

100  
December 9, 1941.

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary left Washington yesterday for the west coast, and before leaving I was asked to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 1, and convey to you Mrs. Roosevelt's appreciation of your courtesy in sending her the leaflet published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer  
Social Correspondence.

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

VDS

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



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*ack  
12/1/41*

December 1, 1941

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Attached is a leaflet just published by us in which we are sure you will be interested. It reflects the attitude not only of the Association, but of the entire Negro population of the country. We hope that you will give it your careful attention.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

Incl.  
WW:elj

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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December 22, 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I wanted you to see this copy  
of letter we have written to General  
George C. Marshall today.

Will you be good enough to show  
this to the President and discuss it with  
him?

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary

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

WW:RR

December 22, 1941

General George C. Marshall  
Chief of Staff  
War Department  
Washington, D. C.

My dear General Marshall:

We are emboldened to make a suggestion, which we trust will be seriously and promptly considered, by your statement to the recent conference of Negro editors in which you expressed your personal dissatisfaction with the progress made to date with respect to integration of Negroes into the United States Army.

Our suggestion is not an original one. It was made at the conference of editors by Mr. Claude A. Barnett of the Associated Negro Press and others. It is one urging the War Department to organize a Volunteer division open to all irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin.

We believe this to be a very practical suggestion. Such belief is based upon correspondence in this office and contacts which various members of our staff have had with student bodies ranging from the University of California to Campobello Island, New Brunswick. A gratifyingly high number of young white Americans have expressed themselves as believing that racial segregation in the Army is undemocratic and dangerous to our national morale. When Roger Starr, a young white New Yorker who is a graduate of Yale University, wrote the War Department that he desired to serve in a regiment with Negro soldiers as affirmation of his opposition to racial segregation, and when PM and other newspapers published accounts of his action, Mr. Starr received letters from all parts of the United States including the South which applauded his stand and pledged the writers to follow his example. We believe that many others would volunteer to serve in such a regiment if given an opportunity by the War Department.

The organization of such a regiment would

General George C. Marshall - 2

serve as a tremendous lift to the morale of the Negro which at present is at a dangerously low ebb. We are convinced that it also would have tremendous psychological effect upon white Americans and it would give the lie to the attacks made by Nazi Germany and other Axis powers to the effect that the United States talks about democracy but practices racial discrimination and segregation.

We pledge you the full resources of this Association in any fashion desired by the War Department to assist in the recruitment of young men of both races to the end that the calibre of such a regiment may be of the very highest.

Respectfully,  
(Signed) WALTER WHITE

Secretary

WW:RR

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February 17, 1942

To Whom It May Concern

Mr. Walter White tells me that his present mission to California is to see producers and others, in the effort to have broadened the roles in which Negroes are presented in the moving pictures.

I am interested in this problem and hope that Mr. White will meet with success.

Very sincerely,

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Mr. Walter White  
Roosevelt Hotel  
Hollywood, Calif.

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*2-17*  
**February  
 9th  
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*Letter of General Arthur Spingarn*  
*Wt - ELL*  
**My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:**

**FEB 11 1942**

I am leaving tomorrow for California where I am to speak at Convocation of the University of California, Berkeley, on February 12th and at the University of California Los Angeles on February 17th. While in Los Angeles I plan to spend considerable time in Hollywood where I want to talk with producers and others in an effort to get them to broaden the roles in which Negroes are presented in the moving picture. Continuing to confine them to comic or menial roles has tended not only to fix but to extend the stereotype in the minds not only of the people in the United States but elsewhere. This has done considerable damage.

Mr. Wendell Willkie has expressed his interest in this problem which has been bothering me for many years and he and I together are to talk with some of the leading producers and others regarding the treatment of Negroes in the cinema. I had hoped to be able to talk with you before going to Hollywood because I would like very much, if it is possible, to get it, to have a letter from you and one from the President expressing your interest in the importance of changing of the stereotype and broadening of it. Quite frankly, what I want to do is to show it to some of the leading producers and others because I know it will very greatly facilitate my getting results. Won't you send me these letters at the Roosevelt Hotel, Hollywood, California, where I will be from February 17th to the 26th? I will be deeply grateful.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary.

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

**33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942**

**WW:CTF**

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April 11, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you, in Mrs. Roosevelt's absence, for your kindness in calling to her attention the editorial from the New York Times. It will be given to her upon her return to Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. J. M. Helm,  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

plf

Rum

Mr. Walter White,  
Secretary, National Association for  
Advancement of Colored People,  
69 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N. Y.



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April 9, 1942

*Recd  
 4/11/42  
 O'J*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You have probably seen the enclosed editorial from today's New York Times; but I thought you and the President would be interested in seeing it.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary R

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

WW:RR

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

stand like rock in the presence of the armed enemy. We need civilians like Léon Blum whose quiet words, spoken in the murky atmosphere of defeatism, compromise and intrigue, will clear the air like a stroke of thunder. When M. Blum was Prime Minister of the French Republic he may have made errors of judgment. What man in public life hasn't done that? At Riom he spoke for the clear-eyed, heroic France that every free man on earth loves and respects: the France that sleeps at Vichy, the France that, being immortal, will arise again.

#### THE NEGRO AND THE NAVY

Secretary Knox's announcement that Negroes are henceforth to be enlisted in naval and marine combat units, and that they may expect to be promoted according to merit to noncommissioned ranks is good as far as it goes. The unhappy undertone in this new policy is its admission that the Navy has heretofore made racial distinctions, for which no warrant can be found in the Constitution, the statutes or the democratic traditions of the United States. We all know the practical reason given for the previous, and to some extent still existing, discrimination. This is that life on shipboard is intimate and that friction between white sailors and Negro sailors might hurt discipline. It may be a good reason and it may not. We believe there are numerous American seamen, of white and of Negro blood, whose loyalty and patriotism would rise above prejudice.

There has never been in recent years any good reason why some units of the fleet should not be manned and officered by colored sailors. The Negro has come far enough to furnish all the training and experience necessary. He has always had the fighting qualities. A fugitive Negro slave led the attack on British soldiers that resulted in the Boston Massacre. Negroes fought with distinction in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish War and the First World War. If this nation is faithful to its democratic principles, they will have the opportunity to fight in this war, by sea as by land, and to be ranked according to their worth as individuals.

stake in this war and the dangers that confront the country, the "privation" involved in making the old radio do, instead of buying a new one, is not much to bear. It is a hardship that has its virtues, for we have come to take these household miracles too much for granted. The ease with which a broken appliance could be "mended" by buying a new one discouraged thrift and encouraged carelessness. The housewife who reads the list of articles which will no longer be made should turn with new solicitude toward the old familiar vacuum cleaner and learn, like Shakespeare's lady of the sonnets, to love that well which she must leave ere long.

#### Topics of The Times

Lord Halifax reviewed the history of British rule in India in his Town Hall speech night before last. He said two factors have immeasurably strengthened the sense of unity among the peoples of Hindustan, and along with it the British influence. These are English law and English education. "In personal matters Hindu and Moslem laws remain undisturbed; but the criminal and contract law of India is English."

Lord Halifax did not find it necessary to name names. Otherwise he might have mentioned that the author of India's penal code was a well-known English Liberal writer and politician named Thomas Babington Macaulay. He arrived in Calcutta in 1834 with his sister Hannah to take up his post as a member of the Council for India. One of the subjects to which he almost immediately turned his boundless energy was reform in the administration of justice. In three years he produced, practically single-handed, a penal code for India.

Macaulay went to India, against the advice of many of his friends, to retrieve his personal fortunes. They had been shattered by the bankruptcy of his father's business firm. Macaulay explained to his sister Hannah, in a famous letter, that the salary of the post was 10,000 pounds sterling, and that one could live in splendor any-

## In The Nation

### The Two Drastic WPB Orders Which Impend

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, April 8—When the WPB orders limiting construction and the use of iron and steel in durable consumers goods begin to take effect they will hurt, and hurt hard. They will strike at the livelihood of tradesmen in every city street and at every cross-roads, and they will in time harshen and make scarce the household equipment of every citizen. They will probably cause a certain amount of new unemployment and close the doors of shops and factories—at least for a time.

Chairman Nelson and the WPB, from which the orders issue, have accepted as their responsibility the task of diverting the whole dislocated economic civilian structure to war work with as little loss of earning and occupation as is possible. But the prospect is that, no matter how successfully they can achieve this, a social problem will come in the wake of the orders which other Federal agencies must handle.

Of all the steps taken by the government thus far in its tardy advance to the economy of total war this—next to the conscription of manpower for service in battle—is the most drastic. The two orders have been under study for months, so long, in fact, that WPB has been criticized from within and without for the time consumed before the orders were approved. As early as last December, the draft of one of them was prepared, and as early as last January the draft of another was ready. But those in WPB familiar with the record make out an excellent case for the delay.

#### Once Burned, Twice Shy

The experience of WPB with its less far sweeping copper conservation order taught officials a lesson which was applied in this case. Though the civilian use of copper is much less basic than the use of iron and steel and the other materials of construction, it required several weeks after the order was issued to adjust the listings and restrictions of copper. WPB had given only five or six weeks to checking the situa-

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April 28, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

I spoke to the President about  
your letter of April 24th and he asks that  
you see Mr. Welles in the State Department.

I have told Mr. Welles that you  
wish to see him.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

0

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# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



April 24th  
 1942

**PERSONAL AND  
 CONFIDENTIAL**

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have, unsuccessfully, been trying to reach General Watson on the telephone today and thus regretfully have to impose on you again. When I first called this morning I was told that he could not talk at that time, and repeated calls since then have also been unavailing in reaching him.

I had a long talk with Lord Halifax this morning and a matter dealing with India which we discussed and which I wish to discuss with the President at the earliest possible time was the reason for my call to General Watson.

The matter is not only very immediate but it is of such delicate nature that I do not think it wise for me to put it in writing.

Would you, therefore, be good enough to take this up with the President and ask him to let me see him at the earliest possible time?

With cordial personal regards, I am

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

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

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

WW:CTF

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May 12th  
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the Fortune article, "Relations With Britain". My comment on their failure to consider the problem of color will be found on page 27.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary.

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

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33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

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*Done to  
 The President*

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 YOUTH DIRECTOR

May 13, 1942

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see the enclosed  
 copy of letter I have today written to  
 Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
 The White House  
 New York City

WW:RR

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

May 13, 1942

Hon. Henry L. Stimson  
Secretary of War  
War Department  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The Board of Directors of this Association has instructed me to place before you a situation of potential danger to the best interest of the nation and to offer at the same time a suggestion which the Board hopes will be constructive in meeting this danger both outside of and in the United States.

According to press dispatches and to reports we have received from persons who have recently been in India and other parts of the Far East, a majority or at least a large number of the American soldiers who have been sent to these countries are from Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and other southern states. We understand that they have been selected on the theory that having been acclimatized to the warm weather in the South, they can best endure the climates of warm countries like India.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that in these southern states conditions have caused many of these soldiers to believe that they can treat colored persons in a manner which they would not use towards white persons. The explosive possibilities of American white soldiers from the South treating Indians, Filipinos, Chinese or other colored peoples as these white American soldiers have been accustomed to treat Negroes in southern states can be easily imagined. We understand that there have been already two or three incidents in India which have not added to friendship between the people of India and American troops.

We have also been informed that episodes

like the following have occurred because of the racial prejudices of some of the American white troops. Recently we have talked with American Negroes who are employed in the United States Army Transport Service. These men who have risked as great dangers as the American soldiers being transported to Australia, New Caledonia, India and other parts of the Far East were approached in Melbourne by an Australian who told them that they were not at all what Australians had been told to expect, so far as American Negroes are concerned. When asked who had told Australians what to expect, he replied that American white soldiers and officers had told him and other Australians that all American Negroes are "savages, cannibals, diseased, ragged, and they will rape your women". Other Australians made the same statements to these American Negroes.

This repetition of the vicious propaganda against Negroes in France during the last war is disheartening. The Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. feels strongly that positive steps should be taken by the War Department and by the United States government generally to check this dangerous and vicious propaganda immediately. The Board of ~~Directors~~ does not for a moment mean to imply that all southern white soldiers are guilty of such practices or imbued with such prejudices. Nor does it mean to imply that all northern white soldiers are free from such prejudices. It does maintain, however, that affirmative, constructive steps should be taken immediately to educate all American soldiers, southern and northern, Negro and white, on the domestic and world factors of color in this war to the end that there may be mutual understanding and respect for all fighters for democracy and against totalitarianism, irrespective of skin color.

It is unfortunate that the very opposite of this has taken place to date in some camps where officers of the United States Army have, for example, instructed white soldiers not to "shake hands with niggers" nor to have any relations with them. Such vicious propaganda can result only in increased bigotry on the part of white soldiers so inoculated with prejudices and in increased resentment on the part of American Negro soldiers and all other soldiers who are not white. An inevitable result will be the kind of clashes which have caused so much difficulty during recent months.

The Board of Directors wishes, however, to point out that it is not enough merely to deplore or to criticize these conditions. It therefore submits to the War Department, the Navy Department, and to the Commander-in-Chief the specific proposal that the War and Navy Departments include immediately in their regular courses of instructions lectures on the necessity of respecting all soldiers of the United Nations irrespective of color, that respect to be based upon a knowledge of the contributions, backgrounds and cultures of these colored peoples.

The Board of Directors of the NAACP offers the further suggestion that a suitable committee be appointed by the President or by the War and Navy Departments to prepare the material for such lectures. The Board of Directors takes the



Hon. Henry L. Stimson - 3

liberty of suggesting for that committee Mr. Mark Ethridge, Editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal; Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina; Judge William H. Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Mr. Herbert Agar, President of Freedom House, New York City; Mr. Charles H. Houston, Attorney at Law, Washington, D.C., and an officer in the first World War; and such other persons of similar character and information on the subject.

Any facilities of this Association which the President or the War or Navy Departments may wish to utilize are, of course, completely at your disposal.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE  
Secretary

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WW/GS

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**MADISON S. JONES, JR.** YOUTH DIRECTOR

6 May 1942

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

Here is the letter I left with Dr. Welles today - or rather, copy of that letter.

Dr. Welles was most gracious and seemed to be interested in the proposal.

I understand Mrs. Ewe Curie is soon to be your guest at the White House. She is most reluctant as a French citizen (not a Vichy French) to violate any protocol or privilege. But I suggest that you and the President, without indicating that the suggestion came from me, might profit from hearing what she heard and observed in her very recent trip to India and China.

Sincerely  
 Walter White

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
69 Fifth Avenue - New York

WALTER WHITE, Secretary.

May 4th  
1942

HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

To prevent the possibility of leaving out in my conversation with Mr. Sumner Welles any of the pertinent details of the proposal with respect to India, which grew out of my conversation with Lord Halifax on April 24th, I am presenting this memorandum through the courtesy of Mr. Welles.

It would be both superfluous and impertinent for me to suggest to you or the State Department the seriousness of the situation of the United Nations should India be taken by the Japanese government. The fall of Rangoon and Lashio and the consequent shutting off of the Burma road have made the transportation of needed war material to the forces of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese government almost impossible. Capture of India and the encircling of China which that unhappy circumstance would create would make the Far Eastern

*S. added suggestion that  
Pres. invited Gueydon to also  
was*

#2 - President Roosevelt

May 4, 1942

situation so terrible now and in the years to come that we could contemplate such a situation only with tragedy and horror. According to one of the greatest authorities on the Far East, this would mean loss of the war by the United Nations.

It is conceivable that it may be too late to do anything about the Indian situation. But we should not fail to take any possible step which might do good. It would appear to me that we have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

The idea which had occurred to me and which I discussed with Lord Halifax was the sending by yourself to India, by the fastest mode of travel at the earliest possible date, of a commission of three (3) American citizens distinguished enough to demonstrate to the people of India the seriousness with which the government of the United States considers this situation. The individuals I suggested and whose choice appeared to meet Lord Halifax's approval are: Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter, and a distinguished American Negro whose complexion unmistakably identifies him as being a colored man.

The objective of this commission would be obviously that of trying to work out a formula with respect to the war and the relations between India and Great Britain which would be acceptable to India and Great Britain.

You will doubtless ask why an American Negro is included. I am informed by those who know India well and also by those who have very recently been in India that the treatment of Negroes in the United States is among the most frequently publicized and mentioned topics of discussion in India regarding the United States. While the people of India do not

#3 - President Roosevelt

May 4, 1942

think of themselves as Negroes, they are keenly aware of the inequality of races based on skin color from which they too have suffered. As you, of course, know, the Japanese are industriously broadcasting to the people of India such episodes as the recent lynching at Sikeston, Missouri; the rioting in connection with Sojourner Truth housing project in Detroit; the attacks on Negro soldiers; and other such occurrences as being characteristic of what the colored peoples of the Far East may expect in the event of a United Nations' victory. This is utterly fantastic, as you and I know. But it does not lessen the ~~effect~~, as has been seen in Burma, India and other parts of the Far East.

The presence of a distinguished and distinguishable Negro American on the commission would be more effective than any words of explanation to the colored peoples of the Far East and of the world, that discrimination based on race is not the sole manifestation of the attitude of the United Nations.

Lord Halifax authorized me to say to you that his government would be pleased to see such a commission sent by yourself and would facilitate in any way possible arrangements for such a commission. He suggested enlargement of the commission to four (4) or five (5) persons through the addition of a distinguished educator or educators.

