

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH

1938 - 1943

100
September 17, 1938

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I am glad to send my greetings to the Ladies' Auxiliaries of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on the occasion of their First National Convention. They have my good wishes for a very successful meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
4231 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
4231 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BENNIE SMITH
2ND INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
2355 EIGHTEENTH STREET
DETROIT, MICHIGAN



AN INTERNATIONAL UNION

AFFILIATED WITH THE A. F. OF L.
217 WEST 125TH STREET
(ROOM 301)
MO 2-5080-1
NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262



September 13, 1938

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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

am
9-17

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

On the 24th of September, the First National Convention of Ladies' Auxiliaries to an international trade union of Negro workers in America, will begin in Chicago, extending through the 27th.

May I advise that our great leader, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, will deliver the principal address at the public meeting of the convention, Sunday, September 25.

Because of your great interest in the cause of the workers and the Negro people in particular, and humanity in general, may I request and urge you to send a message of greetings to our convention. Kindly address message to 4231 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Very sincerely yours

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RP

700
June 10, 1941

A. Philip

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, 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,

1 Negro March-on-Washington Committee

Send letter~~s~~ to Asst. Secy Patterson

The President suggested that I send this over to you in the hopes that everything possible is being done to prevent this march on Washington.

E.R.

Randolph:

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E.R.

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2511-13 MICHIGAN AVENUE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN



TRAIN, CHAIR CAR, COACH PORTERS & ATTENDANTS

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NIGHTS, SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS
UNIVERSITY 4-8262

440

June 5th, 1941

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

E. J. BRADLEY
3RD INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
11 NORTH JEFFERSON STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
c/o World Telegram
New York City

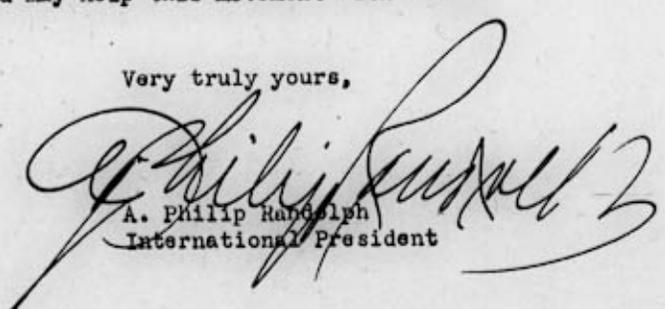
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Negroes are the victims of discrimination in National Defense. Although loyal American citizens, we are denied jobs, not because of the lack of merit, but on account of race and color.

To fight this un-American and un-Democratic practice, Negro leaders have formed a movement to mobilize 100,000 Negroes to March on Washington for jobs and justice in National Defense.

The enclosed "Call" explains our program and purpose. I hope that you may help this movement with a comment in your column.

Very truly yours,


A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/sd
Enc.

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 Douglas 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.

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

EDgcombe 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

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 13, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. ROOSEVELT.

(I have your letter of June 10th about the march of Negroes on Washington. We are doing all we can to try to avoid this march. / I thought you might be interested in knowing what we have been doing in the War Department about using Negroes in the National Defense Program.

It is the determined policy of the War Department to afford Negroes equal opportunities in our defense effort.

We are doing everything we can to prevent discrimination against Negro workers in industry. Under our defense contracts with private industry, however, the contractor is solely responsible for furnishing the necessary labor, and the War Department does not prescribe labor provisions in its contracts other than those provided for by law. We have actively cooperated with and supported Mr. Hillman in his pleas to employers and unions to eliminate discrimination against the Negroes, and have constantly referred our officers and contractors to the Statement of Labor Policy adopted by the Advisory Commission last September which provides against discrimination against workers because of race or color.

We are making every effort to increase the number of Negro employees in the War Department. There are about 600 Negro civilian employees of the War Department in Washington. A large number of these are clerical employees and our main effort is to increase the number of Negro employees in the higher classifications of work.

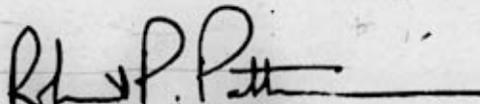
Last week the War Department let a contract to design and build the air base for the Negro Air Squadron at Tuskegee, Alabama to a Negro architect and Negro contractors. The estimated cost of this construction is about \$1,500,000. This is a real recognition of the place of the Negro business and professional men in the national defense program.

