriminations had been given the run-around, and hence, the Negroes had come to the conclusion that this march on Washington was the only effective thing that could be done at this time.

When it was pointed out to the President that Negroes could be nothing but messmen in the Navy and that some of them had been summarily discharged merely because they had protested against discriminations in the navy, the

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President replied that Negroes could become petty officers in the Navy and that he did not consider that they performed only menial work. He said that the stokers in the ships performed more menial jobs than the messmen and that all of the men who man the ships had a common task to perform.

After the conference had continued for thirty or more minutes, the President stated that he wanted the conference to continue without him since he had to leave for other duties and that he wanted the department heads who were in that conference to discuss this whole matter with the Negro leaders with a view to finding some remedy and the proper method for meeting the problem of discriminations against Negroes in national defense.

The conference was resumed at the request of the President with all of the persons in attendance in the cabinet room of the White House. Mr. Stimson, Secretary of War, presided. The discussion was opened up by Sidney Hillman, who stated that some progress was being made by the Labor Department of the Office of Production Management in breaking down barriers to Negroes in defense industries. Randolph observed that the instances were too few and fragmentary to represent any fundamental change in the policy toward the employment of Negroes on defense jobs. Mr. Hillman stated that he was in favor of carrying out any policy that might be promulgated by the President to eliminate discriminations against Negroes in defense employment, and that OPM was doing everything possible to break down racial barriers in defense works now. Mr. Randolph asked Mr. Hillman would he withdraw a contract from a business concern which practiced discriminations against Negroes and denied them jobs. Hillman did not answer this question directly but stated that there are many factors involved in such a situation and that national defense had to come first.

Aubrey Williams, Director of the NYA pointed out that he considered it practicable and feasible for the Government to place provisions in contracts which would require the employment of Negroes. Mayor LaGuardia asserted that he thought that such a plan was practicable and that it could be included in an executive order issued by the President.

William S. Knudsen of the Office of Production Management said that he did not think that an executive order was necessary. He said that his experience is that more can be done through persuasion and education than by force. He stated that some time in July he planned to make a trip which would take him to all concerns that have defense contracts and that it was his purpose to look into the question of employment as it affects Negroes. Randolph observed that it was not enough to depend on persuasion and education since this process had been proved to be ineffective so far. He stated that there are many production managers of great industries that won't pay any attention



to education and persuasion and who would persist in going right on with discrimination against Negroes. Knudsen observed that it is his conviction that force is not the remedy which this march on Washington represented. He also pointed out that when he received the letter from Mr. Randolph inviting him to speak to the rally of Negroes at the Lincoln Memorial he took it up with Mr. Hillman and told him that he thought it was wrong since it gave the impression that the march was intended to make the leaders of Government do certain things.

Walter White pointed out to Mr. Knudsen that a manager of certain aircraft factories had stated that he would only employ Negroes as janitors and Knudsen replied that he knew this man and that he was misrepresented by newspaper men. He stated that after he had talked to him over the telephone, this manager of the defense industry gave a very different comment on the matter. Walter White stated that no doubt this was due to the fact that Mr. Knudsen had called him up.

The question of the Negro in the Navy was raised and Mr. Knox, when Randolph observed that Negroes had no opportunities for advancement in the Navy, commented that he wanted to ask Mr. Randolph a direct question and that he hoped he would receive an honest reply. Mr. Knox asked would you take the position that Negro and white sailors should be compelled to live together on ships. Randolph answered, yes. "It is perfectly fantastic for anyone to contend that Negro and white sailors cannot get along together." He pointed out that in most of the large cities of the South Negro and white workers were in the same post office as clerks and letter carriers, and that Negro and white bricklayers worked on the same buildings together. Secretary Knox replied that during these times of national defense experiments of this kind cannot be carried on. Randolph answered that national defense, to be effective, depends upon national unity, and national unity is a question of morale. If one tenth of the population, the Negro people, are dissatisfied and discontented over discriminations and injustices to which they are subjected in national defense, there can be no genuine national unity.

Layle Lane, Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers, pointed out that a larger question of Negroes' being integrated into American democracy and freedom was also necessary for the Government frankly and courageously to face. She said that if the Government really wants to assume the leadership in fighting for the preservation of democratic institutions and traditions, it would have to recognize that it cannot ignore the rights of the Negroes, who represent a large section of the population.

Walter White stated that another necessary and vital step which was needed to be taken was an amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to



provide that no union which habitually discriminates against Negroes should receive any benefits under the Act.

Anna Rosenberg, of the Social Security Board, stated that she considered this impracticable and that it would receive the opposition of organized labor. But Walter White insisted that some legislation of this nature was necessary to meet the problem of discrimination against Negroes by trade unions. Anna Rosenberg continued that if an executive order by the President provided for the employment of Negroes by defense industries that received Government contracts that the question of union discrimination would be met.

Frank R. Crosswaith stated that some action had to be taken to make trade unions realize that they must give workers an opportunity to become members of them regardless of race or color, and that employers that have Government contracts should not be permitted to resort to evasions when the question of the employment of Negroes is presented.

There was no one of the white members of the conference who did not definitely express his opposition to the Negro march on Washington. They were a unit on this, says Randolph, the March leader.

In the President's conference, President Roosevelt suggested that he was giving some thought to the matter of establishing a Board which would receive and investigate complaints by Negroes or any one else about discriminations they faced in defense industry. He said that he thought one of the difficulties Negroes faced was that they had nowhere to come to present their grievances and complaints when they were victims of discrimination by defense industries. Walter White suggested that he didn't think much of such a Board unless it had some power. He asked the President whether such a Board would derive its power from him. The President stated that if the study of the problem showed that such a Board was practicable, he would place the full weight of his office behind it. He expressed the feeling that the setting up of such a Board should be given some thought and should be a part of the program in trying to find a remedy for the problem of the Negro in national defense.