I am informed by a distinguished writer who has just returned from India and China, that one of the reasons for the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission is that the people of India resent the apparent omission of the present and future status of India and of the Far East in the drafting by yourself and Mr. Winston Churchill of the Atlantic Charter. Your sending of the commission to India might conceivably lead to the drafting of a Pacific Charter which will assure to all the peoples of

#4 - President Roosevelt

May 4, 1942

the world that the era of white domination of colored peoples is ended and that the peoples of these countries can be assured that there will be no post-war economic or other penetration. Bold and forthright action by yourself at this critical stage of the history of the world may conceivably turn the tide. It is for this purpose that I presume to make this proposal to you.

An even bolder proposal I submit for your consideration would be for you to arrange as dramatic and far-reaching a conference as was yours in the Atlantic with Mr. Churchill, in some place in the Pacific at which the conferees would be yourself, Mr. Azad as President of the All-India Nationalist Congress, Mr. Nehru, Mr. Gandhi, and General Chiang Kai-shek. Perhaps you would deem it wise to invite also Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

Such a conference would electrify the billion people of Asia through the creation of a Pacific Charter which, according to Ta Kung Pao, Chungking's leading newspaper, would end the present situation where "many nations (of the Orient) are of a colonial or quasi-colonial status. The Roosevelt-Churchill declaration is applicable to independent nations which were overrun by the Axis powers. It has made no provisions concerning the post-war positions of such countries as India and Burma." Ta Kung Pao, in speaking for the peoples of the Far East, declares that a Pacific Charter should aim at the liberation of Korea, the Liuchu island and Formosa from Japanese domination and the freedom from allied control of India, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and China. Such a Pacific Charter could perhaps achieve a miracle in stiffening determination among the peoples of the Far East against Japan and Germany through convincing them that they, to quote Ta Kung Pao again, "are not helping one imperialism

#5 - President Roosevelt

May 4, 1942

fight against another imperialism".

But either of the above courses of action should be preceded by a sweeping declaration, perhaps in the form of a fireside chat, to be translated into specific action against discriminations from which colored peoples now suffer within the United States. This could be treated from the world as well as the national point of view on the importance of the problem of color. Not only would this have its effect upon the colored peoples of the world, who constitute four-fifths of the world's population, through its demonstration that no longer will black, brown and yellow peoples be treated as inferior or exploited by white people, but it would also have profoundly salutary effect upon the very serious domestic situation with respect to Negro-white relations.

Should you wish me to do so I will be pleased to transmit the names of distinguished American Negroes in which list you might find one to be invited to serve on such a commission.

Respectfully,

Secretary.

Negro Americans as Potential Members of  
Commission to India  
Suggested by Walter White

Professor Ralph J. Bunche  
Head, Department of Political Science  
Howard University

Senior Social Science Analyst  
British Empire Section  
Office of Facts and Figures

Elmer Anderson Carter  
Editor, Opportunity (Journal of the National Urban League)  
Member, Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board,  
New York State Department of Labor  
342 Madison Avenue, New York, New York

Dr. John W. Davis  
President, West Virginia State College  
Institute, West Virginia

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois  
Author; lecturer; Professor, Department of Sociology  
Atlanta University  
Atlanta, Georgia

Carl Murphy  
President, The Afro-American Newspaper Company  
628 North Eutaw Street  
Baltimore, Maryland

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

Roy Wilkins  
Assistant Secretary, National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
Editor of The Crisis (Organ of the NAACP)  
69 Fifth Avenue, New York City



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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



**June 8  
 1942**

PERSONAL

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see the enclosed copy of letter I have written to Mrs. Hobby. Unfortunately, the reports which we have on her from Houston, Texas, are to the effect that she considers all colored people as "niggers". We, however, are reserving judgment until we see just how true or untrue this is.

Because we are willing to suspend judgment until we can judge Mrs. Hobby's attitude by her acts, the enclosed letter was written in the hope that the WAAC, because it is new and because women particularly in the South have often shown a greater courage than men in tackling the race question, would be able to set new patterns of race relations in the WAAC. I firmly believe that starting out on a non-segregated basis, at least in the North, will not only make the WAAC more successful but it will definitely benefit the situation in the regular Army and Navy.

I would like very much to have your opinion on this and also suggestions as to further steps which we might take in aiding Mrs. Hobby and the WAAC to take such a stand.

Ever sincerely,

*Charles White*

Secretary.

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

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942  
 WW:OTF

100

June 17, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

I am returning the pamphlet you sent me. I can only hope for the best, but a Texan is apt to be odd.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

0

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ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



June 15  
1942

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is one of the reasons why we are concerned about Mrs. Hobby as Director of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. She cannot and should not be blamed for what her husband says or what happened during her husband's term as Governor of Texas. But we are willing, as I said before, to suspend judgment.

As this is the only file copy of the pamphlet we have telling of the mobbing of John R. Shillady during Mr. Hobby's governorship, please return it to me when you shall have read it.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
Secretary.

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

*Return pamphlet  
if you only hope  
May 1942  
John T. ...  
apt @ ...*

WW:CTF

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

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June 24, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Bethune tells me that Mrs. Hobby is taking her on as an adviser and that, while she doubts if there will be complete integration, she will work toward that end, and there will be full representation both in officers and privates in the women's section.

I think this a good step forward and from what I hear Mrs. Hobby is gradually changing from being completely a Texan to a saner point of view.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue  
NYC

0

Mr Walter White

n a a e P

reyc

Dear Mr White-

Mrs Becking tells me that Mrs Haby is taking her on as an advisor + that while she doubts if there will be complete integration, she will work toward that end + <sup>there will be</sup> full representation <sup>of</sup> our officers + privates in the <sup>army's</sup> section. I think this a good step forward + from what I hear Mrs Haby is gradually changing from being completely a Texan to a saner point of view

ER

June 30, 1942.

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your letter  
and the copy of your speech. I quite  
understood it but am glad to have the  
copy.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

VDS

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*W*  
*6/18/42*  
 JUN 19 1942

June 18, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter  
 and its very pertinent remark about  
 Texans.

Because of our conversation  
 about the Madison Square Garden meet-  
 ing, I send you herewith a copy of  
 the remarks I made at that meeting.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

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

WW:RR

33rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., July 14-19, 1942

Speech of Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York; to be delivered at the Madison Square Garden Mass Meeting of the March-on-Washington Movement on Tuesday, June 16, 1942. Evening.

Other speakers will tell you the myriad, often heartbreaking, details of the color line in the war program of our own country. It is a color line which has been slightly dented here and there. But six months after Pearl Harbor and Singapore discrimination based on skin color is as firmly rooted in the thinking of the white world as it ever was. A little vaseline has been applied in meagre applications to this festering cancer of bigotry--a disease so virulent that the safety of the entire world is threatened by it. And the tragedy of the situation is that only a few intelligent and brave souls like Mrs. Roosevelt, Pearl Buck, and one or two others in the white world are wise enough to see the picture as it is.

In the time allotted me I want briefly to touch upon two aspects--one global, the other national-- of this whole question of color. In the Coral Sea and at Midway Island the United States has slowed up if not checked materially the onward sweep of Japan. But it is foolhardy to believe that these apparent victories have ended or are likely to end soon the war in the Pacific. Even if Japan surrendered unconditionally tomorrow, her capitulation would provide only a brief interlude of peace unless the white world believes and acts without reservation to make true the words of Sumner Welles on Memorial Day, that "Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."



For the blunt truth of the matter is that the thousand million brown and yellow peoples of the Orient and the 155 millions of black people in Africa just don't believe that the white world believes this or intends to put it into effect once the danger to themselves is past. Gandhi today is saying that the sole interest of the United States in India is to preserve and perpetuate British imperialism. Unless and until the United States takes unequivocal action to put the clear, brief words of Sumner Welles into effect, neither Mr. Gandhi nor the four hundred millions of his fellow Indians, nor the four hundred millions of China, nor the other millions of Burma and the Dutch East Indies and Africa will believe for a moment that the interest of the United States is not to continue British and other imperialism in the Orient.

What is desperately needed is forthright action by President Roosevelt in cooperation with the leaders of the colored world-- Chiang Kai-shek of China; Gandhi, Nehru and Azab of India; Manuel Quezon of the Philippines, and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia-- to draft and put into execution a Pacific Charter which, with the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill will form a world charter of freedom. Nothing less will offset the unfortunate statement of Churchill last September 14, that the Atlantic Charter applies only to the Nazi-dominated countries of Europe and does not apply to the peoples of the British empire. Nothing less will convince the brown, yellow and black peoples of the Orient and of the world that President Roosevelt's four freedoms will apply to them as well as to whites. Nothing less will give them a stake to fight for and to die for.

June 16, 1942.

Instead of demonstrating the vision and courage which would galvanize the colored peoples of the world into dynamic, uncompromising struggle against the Axis, what does our country do? It is sending, I am informed, to India and China American expeditionary forces made up in large part of white soldiers from Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. The N.A.A.C.P. urged the War Department to include in its military instructions to all American soldiers courses on the racial background of the war. We believe such instruction was and is desperately needed, to counteract as far as is possible within a short period the background of racial bigotry in which these and other American soldiers were born and brought up. Our suggestion was courteously but firmly turned down. Disturbing rumors come back from the Orient of these ~~these~~<sup>Southern</sup> soldiers treating Indians and Chinese as they are accustomed to treat with impunity Negroes in darkest Mississippi. Is there any wonder that the people of India and of China look with exceedingly skeptical eyes upon the beautiful words of democracy and the four freedoms which fall from white lips? And how the Japanese chortled in their broadcasts from Tokio to Burma, to India, to China and the islands of the Pacific about the hypocrisy of the white occidental world!

The plain, bitter truth is that thinking and action on the problem of race in our own country are determined almost completely by the most fascist-minded elements in the deepest and darkest South. This element-- which practiced Naziism long before Hitler was born-- almost completely dominates our federal government. Our President, our Army, our Navy, and our government generally are afraid to challenge or to offend these southern demagogues by eliminating the color line. Dis-

June 16, 1942.

franchisement of black people has inevitably brought about the disfranchisement of an overwhelming majority of the white people of the deep South. Thus, today, the South with only a little over one-fourth of the population of the United States, holds more than 50 per cent of the chairmanships in the United States House of Representatives and Senate. They have achieved this under a Democratic administration through the ease by which demagogues can get themselves elected and reelected with ridiculous ease through the rotten borough system of the South. I invite you to go down the list of Senate chairmen of important committees: Chairman of the Appropriations Committee is Carter Glass of Virginia. Of Agriculture, "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina. Of the enormously important Foreign Relations, Tom Connally of Texas who, Life recently said, would be the most influential of Americans at the peace conference in troweling out the new world. I invite you to read his bitterly sardonic comments on Negroes during the seven weeks filibuster which he led against the anti-lynching bill in 1937. Having read them, I invite you to consider the kind of world Connally would trowel out with his attitude of contempt for colored people.

Chairman of Finance is George of Georgia. Of Military Affairs, Reynolds of North Carolina. Of Rules, Byrd of Virginia. Of Territories and Insular Affairs-- increasingly important because of the global nature of the war and of the post-war world-- Tydings of Maryland. Of Post Offices and Post Roads, McKellar of Tennessee.

In the House of Representatives the situation is even worse. Chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Sumners of Texas, who openly boasted he would never permit even a hearing on any anti-lynching bill

Address of Walter White  
at Madison Square Garden Meeting

-5-

June 16, 1942.

as long as he was chairman, and today his committee refuses to report out the anti-poll tax bill. Of Ways and Means, Doughton of North Carolina; of Banking and Currency, Steagall of Alabama, Of Agriculture, Fulmer of South Carolina. Of Naval Affairs, Vinson of Georgia. Of Military Affairs, May of Kentucky.

In the light of the control of our government by these men who spit upon democracy whenever the Negro is involved, is there any wonder that meetings like this are tragically necessary at a time like this? Or that, irony of ironies, we Negroes must fight for the right to fight when the world is threatened with destruction? But fight we must, and fight we will! And it is a fight which we can and must win. There are many thousands on our side and the number constantly grows. Many young white men have petitioned our War Department for permission to serve in a so-called Mixed Division so that they can demonstrate that they believe democracy can be practiced as well as talked about. But the South still rules Washington on the Negro question and the Army because the Army refuses to break down jim-crowism despite the success of the training of Negro and white officers together in training schools located in the deep South. Hundreds of thousands of white Americans, including the American Medical Association, have denounced the order to jim-crow Negro blood which was given by the Army and Navy to the Red Cross. But this Hitler-like philosophy of blood and race continues. Modest progress has been made by the Fair Employment Practice Committee in breaking down employment discrimination, and there have been modest gains in other fields. But the basic philosophy remains the same-- that Negroes are second-class citizens and must remain so even though the world falls.

How can the Negro in the light of the record believe the fine brave words about democracy when tonight Odell Waller sits in death row in a Virginia prison scheduled to die Friday night because he dared defend himself from being killed by a white landlord? How can the Negro believe the fine brave words about democracy when a cheap Mississippi demagogue like Rankin can get up on the floor of the House of Representatives and spew forth venom on the Negro because he resents the imputation of inferiority when his blood is segregated? How can a Negro believe in democracy when the Army and the Navy of his government say to him: "You can fight and die for democracy but you can't experience it in the Army and Navy"? How can a Negro believe wholeheartedly that the cause he is asked to die for is worth dying for when daily he is confronted by insult, discrimination and segregation? Prove to us, United Nations, and prove to the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean that you are not hypocrites when you say this is a war for freedom. Prove it to us and we will show you that we can and will fight like fury for that freedom. But we want-- and we intend to have-- our share of that freedom!

---

July 31, 1942

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I wanted to tell you the other day, but I thought it would be easier to write, how much I am impressed by the effect that your speech on The People's Century has had on young people. Last week I went to the International Student Service Summer Institutes in both Asheville and Campobello and found in both places that that speech was the basis for more real stirring of thought than anything else which has happened and, in a way, for more conscious desire to act, on the part of both boys and girls.

Therefore, I am more grateful than ever that you are going to speak for them in September at the Assembly.

Sincerely yours,

ELFANDR ROOSEVELT

Hon. Henry A. Wallace  
The Vice President  
Washington, D. C.

ia

The Vice President

I wanted to tell you yesterday but I thought it would be easier to write, how much I am impressed by the effect that your speech on The People's Century, has made on young people. Last week I went to the International Student Service Summer Institutes in both Asheville and Campobello and found in both places that that speech was the basis for more real stirring of thought than anything else which has happened, and in a way, for more conscious desire to act, on the part of both boys and girls.

Therefore, I am more grateful than ever that you are going to speak for them, no matter how briefly, in September for the Assembly.

e.r.

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*ac 9-9-42*  
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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



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 WASHINGTON BUREAU

August 28, 1942

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I enclose the memorandum you asked me to send you regarding the United States Office of Education and the United States Employment Service with respect to their recent action on Negro training and placement. As I said to you Wednesday evening, we are all very much disturbed by the transfer of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to an agency under which are two sub-agencies which not only permit but appear to be actually encouraging and fostering discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin. This is an anomalous situation, as I am sure you and the President will agree.

I also enclose a personal note to the President which I would appreciate your reading and then placing in his hands.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

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

WW:RR

*LoP.*  
*The memo received*  
*is interesting reading.*  
*Scott with it*  
*meant*  
*EP.*



MEMORANDUM IN REGARD TO THE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND THE UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION AS THOSE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OPERATE UPON THE EFFORTS OF QUALIFIED NEGROES TO OBTAIN EMPLOYMENT IN WAR INDUSTRY.

For a long time, Negroes have had difficulty in their attempts to secure employment through the offices of the various state employment services and, prior to the federalization of these employment services, the argument was frequently advanced that the United States Employment Service did not have jurisdiction over their policies and practices. With the federalization of these state agencies under the USES, the question has been raised as to the obligation of the employment service with respect to orders from war industries containing discriminatory specifications.

The USES as a federal agency, subject to the provisions of Executive Order 8802, is obligated to effectuate the purposes of that Order within the area of employment subject to its jurisdiction. It is perfectly clear then that the USES aids and abets discrimination against workers solely on account of race, color, creed or national origin in any case where it fills an order containing discriminatory specifications.

Nevertheless, in the face of this clear duty imposed upon it by Executive Order 8802, the USES has issued Bulletin No. C-45, effective as of July 1, 1942, instructing state and local directors to ignore the provisions of the Executive Order and requiring them to accept and service orders for workers containing discriminatory specifications unless prohibited from so doing by state law.

Notwithstanding this situation has been called to the attention of the war Manpower Commission, we are not aware that any steps have been taken to countermand Bulletin No. C-45, or those portions of it which are contrary to the letter and spirit of Executive Order 8802.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there is a need for trained workers for war industry and the United States Office of Education is charged by statute with the responsibility for administering federal funds provided to finance war industry training programs throughout the country. In connection with this administration the congressional act provides, "No trainee . . . shall be discriminated against because of sex, race or color; and where separate schools are required by law for separate population groups, to the extent needed for trainees of each such group, equitable provision shall be made for facilities and training of like quality."

Complaints that Negroes were being discriminated against

in their effort to secure defense training were so numerous that the Committee on Fair Employment Practice summoned Commissioner Studebaker before it. While we have not been advised of the results of this hearing, which took place on April 13, 1942, we do know that there has been little change in the situation as it existed at that time.

An example of the discrimination in the defense training program under the jurisdiction of the United States Office of Education is seen in the situation that exists in Atlanta, Georgia.

