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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 4, 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Captain J. B. W. Waller
Office of Naval Intelligence

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

For the Chief, Military Intelligence Service:

J. T. Bissell
J. T. Bissell
Colonel, General Staff,
Asst. Executive Officer, M. I. S.

(1) Enclosures:

291.2 6/9-18-26/42 - Negroes - CC S/I dtd 7/2 re March on Washington Movement. JFP

(Copy receipts att'd to be acknowledged)

4-3 850
JUL 7 1942



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Room 2055

JUL 6 1942

ROUTE TO: 16
Op File No. (SC) 48-5
Doc. No. 54920
Copy No. 1 of 2
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MID 291.2, Negroes,
(6/9-18-26/42)

WAR DEPARTMENT
M. I. D.

MIS/CI
JFP

... a Negro Newspaper, reported on April 17, 1942 that Walter J. White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. Philip Randolph of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had set in motion plans for a series of national meetings centering around the problem, the chief of which was planned for Washington about July 2, 1942. The conference was said to be an outgrowth of the idea and called for gigantic meetings for Chicago and New York.

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Room 2155

July 2, 1942
(Date)

JUL 6 1942

ROUTE 10-16

Old File No. (SU) 48-5

Subject: March on Washington Movement

Summary of Information:

Background of Movement

The present March on Washington Movement has as its origin a reportedly anti-Communist group of Negroes who separated themselves from the National Negro Congress, a reported Communist organization, in April, 1940. During the latter part of 1940 this group of Negroes met with A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and decided to plan an organization for an actual march on Washington to be carried out during the Spring of 1941. Original purposes of the organization were as follows:

1. To present in the American way the grievances of the Negro people to the President of the United States and the Congress.
2. Inclusion of the Negro in the eight-point Atlantic Charter.
3. Stop the exploitation of Negro grievances by Communists and other subversive elements.

The earlier March on Washington was abandoned by A. Philip Randolph upon receipt by him of a letter from the President requesting delay of such action. When the March was called off, the Communist elements of the organization were reported to be very angry and tried to oust Randolph and proceed with the March. Later the officers and executive members of the organization were reported to have purged the movement of Communists and Communist sympathizers.

Since then, Negroes have been increasingly vigorous in using war conditions as an excuse for pressing social demands, the campaign being aimed mainly at the Army and Navy.

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Evaluation	
-of source	-of information
<u> X </u> Reliable	<u> X </u>
<u> </u> Credible	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Questionable	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Undetermined	<u> </u>



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The Kansas City, Missouri, Call, a Negro Newspaper, reported on April 17, 1942, that Walter F. White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and A. Philip Randolph of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, had met to discuss plans for a series of nationwide meetings centering around the Negro problem, the chief of which was planned for Washington about July 4. The conference was said to be an outgrowth of the March on Washington idea and called for gigantic meetings for Chicago and New York.

Purposes

The purposes of the March on Washington Movement, as announced in THE AGE, Negro paper in New York City, June 13, 1942, in an article entitled, "Land of the Noble Free", by Layle Lane, is as follows:

"1. We demand in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege; and especially, we demand, in the capital of the nation an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.

"2. We demand legislation to enforce the 5th and 14th amendments guaranteeing that no persons shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.

"3. We demand the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments and enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.

"4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the Army, Marine Corps, Air Corps and all other branches of national defense.

"5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the Fair Employment Practice Committee be made a permanent administration agency of the United States Government by legislative sanction and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.

"6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.

"7. We demand a Negro cabinet member and representation of minority racial groups in the United States on all administrative

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agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.

"8. We demand representation for the Negro and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the postwar settlement.