A subcommittee was created out of this large committee, designated by the President to draw up findings and a plan that may serve as a remedy for the question of discriminations against Negroes in national defense. Mayor La Guardia is acting as Chairman of this committee. It will meet Monday, June 23rd, either in New York or Washington and A. Philip Randolph has been requested to meet with the committee. When the committee has worked out its findings and plans, they will be presented to the President for his consideration and action.



Randolph left New York for Chicago, Saturday, to speak at a monster mass meeting for the march on Washington. He will return to New York, Monday, for a conference with the President's subcommittee to consider ways and means to meet the discriminations against Negroes in national defense. And Monday evening, he will leave for Houston, Texas to speak on the Negro in national defense at the National Conference of the NAACP. He reports that the momentum of the march on Washington movement is gaining hourly and that sentiment for it is sweeping the Negroes throughout the country like a prairie fire.

All banners in the march will be supplied by the Negro March-on-Washington Committee, said Randolph, none others will be allowed. The Negro March on Washington is on.

Immediate Release  
Negro March-On-Washington Committee  
2289 Seventh Avenue, New York City  
Edgecombe 4-4341

June 21, 1941

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON GREAT EXPRESSION OF NEGRO MASS POWER FOR EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

By A. Philip Randolph

As the day approaches for the all-out, total, dramatic march on Washington and demonstration at the Monument of Abraham Lincoln for jobs and justice in national defense and the abolition of discrimination in Government departments, interest, sentiment and enthusiasm for this movement continues to mount daily. The task to mobilize Negroes throughout the Nation for such an occasion is tremendous and herculean, but this is why it will be effective powerful and unmistakable evidence of the Negroes' determination to put a stop to discriminations against him on jobs provided by the money of the taxpayer in our country.

It is evident that the world and America and all minority groups have moved into a definitely new era. This era is characterized by the fact that human action and human institutions are being largely shaped and determined, regulated and controlled by power politics and power economics. Because of this shift in the very nature and grounds of our contemporary life the Negro is forced to abandon the old methods of personal appeal or group appeal to the goodwill, sympathy and pity of his so-called good white friends. He is compelled to supplement the old technique of the conference as one of his major methods for meeting economic, political and social problems that arise, by virtue of the action of the three great forces in our modern life, mainly organized government, organized labor and organized business with mass action. He must abandon these methods because they are ineffective and valueless today.

The world and national crisis has created conditions and situations that require the Negro to pit his mass power against the forces that seek to elbow him aside and victimize him as a half-man in American life, branding him with the stigma of inferiority.

While Negroes are everywhere calling for some remedy and way out of their problems and difficulties, and while they have employed every sort of program which they considered important and helpful, we have failed to make use of our greatest weapon and that which we have most of, namely, Negro mass power.

A casual examination of the present position of the Negro in America reveals that he is not helpless. He has power, but his power grows out of, flows from and rests upon the masses. Therefore, the most important single discovery, as well as constructive and basis contribution that can be made to the solution of the perplexing economic, political and social questions that beset the Negro today, is that his mass power will exact for him consideration, respect and definite concessions when every other weapon within his possession fail.

But Negroes have never used their mass power on any gigantic

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and national scale according to a disciplined and systematic program before. The mass action of Negroes in the past have been unorganized, undisciplined and practically wholly without direction, but even this form of mass expression has not been without its value.

Now, today, Negroes face the most crucial and difficult period they have ever encountered in their history. Every important group within the Nation has awakened to the importance of action now to achieve their rights. Labor is in motion. Minority groups are active. Different minorities are pressing their cases. We cannot remain silent. If we do, we are through for at least another generation so far as winning the full stature of American citizenship is concerned.

Therefore, as the Director of the National Committee for the March On Washington, I appeal to the conscience, spirit and heart of Negro America, including men, women, youth, workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, social service workers, office workers, railroad toilers, farmers, housewives; Negroes from every village, town and hamlet; Negroes who are employed and unemployed; those in school, church, fraternal lodge, fraternity and sorority throughout the length and breadth of America to rally behind the march on Washington.

More than any other single demonstration, this march on Washington is certain to make white America know that black America is here and has made up its mind that they shall leave no stone unturned in attempting to make democracy and liberty in our country real and true.

While only a few more weeks remain before the big march, there is ample time for new committees to be formed for the mobilization of marchers, since this is a movement that must move swiftly in the execution of our program for jobs and justice.

Negro March-on-Washington Committee  
2289 Seventh Avenue  
New York City - Edgcombe 4-4340

IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
June 5th, 1941



FIRST LADY ADVISES RANDOLPH AGAINST MARCH ON WASHINGTON

In order that the Negro people may be kept fully informed of all developments in the movement to mobilize 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington for jobs in national defense and participation and integration in the armed forces of the Nation, it is the policy of the National Director of the march, A. Philip Randolph, to submit, for the information of Negro America, statements from important and powerful individuals in the government, business and labor from time to time.

To this end, I am submitting the following letter which was received from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 10th, which expresses an important point of view from not only an influential person in American affairs, but a strong and definite friend of the Negro, states the National Director of the march, A. Philip Randolph:

"The White House  
Washington

June 10, 1941

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have talked over your letter with the President and I feel very strongly that your group is making a very grave mistake at the present time to allow this march to take place. I am afraid it will set back the progress which is being made, in the Army at least, towards better opportunities and less segregation.

I feel that if any incident occurs as a result of this, it may engender so much bitterness that it will create in Congress even more solid opposition from certain groups than we have had in the past.