The Bell Aircraft Corporation is now completing an airplane plant near Atlanta. It is estimated that this plant will need from 25,000 to 40,000 workers. It is reliably estimated that over forty-two per cent of the available labor supply in the Atlanta area is of the Negro race. Despite the fact that federally financed defense training in skills needed by this plant has been provided white persons for several months, it has thus far been denied the more than 5000 Negroes who applied, solely because of their race.

Our files show that this matter has been called to the attention of the Chairman of War Manpower Commission and responsible officials. However, despite the fact that many conferences have been held and promises made that training facilities would be provided for Negroes in the Atlanta area, the fact is that today facilities are not yet available for Negroes.

By virtue of the Executive Order creating the War Manpower Commission, both the United States Employment Service and the United States Office of Education are subagents of the War Manpower Commission. If the War Manpower Commission has taken any effective steps to correct the situations described above, we are not aware of them. In any event, it seems most unfortunate that the one independent agency set up to eliminate discriminatory practices in employment and training for employment in war industry should now be transferred and made a part of an agency--two of whose constituents have notoriously bad records and whose policies and practices the Committee on Fair Employment Practice has been seeking to correct.

100  
September 9, 1942.

Dear Mr. White:

The memorandum you sent me with your letter of August 28th is very interesting reading.

I read the letter you enclosed and have given it to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

VDS

100

September 21, 1942.

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with which you enclose the play articles. She was interested to see them and is appreciative of your kindness in giving her the opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White  
Secretary, National Association  
for the Advancement of Colored People,  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

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SEP 18 1942

*ack  
 9/21/42*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I enjoyed tremendously that chat with you on the train to Washington Tuesday.

Here are the Player articles I promised to send you. They are both accurate and important, in my opinion, in their revelation of the deeper significance of the things that are happening in the South today. This is particularly so in their affirmation of the opinion you and I share, that the Negro is only the immediate object of attack--that the Administration, the new Deal, liberalism generally and in particular labor unions are the real targets.

Incidentally, I had a long talk with Jonathan Daniels yesterday. I find that he does not share Dr. Alexander's optimism about the South. He believes that the forces of bigotry are creating a situation far more dangerous than most people seem to realize.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

100

October 19, 1942.

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to tell you that she gave the President the copy of your letter to Mr. McNutt, which accompanied your letter of October 15th.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

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*I have given the*

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*ack*  
*10/19/42*

October 15, 1942

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt.

We wanted you to see the enclosed copy of letter we have written to Mr. McNutt. After you have read it, will you be good enough to show it to the President?

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary R

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

WW:RR

100

November 23, 1942.

Dear Mr. White:

I will try to go to the NAACS in Des Moines before too long. I did not go because I asked for a report on the segregation question and was told that on the whole the opportunities given for actual work and training were equal, and that the segregation only came in matters effecting their social lives. That barrier, I doubt very much can yet be broken down, though I will do what I can. I think my visit will be more worth while now that I know what is being done abroad.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, New York.

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



October  
 28th  
 1942

*out  
 11/20/42*

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 WASHINGTON BUREAU

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am dictating this letter immediately on my return from Forts Sill and Des Moines but I am giving instructions that it is not to be mailed to you until you return from England.

May I strongly urge that at your first opportunity to visit Fort Des Moines that you do so? I found WAACs there, both white and colored, disappointed that you had not included it on one of your trips. I think it would do infinite good for you to visit there and in whatever way is wisest according to your judgment, to help push back the horizons of officials in charge so that they will not humiliate colored WAACs by needless segregation. If men officer candidates can be trained with such complete absence of segregation and with success in the South, it certainly would seem reasonable that segregation would not be necessary in a northern city.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

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

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
69 Fifth Avenue - New York, N. Y.

WALTER WHITE, Secretary

October  
28th  
1942

Dear Mr. President:

You will perhaps remember the Secretary of War speaking enthusiastically to you, Colonel Knox, Mayor LaGuardia, Mr. Randolph, several others and myself in your office of the success of the officer-training schools insofar as training, feeding and quartering of white and Negro officers even in Southern camps is concerned.

It is for this reason that I want you to see the enclosed copy of letter I have written Colonel Stinson and Mrs. Hobby after I have had opportunity to see at first-hand at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, how well this experiment is working out. But, unfortunately, in a Northern city, at Des Moines, in the training of WAACs, there is just the reverse of the situation in the South. The segregation at Des Moines is, in my opinion, both unnecessary and distinctly hurtful of morale.

With cordial personal greetings,

Respectfully,

Secretary.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 69 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

October  
28th  
1942

Hon. Henry L. Stimson  
Secretary of War, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby  
Director, Women's Auxiliary Army Corps,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Col. Stimson and Mrs. Hobby:

Because the matters about which I write you in this letter relate to the Army and the W.A.A.C., I take the liberty of sending to you this joint letter.

I have just returned from Forts Sill and Des Moines. I came away from the former more heartened regarding the possibilities of actual practice of democracy in the United States Army than I have ever been before. As we entered the section of Fort Sill devoted to training of officer candidates, we heard the rhythmic sound of marching feet. Soon there came into view a section of officer candidates marching to their quarters. All of the men were white. We learned afterward that a number of them were southerners. But the officer in charge of the section was a Negro. Within the next ten minutes, we saw six other sections of men in which there were one or more Negro officer candidates.

We were then permitted to go down to the hutments. There we talked with a number of the Negro and white officer candidates. One young Negro from Fort Worth, Texas, showed me the hutment in which he lived with five white officer candidates. Two of the five were from the South. According to the Negro officer candidate, they are most friendly to him in every way possible. The same thing I found true of other young Negroes who are quartered with, eat with, and study with white fellow candidates, Southern and Northern.

I found the same situation prevails with Negro and white officers. I was informed by them that the liberal unprejudiced attitude is in large measure due to Major-General Allen who until recently was Commandant of Fort Sill. This observation of practical democracy was a thrilling experience for me personally as it was to my companions who included Roscoe

#2 -- Hon. Henry L. Stimson  
and  
Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby

October 28, 1942

Dunjee, Editor of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch. To see in the deep South men being trained together and associating with each other on a plane of complete democracy proves that human beings do get along together if they are permitted to know each other as human beings and fellow Americans.

The situation at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, where the W.A.A.C. officers are being trained, when compared with the situation at Fort Sill, represents a disheartening contrast. There was every reason to expect an even more democratic atmosphere than at Fort Sill. The camp is in the North where attitudes toward the Negro are not crystallized into a pattern of discrimination and segregation. The project was new and did not carry a burden of traditional policies toward Negroes. The women represented a highly selected group. They had been recruited voluntarily and, therefore, might be presumed to have sincere devotion to the ideals for which the war is being fought. Yet, with all of these factors present, conditions at Fort Des Moines are decidedly less democratic, and are infinitely more humiliating to the Negro officers, than in an older post located in a Southern state. In my opinion, the segregation which I observed there is not only un-American and contrary to the spirit of national unity, but is also absolutely unnecessary and artificially fostered.

That the W.A.A.C. officers' training camp is not living up to the democratic possibilities exemplified at Fort Sill is evidenced by the following facts. Although Negro and white W.A.A.C.'s have their meals in the same hall, the colored women are segregated at separate tables. White women who, for reason of friendship or convenience, have wished to eat with their Negro campmates have been peremptorily ordered away from the "colored" tables. Colored and white women are housed in separate quarters. Separate hours have been set for the use of the swimming pool. Recently a colored service women's club has been set up. The separate service clubs have been declared out of bounds for women of the opposite race.

One of the most glaring aspects of discrimination has been manifest in the assignment of officers upon graduation. While all of the white officer candidates graduating in the first class have been assigned to regular posts, most of the Negro graduates are still working at duties usually assigned to non-commissioned officers. (When such practices are viewed as a whole they actually represent the designation of the Negro women as pariahs who must not associate with their white fellow officers upon a basis of equal status.)

It is my sincere belief that such discrimination is unnecessary. The experience at Fort Sill would suggest this conclusion. Further facts from the Des Moines situation substantiate it. Permit me to cite here a few incidents:

I was told of one occasion when the colored W.A.A.C.'s went to the swimming pool at the hour allotted them a number of white W.A.A.C.'s remained in the pool for some time into the hour assigned to the colored officers. When the whites showed no intention of leaving, one of the colored W.A.A.C.'s told them that it was the time for the latter to swim. The white women in the pool, among whom, I am told, were several Southern women, invited the colored W.A.A.C.'s to come on in to swim. They swam and had a pleasant time together. But when news of this became known, I am informed that an order was issued forbidding white and colored W.A.A.C.'s to swim together again even though there was no objection from either white or colored.

#3 - Hon. Henry L. Stimson  
and  
Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby

October 28, 1942

Another example of the needlessness of segregation was found in the fact that several of the colored officers have taught or are teaching all-white or mixed classes. For example, a third officer, who is colored, taught a class of forty in Company Administration, all of whom were white and at least half of whom were Southerners. This officer, I am informed, had no difficulty with the students, all of whom seemed to have great respect and affection for her. I was informed that a Lieutenant, also colored, taught or is now teaching a class of eighty-eight in Motor Transport, Convoy, and Blackout. Twenty-eight of her pupils are Negro and sixty are white. At least half of the latter are Southerners. There has been no difficulty of any sort, I was told, and the morale and efficiency of her class are outstanding. Another Negro third officer taught a class of forty white women in Accounting. Another third officer teaches an all-white class in Mess Management, at least half of whom are Southern born; while still another third officer, a dietitian, was in charge of the menus for all thirteen messes in the planning of which she worked without friction and with great success with white fellow officers and students. I have been told that when this information was published the colored woman involved was immediately relieved of her duties and assigned to a job which did not involve this type of responsibility.

The white Southern officers' and students' attitude, at Des Moines, is parallel to that of the white officers at Fort Sill in their relations with their colored officers. I was told of a case of a white woman officer from Mississippi who asked some of the colored officers why none of the latter were ever seen in certain public restaurants of Des Moines. On being told that the restaurants would not serve colored officers, unless they were accompanied by white persons, the white Mississippi officer asked that whenever any of the colored officers wanted to eat at these restaurants and needed a white person to insure service that she be permitted to do so. I understand this young woman had never been out of Mississippi until she went to Des Moines.

In addition to the above incidents, the generalization can safely be made that an atmosphere of friendly comradeship exists between the colored and white women, which makes these administrative barriers all the more incongruous and unnecessary.

More serious, in my opinion, than the fact that the barriers are unnecessary, is the fact that they are in direct violation of the spirit of pronouncements made by President Roosevelt and Director Hobby. Mrs. Hobby announced that the pattern of training in the W.A.A.C. officers' camp would follow that in the Army. Despite widespread segregation in the Army, we must congratulate it upon a most progressive policy in officers' training camps such as Fort Sill, and other officers' training schools. The W.A.A.C. camp has not lived up to this progressive example set for it by the Army. President Roosevelt in a radio address has pointed out the unique opportunities of the Army camp situation for strengthening our national unity. He stated on September 16, 1940:

"In the military service, Americans from all walks of life, rich and poor, country-bred and city-raised, farmer, student, manual laborer and white-collar worker, will learn to live side by side, to depend upon each other in military drills and manoeuvres, and to appreciate each other's dignity as American citizens.

"Universal service will bring about not only greater preparedness to meet the threat of war, but a wider distribution of tolerance and understanding to enjoy the blessings of peace."

#4 -- Hon. Henry L. Stimson  
and  
Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby

October 28, 1942

Mrs. Hobby obviously advocated the same principle when in July, 1942, she welcomed the first officer candidates at Des Moines, Iowa, with the statement:

"In donning the uniform of the United States Army, W.A.A.C.'s should put aside all prejudices."

Any type of segregation within a camp violates the spirit of these statements and makes their implementation impossible.

The segregation in Des Moines, a Northern city, is inexcusable when contrasted with what is taking place in the training of officers in places like Fort Sill and Camp Hood and other places in the South. This represents the actual imposition of a pattern of segregation where one did not exist before. This the Federal Government should not do. It is my further conviction that any segregation in Des Moines could be abolished immediately and successfully.

Captain Kennedy of the Office of Public Relations at Des Moines and others there told me that Negro women are not volunteering for service in the W.A.A.C.'s as expected. When asked to give a reason as to why this was so, I told them that women with the character and self-respect which would make them officers of superior quality are reluctant to volunteer because of segregation at Des Moines. I am strongly of the opinion that an announcement by the War Department, through the Secretary of War or the Director of the W.A.A.C.'s that segregation is being abolished in the W.A.A.C.'s would result in the volunteering of the high type of colored woman to the extent desired by the War Department and all those interested in the welfare of our country.

May I strongly urge that this step be taken.

Respectfully,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE,

Secretary, National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People.

WJ:CTF

100  
November 27, 1942

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to  
tell you that she can see you on December  
first at 5 p.m. at the White House.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

L.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1942

MEMO FOR MR. CHAM;  
MRS. HELM;  
MR. TOLLEY;  
MISS THOMPSON;

Mrs. Roosevelt will see Mr.  
Walter White on December first at  
3 p.m.

M.T.L. *MTL*



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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



November  
 25th  
 1942

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 WASHINGTON BUREAU

*act  
 11/27/42*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 23. In the same mail came an acknowledgment from the President through Mr. McIntyre.

It looks as though the Des Moines situation has been straightened out most satisfactorily. Colonel Hoag has succeeded Colonel Faith, who, as you know, has been transferred to Daytona Beach to establish a NAACP training school there. As soon as Colonel Hoag had brought to his attention the order declaring the service clubs out of bounds he rescinded the order. Also I was advised by the War Department in a conference Judge Hastie and I had last Friday, that the segregation of Negro NAACP officers has been completely eliminated and that ten Negro auxiliaries who have qualified and been admitted to the Officer Candidates School are not segregated there. This is a most gratifying step and one for which we have thanked the War Department. I enclose for your information self-explanatory copy of letter I wrote to Colonel Macy following our interview.

I have had to use great restraint to keep from writing you to ask for an appointment to discuss the situation in England which, as you know, gave us great concern. I refrained from asking for an appointment to give you time to get straightened out after your exciting trip. I am now spending Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays in Washington. If on any of those days (or any other) you can spare me a few minutes I would like very much to talk with you.

*See how [unclear] at 3 [unclear]*

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary.

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

WW:np  
 encl.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Washington Bureau  
100 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC

November 18, 1942

My dear Colonel Macy:

May I take this means of confirming my understanding of the statements made in the two conferences held in your office with respect to Negro officers and auxiliaries of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps at Des Moines?

1. The order declaring Service Club #2 "out of bounds" for colored WAAC's and Service Club #1 "out of bounds" for white WAAC's has been rescinded.

2. Negro WAAC officers are no longer segregated so far as eating, housing, recreation, or duties are concerned either at the Fort or in the hotels which have been taken over by the WAAC's.

3. Negro officer candidates who entered officer candidate school on November 16 from the auxiliaries are completely integrated with the other officer and are not segregated.

It is my understanding now that the report of the Negro officer who had been working with the white personnel in mess management had been released in error.

It is, however, my further understanding that should, at any time in the future, there be a sufficient number of Negro officer candidates to form a company or other unit the WAAC's do not state that they will not be put into separate units. Stated somewhat differently, it is my understanding that there has been no change in the basic policy of the WAAC's which caused the segregation of the first officer candidates who went directly from civilian life into training as officers.

May I respectfully urge that the WAAC's consider the establishment now of a policy which will be in conformity with that of the War Department in the training of male army officers, namely, the establishment of a policy of no segregation as is the case at Fort Sill and other officer candidate schools.

May I express appreciation to the WAAC's for the correction of several of the unfortunate practices which formed the basis of my letter to you of October 28.

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE

Director

Col. J. Noel Macy  
Women's Army Auxiliary Corps  
War Department  
Washington, D.C.

WW p

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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

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**FRANK D. REEVES** - ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT,  
 WASHINGTON BUREAU

November 30, 1942

My dear Miss Thompson:

Thank you for your letter of the  
 27th. I will be at the White House at  
 three o'clock Tuesday.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

Miss Malvina C. Thompson  
 Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

WW:RR

Note: Will write  
after Christmas

100

December 9, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt tells me that you  
asked for the name of the young man at  
Tuskegee in whom she has been interested.  
He is: -

Cecil Peterson  
518th Air Base, TAFS  
Tuskegee, Alabama.

Mrs. Roosevelt got his name from  
Miss Viola Ilms, of the Young Men's Vocational  
Foundation, and wrote to him. He has written  
regularly over a period of eight or ten months  
and seems to be making steady progress. He has  
now passed the mental test for the officers  
candidate school.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

0

12-9  
- How the book arrived  
via 318th Air Base  
via 318th Air Base  
via 318th Air Base

318th Air Base, TAFS,  
Tuskegee, Alabama  
December 7, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt, <sup>with love</sup>

I received the package today but will not open it until Christmas as the tag says. Thank you.

Lately, I read a book by Ruby Black of your biography and found it highly interesting, so much so that I ordered one from the publishers and have begun to read it.

<sup>have</sup> You certainly led an outstanding life. I have learned many good things from it and will always bear in mind the quotation on page 16 about being criticized. I have found it very true. Though you have broken several traditions it can't be said it wasn't greatly helpful  
(next page please)

to someone and I would do the same if it stood in the way of attaining my goal. Some people just won't appreciate what a treasure they have in you. I mean every word of it.

Tuskegee Army Flying School is doing well as the population here grows every day. Several new organizations have been activated to accommodate the increasing personnel.