On the military side, the Negroes have had even a more important place in our national defense. For the first time in our history, the Secretary of War has a Negro as his civilian aide. Judge William A. Hastie, the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, has constantly advised Mr. Stimson and me on racial questions. By June 30th there will be over 80,000 Negro officers and men in the Army. At present there are 430 Negro officers and 56 Negro nurses. Brigadier General B.O. Davis, who received his promotion last year, is the first Negro general in our history. Negro officers are attending all of the regularly established Service Schools except that of the

Air Corps where a separate school is to be established. The Negro enlisted men are learning everything from the operation of radios at Camp Benning to cooking at the Army Cooking School.

Negro units of all branches of the service have been created. These include the Armored Forces and Air Corps units. The 99th Pursuit Squadron composed of 45 Negro officers and 390 enlisted men is in training at Chanute Field, Rantoul, Illinois, and will be moved to its own air base at Tuskegee, Alabama this fall.

In all the camps in which Negro troops are located, with two very minor exceptions, the Negro units are located in the same camp as the white units.


ROBERT P. PATTERSON,
Under Secretary of War.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
DIRECTOR
EUGENE DAVIDSON
ASST. DIRECTOR

WARREN BROWN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
HENRY K. CRAFT
TREASURER

JUN 24 1941

Negro March-on-Washington Committee

2289 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.
EDGEcombe 4-4341

SPONSORING COMMITTEE

WALTER WHITE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE
REV. WILLIAM LLOYD IMES
ST. JAMES PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
LESTER B. GRANGER
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
FRANK R. CROSSWAITH
CHAIRMAN OF NEGRO LABOR
COMMITTEE
LAYLE LANE
VICE-PRESIDENT AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
RICHARD PARRISH
PRESIDENT ASSOCIATION OF
NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS OF
NEW YORK
DR. RAYFORD LOGAN
CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL & STATE
COMMITTEE FOR PARTICIPATION
OF NEGROES IN NATIONAL
DEFENSE
J. FINLEY WILSON
GRAND EXALTED RULER
I. O. O. F. W.
REV. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.
ABYSSINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH
NOAH A. WALTERS
LAUNDRY WORKERS JOINT BOARD
OF GREATER NEW YORK, C. I. O.
E. E. WILLIAMS
SECRETARY-TREASURER
PLASTERERS AND DRILLERS
UNION, LOCAL 22, A. F. L.

June 23, 1941

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Although you have expressed opposition to the Negro march on Washington for jobs in national defense and integration into the armed forces of the Nation, you have not refused to accept the invitation of the Negro March-On-Washington Committee to speak at the rally at the Lincoln Memorial following the march.

While you have indicated your feeling that the march is not the proper method for Negroes to employ to solve the problems of discriminations in national defense, I know that you are profoundly interested in every effort that Negroes make to improve their status in the national defense program. I want you to know that the Negro people have the utmost faith in your great spirit and purity of heart on their question, and we know that whatever position you take is a result of your convictions that it is for the interest of the Negro people.

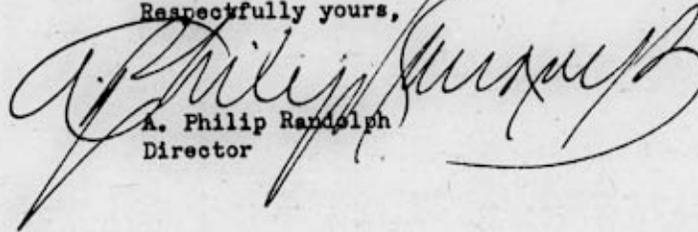
May I say that the President has held a conference on this question of discriminations against Negroes in national defense and we hope that he will take action that will be calculated to remove the disabilities in the form of discriminations in national defense and the federal departments of the government in the form of an executive order which is strong, definite, and clear.

May I renew my invitation and request to you to speak at the rally following the march, July 1st, at the Lincoln Memorial. I assure you that your message on this occasion will bring

great hope and inspiration to the hearts of the Negro people everywhere.

I want to reassure you that the Negro march on Washington is a manifestation of the Negroes' desire to fight and work for the right to work and fight to help the President achieve the preservation of the democratic faiths, values, ideals, traditions, and heritages in America in particular, and the world in general.

Respectfully yours,

A large, flowing handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to read "A. Philip Randolph". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

A. Philip Randolph
Director

apr/mf

Campobello Island, N.B.
June 26, 1941

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Bx
1616

My dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for your wire. I am very glad the march has been postponed and delighted that the President is issuing an executive order on defense industries.

I hope from this first step, we may go on to others.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. W. Phillip Randolph
2289 7th Avenue
NYC

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON D.C. JUNE 24

MRS FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, CAMPOREALE H.D.

I HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS JUST DRAINED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER, WHICH HE HAS INSTRUCTED THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO PUT INTO FINAL FORM FOR HIS SIGNATURE, REPEALING THAT ALL CONTRACTS AWARDED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO DEFENSE INDUSTRIES SHALL CONTAIN A PROVISION STIPULATING THAT THOSE WHO ACCEPT THE CONTRACTS AGREE THAT THEY WILL NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST ANY PERSON ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN AND THE PRESIDENT ALSO DIRECTS IN HIS EXECUTIVE ORDER THAT ~~THE~~ EMPLOYERS AND TRADE UNIONS RECOGNISE THE RIGHT OF WORKERS REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, TO EMPLOYMENT IN NATIONAL DEFENSE INDUSTRIES AND SHALL NOT ACCEPT AS BINDING UPON THEM A CONDITION OF THE CONTRACT, THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO EMPLOYMENT SOLELY UPON THE BASIS OF THEIR QUALIFICATIONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, CREED, color or national origin in all INDUSTRIES IN NATIONAL DEFENSE.

THE PRESIDENT FURTHER DIRECTS IN THIS ORDER THAT A BOARD BE ESTABLISHED FOR THE PURPOSE OF RECEIVING COMPLAINTS FROM WORKERS WHO ARE VICTIMS OF DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND THAT THIS BOARD SHALL BE COMPOSED OF FIVE MEMBERS TO BE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT WITH POWER TO INVESTIGATE COMPLAINTS AND SHALL TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION TO REDRESS AND CORRECT SAID COMPLAINTS OF DISCRIMINATION SUFFERED FROM WORKERS BY EMPLOYERS OR TRADE UNIONS.

ON THE BASIS OF THIS STATEMENT OF ACTION OF THE PRESIDENT WHICH SEEKS TO BRING DOWN DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN IN THE DEFENSE INDUSTRIES, IN THE HANDS OF THE NEGRO MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE, FEEL JUSTIFIED IN EXPRESSING OUR GREAT APPRECIATION AND GRATITUDE TO THE PRESIDENT FOR THIS CONSERVATIVE AND BASIC POLICY ON THE QUESTION OF EMPLOYMENT FOR WORKERS IN NATIONAL DEFENSE, I THEREFORE CONSIDER THAT THE PROPOSED MARCH ON WASHINGTON IS UNNECESSARY AT THIS TIME.

WE FEEL HOWEVER THAT THE QUESTION OF DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS HAS NOT BEEN MET BY THIS EXECUTIVE ORDER, AND IT IS THE HOPE OF THIS COMMITTEE THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE REPEAL AND CORRECT THE SAME WITH AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND WE ARE ENCOURAGED IN THE BELIEF THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL TAKE SUCH ACTION BY THE STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN THIS EXECUTIVE ORDER, THAT IT IS NOT THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO TOLERATE DISCRIMINATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN. WE ALSO FEEL THAT IT IS DESIRABLE THAT SUCH LETTERS BE RECEIVED IN THE WIDEST POSSIBLE RECOGNITION AMONG ALL NEGRO AND WHITE PEOPLE IMMEDIATELY, TO THAT END ~~WE~~ THAT THE RELEASING OF THIS ORDER TO THE PRESS BE ACCOMPANIED BY APPROPRIATE CEREMONY INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT AND THE COMMITTEE. I WISH TO EXPRESS TO YOU OUR SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR YOUR INTEREST AND FINE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND HELP IN SECURING THIS ACTION ON THE PART OF THE PRESIDENT.

A. JACOBSON, NATIONAL DIRECTOR
OF NEGRO MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE.

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH SERVICE

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

DOMINION OF CANADA

The following message was received by the Government, for transmission, subject to the terms and conditions printed on the blank form No. 1, which terms and conditions have been agreed to by the sender.

F. G. SIMS, *General Superintendent.*

September 19, 1942

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R -

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have asked Miss Hilda Smith to come to talk to me about the work which she has been doing and which should continue in the future.

I hope you will be interested to come in for an informal discussion with us at the White House on September 25, at 4 p.m.

Very cordially yours,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

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May 27, 1945

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I was interested to read the pamphlet,
"Jim Crow in Uniform", though I knew much that
was in it, and am always saddened by this
knowledge.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
2084 Seventh Avenue
NYC

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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



May 10, 1943.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I think you will be interested, as a friend of the Negro people, in the enclosed pamphlet.

I shall be most grateful for any comment from you and for any suggestions as to how we may secure a wide distribution for Jim Crow in Uniform.