Officers

The officers of the March on Washington Movement are reported to be as follows:

A. Philip Randolph, National Director
Lawrence M. Ervin, President
Bessye J. Bearden, Vice-Chairman
J. Victor Cools, Vice-Chairman
E. E. Williams, Vice-Chairman
James C. Thomas, Secretary
Princess Wynder, Corresponding Secretary
Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
Perry Ferguson, Secretary of Membership

Executive Committee:

George Cannon	Perry Ferguson	Thelma Haylock
Layle Lane	Louise McDonald	Pearl Morton
Frances Townsend	Rachel Corrothers	Quentin R. Hand
Emma Keith	Blanche Lee	B. F. McLaurin
Channing Tobias	Princess Wynder	

Legal Committee:

Bardlie John	James C. Thomas	Sarah P. Speaks
Harold Stevens	Cornelius McDonald, Jr.	

Labor Committee - New York Division:

B. F. McLaurin, Chairman
Edith Hanson, Secretary
Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
Noah C. A. Walters, Co-Chairman
Charlotte Abelman, Laundry Workers Union CIO
Benjamin Benton, Retail Grocery and Clerks Local 338 CIO
Theodore Burton, Theatre and Amusement Service Local 54 AFL
Dick Campbell, Negro Actors' Guild
Sylvester L. Corrothers, U.T.S.E.A.
Frank R. Crosswaith, Negro Labor Committee
Winifred Gittens, Blouse and Waist Makers Local 25, I.L.G.W.U.
Theodore Jackson, Dining Car Employees Local 370 AFL

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Manning Johnson, Bar and Grill Employees Local 341 CIO
Layle Lane, American Federation of Teachers Local 2 10
Claude Mason, Dining Car Employees Committee
E. P. Nolan, Harlem Transit Employees Committee
Ezra L. Parrott, Local 501 U.T.S.E.A.
Eldica Riley, Dressmakers Local 22 I.L.G.W.U.
Ralph Redmond, Musicians Local 802 AFL
Ashley Totten, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
E. E. Williams, Blasters and Drill Runners Local 29 AFL
Thomas Young, Building Service Employees Local 32 B, AFL

National Committee (Labor)

Walter White	Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes	Layle Lane
Dr. Rayford Logan	A. Philip Randolph	T. Jackson
A. Clayton Powell, Jr.	Lester B. Granger	Richard Parrish
Frank R. Crosswaith	Henry K. Craft	J. Finley Wilson
E. F. McLaurin	E. E. Williams	

Sponsoring Organizations

The following organizations are stated to be supporting the March on Washington Movement:

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Manhattan Central Medical Association
Negro Labor Committee
Friends of Negro Labor
Negro Welfare League of Jamaica, New York
National Urban League
American Virgin Islands Civic Association
Hotel Belmans Beneficial Association
United Sons of Georgia, Incorporated
United Negro League of Queens
St. Vincent Benevolent League
Baptists Ministerial Council

Headquarters

The headquarters of the March on Washington Movement is located in the Hotel Theresa, 2084 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Membership

The New York Division of the March on Washington Movement is reported to have a membership of well over 1,200 persons and attempts are being made to secure additional members. The membership fee is stated to be ten cents. Membership is limited strictly to Negroes. It was reported confidentially that at a recent meeting a small group of white persons attended but were politely advised their presence was

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not desired. Meetings of this organization are stated to be held regularly each Wednesday night at the Y.M.C.A., 135th Street, Harlem. It has been reported that approximately 200 persons attend each meeting. Extent of membership in other cities is as yet undetermined.

Finances

It has been reported that the finances of the Movement come entirely from contributions made by members and affiliated organizations. During the first part of April, 1942, approximately \$1,500 had been collected by the organization and further attempts were being made to raise a total of \$6,000 which was contemplated to have been used for the mass meeting held at Madison Square Garden, June 16, 1942.

A. Philip Randolph expected to collect \$25,000 at the Chicago meeting on June 26. The extent of realized contributions has not been ascertained.

Program

In connection with the March on Washington, Randolph plans a "blackout" whereby every business in the Negro communities should be closed, all churches closed, all homes with their window shades pulled down, and the various social and recreational activities of the communities completely stopped for an all-out descent of Negroes upon white New York, White Chicago, and white Washington.