The 99<sup>th</sup> Fighter Squadron held its first Field Day track meet. The weather was just right for it, cloudy and cool but in the afternoon the sun came out and it was hot as usual in the evening. I am still in 318<sup>th</sup> Air Base, therefore, I could not participate.

I was expectant of more examinations for officers candidate school, I passed the physical and for the past two Fridays I have been unable to meet the Board. One out of every  
(next page please)

3

Six passes. & suppose they must maintain their quota. & I know of few college graduates with plenty of experience in the field for which they apply to be officers, who did not pass. But I feel confident of passing.

As you no doubt have countless things to do, I'll close here for now wishing you a very, very pleasant Christmas.

Sincerely yours  
C. Peterson

December 10, 1942

My dear Mr. White:

I like the idea of the meeting you want, but before making the arrangements, I would like a chance to talk unofficially with Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and see how she feels about it and also to find out what she might be able to do while she is in this country. She will not do anything for two months as the doctors want her to spend that amount of time in the hospital and she may not feel she can do much after that. I will let you know what I find out.

The President told me the other night that if you are willing to give up the anti-lynching bill and accept the bill which he suggested to you, he felt sure he could get it passed. I think you should write a letter about it as it would be better to get what the President wants through, than to wait and try to get something passed which he feels might, in the end, be declared unconstitutional.

Cordially yours,

Mr. Walter White, Secretary  
Nat'l. Assoc. for Advancement of  
Colored People  
69 Fifth Av.  
New York, NY

MCT:hy



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

White: I like the idea of the meeting you want but before making the arrangements I would like a chance to talk unofficially with Mme. Chiang and see how she feels about it and also to find out what she might be able to do while she is in this country. She will not do anything for two months as the doctors want her to spend that amount of time in the hospital and she may not feel she can do much after that I will let you know what I find out.

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E.R.

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 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

**Official Organ: The Crisis**



December  
 5th  
 1942

*12/10/42*

*Talk had started  
 like to talk to you  
 Chang suggested  
 best for a meeting  
 He only had a  
 12/10/42*

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**WASHINGTON BUREAU**

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Since I talked with you last Tuesday I have given birth to an idea which I hope you will approve and help us bring to consummation. It is this:

That when Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek recovers sufficiently to make a speech, we arrange, either under auspices of the NAACP or of a group of organizations interested in the national and global aspects of the color problem, or of a distinguished list of sponsors, a non-partisan, bi-racial program at which Mme. Chiang would be one of the chief speakers. Other speakers we had in mind are: yourself, if you would be gracious enough to do so, Pearl Buck, Wendell Willkie, and a distinguished American Negro. We have in mind asking Congresswoman Clara Boothe Luce to preside because of the intimate knowledge of the Chinese and Indian situation which she gained on her recent trip to those countries.

This probably will seem like too many speakers. But we believe that each of those we hope will participate will keep in mind the number of other speakers.

The purpose back of this is to focus attention of Americans on the global nature of the question of skin color and "white supremacy" both as a factor in winning the war and in winning the peace. I believe there will be no difficulty whatever in getting an overflow meeting at Madison Square Garden and radio time on all three networks, with so distinguished an array of speakers.

Now I come to the requests I want to make of you:

- 1) would you be willing to participate in such a meeting?
- 2) Would you be good enough to give me your very frank opinion of the value and the possibilities of such a meeting?
- 3) Would you be willing to extend the invitation to Mme. Chiang?

The suggestion has been made that I take this up with

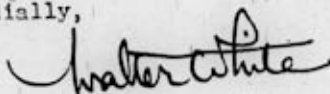
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

-2-

December 5, 1942

the Chinese Ambassador. I, of course, would be glad to do this if you think I should. But it would be much more effective if you spoke to Mr. Chiang and perhaps to the Ambassador.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Walter White". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Cordially,".

Secretary.

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

WW:np

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DEC 14 9 17 PM 1912

NEWYORK NY 14 756P

MRS FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

WHITE HOUSE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS HAS JUST VOTED APPROVAL OF MEETING OF  
WHICH I WROTE YOU AND PROVIDED THAT EVERY CENT ABOVE  
ACTUAL EXPENSES WILL BE CONTRIBUTED TO EITHER UNITED CHINA  
WAR RELIEF OR TO WHATEVER CAUSE MADAME CHIANG SELECTS  
WALTER WHITE.

*See when I go >*

100  
December 18, 1942.

Dear Mr. White:

The President feels that the Attorney General knows as much about his ideas on this Bill and would have more time to discuss it with a group than he would. Therefore, he suggests that you make an appointment with the Attorney General, and discuss it with him.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People,  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

VDS

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# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: *The Crisis*



December  
16th  
1942

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*adh*  
*12/18/42*  
*JOP*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Your letter transmitting the President's suggestion regarding the anti-lynching bill came on the day that our Board met to determine the legislation we planned to ask the incoming Congress to consider. I therefore shared your letter with the Board.

After very lengthy discussion the Board instructed me to ask you to say to the President that there are so many ramifications involved in the issue we would like an opportunity of discussing the matter with the President prior to the opening of the 78th Congress. Will you be good enough to let us know if this would be possible.

Cordially,

Secretary.

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

WWT:np

1420  
December 31, 1942

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to tell you that she received the magazines which you sent with your letter of December 4. She wishes me to thank you for sending them and for calling her attention to the special articles.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

0

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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



December

4th

1942

*con  
1-1-42*

*DEC 5 1942*  
*Wright*

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 WASHINGTON BUREAU

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Under separate cover I am sending you copy of The Nation of December 5, containing an article "Jim Crow Goes Abroad" by Joseph Julian of the Columbia Broadcasting System, who has just returned from England, which will interest you in the light of your recent trip and our conversation of last Tuesday.

and I also send you copy of the recent issue of Collier's magazine containing an article by Walter Davenport, "The Negro Lifts His Head", and a copy of the January American magazine which has an article, "The Black Brain Trust" by William A. H. Birnie.

It is encouraging that magazines like Collier's, American, Fortune, Forbes and others which had not hitherto published articles or stories about the Negro are now recognizing the importance of the race question. I want to utter a word of caution, however, in reading Mr. Birnie's article - he is much too flattering in his comments about myself. So, please discount that part of the article.

Cordially

Secretary.

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

WW:np



January 4, 1943

Dear Mr. White:

I was very much struck by an article by Mr. Brown which I saw in the Negro press.

I have seen a very considerable number of Negro papers recently and I feel that a certain number of them are not very responsible. For that reason I was glad to see that a colored man had the maturity to criticize in as temperate a way as Mr. Brown has in pointing out the faults of the press.

I hope that you will read the article and that you will tell some of the Negro editors that they would do a much greater service if they made their papers really responsible and that before they made any real attack, to make sure to ascertain facts. I think it is right to bring out everything which is really wrong but I think in this particular situation as of today, it is necessary to be absolutely sure of one's ground and not try to influence in any way.

Very sincerely yours,

**NATIONAL OFFICERS**

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



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100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.  
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Administrative Assistants  
Frank D. Reeves (on leave)  
Leslie S. Perry

*See*  
*100*  
*WALTER WHITE*

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FRANK D. REEVES ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT,  
WASHINGTON BUREAU

January 7, 1943

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of January 4 which has been forwarded to me here.

In my opinion, it is most unfortunate that Warren Brown's article will be used, as it is already being used, to claim that the grievances of Negroes are illusory. I fear that its appearance in a magazine with the enormous circulation of the Reader's Digest, which Alexander Woolcott told me last Saturday is now in excess of 7,000,000, will do a good deal of harm.

Yesterday, for example, I received copy of a Dallas newspaper which reprinted the article in full, along with an advertisement of the Ku Klux Klan.

In saying the above, I do not for a moment assert that the Negro press is without fault. The NAACP, for example, has constantly emphasized the absolute necessity of checking facts with meticulous care and underplaying, rather than overplaying, the stories even when the facts have been checked.

But as you already know, better than almost any other person in the United States, there is a tragic number of cases for legitimate grievance. Articles like those written by Mr. Brown and Virginius Dabney and John Temple Graves play right into the hands of those who are determined to maintain the status quo no matter what the cost to the war effort, the Negro, and the country as a whole.

I am writing my New York office asking them to send you a copy of a letter I have written to

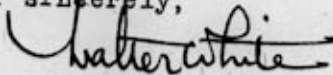
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

-2-

January 7, 1943

Ernest Angell, president of the Council for Democracy of whose Board I am a member, which will give you a more detailed opinion of Mr. Brown's article.

Ever sincerely,



Director

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
Apartment 15-A  
29 Washington Square West  
New York, New York

WW p

January 11, 1943

Dear Mr. White:

I am surprised at your reaction to Dr. Brown's article. It seemed to me temperate and fair and mature. No one is entirely right, I suppose, and we are all of us prone to lay emphasis on what seems most important to us.

Very sincerely yours,

MCT/ceh

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



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January 8, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is copy of my letter to  
the Council for Democracy about Mr. Warren  
Brown's article which gives my measured  
opinion of the article.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
Secretary

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

WW:RR

*I am surprised at your reaction  
to Dr. B's article it seemed to be  
very fair & honest & mature. As  
the it was entirely respectful  
I suppose it is about your  
point of view. I am sure  
that some of the  
experts...*

December 29, 1942

Dear Mr. Angell:

If the position of the Council for Democracy is indicated by the article by Dr. Warren Brown in the Saturday Review of Literature of December 19, and the January Readers' Digest, it will be impossible for me to continue to serve as a member of the Board of the Council. ~~Before submitting~~ my resignation, however, I want to place frankly before you and the Council my point of view.

In my opinion Dr. Brown's discussion of the Negro press is immature and one-sided to such an extent that, appearing in a magazine with the enormous circulation of the Readers' Digest, it can do tremendous harm. I do not quarrel with his assertion that some of the Negro newspapers do not check their facts carefully enough prior to publication. I agree in a large measure with his criticism of over-emphasis on crime in the Negro press. I might even go further than he in criticising certain other characteristics and acts of some of the Negro papers.

But Dr. Brown plays right into the hands of enemies of the Negro and of democracy by completely ignoring the fact that the Negro press unearths, checks and publishes facts about mistreatment of Negroes which otherwise would never see the light of day. He ignores the reasons why Negroes justifiably look with suspicion on news stories appearing in the white press regarding Negroes. There is a long and tragic history responsible for this attitude. Though there has been some improvement in the treatment of news about Negroes in the white press, there remains much yet to be done. And much of that improvement has been due to the efforts of Negro newspapers in getting the facts.

So too do I disagree heartily with Dr. Brown's assertion that the Negro press does not feature decent attitudes on the part of white people. Over a long period of acquaintanceship with the Negro press I have found an almost pathetic eagerness on the part of many of the Negro newspapers to publicize words or acts by white people which indicate a decent attitude on race. Sometimes this tendency leads to an almost uncritical acceptance of some white people who later are found to be

motivated by selfish motives.

Dr. Brown's sweeping statement that when the Negro press publishes "news of the white community, it is generally an account of the white man at his worst" could be very easily refuted. For example by counting both the number of stories and the lineage of those stories within the last few months regarding speeches, articles and books by such white Americans as Pearl Buck, Wendell Willkie, Eleanor Roosevelt, Sumner Welles, the President, Senator Wagner, Claire Luce, as well as the Fair Employment Practice Committee and the CIO, and agencies like the Council for Democracy, the YWCA, Freedom House, the Council Against Intolerance, and others which have taken a stand on the national and global problems affecting colored people.

But I do not want to go into a lengthy discussion of the merits or demerits of the Negro press. Instead I want to point out that, as presented in these articles and in certain phases of the "Memorandum on Survey of Negro-White Attitudes" prepared for the Council by Dr. Brown, his immaturity and timorousness of attitude is such that I cannot afford to remain on the Board of the Council if the Council's attitude and action on race is to be based on Dr. Brown's judgment. The reference in the "Memorandum on Survey of Negro-White Attitudes", to which I refer is that in which he states: "The Negro, however does not demand the right to stay at the same hotels, to eat in the same restaurants as the whites. He is not interested in social intercourse. He only wants the very things that the whites are most willing to see him get - the rights to decent jobs and a decent way of living." This is the attitude which Negroes label as "Uncle Tom". It reveals a shallowness of thinking which is inexplicable in a man who has had the educational advantages of Dr. Brown. Those who have worked to keep the Negro in a position of inferior status have used the bugbear of "social equality" as the chief Red Herring to prevent intelligent and sane thinking by either whites or Negroes on the race question. Dr. Brown may not object to being barred from a place of public accommodation because he is a Negro. But no self-respecting Negro, South or North, would willingly submit to being barred from eating a meal in peace or attending a concert or staying at a hotel because he is a Negro. And as for social intercourse, who should have the right to determine whether two individuals should know and respect each other as friends except the two individuals concerned?

I don't want to make this letter too long but there are some of Dr. Brown's statements which are so untrue that they come dangerously close to criminal libel. One of these is his sweeping statement regarding the three Negro soldiers now under sentence of death for alleged rape upon a white woman at Alexandria, La. I know how false his generalizations are because the NAACP is handling this case. At least two of the three soldiers and possibly all three might have the basis for legal action against Dr. Brown and perhaps against the Council for Democracy since his article is published under the auspices of the Council. That will be determined by the appeal which the NAACP has filed on behalf of these three soldiers.

I do not know what the sources are of Dr. Brown's assumption that the Negro press has in any way exaggerated the facts regarding the efforts of certain Americans to carry Jim Crow to England and to other countries. There is not the slightest question that this has been done not only by individual soldiers most of them from the South, but there is no doubt that the issue has been discussed in Parliament and that it is still one of the gravest situations to be found in those parts of the world to which American troops have been sent. The NAACP has ample evidence establishing these facts.

Finally the most vicious and untrue statement and impression made is Dr.

Brown's major contention that Negro newspapers, organizations and leaders are creating racial tension. This is precisely the line being followed by scared southern liberals like John Temple Graves of the Birmingham Age-Herald and which is unworthy of an organization like the Council for Democracy. Let me state this in a simple analogy. A man has been beating his wife regularly for years. Eventually she musters up courage enough to protest against being mistreated. The bystander thereupon charges her with being the cause of the trouble. Perhaps this is over-simplified, but I believe you will get the point. Dr. Brown is so completely ignorant of the trend of thinking among Negroes that such a charge made by him under the auspices of an organization like the Council for Democracy assumes a potential danger of manacing proportions.

To permit me to determine what action I shall take I request from you as president of the Council for Democracy, a reply to the above question as to who is going to determine the Council's attitude and policy on race.

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE  
Secretary

P.S. - Just after dictating the above a young Negro soldier home on furlough told me of the cold-blooded killing by military police of five Negro soldiers in a Texas camp within a period of the last three weeks. Censorship has kept the news of any of these from being published or known and yet Dr. Brown dismisses complaints of Negroes as being "Exaggerated". WW.

Mr. Ernest Angell, President  
Council for Democracy  
11 West 42nd Street  
New York City

WW:np



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# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



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 WASHINGTON BUREAU

January 14, 1943

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your understanding letter of January 11. After all these years we have at last found something on which we are not in complete agreement. May I supplement what I said about Dr. Brown's article with the enclosed copy of a column I wrote for the Chicago Defender?

As an example of the enormous odds which the Negro has to fight right here in the national capital, I send you also memoranda which have passed between W. John Logan, Director of the Compliance Division of the War Production Board and Mr. C. Wilson Lucom, Administrative Assistant of the same division, who is about to be fired because he tried to live up to the President's Executive Order regarding employment of qualified Negroes.

Here is a fine young white man who desires to do the right thing even at the cost of his job. I learned from him and from many others that the attitude of Mr. Logan is prevalent among a good many of those who are charged with the responsibility of hiring and firing.

This kind of episode along with the bigger and more tragic ones such as Mr. McNutt's sudden calling off of the Fair Employment Practice Committee hearings on discrimination by railroads and railway unions cause many of us almost to despair. It is a hard job to keep one's chin up at times.

It is because of what we run into every day of the week and almost every hour of the day that causes us to feel as we do about an article which gives the impression that almost all of the Negro's grievances are imaginary ones.

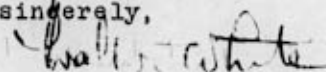
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

-2-

January 14, 1943

Incidentally, did you know that Brown was secretary of the March on Washington Movement and that he made strenuous efforts to get a job with the Fair Employment Practice Committee--both of which are now under fire as "stirring up trouble"? Friends of Dr. Brown tried to get me to help him get a job with FEPC, but I declined to do so because it is against the NAACP's policy to ask for jobs for individuals. This is the same man who later got a job with the Council for Democracy where it seems his attitudes towards "agitation" have changed.

Ever sincerely,



Director

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

WW p  
encls-5

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD

Washington, D. C.

December 7, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Regional Compliance Chiefs

FROM: H. J. Dowd, Chief  
Enforcement Branch.

SUBJECT: Changes in Compliance Division personnel

On November 12, 1942, an organization chart of the Compliance Division was transmitted to you, together with an explanation of the functions of the various branches, sections and units thereof. Since that time, there have been certain changes in personnel of which each of you should be aware.

Mr. A. E. Davis has replaced Mr. Richard Thompson as Deputy Chief, Enforcement Branch.

Mr. H. H. Kendrick has been appointed Chief of the Review Section.

Mr. C. Wilson Lucom has taken over the duties of Administrative Officer in the Office of the Executive Assistant.