I know that crusades are valuable and necessary sometimes, but undertaken when the temper is as tense as it is at present, it seems to me unfortunate, and to run the risk which a meeting such as this carries with it, is unwise. You know that I am deeply concerned about the rights of Negro people, but I think one must face situations as they are and not as one wishes them to be. I think this is a very serious decision for you to take.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Eleanor Roosevelt"

There is no question that can arise in the minds of the Negroes about the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt is a real and genuine friend of the race. This is attested to by both her statements and actions from time to time, continued Mr. Randolph.

This letter was followed by a conference with Mrs.

Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia on Friday morning at 10:00 am in City Hall with Walter White and A. Philip Randolph. Both the First Lady

and the Mayor expressed the view contained in the above letter.

While appreciation was expressed for the fine spirit of both Mrs. Roosevelt and the Mayor toward the Negro people, a definite exception and difference of opinion were registered by both A. Philip Randolph and Walter White of the N A A C P, insisting that the march-

Roosevelt  
March on Washington

Eleanor  
Opposes

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on-Washington movement was an expression of the dissatisfaction of Negroes with the policy of discrimination in departments of the federal government and in national defense industries against Negroes and that it was certain to have a favorable and beneficial effect upon the American people, both black and white, since it would show that Negroes themselves have awakened to a definite sense of their mass power, which is already beginning to win respect and consideration from white America and official Washington.

The march on Washington will be the greatest demonstration of Negro mass power for the economic liberation of the Negro ever conceived and represents a technique and method of action that is the hope and salvation of the Negro people, ended Randolph.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Negro March-on-Washington Committee  
2289 Seventh Avenue  
New York City  
Edgcombe 4-4340  
June 13th, 1941

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Negro March-on-Washington Committee  
2289 Seventh Avenue  
Edgecombe 4-4340

## - THE NEGRO MARCH ON WASHINGTON -

By A. Philip Randolph

The march of 100,000 Negroes on Washington for jobs in national defense which was scheduled for July 1st is off. The march is unnecessary at this time. This decision was reached by the National Committee for the mobilization of Negroes to march on Washington. The members of this Committee are Walter White, Rev. William Lloyd Imes, Lester B. Granger, Frank R. Crosswaith, Layle Lane, Richard Parrish, Dr. Rayford Logan, J. Finley Wilson, Rev. Adam C. Powell, Jr., Noah A. Walters and E. E. Williams. These persons are not wild-eyed crack pots. They are not Communists. They have no sympathy with Communists, Communism, its program or policies. They are upright, plain, responsible Negro citizens, who love their country and the Negro race.

The reason for this decision is the issuance of an executive order by President Roosevelt banning discriminations in defense industries on account of race, creed, color or national origin, the attainment of which was the main and vital aim of the march-on-Washington movement. This is the first executive order which has been issued by a President of the United States in behalf of Negroes since the immortal Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863.

Some of my listeners may be asking the question - Why the proposed march of 100,000 Negroes on Washington? The answer to this question is that Negroes were being turned down whenever they applied for jobs, regardless of qualifications, in defense industries all over the country. Conferences have been held with various representatives of the Government, but to no avail. Meanwhile, a wave of bitter resentment, disillusionment and desperation was sweeping over the Negro masses throughout the country. It was apparent that in order to avoid blind, reckless and undisciplined outbursts of emotional indignation against discriminations upon defense jobs, that some unusual, bold and gigantic effort must be made to awaken the American people and the President of the Nation to the realization that the Negroes were the victims of sharp and unbearable oppression, and that the fires of resentment were flaming higher and higher. In order that this threatening condition might be met with resolute, sober, sane and constructive action, a few Negro leaders came together at the call of the speaker and set up a national committee to mobilize 100,000 Negroes to march on Washington. The proposal met

Copied from originals in The Bancroft Library for reference use only. Copies may not be deposited in other libraries or institutions without express permission. Please return all copies of the Negro masses to this plan to march on Washington for jobs was due to a sense of frustration, futility and defeatism which had come over them as they watched their own communities assume the character of dead economic areas because of the lack of jobs and purchasing power, while in the white communities, the economic

6/30/41  
March  
Call  
OR

DP  
Box 23



life of the people was throbbing, expanding and moving with promise and hope.

It was natural and inevitable that such a violent and disturbing contrast between the Negro and white communities was due to one thing, namely that the white section of the population was enjoying participation and integration in national defense employment opportunities, whereas the Negro section of the population was being denied employment opportunities, and yet, both black and white peoples of America are equally taxed for the development and maintenance of our great defense program.

But when this grave situation was brought to the attention of the President, he definitely expressed his deep concern about it and his desire to see discriminations on account of race, color, creed and national origin abolished. He therefore issued a statement to the country and to the Office of Production Management, calling for the recognition of the right of workers to employment in national defense industries without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. The Negro March-on-Washington Committee viewed this statement with admiration. He considered it commendable, but not enough. He therefore called upon the President to issue an executive order that had teeth in it which would give the Negro people some concrete assurance that they would no longer be given the run-around when they sought jobs in the great defense industries of the Nation.

In a statesmanlike and forthright manner, the President issued the following executive order:

"REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY.

WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

✓ WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

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1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 25, 1941.

I know that this order is certain to stir the hopes and aspirations of Negroes throughout the Nation, who only seek opportunities to work according to their qualifications. Tersely put, Negroes seek opportunity and not alms. It is the hope of the Negro March-on-Washington Committee that this executive order will represent thousands of jobs and hundreds of millions of dollars in increased wages in Negro communities, which will reflect themselves in higher standards of living, more education and recreation for the children, a greater security and assurance of more abundant life.

While the Negro March-on-Washington Committee wishes in this connection publicly to express its appreciation and gratitude to the President for his statesmanlike action in realistically facing this grave question of discrimination in defense jobs arising out of race, color, creed and national origin, and for his promulgation of this executive order, it cannot too strongly emphasize and stress the fact that this act of the President does not meet the vital and serious issue of discrimination against persons on a basis of race, color, creed and national origin in various departments of the federal government itself. It is the firm and reasoned judgment of the Negro March-on-Washington Committee that the inexcusable practice of discrimination against persons because of race, color, creed and national origin, by the government itself serves as a cue to and pattern for private employers to commit un-American and un-democratic offenses of discrimination also.