The following plan of action is announced as a part of the program of the March on Washington Movement as announced in THE AGE, Negro paper in New York City, June 13, 1942, in an article entitled, "Land of the Noble Free", by Layle Lane.

"1. Publicity in Negro press; similar publicity in white press under caption: Wake up, white America!

"2. Post card, and letter campaign to the President, to all Governors and Congressmen to secure their support of the program, committees to wait on each for the same purpose.

"3. Campaign to introduce eight-point program into both white and Negro clubs, churches, fraternal organizations and especially labor unions to secure their endorsement and support.

"4. Intensive drive during summer and fall to get out the Negro vote to make sure that we use our ballot as a weapon in our behalf.

"5. Poll of all Congressional candidates on our eight-point program and publicity on their replies.

"6. Cooperation with other organizations in instituting a suit to cut down the representation in Congress of states which dis-

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franchises voters in accordance with the following section of the 14th amendment, "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, for Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof is denied to any male inhabitant or in any way abridged... the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of male citizens bear to the whole number."

"7. Campaign among Negro workers to acquaint them with the necessity of securing the technical training needed for defense jobs; Where the training is not given to force the withholding of federal funds till training is made available to Negroes; to use collective bargaining, picketing and boycott of firms which continue to discriminate in hiring workers."

Miscellaneous Sympathetic Movements

The Baltimore, Maryland, AFRO-AMERICAN, Negro newspaper, reported on April 25, 1942, a mass meeting in Baltimore, led by Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., and attended by some 1200 persons. It advocated a program, March on Annapolis. Powell is quoted as saying: "We have gotten up enough nerve to march on Annapolis and we don't give a damn what happens. We believe it is better to die fighting for freedom than to live a slave." A Lillie M. Jackson, President of the local National Association for Advancement of Colored People who presided, presented Carl Murphy, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Justice, composed of 150 organizations which were sponsoring the March. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, director of the Committee, made an appeal for money to finance the trip, to pay for necessary busses, trains and cars.

The PITTSBURGH COURIER, Negro paper, June 20, 1942, reported that Jessie L. Vann, Brooklyn Realtor, had issued a call to all borough residents to withdraw deposit money in savings banks for an all-out offensive against the policy of the banks of refusing to loan mortgaged money in Negro sectors. Date for the march of the Brevoort was set for July 15, 1942.

Said Vann: "This movement, I am confident, will show every savings bank in the city of New York that Negroes are tired of undemocratic practices, not only in the Third Reich, but also in the First National... This is a national problem. The community of Brooklyn will have the honor of showing the country how to lick it. If we can do it here, public-spirited real estate men, tax-payers and civic groups can do it throughout the length and breadth of the United States."

The March on Washington Movement has assumed as a special project the release of Odell Waller, Negro share-cropper who has been

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condemned to the electric chair for killing a white landlord. Governor Darden of Virginia refused to commute Waller's sentence and the Workers Defense League appointed a committee to call on President Roosevelt to appoint an investigating committee for the case. The Workers Defense League Committee consisted of the following:

A. Philip Randolph, president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Walter White, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Frank Crosswaith, Chairman of Negro Labor Committee of Harlem and a member of the New York City Housing Authority.

Layle Lane, Vice President of the American Federation of Teachers.

Channing Tobias of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A.

Elmer Carter, Editor of the Negro magazine, "Opportunity".

The National Negro Associations seeking a stay of execution for Odell Waller, has abandoned hope of a last-minute intervention by President Roosevelt and in a statement, the Associations said Waller's death will "stab in the back a group of people who are asked to defend their country, but whom the leaders of their country will not defend."