January 8, 1943

Compliance Division  
Temporary "E" Building

MEMORANDUM

TO: W. JOHN LOGAN  
DIRECTOR, COMPLIANCE DIVISION

FROM: C. WILSON LUCOM (SIGNED)  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

The purpose of this memorandum is to clarify my status in the position of Administrative Assistant, the actual duties of which I am now performing for the Compliance Division.

On January 5, 1943 you called me into your office and said that Mr. Richard T. Shields would be in charge of a new reorganization of the Compliance Division and that since he was not familiar with the technical aspects of administration and organization and that I was an expert, you were ordering me to handle all the technical details. I requested that (since you recognized me as an expert) I be allowed to express my opinion as to the soundness and the justification of the contemplated reorganization and you concurred. You further stated that after the contemplated reorganization is completed that you could NOT be "sure" whether or not I would stay in my position in charge of administration for the Division, and that you might "find" some other place for me in the Division--probably in another section.

I spoke to Mr. Shields and said that I would cooperate in every way possible. I also told him that in view of your statements about the uncertainty of continuing to perform the actual duties for which I am now responsible, it would seem to me an explanation as to what you actually meant should be given me. Mr. Shields said that it was only fair that this be done. I repeated that I would continue to perform my present actual duties and to also give him any and all assistance that he needed, regardless of the fact that a clarification of my status seems necessary. Mr. Shields requested a budget figure from me which I gave him and he then requested other material which I said would require a day or more to assemble. I have in every way cooperated with Mr. Shields and intend to continue doing so.

Mr. Logan, since you entered on duty December 17th, my only official contact with you was a single occasion when you called me into your office and asked if I had requested negro clerks for work in the Control Unit. I told you that I had requested clerks for the Control, as the work was falling behind, and since being told negro clerks were the only available personnel at that grade and

Memorandum to: W. J. Logan

January 8, 1943

salary, I had requested two negro clerks. You then said, "I don't care if Franklin D. Roosevelt said to love them, I do not want them in this Division, Cancel the order." (Which I did, through official channels.) You have never discussed my work with me, and have never discussed my ability with my supervisor, Mr. William F. Wolf, who is the only person qualified to make a statement concerning my work. Therefore, it would seem to me that you evaluated my performance on the one contact that I have had with you.

It certainly does not build up a person's morale to have at least three or four people stop and ask a person, "Say, when are you leaving? Too bad, you certainly did a good job in the short time you were here." This is exactly what happened to me.

Since I am a Civil Service employee, I hereby formally request a written reply, for official record, to the following questions:

1. Do you intend to have me continue in your employ?
2. Do you intend to have me continue performing the actual duties of Administrative Assistant which I am presently performing?
3. Do you intend to transfer me? If so, where, and for what reason?
4. Did you evaluate my performance on our one contact (When you stated your policy of not employing negroes in the Compliance Division.)?

CWL/apc

c.c. J. A. Krug  
W. F. Wolf  
Richard Shields  
Civil Service Commission (For official file)

S/

MARIE L. SIEBOLD 1/8/43  
Notary Public D. C.  
My Commission Expires Jan 19,  
1947.

January 9, 1943

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. C. Wilson Lucom

FROM: W. John Logan, Director (Signed)  
Compliance Division

SUBJECT: Suspension from Duty

You are hereby informed that you are suspended from duty as of the close of business today, January 9, 1943.

The Director of Personnel for the War Production Board will present you with the charges upon which I base my request that you be terminated with prejudice. Therefore, you are instructed not to report for duty in this division on any subsequent work days and to turn your badge and other governmental property in to the writer immediately.

CTC:mr

January 12, 1943

Compliance Division  
Temporary "E" Building

Mr. C. Wilson Lucom  
619 21st Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In my memorandum to you of January 9, I stated that the Director of Personnel would present you with the charges upon which I base my request that you be removed for the good of the service. The Director of Personnel has advised me to present you with a written statement of the charges preferred against you, which are as follows:

You state in the fourth paragraph of your memorandum to me of January 8 that I said, "I don't care if Franklin D. Roosevelt said to love them, I do not want them in this Division. Cancel the order."

Item #4, in the last paragraph of your letter, states the following: "Did you evaluate my performance on our one contact (When you stated your policy of not employing negroes in the Compliance Division.)?"

These two references are a misstatement of fact with respect to race discrimination. No such statements were made by me.

Pursuant to paragraph .03 of Section 21 of General Administrative Instruction of the War Production Board governing Resignations, Involuntary Separations, and Suspensions of Employees, you are given ten days from the date of receipt of this notice in which to answer the charges and show cause why you should not be removed from the service.

Yours very truly,

SIGNED

W. JOHN LOGAN

W. John Logan  
Director, Compliance Division

WJLogan:rmm

SATURDAY, JANUARY 16, 1943

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER

# PEOPLE AND PLACES

By WALTER WHITE

## Warren Brown's Charges

THERE IS just enough truth in some of the charges made against the Negro press by Warren Brown in the "Saturday Review of Literature" and the "Readers' Digest" to make his articles dangerous to the point of being menacing. Because no good service to the Negro's cause can be rendered by attempting to match generalization against generalization or extreme against extreme, it is to be hoped that Brown's assertions will be treated by the Negro press and by Negroes themselves with cold analysis rather than heat.

Before taking up his charges, let's see what makes the charges against the Negro press by a hitherto unknown Negro infinitely more important than they would be if made

by any other one of the thirteen million Negroes in the United States. There is first, of course, the fact that his articles were published in the "Saturday Review of Literature," one of the most respected literary journals. "Readers' Digest," which published a condensation of the article, has the largest circulation of any magazine in the United States, reputed to be in excess of eight million. Had Warren Brown submitted his article as an individual it is probable that both magazines would have rejected it. Instead, it was published because it was vouched for by the Council for Democracy.

What is the Council for Democracy? It is an organization of distinguished, sincere and honest individuals formed in 1940 to combat "the forces of hate, at home and from abroad." It has been particularly concerned since its inception with discrimination against the Negro. The third of its series of pamphlets, "Democracy In Action," was devoted to the Negro and defense by Herbert J. Seligman. Its honorary chairman is the famous Raymond Gram Swing, probably the most widely-listened-to radio commentator in the world today. Proven friends of the Negro like Ernest Angell, its president; Evans Clark, its secretary; Lyman Bryson, chairman of the executive committee, and a board made up of some of the most distinguished citizens of America, attest to its sincerity.

## Some Truth In Indictment

BUT IT WOULD appear that like many well meaning white people they employed Brown and accepted his judgment on Brown's own evaluation. The result is that, backed by so distinguished a group, Brown's specious and sophomoric dicta about the Negro press and Negroes generally were ac-

cepted as authoritative. Thus, what he says will be read and probably accepted by millions of white Americans who never see a Negro newspaper.

Let's look at some of the items in Brown's indictment of the Negro press for which there is some proof. Some of the Negro papers do print stories occasionally without checking the facts carefully enough before printing them.

Far too many of the Negro press feature crimes, especially sex crimes, all out of proportion to the importance of the episodes even if they were committed by persons of national reputation.

There are other questionable practices by a few of the papers such as the publishing of advertisements of dream books, love potions and numbers which one wishes they would cease publishing. The Negro press would be in a much stronger position to answer the charges of men like Brown, both white and colored, if of their own volition they abstained from such questionable practices.

## On The Other Side

Now let's look at some of Brown's other accusations. He wraps the mantle of seer and prophet about his shoulders and arbitrarily divides the Negro masses from "sensation mongering Negro leaders," newspapers and organizations. According to Brown, the mass of Negroes do not join in the demands of Negro newspapers, organizations, church leaders and labor leaders that the beating of Negro soldiers, denial of jobs in war industries, lynching, disfranchisement and second-class citizenship status be ended. If he believes this, he is either ignorant or a fool.

He claims that Negro papers carry only disparaging news about white people. My criticism of the Negro press is just the opposite—that too much space is given uncritically to white people who later turn out to be phoney or who have some sort of political or other ax to grind, particularly around election time. But even after all this is taken into account I know that a very remarkable record would be revealed if an honest and careful count were made of the number of stories and the number of lines of space devoted during the last six months, for example, to speeches, books and acts by distinguished white Americans like the President, Mrs. Roosevelt, Pearl Buck, Wendell Willkie, Sumner Welles, Paul McNutt, Claire Boothe Luce, Philip Murray and many others, as well as of organizations like the Council for Democracy.

Finally, Brown joins hands with all of the Southern liberals like John Temple Graves and with the Bilbos and Connallys when he tries to blame all racial tension on Negroes. This is like a case of a man beating his wife unmercifully until eventually she musters courage enough to protest and then is accused by a bystander of herself being the cause of the trouble.



Walter White



100  
January 26, 1943.

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has your letter of January 20th and asks me to tell you she will be glad to see you about the plans you are working on in connection with the Negro press.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

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*Handwritten notes:*  
1/20/43  
January 20, 1943

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You may already have seen it but, fearing it may have escaped your attention, I am sending you the third of a series of articles by Thomas Sanoton on the situation in the South which is much sounder, in my opinion, than articles like Brown's or Virginus Dabney's.

Sanoton is himself a Southerner who has taken the trouble to go into the areas, urban and rural, to find out the facts. You will be interested also in T. R. B.'s "Washington Notes" on Page 84.

The most tragic aspect of this situation is that no strong voice has been raised in the South to point out how selfish and sinister forces are using race prejudice to fan flames for selfish reasons. I hope shortly to talk with Dr. Frank Graham and Justice Black to discuss the possibility of decent Southerners becoming articulate.

I am also working on certain other plans in connection with the Negro press about which I would like to talk with you at some time convenient for you.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
Director

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

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## Race Fear Sweeps the South

*Third in the Series, "Trouble in Dixie"*

RACE RELATIONS between the whites and the Negroes in America are our most fertile soil for Axis propaganda, and it is obvious that the Germans and the Japanese have not overlooked this field. But it seems to me far from certain that fifth-columnists had anything to do with the dangerous race-riot rumors which swept through Memphis on October 6—or whether the hand of the Axis can be detected unmistakably in any of the other sensational incidents or in the talk of impending race trouble which today dominates the imaginations of Southern white people. This talk of knives and arsenals and blackout massacres is the talk of fever dreams. An old malaise of race fear settles sometimes upon the Southern spirit. For long decades it lies dormant, like malaria, to return with violence in the wake of wars and great upheavals.

The reason this happens in the South is not mysterious. For it is here that the great masses of Negroes live side by side with whites. Mankind is still moved by all the fears and suspicions of the tribe instinct—and no two skins are farther apart in color than the white man's and the Negro's. The whole culture of the South has been built upon these conditions. And a war does weird things to such a culture. It seems to me that two things are true: first, the fantastic rumors of race trouble can, and have in the past, sprout spontaneously in such a background; second, that the Axis agents in this country, whatever their number, would certainly have tried to invade this field. Whatever its original source or combination of sources, the current race tension in the South is a growing threat. It is a military threat. It is, furthermore, a condition drifting out of control. It is time for the proper government services to acknowledge the situation and initiate a broad and open effort to allay it. The government should begin now a campaign to puncture these dangerous rumors, expose their sources and lead the whole field of race relations out of the swamps of nameless fear back onto solid ground.

Efforts toward these ends are now being made by individual editors, writers and organizations, white and black, and these groups are locked in a hopeless tangle of conflicting views. Writings on this subject, including this series, have passed from the remedial stage into the bitterly controversial. The unpublicized efforts which government agencies have made thus far to approach this problem through Southern white and Negro leaders have been far from sufficient. So far as I could see on a recent trip through the South, the efforts got lost somewhere along the line. They ha-

not yet reached the rumor-mongering man in the street or the housewife sitting around the afternoon sewing table. A vastly greater effort is needed. Here in this racial tension exists the threat of a domestic Pearl Harbor that many see coming. Doubtless it will not arrive until the white and Negro soldiers come back from the war. But the way to prevent it is to prevent it, not temporize until the hour has struck, and express thanksgiving on the first anniversary that it wasn't worse.

The race-riot threat at Memphis which was discussed in the January 4 issue of *The New Republic*, was a result of which any Axis agent might have felt proud. I believe that it could have developed spontaneously in the excited imaginations of the white people of Memphis. This at least is the public attitude expressed by the Memphis police commissioner, and implied in a statement of the local FBI. I have been told some wild and dangerous lies about Negroes by white friends in the South who, on any other subject, are responsible and upright people. In Mississippi I was told that the Negroes had bought up the high-powered ammunition in all the sports stores and that "every nigger in town has bought a good gun." In Louisiana an old friend said that all the high-powered ammunition had been bought up by white men. These statements should not be taken too literally. There is a curious air of half-belief and half talk with which Southern white people repeat stories about race trouble. But now a combination of circumstances—the excitement of war, the Negro's new economic independence and the scheming of politicians—have worked together to excite this element in the Southern character. In Memphis, on the occasion of the race-riot rumors in August and October, this emotional pitch reached the point of hysteria.

"These rumors have come to our attention," said the Memphis FBI agent, Percy Wyly, "and we have checked them, with the thought that they have been inspired by foreign agitators, but to date there has been no indication of any foreign agitation among Negroes in this area." (No mention of the possibility of Axis scare propaganda among the whites.)

That was the agent's official statement to the press and, in the manner of the FBI, he would not go into detail. But the agency has been investigating the causes of disturbed race relations throughout the South, and I believe it would disarm some of the dangerous rumor-mongers in the South if the Office of War Information would prepare an adequate public announcement on the basis of the specific incidents in the FBI files. The agency has records of Axis agitation

among Negroes, and has brought about arrests in Harlem, Chicago and other places. But in the South, where some three-fourths of America's 13,000,000 Negroes live, it is extremely doubtful whether FBI records would reveal any instances at all of pro-Axis plotting. I believe it can and should be shown that white bigots and rumor-mongers and brutal demagogues are doing the South—the South which they possess and others love—the tragic disservice they have always done it.

I believe, however, it is also true that many Negroes, North and South, blinded by bitterness, have a confused feeling that the Japanese are at war with the *white* people. This is the Japanese propaganda line; but even this attitude could have developed among many Negroes spontaneously. Most of those who feel this are not willful traitors: only completely disillusioned, cynical, hopeless Negroes. It is not that they are moved by an active interest in a Japanese victory, but that a cold bitterness has taken up its abode within them, and chokes their hearts, and their hearts no longer can respond when the white man speaks of fighting a war across the world for four freedoms and democracy. The white man must hold himself largely responsible for this; but the thing is nevertheless intolerable and it must be fought. Fighting it is a dual responsibility. It rests partly on white leaders, who must start right now—and no timid and hypocritical double talk about it—to prepare the way for major social reforms in the Negro's behalf; and it rests partly on the Negro's leaders, who have got to bring a burning realization to their own people that the Negro's victory at home depends totally, utterly, completely on America's victory, *the Negro's victory*, in the war against the Japanese and the Germans. There is no room for cheap sneering on these issues—either by William P. Witherow of the NAM or by any faint-hearted or cynical Negro leader. The issues are clear. The white man who clings to white racism might ask an Englishman what his arrogant whiteness got him in Burma and Hong Kong: treachery by natives and a Japanese bayonet in the belly. And the Negro who clings to his colored racism while rebelling against the white man's, might invoke the spirit of some raped and butchered yellow Chinese woman of Nanking to ask what mercy her color won for her, and whether the Japanese are at war with the *white* people.

I want to discuss in greater detail these generalizations about both the white and Negro psychology, as it can be observed in the South today, but now I will continue with emphasis for the time being on the white man's attitude.

In Memphis Joe Boyle, commissioner of public safety, told me that a race-riot scare which swept through the city in connection with the first test blackout last August "got started among a group of white people out at one of the best country clubs, people who had nothing to do but sit around and talk." Joe Boyle,

a friendly, white-haired politician, went over the situation with me in a rambling conversation. Occasionally some Negroes got out of line, he said, but the average Negro still knew his place, and he still knew the white man was his friend so long as he kept to that place. It wasn't only the Negroes who were stirred up, he said; everybody was. He thought that Memphis newspapers which had jumped him some months earlier for buying new guns and equipment must feel satisfied now that he did so. The new material consisted of "twenty machine guns, forty shotguns, tear gas and ammunition." To a question he said no, it was not so much the Negroes he was worrying about when he bought the equipment; it was everything. Labor agitators. Communists. Everything. The whole world was turned upside down.

Joe Boyle's boss is E. H. Crump, sixty-seven, a tall, friendly, white-haired politician. He has held Memphis' politics in the palm of his hand since 1909, although he now has no official position. He has voted Negroes, whenever he needed them, for some thirty years. (This is a political phenomenon unique in the South, but not significant.) The Negro used to vote for whiskey and watermelon. In the last presidential election Boss Crump found that the Memphis Negroes had grown up. They were listening to their own leaders, and their leaders wanted to go back into the Republican Party. Joe Boyle's police ran the leaders, three of them, out of town. One had a restaurant, one a drug store. Police stood at the entrances and searched customers for "weapons and dope." The shops closed and the Negroes left town.