The President has declared in this executive order that it is the policy of

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the government not to countenance discrimination on account of race, color, creed or national origin in government service. Therefore the Negro March-on-Washington Committee wishes to express the hope that the President may find it possible, in the interest of National Unity and National Defense, at an early date, to issue a second executive order, complementing and supplementing this one, that will strike down for all times discrimination due to race, color, creed or national origin in all departments of the federal government, and which will give reality and force to our profession concerning democracy and to the great and all-out struggle our country is making to crush and destroy all subversive forces seeking to wreck our democratic way of life.

The Negro March-on-Washington Committee feels that it has done the Nation a great service in waging this fight for the abolition of discriminations in national defense industries based upon race, color, creed and national origin and the elimination of discriminations in departments of the federal government, since it will help to cleanse the soul of America of the poisons of hatreds, antagonisms and hostilities of race, religion, color and nationality and strengthen our country's foundation for national unity and national defense and give it the moral and spiritual force to achieve the preservation of our democratic faiths, traditions, ideals, values and heritages, the battle for which is being so nobly led by the President of the United States.

I, therefore, wish to announce and advise the Negro March-on-Washington Committees throughout the country that the march on Washington July 1st is unnecessary and will not take place.

I wish also to advise and urge that the Committees remain intact and watch and check the industries in their communities to determine the extent to which they are observing the executive order of the President.

(Nationwide radio address given by A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the Negro March-on-Washington Committee on Saturday evening, June 28th, at 7:15 and 10:30 pm on radio stations WOR and WJZ.)

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**REGISTER NOW!**

**To March on Washington**

**TUESDAY  
JULY 1st**

**For Action Now**

---

**Negro March on  
Washington Committee**

**2289 SEVENTH AVENUE**

**New York Committee**

I will participate in the March to Washington so as to cause the President of the United States to abolish discrimination in defense industry and armed services.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

TEL. ....

---

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**CALL TO  
NEGRO  
AMERICA**

**NEGRO MARCH ON WASHINGTON**

**FOR**

**J O B S**

**IN NATIONAL DEFENSE**

•  
**TUESDAY, JULY 1st, 1941**

---

**Negro March on Washington Committee for actual  
participation in National Defense.**

**New York Office  
2289 - 7th AVENUE**

**Brooklyn Office  
1660 FULTON STREET**

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## NEGRO AMERICA !

**There's A Job For You Now . . .**

We're tired of a lot of talk with no action to  
back it up, this is what we're going  
to do about it!

**JOIN IN THE  
March On Washington For  
Jobs and Equal Participation  
In National Defense  
J U L Y 1 s t**

This means your security . . . your right to  
earn a decent living.  
This is a crisis for the whole of Negro America  
with thousands of others you will march  
through the streets of the nation's capitol.  
You will take part in the huge mass meeting  
at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial.  
Yours will be a part of the voice of Negro  
America lifted in resounding protest against  
unfair discrimination against one-tenth of  
the nation's population. That's us!

●  
**No One Will Do It For Us  
We Have To Help Ourselves!**

---

---

## WE WILL MARCH . . .

On July 1, Black Americans coming from  
all parts of the country - will march from the  
Nation's Capitol down Constitution Avenue,  
past the White House and the War Depart-  
ment to the Lincoln Memorial where President  
Roosevelt has been asked to answer the might-  
est protest ever made by a loyal minority

The march will be a silent, dignified, de-  
termined challenge to the democracy for  
which we have fought through the centuries.  
All Negroes will march! Laborers, Dom-  
estics, Mechanics, Professionals will join to-  
gether that America and the world may know  
and heed a solemn and determined . . .

**FIGHT FOR  
REAL DEMOCRACY!**

●  
**JOIN NEGRO MARCH  
FOR  
JOBS and JUSTICE**

---

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# March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING  
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-3350

440

July 28, 1943

Mr. C. L. Dellums, Member  
National Executive Committee  
March On Washington Movement  
1716 Seventh Avenue  
Oakland, California

My dear Mr. Dellums:

Greetings. The National office is settling down to the dreary task of getting national projects into immediate operation. All ready New York City has organized its Membership and Finance Campaign, aiming to raise around \$7000 to provide for its local office and raise an adequate quota for the national. The basic job rests with the Committees.

It is our hope that these Committees can become increasingly more powerful as time goes on and that they may engender a force that will penetrate the entire Movement.

A letter has gone out to all local Units calling their attention to the immediate necessity of membership and finance, and forms similar to those attached have been sent to each. We trust that units will elect their officers as quickly as possible and forward their names to the National Office.

Membership cards have been gotten out conforming to the constitutional agreement and other printed material is being gotten out as rapidly as possible.

The windows of the National Office are very attractively decorated with copies of the full page ad containing the Manifesto and copies of letters for and against that have been received. concerning the same. We are still anxious to carry this ad in other papers. We trust that you will cooperate wherever you are in winning support for the ad and getting people to contribute from \$5 up. This office is anxious to cooperate with you. We trust that you will let us know how we may further cooperate.

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Very sincerely yours,

*E. Pauline Myers*

E. Pauline Myers  
Executive Secretary

hmc



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

E. PAULINE MYERS  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

B. F. MCLAURIN  
NATIONAL SECRETARY

# March On Washington Movement

*"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"*

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING  
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-3350



July 29, 1943

Mr. C. L. Dellums; Member  
National Executive Committee  
March On Washington Movement  
1716 Seventh Street  
Oakland, California

My dear Mr. Dellums:

I want to formerly acknowledge the receipt  
of your contribution to the We Are Americans, Too,  
Conference of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT.  
Twenty-five dollars of it was used for a Greeting in  
our Souvenir Journal and the rest was used to meet  
the national conference expenses.