Very sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph
National Director

APR:HMC

*ac 13
5/27*

*Sp. of ...
H. ...
...
ER*

December 18, 1943

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Dear Mr. Randolph:

I referred your letter to a friend of mine when I received it and I am sorry it has not been answered before.

I was advised not to do anything, as it might do more harm than good.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W 125th St. NYC

⁰
I think I
~~should say to~~
P.S. Pres. Cabot
he advised that
I have asked
a friend to do
what he can.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 4, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR Miss Thompson
FROM Jonathan Daniels *JD*

I am returning the correspondence which we discussed on the telephone this morning.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

MILTON P. WEBSTER
1ST INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT
4231 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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

November 24, 1943

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

November 7, Memphis, Tennessee, a public meeting under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was called off by the Memphis City officials, the story concerning which is carried in the November 20th issue of the Chicago Sun, and an editorial on this outrage is carried in the Chicago Sun of November 21.

I know how busy you are, but I know that you will also speak out against this species of fascism in our Country. Memphis, it appears to me, is the head front of a native variety of fascism. If we can expose this unamerican and undemocratic rule of Boss Crump, it will help democracy at home and abroad. If Boss Crump can get away with this attack upon one of the Four Freedoms in Memphis, it may become epidemic in America. A democratic America must have a democratic Memphis.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:RB

AP:OE
23076

Which governor will be the first to go before Congress and say so?

Civil Liberties in Memphis

Boss Crump of Memphis has gone all out for home-town isolationism. No "blatherskite or demagogue of the North or South," he says, should be permitted to "interfere" with the "friendly relations" between white and Negro races in Memphis.

That is the gist of Boss Crump's answer to criticism for having his henchmen intimidate Memphis Negroes into canceling a recently scheduled mass meeting on Negro problems. The meeting was to have been addressed by A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and member of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Mr. Randolph may be a "blatherskite" to Mr. Crump—but he is a national leader in the ranks of labor and in the cause of Negro betterment. Doubtless his opposition to the poll tax infuriates Boss Crump, who owes his power in large degree to that indefensible instrument for thwarting and corrupting democracy. Doubtless most things that Mr. Randolph stands for infuriate the czar of Memphis. But for all his zeal in stifling civil liberties in the Randolph case Mr. Crump will lose in the end. Memphis will not permit him to isolate it permanently from the American way of democracy and free speech.

Why Not a 'Question Time'?

The success of Secretary Hull's personal report to Congress on the Moscow conference has centered attention upon a proposal now before the House for regular question periods, at which cabinet members and heads of independent agencies might be interrogated. The framers of the Constitution evidently had in mind such a relationship between the two branches; and it is, of course, a long-standing feature of parliamentary systems in which the cabinet and executive are directly responsible to the legislature.

Representative Kefauver of Tennessee proposes to change the rules of the House so that executive officers may be invited (com-

kick him off the team.

Frank Smothers:

HUMAN GIBRALTAR?

Harold J. Laski suggested in *The Sun* two days ago that the longer Mr. Churchill remains premier, the less promising he looks as prime minister for the peace. This is a subject upon which, according to one school of thought, Americans should express no opinion. I can't concur. For one thing, I have too much regard for England to be disinterested. For another, Britain will be a profound factor in shaping the world in which every American must live. Mr. Laski and other Britons have reason to criticize our government if they see the peace threatened by it. We have equal right to speak an honest mind on Mr. Churchill, and this is mine:

One of the greatest of human barriers to a truly progressive peace is the ability and resolution of Winston Churchill. A progressive peace can be established, even if he remains prime minister for some years after the war. But if so it will be won in contravention of Mr. Churchill's political philosophy.

Defense of Privilege.

Like most Americans, I admire Mr. Churchill. More than that, I consider it likely that we would be under the domination of a Nazi world victory today had Mr. Churchill in 1940 not epitomized the fighting spirit of Britain, and rallied that spirit, as probably no other could have done. Because he did so he will be a titan in the human story as long as historians can write the truth. Yet Mr. Churchill fights for no "brave new world." He fights in order to hold on.

There is much that Britain has, and Mr. Churchill loves, which ought to be held, at any cost: freedom of speech, the House of Commons, the British sense of decency and responsibility, the very soil of Shakespeare's "dear, dear land." The British Commonwealth is a boon to us all. But the British government's game in India is another matter. So is Mr. Churchill's influence in the Balkans. So is the grip of an oligarchy upon the economy of Britain. Mr. Churchill has yet to show promise of guiding constructively on such issues. His policy is defense of privilege and imperialism.