This has left a standing resentment among Memphis Negroes and contributed to their maturing race awareness and to their expressed desire for better treatment. When they crowd in the back of Memphis' Jim Crow streetcars, going to and from their work for white employers, they are more apt these days to make some sullen, muttered answer when jostled by a white man. A Memphis laundry put up a huge mechanical sign of a Negro mammy at a wash-tub, her ample rear facing toward the public. The Negroes didn't like this. They have a growing sense of dignity, and ridicule their own Uncle Tom and Aunt Dinah types—their own phrase—who play up to the white man's conception of the Negro as a clown. A prominent Negro business man did not remove his hat in the public waiting room of the United States Employment Services. When told to do so in an insulting manner, he turned and walked out. He telephoned the office to complain, returned, stated his case, and left again. Two white policemen arrested him, bent him and kicked him, made him stamp on the disputed hat, brought him to city court, where he was fined \$10. The Negroes didn't like this either. The fine was later returned, with soothing words by a city official that "we have extremists in both races." The Negroes still didn't like it. Their local paper said so.

And undoubtedly, as has happened throughout the South, incidents like this have made many of them sullen and bitter. It is reflected in their eyes and their faces and their speech when they talk to white people. And many of them are quitting their menial jobs with white employers to take better-paying jobs in defense industries. Many a Negro mother with two or three sons in the service is drawing \$50 or \$75 a month from the government. And many of these are quitting white housewives, who assumed all along that their servants were perfectly happy in their work, at \$5 a week.

There is no reason for singling out Memphis except that the race restlessness there has been sharply outlined by a riot scare. Developments like this are taking place all over the South. They add up to something mysterious and frightening to the majority of white Southerners. They accept rumors of Negro rebelliousness without question, and exaggerate them in the telling. It is not hard to understand how stories of ammunition and knives, race riots and "Eleanor clubs" go the rounds, once they are started. But one thing I should like to ask the FBI is, who starts them? This whole subject should be aired in Washington. It has not been, I suppose, for fear of offending Southern officials and of adding to the breach which already exists between the Southern politicians and the New Deal. But the question still stands: who starts these rumors? It is easy enough to see how an excited white Southerner would be eager to pass them on. But these stories are definite, dynamic lies. They give place-names, dates and times for Negro uprisings. They have created a whole mythology about the doings of Eleanor clubs. Who makes them up? Do they spring to being in the minds of New Deal-hating Southerners, or do they constitute a propaganda line tailor-made in Berlin for the Southern states? In any event, their results would be the same. And I suppose any group of people eager to tell a lie could also furnish the lie.

A group of Negro leaders from ten Southern states, meeting in Atlanta on December 14, in order to form an opposition to the wild rumors lest they destroy every legitimate effort of the Negro to press for his long-standing goals, recommended the organization of Negro domestics into unions with recognized affiliations. "It seems desirable to emphasize," they said, "that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis-inspired rumors of so-called Eleanor clubs." At her press conference on September 1, Mrs. Roosevelt said that government investigation of the mythical Eleanor clubs (which in rumor she was supposed to have been organizing among Negro servants to agitate against white Southern housewives) had proved that these organizations existed only in the imaginations of the rumor-mongers. Mrs. Roosevelt said she supposed the rumors started as a result of so many Negro women obtaining higher wages in war factories, thus leaving their employers without servants. It would be interest-

ing to know, and perhaps eventually the OWI will tell, who started the Eleanor-club stories, and where they were started, Memphis, Jackson, New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, or Berlin.

No Negro I talked to in the South knew of the existence of an Eleanor club. A Negro servant in New Orleans I have known for years could not even understand what I was talking about. But I have heard from white people a hundred of these snide and merciless Eleanor stories on visits to the South during the past year and a half. Mrs. Roosevelt is the most hated symbol the middle-class white South has had since Harriet Beecher Stowe. Honorable men and women, who in their personal lives are true to the rules of decency and character, spread slanderous jokes and lies about her with icy malice. There are enough Eleanor jokes going the rounds, funny jokes, expert jokes, to fill a book. They are personal insults to Mrs. Roosevelt and her family. Whenever Westbrook Pegler comes up with the specialty he finds new friends in the South. Landlords talk of letters which Mrs. Roosevelt has written to Negro tenants telling them "to pay whatever they think the house is worth" and "of course Negroes are as good as white people"; but the letters are not produced. Housewives tell one another of former Negro yardboys who are making fantastic salaries on war jobs. There are a number of stories that may be heard in any city in the South, usually told by some prosperous housewife, and usually alleged to have happened to one of her friends. A typical story is about the white woman who calls a former servant to ask if she knows where a good maid might be found, and gets an answer like "No, I sure doesn't, I've looking for a good maid myself." Another story has it that the Eleanor clubs have the motto "a white woman in the kitchen by Christmas." Another story which has recently gained currency describes mythical "Disappointment clubs," branches of the Eleanor clubs whose members have the special task of disappointing white housewives by not showing up for work when they are most needed.

In conversation among prosperous white people, even on the steps of fashionable churches after the sermon is over, one hears a most callous and un-Christlike kind of talk. Much of it concerns the difficulty of finding Negro maids. "We will never be able to get good maids again until the government stops paying their husbands those ridiculous salaries." The hearts of the kindest and gentlest of Southern women seem steeled against the Negro and anything affecting his well being. In rare instances one will hear a still, small voice speak up like the voice of conscience, "Well I think the Negroes ought to get more money; they certainly don't have a thing in the world now." But a chorus of resentment drowns out such a remark, and someone is bound to add, like a line in a stage play, "You must belong to an Eleanor club, my dear."

THOMAS SANCTON

100

February 2, 1943.

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

Mrs. Roosevelt's day in New York today  
completely filled. Sorry.

Malvina C. Thompson  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

VDS

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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*wire  
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today complete  
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February 1st 1943 (Dictated January 30)

My dear Miss Thompson:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 26th. I shall be in Washington next Monday and Tuesday. Please let me know at my Washington Bureau if either of these days will be agreeable for an appointment with Mrs. Roosevelt.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Miss Malvina C. Thompson,  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

LW:DW

February 11, 1943.

Dear Mr. White:

Madame Chiang does not want  
to appear for special organizations  
but for the Red Cross or War Bonds.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People,  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York.

VDS



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February 5, 1943

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

FEB 6 1943

Have you had opportunity as yet to present to Madame Chiang Kai-Shek the proposal regarding the Madison Square Garden meeting? I do hope that she will accept, because I have sounded out several key people on it who are agreed that a presentation of that sort of the global problem of color would have enormous beneficial repercussions at home and abroad. It is my further thought that Mr. Sumner Welles might be a wise addition to the list of speakers we have discussed.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
 The White House  
 New York City

*WW:RR The doc to be read to you please*

*In Special reg. but for the doc was made.*

February 22, 1945

Dear Mr. White:

I received your letter of February 18,  
enclosing a copy of your letter to Madame Chiang  
Kai-shek.

I now find that Madame Chiang's decision  
is to appear under the auspices of some of her  
Chinese and American friends only.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

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2-22*

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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

**Official Organ: The Crisis**



FFB 13 43

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February  
 16th  
 1945

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I enclose self-explanatory copy of letter which I have written to Madame Chiang. If a conference is arranged, I very much hope that you will be able to join us.

And do be good enough to forward the letter to Madame Chiang, as I do not know where to address her.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

*Tell her I now find her final decision has been only to appear under the auspices*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt of some of her pleasure  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

*Annexed file*

*Tell her a memo that you've decided to be here. I will be glad to join you if she will be.*

WW:DW

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April 15, 1943

Dear Mr. White:

I am so glad to see the article about  
your daughter. I heard much of her, and all  
good, the day we were in Northampton.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

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April 7th  
1943

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

My sending you the enclosed clipping about Jane is only partly the immodesty of a parent. But we hear so many unpleasant things, particularly out of the South, regarding the race question nowadays that this has some small significance, since Smith has a great many Southern students. I thought you would be interested in seeing this indication of how some young people are thinking and acting during times like these.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
Secretary.

*I am so glad I heard something  
that gives me hope for the day we live in*

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

WW:DW

*EW  
(2 letters)*



Student leadership, as exemplified by Jane White, starts on porch steps of dormitory house.



Jane, wearing knee-high red boots, poses.

## 'For the First Time' at Smith College

By Naomi Jolles

President of the House of Representatives at Smith College for the coming year will be Jane White, daughter of Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

President of Rep. along with the President of Student Government and Chairman of the Judicial Board, are the three most coveted titles at Smith. The girls in these positions are responsible for many of the rules governing student life at the campus.

Jane White was chosen for the office over sixty nominees by an electoral board of 30 campus leaders who conferred with professors and students on the qualifications of each candidate.

SCAN, the college newspaper, heralded Jane's election with the following editorial, under the heading, "For the First Time".

"There has been much discussion recently about racial equality. There have been lectures sponsored by the college, *Monthly* has devoted an issue to Negro art, *Scan* has treated the problem of racial prejudice in its editorial column and its Post-War Forum, and the art gallery held an exhibition of Negro painting. We now find that the students who have cried for racial equality have not been uttering meaningless words. For the first time in the history of Smith College, one of the three leaders of student government is a Negro. Electoral Board, finding her the best

candidate for the office, felt free to appoint her, confident that she would have the backing of the student body. We hope that, to colleges which still do not even admit Negro students, this occurrence will serve as an outward sign of our sincere belief that the healthiest community is one in which many races play an integral part."

The fifty-nine other residents of Morris House, the dormitory of which Jane is vice-president, expressed their delight at the distinction which had come to her by sending a corsage of orchids and choking her room with gifts of potted plants and flowers.

During the night they staged a mock fire drill as a ruse to get her down to the living room where they threw a party in her honor and presented her with a silver pin.

Faculty members, although thoroughly pleased, released no news of the election. It was felt that if Smith were truly democratic, there should be no differentiation—good or bad—between students because of wealth or creed, race or nationality. Ergo, no story was warranted. News, therefore, first leaked out through the Negro press.

Jane (or Janie, as she is known all over the campus) is 20 years old, five feet six inches tall with a lovely lithe body and a pair of beautiful legs.

Although faded and ragged denim ranch pants are the current sartorial rage at Smith, Janie usually goes to class in a skirt and knee-high red

boots. She habitually strides across the campus with head thrown back and her throat bubbling with laughter. In repose, however, her face takes on a serious, dreamy quality.

She has considerable tact and a manner of asking people to do things that makes it seem like a privilege. Others quickly warm to her interest in their problems, which is quick and sincere.

She is faithful about remembering birthdays and anniversaries but places implicit trust in her date book.

Now in her junior year, Janie chose Smith upon her graduation from the Fieldston School in New York because of its excellent music and sociology departments.

Although she is a quick bright student, scholastically she doesn't match her cousin Gladys White, who was graduated from Smith in 1940 with one of the highest Phi Beta Kappa records ever achieved.

"My father always comforts me," she said, "by telling people Jane will make her mark in other fields."

Janie's cultural contributions to the college have been widely recognized, particularly in music and dancing. She is a member of Alpha Phi Kappa Psi, the Phi Beta Kappa of the arts, and chairman of the Arts Guild, an organization encompassing all the art groups on the campus.

She is a leader of the dance group, one of the



She is a leader of the dance group, conceived Junior Rally program depicting melting pot.



She flies through air with greatest of ease.



She has lithe body and pair of beautiful legs.

most popular extra-curricular activities at Smith. For the Junior Rally Day show, she conceived and directed a dance program entitled, "What Is America?" and depicting the Melting Pot.

"I wanted to show how people of various nationalities do not just become cogs in the wheel, but bring their native cultures to enrich this country," she explained.

Except for dancing, which she adores, her only other athletic interest is fencing, which she first picked up at Fairhaven. "Actually, it's the only sport I'm good at," she laughed.

Her current hobby is writing songs, both music and words. A number of them have proved very popular at student shows and the girls in Morriss House constantly cluster around her at the living-room piano, begging her to sing.

One called, "All I Can Remember," she plans to have copyrighted as soon as she can get some one to write down the music. "I can't write music," she confessed.

Janie has a promising mezzo-soprano voice which she would like to use professionally, but admits that her plans are still nebulous. "You never know with a voice," she said, "and I'll have to see how it develops in my next year of study here."

Her academic major at Smith is sociology. "You see, Puppa being a sociologist," she said, "naturally, I have always had an interest in the field."

She is much concerned over the deplorable conditions in Harlem and has recently completed a term paper on "Harlem, A Breeding Ground for Social Maladjustment."



Bike is favorite mode of campus locomotion.



A skilled pianist, Janie leads girls in song-fest, contributing with own mezzo-soprano voice.

Much of her thinking has been influenced by her parents. She praises their tolerance, though, saying, "They have always let me form my own thinking patterns and criteria. They've never laid down any dogma on what I should believe or shouldn't. Even when I first started to go out with boys, they never judged the boy from their standards, but always tried to look at him through my eyes."

A photograph of her father is prominently displayed in her room and she has the congratulatory telegram he sent when she was chosen president of Reg, stuck in the mirror. He wound it up, saying, "I am terribly proud of you. Soon I'll be known only as Jane White's father."

Her fourth floor room at Morriss House is simply but tastefully decorated with chintz slip covers, bedspread and drapes.

On the walls are hung reproductions of Franz Hals' "The Bohemian Girl" and Grant Wood's "Arbor Day." A composite picture made of snapshots of her best friends at Smith stands on the bookcase.

The house mother says that not only is Janie one of the most considerate girls in the house, thoughtfully abiding by all rules, but that her room is habitually the neatest in the dormitory.

Janie belongs to the Book of the Month Club, but deplores the fact that these days she never has enough time to read. However, she was greatly affected by Thomas Mann's "The Magic Mountain," which she read last summer.

"Although there is very little action, I have never read anything so thought provoking," she

said. For poetry and philosophy, she'd choose Kahlil Gibran's "The Prophet."

"I swear by it," she said. She confides in some healthy potential extravagances:

"Movies, theatre, clothes particularly tweeds, and sundae. I squeak them, though," she sighed. Through her father's associations, Janie has come in contact with outstanding personalities in many fields and it has given her a poise much beyond that of the average 20-year-old.

She was much taken with Wendell Willkie, who visited the White home in New York on a recent weekend that Janie was down from Smith.

Until she was seventeen, Janie spent the summers in New England or traveling with her family. The year she was five, they lived in France. "Somewhere I guess my knowledge of French just hung on," she said with pleasure. "A French girl at college said my accent was pure South of France. That's exactly where we were."

Two years ago she felt she was quite worthwhile if she didn't go to work. So she got a summer job with the Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board in New York.

"I don't know quite what I'll do this summer, but I hope to earn enough money partially to support myself at school next year."

On Sunday nights last year, Janie hosted at the Stage Door Canteen, where for once she had a chance to dance as much as she liked.

"You know, I was profoundly impressed to see the way white and colored fraternized at the Canteen," she said earnestly. "It just shows you it can be done."



Janie is quick, bright student, but admits she doesn't match Phi Beta Kappa wizard cousin.

5-1

File - answer was sent yesterday to his other  
letter - and he was told over telephone  
that Mrs. Roosevelt could not go.



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April 29, 1943

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You have been on the move so much these last few days that the enclosed letter I sent you on April 20 may not have overtaken you. I had hoped to see you today before leaving early tomorrow morning for Memphis. But Miss Heffron tell me that you do not expect to arrive until so late this afternoon it will be doubtful if you could see me today.

I am, therefore, sending you this letter with the hope that you will be able to wire me at New York that you will speak at Detroit on June 6. I have just talked with Philip Murray in Los Angeles and he is going to speak if certain matters which he and the President are discussing do not interfere.

Paul Robeson and Judge Hastie have accepted. Marian Anderson is making an effort to rearrange concert engagements in Mexico so as to fly back to Detroit to sing. We are making an effort to have present two or three of the outstanding Negro heroes of the war to stimulate enthusiasm for the war on the part of Negroes and to call attention of white America to the part the Negro is playing in the war.

Yesterday I talked with Colonel Charles Poletti regarding participation of a mixed contingent of soldiers from Fort Custer as a dramatic and visual demonstration of democracy in the armed services. We have also asked the War Department to permit the participation of the excellent band at Fort Custer. Charlie raised the question of the possibility of your not caring for this since you dislike personal escorts and guards of honor. I took the liberty of telling him that I thought under these circumstances you would approve this.

In brief, what we are hoping to achieve at

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

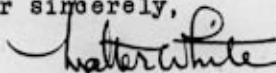
-2-

April 29, 1943

Detroit is, first, pointing out the advances that have been made and, second, calling on America to correct the situations as speedily as is wise and possible which need to be changed.

As the time is quite short and a great deal has to be done in working out the details of the meeting, would you be good enough to telegraph me at New York if you will speak. Aside from the publicity in the newspapers, we are printing placards and other literature and we want also to take up as soon as possible with the three radio chains the broadcasting of the meeting.

Ever sincerely,



Director

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

WW p

100  
April 30, 1943

Dear Mr. White:

I am very sorry, but I cannot go to Detroit on June 6. I have traveled so much lately that I cannot plan to go far away that week, when I have several engagements here.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

0

♡

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 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



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*act  
4-30*

*Very important -  
 must go in front of  
 have handled to  
 April 20, 1943  
 [Handwritten signatures and notes]*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I had hoped to see you here today but Miss Heffron tells me that you will not be back in Washington until the end of the month. She has graciously consented to forward this letter to you in the speediest possible manner.

I wanted to extend to you on behalf of the Board of Directors a most cordial invitation to speak in the Briggs Stadium at Detroit, which seats forty thousand, on Sunday, June 6, at 3:00 p.m. This meeting will be the climax of a three-day emergency conference to discuss ways and means of achieving greater participation by the Negro and other minorities in the winning of the war and of the peace.