The conference in general was a success.

Very sincerely yours,

E. Pauline Myers  
Executive Secretary

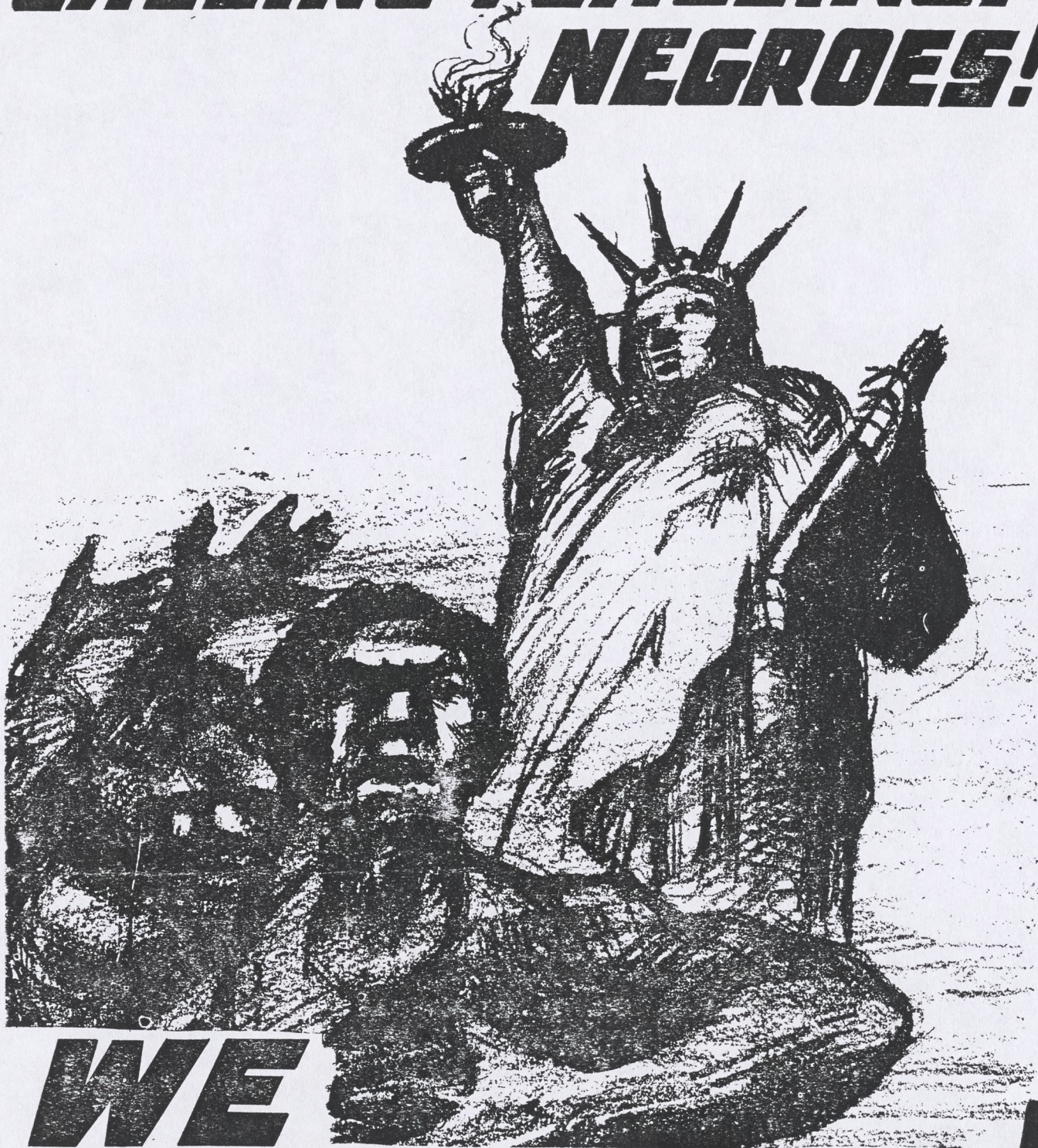
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6/11/83  
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# **CALLING! CALLING! NEGROES!**



# **WE ARE AMERICANS TOO! CONFERENCE**

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# CALL TO WE ARE AMERICANS TOO - - CONFERENCE

Upwards of 14 million Negro Americans disturbed by the turn democracy has taken in this country and in the world, anxious lest the Bill of Rights, the Four Freedoms, yea, lest the Constitution of the United States be destroyed by fascist forces from within, heed this Call for a national, all-out "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO CONFERENCE.

For sixty-eight years the Negro has struggled for his full share of this democracy. He has made use of every parliamentary device to make known his grievances and demand redress. He has asked for full-fledged citizenship with all the rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereto. Alas, he has enjoyed second class citizenship with a Black Cabinet between him and his Government. For economic equality he has been given charity grants; for political equality he has been given jim-crow and lynching; for religious equality he has been given good will and a white God. Now, we are engaged in a great world revolution testing whether this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated to double standards of citizenship and justice can long endure. The pulse beat of the nation is being quickened by this volcano that disturbs men's souls. The very universe is troubled and discomforted. People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. In North Africa, India, China, Australia, on Guadalcanal, on the Solomon Islands and in London and Stalingrad, men—white, black, yellow and brown, sweat and bleed and die that democracy might live.

From the throated millions of Negroes everywhere comes the cry: "WHAT SHALL WE DO?"