This would not be so disturbing were he not so resourceful and unyielding. That rugged chin of his, and voice of finality, are fundamental reasons why Washington and America do not speak up about India. Even the famine in Bengal, and the official neglect which let it become so appalling a tragedy, seems to have been until recently all but a barred subject in polite talk. It is an open secret that William Phillips, the President's emissary, returned from India deeply disturbed by the Indian political crisis and Britain's failure to cope with it



Mr. Churchill.

and for the kids over the world. S defense job, but I replaced. I'm far fr I happen to know r get along without n So lay off. Quit us. If we're needed out all this argumen JUST ANOTI Manitowoc, Wis.

'Taken for a Ride

To the Editor: fighters in this ar have proved that spunk and guts in dertaken and can l with the world's bc is the fighting spirit ican civilian public front where real f be done to protect their family interes

Recently the Ch Lines imposed an t the general public services rendered. protest? They cert

The "L" propos fare, which they squeezed from the there be any pro think so. Our gallar may issue a very probably accompani ing wink, and the will go into effect. public will be thr improved service a will enjoy being ta What fools these me Chicago. R. B.

Psychological Wo

To the Editor: OU to Frank Smothers ful, timely plea for now, to the Germa proved clearly that warfare saves thou and vastly speeds long been a tried an on in every Russia

We can add consi ler's morale worri step up the tempo ably "German" voi ed matter, to hit b clear across the F our hundreds of the prisoners there m anti-Hitler element be provided with s nues of expressing behalf of the relibe of tomorrow. Thei to those of the ga and of the many t liberal German-A ternal, musical,

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November 24, 1943

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I regret that I can not serve on the National Committee of the National Council for a Permanent F.E.P.C., as from now on I am afraid my name would open the way to criticism and brand you as a political organization.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Room 301
217 W 125, NYC

I will be glad to serve as a member of the
National Committee of the National Council for
a Permanent F.E.P.C.

Name.....

Identification.....

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



National Council for a Permanent F.E.P.C.
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York 27, New York

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT F.E.P.C.

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Telephone: MOument 2-5082

Secretary: ALICE STARK

November 18, 1943

NOV 22 1943

*Request out from Mrs. Roosevelt
at 11:24*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

On November 5th, 1943, President Roosevelt again emphasized the fact that the clause in Executive Order 8802 forbidding discrimination in industry was mandatory and was so to be considered. This was the President's answer to the interpretation of Comptroller General Warren that the anti-discrimination clause was merely advisory.

Before the President issued the affirmation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee there was much confusion, and some fear. Throughout the country liberal and labor groups held protest meetings and wrote Washington about it. In some measure the President's action relieved the anxiety felt in many quarters that this prop to democracy in action would be removed.

However, the Fair Employment Practice Committee was set up only as a war-time agency. Although its usefulness even as such has already been cogently demonstrated, the need for the committee has been ever-increasing. The National Council for a Permanent FEPC was set up to provide for meeting the need more permanently. Enclosed is a brief statement descriptive of the objectives.

We should be honored to have you serve as a member of the National Committee and aid in this essential job. There will be no demands on your time and energies, for we know how burdened most people's lives are these days. The National Committee will be made up of outstanding representative Americans from all parts of the country.

Please use the enclosed card for your reply. We know you will do what you can to expedite and forward the work to protect our national democratic purposes.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Allan Knight Chalmers

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers

/as
encls.

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT F.E.P.C.

Those who had fought for the establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and who were keenly aware of the limited powers and transiency of this war-time agency had long felt that it was necessary to give it a permanent legislative basis. It was for this purpose that a group of individuals representing more than fifteen organizations met in Washington D.C. on September 13th and 14th in a Conference to Save the FEPC. Out of that conference grew the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, with a minimum Executive Board appointed to set up the organization and control its activities. Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, N.Y., were elected Co-Chairmen. A budget was drawn up, a constitution adopted and bills which would establish a Fair Employment Practice Act were discussed. The work of the organization had formally begun.

The objectives of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC are:

- (1) To promote in every possible way the establishment of equal opportunity for employment, to secure hiring with due regard to the already existing skills and experience of the applicant, equality of wages for the same work, and the full right of upgrading employees within industries regardless of race, creed, color or origin.
- (2) To bring about the establishment of a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee.
- (3) To carry on an educational campaign, nationally and locally, to further the Council's objectives.

These objectives are as simple and clear-cut as the cause of democracy. They are those for which every American, loving America and wishing to serve it fully, will fight with all his spirit and intelligence.

* * * *

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Temporary office:
217 W. 125 Street, Room 301
New York 27, New York.
MONument 2-5082