To comply with the request of the Office of Defense Transportation regarding meetings in war time, we shall limit attendance from outside the Detroit area. But we hope by means of the radio and other publicity to get over to the people of the country the benefits of the deliberations at Detroit.

At this closing session on June 6 the twenty-eighth Spingarn medal will be presented to Judge Hastie. We have invited Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., to make the presentation. Other participants who have been invited are Marian Anderson, Philip Murray and Paul Robeson.

It is imperative that we have the honor of your presence. The continued inactivity of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the determined efforts to destroy or emasculate the Farm Security Administration, the National Youth Administration, the housing program and other agencies by the

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

-2-

April 20, 1943

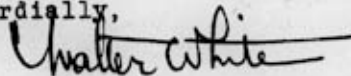
reactionary bloc in Congress has driven the morale of Negroes to a dangerously low point.

We plan at Detroit to focus attention not only on the disabilities which keep the Negro from participating to the fullest extent in the winning of the war and the peace but also to point out those modest gains which have been made through the efforts of persons like yourself.

May I, therefore, add my very sincere wish to that of the Board of Directors that you find time in your busy schedule to come and speak. No voice would be more heartening than yours.

As the time is short and we are eager to begin advertising and publicity immediately, will you be good enough to telegraph me collect at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, your decision.

Cordially,



Director

P.S. Jane and Mrs. White were delighted by your gracious note regarding what you heard about Jane at Northampton. At the invitation of the British Broadcasting Company, Jane participated last Sunday in a broadcast on colleges and education in war time.

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

WW p

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# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



for  
 June 6  
 100  
 May 3rd  
 1943

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for even considering crowding the speech in Detroit on June 6th into your very heavy schedule. May I say to you personally and confidentially that we hesitated a long time about inviting you first, because of the pressure of work on you and second, because the very vicious attacks on you, particularly in the South, might have caused a speech by you at this time under the auspices of the NAACP to put you on the spot. And we wouldn't for anything want to do that.

We have asked Mr. Ickes to speak both because of his own stand on the race question and as a spokesman for the government.

May I also extend my thanks and congratulations to you on that superb speech you made at the Golden Gate auditorium yesterday. As I sat in the audience and watched you and Mrs. Bethune--two great Americans--I felt more than ever that we can obtain democracy if we only follow your advice to be courageous enough to fight for it.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary.

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

WW:DW

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE  
 WAR FOR FREEDOM—Detroit, Michigan, June 3-6, 1943

July 8, 1943

100

My dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for your letter. I am glad if I have been helpful and only wish there were more I could do. The attacks made upon me do not bother me in the least.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
NAACP  
69 Fifth Ave.  
New York 3, N.Y.

DD

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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



**JUL 7 1943**

*C. E. R.  
 7/8/43*

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Though not all of us may take the trouble to say it to you, I want you to know that many millions of Americans, both white and Negro, are grateful to you and bitterly resentful of the vicious attacks being made upon you because you have courageously taken the position that democracy should be practiced as well as preached in the United States. We know it is superfluous to tell you this, but I want to say anyway - that the measure of the character of those who attack you is best gauged by their attempts to blame you for what took place in Detroit. That is always the way of the coward and the poltroon. Do not let it dishearten or disturb you, as I am sure it will not.

Please do not take the trouble to answer this, because I would not wish to add to your already heavy burden. But I did want you to know how I felt and how many others with whom I have talked shared this feeling.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

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

WW:RR



Is this a date?

no

W

but so you could notice

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Wilmington, Del.

August 18th  
 1943

AUG 20 RECD

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Your radio speech of Sunday, August 15,  
 was a superb statement of democracy at its  
 best.

Cordially,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary.

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

Ww: Dv

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*Noted*

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis



October 20  
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We have noted that your membership-contribution for 1942 in the amount of \$10.00 has not been renewed, and it occurred to us that perhaps we have been remiss in informing you of the work which your membership has helped make possible.

As you can imagine, during these war years the prime emphasis in the work of this Association has been upon placing the maximum effort behind the fight for victory. Our special interest, of course, has been along the lines of securing the greatest participation by American Negroes in all phases of the war effort so that the country might have maximum utilization of all its manpower resources irrespective of race, creed, or color. Therefore, we have continued our campaign for citizenship rights because we believe the full enjoyment of those rights by the Negro minority is completely in line with the expressed war aims. We have sought by every means to secure wider employment opportunities for Negroes in war industries and elsewhere. We have been active in combatting the practices and policies within the armed forces which have, in many instances, not only discouraged and disheartened Negroes in uniform, but have operated to upset the Negro civilian population.

We wish to report that we believe there has been a definite improvement in the whole situation although, as might reasonably be expected, conditions at present are not ideal, and there is continuing need for activity by the NAACP. A detailed outline of the work of 1942 was contained in the annual report of that year which was mailed you some time ago.

We trust that you will wish to continue to cooperate in this program by using the enclosed renewal blank for your membership contribution.

Ever sincerely,  
 Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
 White House  
 Washington, D. C.

*Walter White*

Secretary.

WW:elj

October 22, 1945

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Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has received an appeal from the National Negro Foundation, 1126 North Sixth Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Edgar C. Schell is founder and organizer.

An outline of the plan for raising funds, which Mr. Schell has sent to Mrs. Roosevelt, is enclosed. Before making any response to the appeal, Mrs. Roosevelt would appreciate your opinion of this organization and its work.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

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My dear Mrs. Thompson:

I have your letter making inquiry about the National Negro Foundation.

I have no knowledge regarding this organization but am asking a member of our staff to get me the facts which I shall forward to you as soon as I have them. I do not know Mr. Schell.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

Mrs. Malvina C. Thompson  
 Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

WW:RR

November 3, 1943

Dear Mr. White:

The President tells me, after reading your letter to me, that he does not wish to be in a position of appearing to approve anyone's going abroad, because there are so many people want to go and transportation is so extremely difficult. If he begins approving people he would be constantly in the position of picking out this one or that one, to go here or there, and he does not want to be in that position.

He will be glad to talk with you about your trip, but he says he can not tell the War Department that he wishes you to go ahead of anybody else, or that he has any interest in your going, beyond the fact that if you are going, he is ready to talk over with you what you are going to do.

As I told you, I shall be delighted to see you and tell you anything I can.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
N.R.A.C.P.  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

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 1943

*W. WHITE*

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am most happy to have had your expression of interest in my forthcoming trip to the European and Pacific theatres of operation.

Here are the purposes and the proposed itinerary.

PURPOSES

(1) To visit all areas as far as possible in which American Negro troops are stationed or have been stationed and to be of such service as may be desired in adjusting whatever difficulties may have occurred between them and the American white troops or others. I have offered to make a confidential report to the War Department and, if he desires it, to the President based on my observations.

(2) To render such service as may be possible in bolstering morale of American Negro troops by (a) demonstration of the Association's interest in sending its Executive Secretary to the battlefronts; (b) consulting with them and with their commanding officers; (c) helping in any other ways to strengthen morale.

(3) To report on my return through meetings, articles, press releases, and other media, subject to the rules and regulations of the War and Navy departments, to relatives and friends of colored soldiers and to the public at large on conditions as observed.

(4) To serve as war correspondent for LIFE and TIME magazines if the matter of accreditation between the War Department and LIFE is straightened out. It is

November 1, 1943

proposed that I do at least three articles: one comprehensive article on the European theatre; one on the Pacific theatre; and one on Felix Eboue, Governor General of French Equatorial Africa who by his refusal to follow the example of Petain, Darlan, and other French leaders in surrendering to Hitler and Vichy in the fall of France in 1940 kept French Equatorial Africa free of Nazi domination and thus contributed to a speedier landing of United Nations troops in North Africa.

I have also been requested by the New York Post and other publications to write articles on my observations.

(5) To write a short but an objective, factual picture of the global problem of relations between the white and non-white peoples of the world. It is my hope that in this book I may be able to contribute modestly to an understanding of the problems of imperialism, colonialism and race, not as isolated phenomena but in relation to economic, political, and other questions which must be solved if we are to avoid another war.

#### PROPOSED ITINERARY

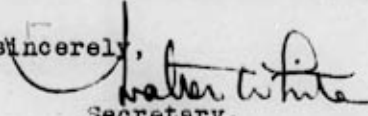
I have discussed on several occasions with officials of the War Department and with the editors of LIFE the question of making one around-the-world trip, or of splitting up the trip into two--the first one to the Atlantic theatre, and the second to the Pacific theatre. If one trip is made, the itinerary roughly would be as follows: New York to Dakar via the Azores or Brazil to French Equatorial Africa, Liberia, England and Ireland back to North Africa, to Sicily, Italy, Iraq, Iran, Russia, India, China, Australia and other Pacific islands, the Aleutians, Alaska, and thence to Continental United States.

If the trip is divided into two parts, the first will include French Equatorial Africa, Liberia, England, Ireland, North Africa, Sicily, and Italy and thence back to the United States. The second trip will include the Pacific, China and India, going westward via San Francisco or other West Coast City.

The proposed trip has met with enthusiastic approval from all of the persons with whom I have discussed it. The War Department has approved the trip so Mr. McCloy and General Surlles have informed me. Mr. Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation wrote me that my personnel security application form was received at the Department of Justice on the afternoon of September 24th and was approved and returned to the War Department on the morning of the 25th. The War Department has informed me that approval by the President would greatly facilitate the speed with which the journey could be made. That is one of the reasons why I want very much to discuss it with him.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
Hyde Park,  
New York

Ever sincerely,

  
Secretary.



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November 11, 1943.

Dear Mr. White:

I am afraid there was some misunderstanding. Miss Thompson told your secretary that the President suggested your telephoning on Thursday to find out if it was possible for the President to see you on Friday. Unfortunately, he was too busy.

I do not know when it will be possible for the President to see you, but when you are more definite as to the date of your leaving, let me know. In the meantime, as I said before, I'll be glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Ass'n for the Advancement  
of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York (3), New York.

VDS

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November 9, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of explanation of the President's position. I, of course, would not for a moment think of subjecting him to any embarrassment. I did want, however, to discuss the trip with him because of my conviction, which is shared by some others whose opinion is broader, that the racial problem both as a national and world question is of such importance that my trip would be in a somewhat different category from that of just a war correspondent. There are several persons I could name who could do the job much better than I but who, unfortunately, are not in position to make the trip.

The plan you made for me to see the President last Friday did not materialize. I followed Miss Thompson's telephoned instruction, transmitted at your request, to telephone Miss Tully last Thursday. I called several times but, unfortunately, she was either busy or out of the White House. Mrs. Brady informed me when I telephoned on Friday morning that Miss Tully did not understand that I was to see the President on Friday, as Miss Thompson advised me. She stated that a Cabinet meeting and a press conference made it impossible for me to see the President on Friday. On Saturday Mrs. Brady telephoned our Washington office that the President was very sorry that he cannot see me at this time.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
 The White House  
 New York City

WW:RR

Nov. 21

file

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Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

November 21, 1943

Mrs. Roosevelt will see you Sunday 21st 5:00 p.m. at 29 Washington Square West.

Malvina Thompson  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt

*Mr. White  
do not know  
send the message  
the whole message  
was sent.*

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



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Wilmington, Del.

*ack  
 Nov 17 1943  
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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of November 11 which I find on my return to the city.

I know how great is the pressure upon the President during these parlous times and am sorry that there was misunderstanding.

Colonel Marshall Newton informed me Monday that General Eisenhower had cabled that all the places for correspondents in the North African Theatre were at present filled. I explained to Colonel Newton that I did not expect to reach the North African Theatre until anywhere from four to six weeks after landing in England. Since General Davis and others in the War Department felt that I ought to spend at least a month in England and Ireland alone. I hope also to go to Liberia and to French Equatorial Africa. Colonel Newton then informed me that the quota had been established for England and he said the War Department would cable that day to England regarding my coming there. I was also advised to get ready, which I am proceeding to do.

I had a most interesting talk on Monday with Lord Halifax, about which I should like to talk with you at your convenience. Do you expect to be in New York any time this week? Unhappily, I have appointments here all the rest of this week. so that I would not be able to return to Washington. But I can be in Washington on either Tuesday, November 23, or Wednesday, the 24th, if either of those dates is convenient for you.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

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

Secretary

December 1, 1943.

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Dear Mr. White:

I am so sorry about the reply you received from the War Department but there is nothing I can do except urge them to let you go as soon as transportation makes it possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York (3), New York.

VDS

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 ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS,  
 WASHINGTON BUREAU

November 29, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is a most disappointing letter which I have just received from the War Department. This comes just after I had received word from Lord Halifax that he had notified Mr. Anthony Eden, Mr. Brendan Bracken and others that I would shortly be in England. Lord Halifax had requested that appointments be made with Mr. Churchill and with others. There has been considerable skepticism among a good many people that the War Department would permit me to go overseas and to see conditions as they exist. I have told all these persons that the War Department and other government agencies had manifested complete cooperation in making arrangements for the trip and that any question of their motives was unjustified. I am now placed in a most embarrassing position.

But over and above these considerations is the fact that it is my conviction that useful purposes might have been served by my visiting the battle areas.

In view of our recent conversation, I am delaying answering Colonel Newton's letter or communicating with Messrs. Patterson and McCloy until I have heard from you. But I wanted you to see this letter with its disappointing news.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
 29 Washington Square  
 New York City

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 12/1/43*

WAR DEPARTMENT  
Bureau of Public Relations

Washington

26 November 1943

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. White:

It is with exceeding regret that I must inform you that unfavorable replies from Theater Commanders prevent your accreditation as a war correspondent. I am inclosing, for your information, a copy of a letter sent today to Mr. Paul A. Tierney, Managing Editor of the New York Post.

I know this will be a disappointment to you, but I also know that from our previous conversations you are aware of the overcrowding in all theaters and the necessity for limitation which has been enforced on theater commanders by circumstances.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Marshall E. Newton  
Lt. Colonel, A.U.S.  
Chief, Overseas Liaison Branch

1-Incl.  
Cpy ltr to P.A. Tierney

26 November 1943

Mr. Paul A. Tierney  
Managing Editor  
THE NEW YORK POST  
75 West Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Tierney:

In reply to your letters of 2 November and 12 November concerning accreditation of Mr. Walter White as a representative of the New York Evening Post in specified theaters of operation, I regret that because of unfavorable replies from Theater Commanders we are unable to accredit Mr. White. Decision of the Theater Commanders regarding acceptance of correspondents in a given theater is final.

Sincerely,

MARSHALL E. NEWTON  
Lt. Colonel, A.U.S.  
Chief, Overseas Liaison Branch

cad  
cc: Mr. W. White



file

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December 2, 1943

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for sending me the statement signed by the key Negro organizations. I think it is an excellent statement.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
69 Fifth Avenue  
NYC

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**Wilmington, Del.**

November  
 29th  
 1943

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is the text of the statement signed  
 by representatives of the key Negro organizations  
 which attempts to give a picture of the thinking  
 of Negro voters.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WW: DW

#### A DECLARATION BY NEGRO VOTERS

The Negro voter has not yet chosen sides for 1944.

His vote cannot be purchased by distributing money to and through party hacks. It cannot be won by pointing to jobs given to a few individual Negroes, although the recognition of the Negro as an integral part of the body politic through the selection of qualified Negroes for appointive or elective offices is included among the Negro's demands. The Negro vote no longer can be won by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day.

The Negro voter will support a political party which by words and deeds shows its determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged people in this country. The Negro knows that his voting strength in 17 or more states with 281 or more votes in the electoral college gives him the potential balance of power in any reasonably close national election and in many state and local elections. His vote no longer belongs to any one political party. Although the Negro has largely supported the Democratic Party in recent years, it is highly significant that in 1943 the Negro vote played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as Judge in the same community, a Democratic Mayor in Cleveland and a Republican Governor in Kentucky with phenomenal manifestations of independent voting in many other important centers. Public officers who have not made a record of liberal and democratic action may expect the Negro to help remove them from office. If their successors are no better, they may expect the same fate at the next election. For if the Negro does not always find any satisfactory candidate to support, he can and will continue to help remove unsatisfactory officials until truly democratic forces shall come into power.

The undersigned are officers of church, fraternal, labor, civic and educational organizations with a total membership of more than 6,000,000. Though we speak as individuals, we shall recommend to the membership our respective organizations that Negroes shall measure all appeals

for  
their support made by political parties and by presidential and other candidates according to the following yardstick:

1. The Negro people, like all other Americans, recognize the war as the chief issue confronting our country. We demand of any political party desiring the support of Negroes a vigorous prosecution of the war. We are opposed to any negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces within our country. Victory must crush Hitlerism both at home as well as abroad.

In evaluating the merits of parties and candidates we must include all issues—those touching the life of Negroes as a group as well as those affecting the entire country. The party or candidate who refuses to help control prices, or fails to support the extension of social security, or refuses to support a progressive public program for full post war employment, or opposes an enlarged and unsegregated program of government-financed housing, or seeks to destroy organized labor, is as much the enemy of the Negro as is he who would prevent the Negro from voting.

2. We insist upon the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes, white democratic primaries, the gerrymandering of districts, or any other device designed to disfranchise the Negro and other voters. Any political party in power, or aspiring to power, must demonstrate its determination through legislation and through vigorous criminal prosecution by the Department of Justice to protect and secure voting as a fundamental right of citizenship.

3. The ever-serious evil of lynching and mob violence has become more critical as a result of unrestrained violence against Negroes in the armed services. No national administration can merit the support of the Negro unless it is committed to a legislative and administrative program for the elimination of this national disgrace.