The need for mass organization is now. Negro Americans must awake to the cause of their nation's freedom. Black men who have so long seen and cherished democracy from afar must arise and take this sacred goddess for themselves. Democracy must be saved for America and hence for the world. We must join the swelling ranks of all people who are on the march toward a free world. We must be the standard bearers of this new community of the spirit that has as its motto the matchless slogan, "With malice toward none and justice toward all."

To this cause the March On Washington Movement calls upon Negro Americans from labor, church, fraternal, school, civic, and social clubs and various other organizations to convene in Chicago from June 30th through July 4th, 1943 for "WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO WEEK."

Here we will ponder and discuss whether Negroes should march on Washington and if so, when.

Here we will discuss the perplexing problems confronting us such as discrimination in the air corp, jobs in national defense, and what will happen to the Negro in the Post-War World.

Here we will demand the abolition of the **WAR'S GREATEST SCANDAL — JIM CROW IN UNIFORM.**

Here we will register our protest to our government and to the world against the injustices designed to inferiorate, degrade and exploit us.

Here we will talk about the welfare of our sons and daughters and civil rights for Negroes.

Here we will dedicate our lives to the cause of American freedom, the freedom of colored people everywhere and the freedom of the world.

Here we will proclaim our dedication to the cause of a Free Africa and the freedom of the West Indies.

Here we will map out a broad national program in the interest of abolishing jim crowism in America. Here we will ponder and discuss non-violent techniques for mass action that may some day point the way toward a foundation of peace for a new world.

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Here we will proclaim anew and re-affirm the determination of the colored people to struggle for the victory of the United Nations over the Axis Powers and for democracy.

Here we will seek a solution to the problem of race which will avoid and prevent riots, violence and bloodshed.

Negro Americans, heed the Call!! Your destiny is at hand. Armaments alone cannot bring this freedom—this brotherhood of man.

Black America, your country calls you to defend its honor, Arise! and save America for all free men and for God.

## ON TO CHICAGO!!!

### Signatories:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
National Director  
March On Washington Movement

J. E. SMITH, Secretary  
Pine Street Branch YMCA  
St. Louis, Mo.

HORACE SHEFFIELD  
International Representative  
United Auto Workers, C.I.O.  
Detroit, Mich.

F. E. DEFRANTZ, Secretary  
Senate Avenue Branch YMCA  
Indianapolis, Indiana

JOHN A. GREGG, Bishop  
Fourth Episcopal District  
AME Churches

JOHN HOLLY, President  
Future Outlook League  
Cleveland, Ohio

RAYFORD LOGAN  
General President  
Alpha Phi Alpha

M. C. CLARKE, President  
Dunbar Mutual Insurance Co.

FRANK CROSSWAITH, Chairman  
Negro Labor Committee  
New York City

CARL MURPHY  
President  
Afro-American

WILLIAM STUART NELSON, Dean  
School of Religion  
Howard University

THE VANGUARD LEAGUE  
222 North 20th St.  
Columbus, Ohio

THOMAS A. WEBSTER, Chairman  
Negro National Defense Committee  
Greater Kansas City

REV. HORACE WHITE, Chairman  
Detroit Local  
March On Washington Movement

C. A. FRANKLIN, Editor  
Kansas City Call  
Kansas City, Kansas

REV. D. V. JAMISON, President  
National Baptist Convention of  
United States of America

CHARLES H. WESLEY, President  
Wilberforce University

J. FINLEY WILSON  
Grand Exalted Ruler  
Improved Benevolent Order  
Elks of the World

Registration: \$1.50 for delegates representing March On Washington Movement Units. This covers admission to the business sessions Thursday, Friday and Saturday mornings and afternoons and to all the evening meetings.

Without Registrations: Admission to single panels Wednesday and Thursday afternoons and evenings and Friday afternoons 25c. Admission to the Town Hall Meeting Friday evening 50c.

Inter-racial Fellowship Dinner Reservations: Saturday evening \$3.00 per person.

Delegates are requested to file application for registration by June 16th. Address all communications after June 1st to: E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary, Chicago Headquarters, March On Washington Movement, 4304 South Parkway, Illinois.



# SPECIAL EVENTS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1943 — 8 P.M.

## OPEN MEETING

Theme: Why Negroes Assemble at Chicago

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1943

PANEL—1:30 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Theme: The Outlook and Future of the FEPC

SYMPOSIUM: 8 P.M.

Theme: Mapping a Broad National Program In The Interest of Abolishing Jim Crow

FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1943

PANEL—1:30 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Theme: The Clash of Color and Post War Reconstruction

TOWN MEETING TONIGHT—8 P.M.

Theme: Fighting the War's Greatest Scandal—Jim Crow In Uniform!

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1943 — 6 P.M.

INTER-RACIAL FELLOWSHIP AND TESTIMONIAL BANQUET TO A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1943 — INDEPENDENCE DAY

8:00 A.M.—Inter-Faith — Inter-Denominational — Inter-Racial Prayer Service Soldiers' Memorial

2:00 P.M.—National March For Freedom to MONSTER MASS MEETING

Theme: Defeat Hitler, Hirohito, Mussolini by enforcing the Constitution and abolishing Jim Crow.

## MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Director  
A. Philip Randolph

Executive Secy.  
E. Pauline Myers

Secretary  
B. F. McLaurin

Treasurer  
Aldrich Turner

Eastern Regional Director  
Dr. Lawrence Ervin

Mid-Western Regional Director  
Dr. Charles Wesley Burton

Legal Counsel  
Harold A. Stevens

Chairman National Advisory Committee on  
Mass Action and Strategy  
Dean William Stuart Nelson

Public Relations  
Neil Scott

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

J. A. Burns, Meridian, Miss.

C. L. Dellums, Oakland, Cal.

Thurman T. Dodson, Washington

Mrs. Senora Lawson, Richmond, Va.