New York Meeting

The AMSTERDAM NEWS STAR, Negro paper in New York City, June 6, 1942, endorsed the March on Washington Movement, and stated that 50,000 Negroes were expected to attend the New York Meeting on June 16, 1942. The actual attendance was estimated as 17,000. The meeting was held June 16 at the Madison Square Garden, New York City. The following individuals spoke at this meeting: Dr. Lawrence Ervin, Chairman; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Director of Negro Youth Division of the National Youth Administration; Reverend A. Clayton Powell, Jr., member of the New York City Council; Reverend John La Farge, Associate Editor of AMERICA; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Director of Negro Division of the Y.M.C.A.; Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman, Negro Labor Committee; Walter White, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Reverend W. O. Carrington, President, African American Methodist Episcopal Church of Zion Ministers Alliance of New York City; Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League; and Dr. O. Clay Maxwell, Pastor, Mount Olivet Baptist Church; Arthur Reid, organizer, 125th Street Job Campaign.

The crowd included a sprinkling of whites and a few persons in Army uniform. A series of sketches called, "The Watchword is Forward" were presented by a professional Negro cast. The Reverend A. Clayton Powell, Jr., and Frank R. Crosswaith are mentioned as particularly forceful and effective speakers. The Reverend John La Farge, S.J., was the only white speaker. Randolph proposed several resolutions, one being a resolution for a division of mixed troops in the United States Army. Speakers pointed out that there could be no lasting peace

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unless Indians, Ethiopians, Africans, and the Negroes sat in at the peace table. The aforementioned sketches were inflammatory and verged on the seditious, pointing up alleged racial discrimination in the United States Navy and in the operation of the Selective Service Act.

The New York JOURNAL AND AMERICAN, June 18, 1942, reported that Mayor La Guardia had approved the March on Washington Movement at the June 16 rally at Madison Square Garden.

Chicago Meeting

The Chicago mass meeting of the March on Washington Movement, held in the Coliseum, Chicago, was attended by over 10,000 Negroes protesting alleged discrimination by the Government against members of their race serving in the armed forces and in defense industries.

The Chicago DAILY NEWS, June 27, 1942, reporting the meeting of the day before, quoted A. Philip Randolph as saying, "The Negroes are going to march on Washington and not care what happens unless Jim Crowism is stopped." Walter White, another of the speakers, is reported to have said: "The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be made applicable to the brown, yellow, and black people of the Orient to win our aid."

Handbills had been distributed several days before announcing that between 9 and 10 P.M. of June 26, 1942, there would be a blackout in the colored area, with an organization of teen-age Negro boys to enforce the blackout, by force if necessary. Contrary to the expectation of informants, no violence attended the meeting nor was there any wholesale looting in connection with the blackout.

On June 21, 1942, about 50 members of the Youth Squadron of the March on Washington Committee, staged a parade in Chicago. It is believed that the parade was handled by a James Weldon Johnson of the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.

Extent of Communist Influence

The attitude of the Communist Party toward the March on Washington Movement has changed from one of discouragement and opposition to one of collaboration, if not active support. This support has been accepted by leaders of the March on Washington Movement, although Randolph has publicly disclaimed any such connection and has even attacked Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Administrator, as a "red" for consenting to address a mass meeting of the Negro Labor Victory Committee in Harlem, June 28, 1942, which Randolph regarded as part of a Communist-inspired counter movement.

The Communist Party policy at present, however, seems to be its characteristic one of "boring from within" in an attempt to control

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and direct the policy of the March on Washington Movement through a dominant Party faction.

The Chicago DAILY NEWS, June 27, 1942, reported a meeting supplementary to the Coliseum mass meeting held the evening before. The meeting on June 27 was in connection with the Midwest Conference on the Negro and the War, and was held by the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee. This conference was reported by the Chicago HERALD TRIBUNE of June 27, 1942, to have taken place at the Hotel Sherman and to be sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Speakers were: Barnet Hodes, Ira Latimer, Howard Mayer, Herbert Agar, John J. Guteknecht, and Al Foster. The conference prepared four demands to place before the country: Right to equality in the armed forces in assignments and promotions, the right to get and hold war industry jobs, the right to participate in the government through ballot, and the general right to participation in world democracy.