Miss Layle Lane, New York City

T. D. McNeal, St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. M. C. Strachen, Tampa, Fla.

National Headquarters  
HOTEL THERESA BUILDING  
2084 Seventh Avenue  
New York City



# March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING  
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-3350

440

April 27, 1943

Mr. C. L. Dellums  
1716 Seventh Street  
Oakland, California

My dear C.L.:

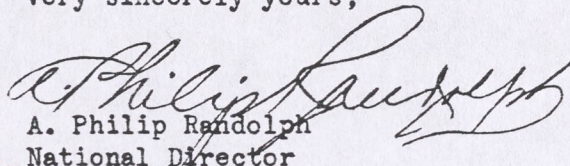
The time for the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference of the March On Washington Movement draws near and it becomes necessary therefore that those of us who have consented to serve as the Advisory Administrative Committee for the board assemble to discuss the plans for the conference and to map out a program for financing the same.

We are calling you to meet at our Chicago Headquarters 4304 South Parkway, Saturday, May 15th, 1943 not later than 10 AM for an all day conference directed toward these ends. I trust that you will find it possible to meet with us at this time.

As you know, the March On Washington Movement is without funds and those of you who have chosen to build it must come to aid us with your thinking and your experience in money raising.

May I thank you for the very kind interest you have shown in this direction. Please notify our national office if you plan to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

  
A. Philip Randolph  
National Director

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National Headquarters  
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT  
2084 Seventh Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

September 7, 1943

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Dear Friend:

Greetings. The MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT is faced with three pressing problems that demand our immediate interest and attention.

The first of these is the case of Winfred Lynn, which is to be argued before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, either the last week in September or the first week in October. Our Movement has assumed the responsibility for helping to provide legal counsel in the case and to set up a National Committee that will carry on propaganda and education concerning the fitness of this fight, as well as to secure recruits who will volunteer to serve in mixed outfits.

The second of these problems relates to the first and that is to provide a united front to secure a National Proclamation from the President abolishing segregation in the armed forces. This measure is not without precedence in as much as Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure while the Civil War was in progress. It is necessary and essential that we make a forthright demand upon President Roosevelt to act now. The morale of Negroes in the war effort is at its lowest ebb and it is necessary and essential that the President act now to safeguard democracy and to protect the interest of Negroes.

To obtain such a Proclamation it may become necessary to "march on Washington". It is already fitting to stage local marches on city halls to show why it is necessary to obtain such a Proclamation.

The third of these problems that the National Executive Committee must meet is the quota that each unit will be responsible to raise to carry on this gigantic campaign which we have launched and to provide for the maintenance of the National Headquarters and staff.

Since some of the members of the National Committee will be in Washington September 12, 13, 14th to attend the meetings called by the Provisional Committee to Organize Colored Locomotive Firemen and also the special conference called by the Citizens Committee to Safeguard FEPC and which plans to set up a Citizens Lobby with a paid Executive Secretary, it is in order that we call you to meet on September 13th, and 14th to consider these vital problems. Also, please notify Miss Myers, immediately if you can attend.

Very sincerely yours,

*A. Philip Randolph*  
A. Philip Randolph  
National Director

APR:hmc

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A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

E. PAULINE MYERS  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

B. F. MCLAURIN  
NATIONAL SECRETARY

ALDRICH TURNER  
NATIONAL TREASURER

# March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

**North Atlantic**  
THURMAN L. DODSON  
LAYLE LANE  
JESSE TAYLOR

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING  
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

**South Atlantic**  
SAMUEL HARPER  
SENORA B. LAWSON  
A. L. THOMAS

MONUMENT-2-3350



November 11, 1943

**Southern**  
DAVID M. GRANT  
DAVIE DELLA PHILLIPS  
E. VINCENT SUITT

**Midwestern**  
THEODORE E. BROWN  
CHARLES W. BURTON  
BENNIE SMITH

Mr. C. L. Dellums  
1716 Seventh Street  
Oakland, Cal

**Pacific**  
ARMENA DAVIS  
C. L. DELLUMS  
WENDELL T. LIGGINS

My dear Mr. Dellums:

**Members-at-Large**  
JAMES E. BURNS  
LAWRENCE M. ERVIN  
LEYTON WESTON

A short time ago you received a letter from Mr. Randolph advising you of the action taken by the National Executive Committee in Washington for securing a loan to underwrite the Movement for a six months period. It was hoped that each of the twenty-two members of the Committee would have responded by November 1st. To date we have received payment of three pledges only. In order that you may see the picture more clearly and realize the dire situation of the National office, I am enclosing an itemized statement of our financial status. Please study it carefully and mail your check to this office as quickly as possible. I would also appreciate any suggestions you may wish to offer for putting the Movement on a sound financial basis.

Fraternally yours,

*Aldrich Turner*

Aldrich Turner  
National Treasurer

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Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces!  
Win the Wynfred Lynn Case Before the Supreme Court!  
Make Fair Employment Practices Committee a Permanent Agency



# FINANCIAL REPORT

of

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT - NATIONAL OFFICE - NOVEMBER 11, 1943

A. Turner, National Treasurer

Amount on Hand: Bank statement of October 30, 1943 ----- \$ 86.85

## Accounts unpaid:

1. Office equipment secured for setting up  
of National office - July 1, 1942: Balance --- \$ 693.93

2. Conference of "We Are Americans Too"  
held July 7, 1943:  
Add carried in Washington Star, paid  
by Miss Lane ----- 371.00  
  
Printing of all Conference material:  
I. Rosenberg, Inc. ----- 455.95

3. Cost of setting up of new books and  
service of accountants for year beginning  
August, 1942:  
Lucas and Tucker, Inc. ----- 200.00

4. Unpaid bills as of November 1, 1943:  
I. Rosenberg - Stationery, Printing ----- 225.20  
Rent ----- 85.00  
Telephone ----- 25.07  
Window Signs ----- 35.00

Total Amount Due 209 1.15

## 5. Current Monthly Expenses beginning November 1, 1943

Salaries: Executive Secretary ----- 200.00  
Office Secretary ----- 25.00  
Rent ----- 85.00  
Telephone ----- 25.00  
Postage ----- 20.00

Total Monthly Expenses 435.00

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MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

October 26, 1943

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman --- A. Philip Randolph - 217 W. 125th Street, N Y C

Secretary -- B. F. McLaurin - 217 W. 125th Street, N Y C

Treasurer -- A. Turner - 2084 Seventh Ave., N Y C

Executive Secretary - E. Pauline Myers - 2084 Seventh Ave., N Y C

(By Regions)

North Atlantic

Thurman L. Dodson, 615 F Street, N W, Washington, D C

Layle Lane, 226 W. 150th Street, N Y C

Jesse Taylor, 225 Clinton Street, Buffalo, N Y

South Atlantic

Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, 306 St. James Street, Richmond, Va

Samuel Harper, 823 Davis Street, Rm 10, Jacksonville, Fla

A. L. Thomas, 427 McDempsey Avenue, Macon, Georgia

Southern

David M. Grant, 11 No. Jefferson Street, St. Louis, Mo

Mrs. Davis Della Phillips, 2807 Torbett Street, Nashville, Tenn

E. Vincent Suitt, 1805 Vine Street, Kansas City, Mo

Midwestern

Charles Wesley Burton, 4304 So. Parkway, Chicago, Ill

Bennie Smith, 1308 Broadway, Rm 305, Detroit, Mich

Theodore E. Brown, 4231 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill

Pacific

C. L. Dellums, 1716 Seventh Street, Oakland, Cal

Armena Davis, 1208½ E. 20th Street, Los Angeles, Cal

Rev. Wendell T. Liggins, 2511 High Street, Denver, Col

Members - at - Large

Dr. L. M. Ervin, 2509 Seventh Ave., N Y C

Leyton Weston, 11 No. Jefferson Street, St. Louis, Mo

James E. Burns, 2315 Fifth Street, Meridian, Miss



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

E. PAULINE MYERS  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

B. F. McLAURIN  
NATIONAL SECRETARY

ALDRICH TURNER  
NATIONAL TREASURER

# March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

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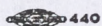
## Members-at-Large

JAMES E. BURNS  
LAWRENCE M. ERVIN  
LEYTON WESTON

## NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

THERESA HOTEL BUILDING  
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT-2-3350



October 8, 1943

My dear Mr. Dellums:

The National Executive Committee at its Call Meeting in Washington, last week, went on record as favoring the securing of a loan to underwrite the Movement for six months, thus enabling local communities to hold Finance Campaigns to raise their respective quotas.

It was agreed that each National Committee member will either lend or give \$100 to the Movement. The loan will extend over a period of six months. Operating expenses for the National office are already beyond \$500 per month and we have an enormous printing bill for the National Conference yet unpaid. New York City has been bearing the brunt of these expenses. It is time that we come to the rescue.

I am sure that you will want to cooperate with us by sending in your share. We trust that some of the money will be in by the first of October.

Please make all checks payable to the National March On Washington Movement.

Very sincerely yours,

*A. Philip Randolph*  
A. Philip Randolph  
National Director

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Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces!  
Win the Wynfred Lynn Case Before the Supreme Court!  
Make Fair Employment Practices Committee a Permanent Agency



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH  
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

E. PAULINE MYERS  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

B. F. MCLAURIN  
NATIONAL SECRETARY

# March On Washington Movement

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING  
2084 SEVENTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

MONUMENT 2-3350



January 5, 1944

Mr. C. L. Dellums  
International Vice-President  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
1716 Seventh Street  
Oakland, California

*\$100  
Combs*

My dear Mr. Dellums:

Your kind letter of December 30th has been received, and we wish to express our appreciation for the check enclosed therein for the sum of \$100.00. We are looking forward with much anticipation to a visit from you to our office sometime in the near future. We trust that things are going well with you and the Brotherhood on the West Coast.

Yours very truly,

Aldrich Turner  
National Treasurer

*Aldrich Turner*

A. T. with

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# WAKE UP, NEGRO AMERICA!

**DO WE WANT WORK?**

**DO WE WANT OUR FULL RIGHTS?**

**DO WE WANT JUSTICE?**

**WHAT IS IT?**

It is a Negro mass movement to get the full benefits of this democracy.

**WHO IS ITS LEADER?**

A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founder of the MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT.

**WHAT HAS THE MOVEMENT DONE?**

Won Presidential Order barring discrimination in war industries and governmental agencies.

Won the appointment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce this Order.

As a result, won a change from the Jim Crow hiring policy of some firms and governmental agencies.

But more important, has built a nation-wide unity of Negroes as never before.

**WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE?**

Demand more enforcing power for the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Demand the opening of the Army, Navy, Marine and Air Corps to Negroes on the basis of equality.

Abolish all economic and political discriminations against the Negro.

**WHAT CAN I DO?**

Join the MOVEMENT and help swell its ranks 13,000,000 strong by paying ten cents membership fee at its offices, 4559 South Parkway, or at a regular Friday night meeting, 8:30 at the Y.W.C.A.

Volunteer for some phase of work such as

Supporting the CHICAGO COLISEUM RALLY of the MOVEMENT to be held June 26th by soliciting contributions, distributing publicity, speaking before groups or doing such work as you think will aid in the cause of the MOVEMENT.

*"Winning Democracy for the Negro Is Winning the War for Democracy"*

Headquarters:

CHICAGO DIVISION "MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT"

Y.W.C.A.

4559 South Parkway

Phone: Atlantic 1434