Possible March on Washington

The actual probability of a Negro march on Washington, D.C., remains undetermined.

On June 5, 1942, information was received that there would be such a march on Washington about the 4th of July, to assemble at the Griffith Stadium, Washington, D.C. Major Key, superintendent of the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C., has stated that he has no information concerning plans for the march. A. Philip Randolph has said that Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, has denied permission for the Movement to use the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., for the mass meeting, and that the Committee is negotiating for lease of the Washington Ball Park, and if unable to secure this lease, would hold the rally in Logan Circle, Washington, D.C. That such a march is expected by the local Negroes is indicated by a report of the regular meeting, June 28, 1942, of the Negro organization, Temple of Allah, #4, 1527 - 9th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. At this meeting the coming "March on Washington" was hailed with warm approval. No definite information on the intended march, however, was given out.

There is a report that Randolph and other leaders actually do not contemplate a march on the City of Washington and that the Movement is being used for the personal gain and national recognition of some of the leaders. There is also an opinion of some weight that Randolph is merely creating a situation in hope of a request by the President or someone in the White House to abandon the project and by doing so, to secure political favor. The St. Louis ARGUS, Negro paper, June 12, 1942, claimed that the name, "March on Washington", was being retained because it was known and respected, but that no actual march on the capital city was planned to take place during the war.

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There is a further report of June 19, 1942, that no actual march on Washington is being contemplated, but that the National headquarters of the movement is planning a large meeting to take place in Washington, D.C., at some unspecified date.

On June 22, 1942, before dawn, in Meridian Park, three shots were fired and apparently a gathering of Negroes took place in that vicinity. At the same time, in the general neighborhood, a small crowd of thirty or forty white people assembled. It was reported that members of the police force were disinclined to intervene, and that the white group threatened to go in and clean out the Negro gathering. This is regarded as being indicative of present strained relations existing at present between white and colored elements in the District, and evidence of what may materialize should the threatened Negro March on Washington take place.

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph has the following background: Sponsor, Emergency Peace Campaign, 1936, which was the fore-runner of the American Peace Mobilization; chairman, Labor League for Thomas and Nelson (Socialist); national president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; member, sponsoring committee, 1936, testimonial dinner to Norman Thomas; sponsor, 1937, for mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor (alleged mother of Communism in the United States); president, National Negro Congress, 1937; member, sponsoring committee, Second World Youth Congress; editor of the MESSENGER, allegedly radical Negro magazine; member, Scottsboro Defense Committee; sponsor, National Share Croppers Week, held under the auspices of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 1939.

Thurman L. Dodson

A committee is reported to exist in Washington, headed by a Negro attorney named Dodson, with offices on F Street, possibly a part of the Movement headed by Randolph. Thurman L. Dodson, attorney with offices at 615 F Street, N.W., was a member of the presiding committee, National Negro Congress. He held this position at the same period when A. Philip Randolph was President of the organization. Dodson, in August, 1931, relative to an alleged assault upon two police officers by one Henry Johnson, a Negro, stated that he had advised all members of his race in the Ninth Precinct of the Metropolitan Police Department, to resist all efforts of the police and to resort to weapons.

Previous Military Preparations

At the time of the unmaterialized March on Washington in 1941, the G-2 of the Third Corps Area, in cooperation with the G-2, Second Corps Area, made arrangements to cover such a march completely until

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such time as it should reach the District Line; to secure exact information as to the numbers and exact time of departure of the New York contingent, which was expected to be the largest and most radically-minded of the columns; to establish liaison with all appropriate agencies, maintain a situation map in the Third Corps Area office; receive reports at a minimum of once an hour on the subject; and to cover the main highways into Washington in such manner that before the arrival of any groups of automobiles the names of the owners of the automobiles would be supplied the War Department, together with any available information concerning these owners.

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