4. Republican and Democratic members of the Senate alike have attempted to delude us by alleging that they favor anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and other legislation against which filibusters by Southern Democrats have been waged but on which these Republican and Democratic Senators from states where Negroes vote refuse to vote for cloture. We refuse to accept such subterfuges any longer. A vote against cloture

failure to vote for cloture will be construed by us as opposition to whatever legislation for the benefit of the Negro and other minorities against which a filibuster is waged. The Senate rule requiring a two-thirds majority to end debate, combined with the refusal of Senators to vote for cloture, is one of the greatest obstacles to liberal legislation in general and to legislation for the betterment of the Negro's status in particular. Negroes insist that national parties and individual candidates for senator pledge in advance their support to the abolition of this two-thirds rule now required for cloture.

5. The program now being carried on through the Fair Employment Practice Committee to secure and protect the right to work without racial or religious discrimination must be continued and expanded during and after the war. No party or candidate for the Presidency or Congress can deserve the vote of the Negro without supporting a liberal appropriation for a Fair Employment Practice Committee when that issue shall be presented in the Spring of 1944 and such legislation as is needed further to secure the right of minorities to work without discrimination.

6. No injustice embitters Negroes more than continued segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. The policy of the present administration with reference to the Negro in the armed forces is bad in principle and has failed. Any party which hopes to win the support of Negroes must adopt a new and democratic program for their integration into the armed forces including the following provisions:

- (a) Full integration of the Negro into the armed forces without segregation.
- (b) The abolition of quotas by race of the medical corps, nurse corps, technical and all other branches of service throughout the armed forces,
- (c) A vigorous and purposeful program of education in decent and democratic race relations to be carried out throughout the Army and Navy.
- (d) A radically revised Navy program which will include the acceptance of Negroes as commissioned officers, the use of Negroes in general and technical service on sea-going vessels, the elimination of restrictions preventing capable messmen from

-4-

transfer and promotion out of that service and the acceptance of Negro women in the WAVES, SPARS, and nurse corps without segregation.

(e) The abolition of segregation in recreational and other facilities at army posts and naval shore installations as well as the abolition of segregation of blood plasma for the armed services.

(f) The progressive removal of Negro troops from those areas where they are treated with violence, abuse and disrespect in the civilian community in view of the demonstrated inability of the federal authorities, military and civil, to cope with such behaviour.

(g) Negroes now largely denied the right to serve in combat forces must be given the same opportunity as others to serve in this field as well as all other branches of the service.

7. We are concerned that this war bring to an end imperialism and colonial exploitation. We believe that political and economic democracy must displace the present system of exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India, and all other colonial areas. We insist that all parties and candidates formulate a foreign policy which will resolutely and unequivocally oppose either perpetuation or extension of exploitation based upon "white superiority" or economic or political advantage to "white" nations at the expense of the two-thirds of the people of the earth who are brown, yellow, or black of skin. The United States must point the way by including Negroes among its representatives at the peace conference or peace conferences and among its diplomatic, technical and professional experts engaged in international post war reconstruction.

8. Negro Americans are fully aware of the forces in this country which are now attempting to effect the nomination of reactionary or vacillating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in both major political parties.

Also Negro voters are distrustful of most candidates who come

from those states which deny Negroes opportunity to vote and confine them to rigid patterns of segregation and inferior status. No candidate from any section of the country will be acceptable to Negro voters unless he has clearly demonstrated opposition to and departure from the prevailing anti-Negro traditions.

We hereby serve notice that if either major political party shall nominate for President or Vice-President a candidate of vacillating or reactionary character or with an anti-Negro record, it will be vigorously opposed by the Negro vote.

We repudiate all venal politicians, Negro and white, who attempt for personal profit to "deliver the Negro vote". We hereby serve notice that the Negro has come of age politically.

This statement is designed both to make clear the Negro's present attitude of resentment against the shortcomings of both major political parties and to serve as a guide in measuring the future intentions of parties and candidates. The first test of the honesty of these intentions will be the vote upon the pending poll tax bill and cloture if necessary, and we serve notice on all Senators and their party associates that we will vigorously oppose all Senators who refuse to vote for cloture on this bill. We call upon enlightened labor, church, farm and other groups to oppose actively the current wave of reaction. We will combine on a minimum program with such enlightened groups. Together these groups constitute a majority of the electorate. Together we will beat back the tide of reaction and build a more decent world now and in the post war years which can insure a durable peace.

Elsie Austin, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY

Mary McLeod Bethune, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Dr. R. A. Billings, PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY

Oscar Brown, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Dorothy Hobday Bryant, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED  
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Z. Alexander Looby, OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY

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A. Philip Randolph, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS,  
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METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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George L-P Weaver, NATIONAL CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH  
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Beulah Whitby, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY

Walter White, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF COLORED PEOPLE

Dr. Max Yergan, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS,  
and NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS.



December 17, 1943.

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My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 13th and to tell you she is so sorry she will not be able to attend the opening performance of "Listen Professor". Unfortunately, Mrs. Roosevelt has engagements already scheduled for December 22nd.

However, Mrs. Roosevelt is deeply appreciative of your courtesy in extending this invitation and wishes me to thank you for it.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York (3), New York.

VDS

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# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis

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WW: DW

December  
 13th  
 1943

*Reply  
 ccgs -  
 Thanks*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I tried to reach you by telephone at The White House last week but was unsuccessful. I wanted to transmit on behalf of Miss Jean Muir an invitation to you to attend the opening on December 22nd at the Forrest Theatre of "Listen Professor" about which she has written you. I do hope that Mrs. White and I shall have the pleasure of seeing you there.

Billy Rose has asked me to say to you that he would be delighted to place tickets at your disposal to see "Carmen Jones" anytime you care to do so. Mrs. White and I saw it on the second night in Philadelphia and again at the opening in New York. I can guarantee you one of the liveliest and most enjoyable evenings you have spent in the theatre in a long time.

The War Department notified me this morning by long distance telephone that I had been cleared and accredited for the English Theatre of Operations. I shall probably be leaving shortly after Christmas. I wrote Mr. Roland Hayes as you suggested and he has asked me to come up to Boston, if possible, before leaving to talk with him. This I shall try to do.

Cordially,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary.

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

December 10, 1943

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My dear Miss Muir:

Mrs. Roosevelt is very sorry that she will be unable to be your guest at the opening performance of "Listen, Professor!" She deeply appreciates the cordial invitation extended to her in your letter of the 7th, but engagements which she already has make it impossible for her to accept.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Jean Muir  
Room 1211  
113 West 57th Street  
New York 19  
New York

d.

Milton Baron  
Jean Muir  
Toni Ward

*Ans.*  
*12-10-43*

December 7, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am writing to ask you if you would be our guest at the opening of our play "Listen, Professor!" starring Dudley Digges on the evening of December twenty-second at the Forrest Theatre in New York.

The play, I am sure, will interest you. It is an adaptation of a comedy by Alexander Afinogenov. It is a simple play, warm and full of everyday life of the Soviet citizen. Therefore, it is important in its relations to American-Soviet friendship.

This is my first job of producing and I really am more nervous than all the actors put together!

I was so disappointed not to have met you the evening you spoke at Lincoln University with Walter White.

I hope you can come for I am sure you will have a most enjoyable evening.

Sincerely,

JM:JK

*Jean Muir*

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December 22, 1943.

Mr. Walter White,  
National Association for  
Advancement of Colored People,  
69 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, New York.

The President so busy he doubts he can see you.

Malvina C. Thompson

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

VDS

~~Handwritten scribbles~~

Washington

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MRS ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

WOULD PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE PERMIT HIM IF HE CARES TO DO SO SEE ME BEFORE I LEAVE? I AM NOW ON DAY TO DAY BASIS AND NOT PERMITTED LEAVE NEW YORK CITY BUT COULD, OF COURSE, GET SPECIAL PERMISSION TO COME WASHINGTON TO SEE PRESIDENT

WALTER WHITE 69 FIFTH AVENUE.

*out*  
*12/22/43*  
*would*  
*Pres to*  
*double her*  
*time*  
*meet*

A DECLARATION BY NEGRO VOTERS

The Negro voter has not yet chosen sides for 1944.

His vote cannot be purchased by distributing money to and through party hacks. It cannot be won by pointing to jobs given to a few individual Negroes, although the recognition of the Negro as an integral part of the body politic through the selection of qualified Negroes for appointive or elective offices is included among the Negro's demands. The Negro vote no longer can be won by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day.

The Negro voter will support a political party which by words and deeds shows its determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged people in this country. The Negro knows that his voting strength in 17 or more states with 261 or more votes in the electoral college gives him the potential balance of power in any reasonably close national election and in many state and local elections. His vote no longer belongs to any one political party. Although the Negro has largely supported the Democratic Party in recent years, it is highly significant that in 1943 the Negro vote played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as Judge in the same community, a Democratic Mayor in Cleveland and a Republican Governor in Kentucky with phenomenal manifestations of independent voting in many other important centers. Public officers who have not made a record of liberal and democratic action may expect the Negro to help remove them from office. If their successors are no better, they may expect the same fate at the next election. For if the Negro does not always find any satisfactory candidate to support, he can and will continue to help remove unsatisfactory officials until truly democratic forces shall come into power.

The undersigned are officers of church, fraternal, labor, civic and educational organizations with a total membership of more than 6,000,000. Though we speak as individuals, we shall recommend to the membership our respective organizations that Negroes shall measure all

appeals for their support made by political parties and by presidential and other candidates according to the following yardstick:

1. The Negro people, like all other Americans, recognize the war as the chief issue confronting our country. We demand of any political party desiring the support of Negroes a vigorous prosecution of the war. We are opposed to any negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces within our country. Victory must crush Hitlerism both at home as well as abroad.

In evaluating the merits of parties and candidates we must include all issues--those touching the life of Negroes as a group as well as those affecting the entire country. The party or candidate who refuses to help control prices, or fails to support the extension of social security, or refuses to support a progressive public program for full post war employment, or opposes an enlarged and unsegregated program of government-financed housing, or seeks to destroy organized labor, is as much the enemy of the Negro as is he who would prevent the Negro from voting.

2. We insist upon the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes, white democratic primaries, the gerrymandering of districts, or any other device designed to disfranchise the Negro and other voters. Any political party in power, or aspiring to power, must demonstrate its determination through legislation and through vigorous criminal prosecution by the Department of Justice to protect and secure voting as a fundamental right of citizenship.

3. The ever-serious evil of lynching and mob violence has become more critical as a result of unrestrained violence against Negroes in the armed services. No national administration can merit the support of the Negro unless it is committed to a legislative and administrative program for the elimination of this national disgrace.

4. Republican and Democratic members of the Senate alike have attempted to delude us by alleging that they favor anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and other legislation against which filibusters by Southern Democrats have been waged but on which these Republican and Democratic Senators from states where Negroes vote refuse to vote for cloture. We



refuse to accept such subterfuges any longer. A vote against cloture failure to vote for cloture will be construed by us as opposition to whatever legislation for the benefit of the Negro and other minorities against which a filibuster is waged. The Senate rule requiring a two-thirds majority to end debate, combined with the refusal of Senators to vote for cloture, is one of the greatest obstacles to liberal legislation in general and to legislation for the betterment of the Negro's status in particular. Negroes insist that national parties and individual candidates for senator pledge in advance their support to the abolition of this two-thirds rule now required for cloture.

5. The program now being carried on through the Fair Employment Practice Committee to secure and protect the right to work without racial or religious discrimination must be continued and expanded during and after the war. No party or candidate for the Presidency or Congress can deserve the vote of the Negro without supporting a liberal appropriation for a Fair Employment Practice Committee when that issue shall be presented in the Spring of 1944 and such legislation as is needed further to secure the right of minorities to work without discrimination.

6. No injustice embitters Negroes more than continued segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. The policy of the present administration with reference to the Negro in the armed forces is bad in principle and has failed. Any party which hopes to win the support of Negroes must adopt a new and democratic program for their integration into the armed forces including the following provisions:

- (a) Full integration of the Negro into the armed forces without segregation.
- (b) The abolition of quotas by race of the medical corps, nurse corps, technical and all other branches of service throughout the armed forces.
- (c) A vigorous and purposeful program of education in decent and democratic race relations to be carried out throughout the Army and Navy.
- (d) A radically revised Navy program which will include the ac-

ceptance of Negroes as commissioned officers, the use of Negroes in general and technical service on sea-going vessels, the elimination of restrictions preventing capable messmen from transfer and promotion out of that service and the acceptance of Negro women in the WAVES, SPARS, and nurse corps without segregation.

(e) The abolition of segregation in recreational and other facilities at army posts and naval shore installations as well as the abolition of segregation of blood plasma for the armed services.

(f) The progressive removal of Negro troops from those areas where they are treated with violence, abuse and disrespect in the vicilian community in view of the demonstrated inability of the federal authorities, military and civil, to cope with such behaviour.

(g) Negroes now largely denied the right to serve in combat forces must be given the same opportunity as others to serve in this field as well as all other branches of the service.

7. We are concerned that this war bring to an end imperialism and colonial exploitation. We believe that political and economic democracy must displace the present system of exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India, and all other colonial areas. We insist that all parties and candidates formulate a foreign policy which will resolutely and unequivocally oppose either perpetuation or extension of exploitation based upon "white superiority" or economic or political advantage to "white" nations at the expense of the two-thirds of the people of the earth who are brown, yellow, or black of skin. The United States must point the way by including Negroes among its representatives at the peace conference or peace conferences and among its diplomatic, technical and professional experts engaged in international post war reconstruction.

8. Negro Americans are fully aware of the forces in this country which are now attempting to effect the nomination of reactionary or vacillating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-

Presidency in both major political parties.

Also Negro voters are distrustful of most candidates who come from those states which deny Negroes opportunity to vote and confine them to rigid patterns of segregation and inferior status. No candidate from any section of the country will be acceptable to Negro voters unless he has clearly demonstrated opposition to and departure from the prevailing anti-Negro traditions.

We hereby serve notice that if either major political party shall nominate for President or Vice-President a candidate of vacillating or reactionary character or with an anti-Negro record, it will be vigorously opposed by the Negro vote.

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We repudiate all venal politicians, Negro and white, who attempt for personal profit to "deliver the Negro vote". We hereby serve notice that the Negro has come of age politically.

This statement is designed both to make clear the Negro's present attitude of resentment against the shortcomings of both major political parties and to serve as a guide in measuring the future intentions of parties and candidates. The first test of the honesty of these intentions will be the vote upon the pending poll tax bill and cloture if necessary, and we serve notice on all Senators and their party associates that we will vigorously oppose all Senators who refuse to vote for cloture on this bill. We call upon enlightened labor, church, farm and other groups to oppose actively the current wave of reaction. We will combine on a minimum program with such enlightened groups. Together these groups constitute a majority of the electorate. Together we will beat back the tide of reaction and build a more decent world now and in the post war years which can insure a durable peace.

Elsie Austin, DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY

Mary McLeod Bethune, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

Dr. R. A. Billings, PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY

Oscar Brown, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Dorothy Hobday Bryant, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED  
GRADUATE NURSES, INC.

Judge William H. Hastie, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Dr. D. V. Jemison, NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA, Inc.,  
and ALARAMA BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION, Inc.

Carl R. Johnson, KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY

Belford V. Lawson, Jr., ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY

Dr. Hayford Logan, ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY

Z. Alexander Looby, OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY

Thurgood Marshall, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF COLORED PEOPLE

George W. Millner, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Leslie Perry, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF  
COLORED PEOPLE

Adam C. Powell, Jr., PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

A. Philip Randolph, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS,  
and MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Dr. Leon A. Ransom

Mabel K. Staupers, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED GRADUATE  
NURSES, INC.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF THE COLORED  
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Ashley Totten, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Bishop W. J. Walls, AME ZION CHURCH

George L-P Weaver, NATIONAL CIO COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH  
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Beulah Whitby, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY

Walter White, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF COLORED PEOPLE

Dr. Max Yergan, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS,  
AND NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS.

---

November 20, 1943

Mr. Magee -

How 3 copies

attached

mode of the statement - give me

write written white as

undicated

BR

Here letter & enc. to  
Miss Lally for the  
President. My P  
wants it back for  
her files —

150  
February 2, 1944

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to send you the enclosed letter. Will you please advise her what you think of it and whether your organization could help L.R. Cilery?

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White, President  
National Association for the Advancement  
of Colored People  
69 Fifth avenue  
New York, New York

d.

X Mr. Charles Cilery, Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadeloupe, dated Dec. 30, 1943. Refers to Mrs. Roosevelt's article in Negro Digest and Pittsburg Courrier which he translated and published in French in Guadeloupe. Wants some help in creating a better understanding between colored peoples of this country and his. Tried to have the Pittsburg Courrier publish a French edition. Desires publications and magazines concerning activities of colored people of the United States but has not the funds to pay for them.



OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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AMERICAN EMBASSY  
LONDON

WALTER WHITE

23 February 1944

MAR 6 - RECD

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you and the President to see the enclosed report which I have made to Generals Eisenhower and Lee and to Ambassador Winant. All three have worked assiduously to correct not only specific cases of discrimination but the basic philosophies out of which the cases arise. In a conference lasting nearly two hours last Friday morning with Generals Eisenhower and Lee I was informed that the "off limits" practice is being abolished through an order by General Eisenhower. Inspector General Haines, at the instructions of General Lee, is investigating specific cases of injustice, including the alleged disproportionate sentences given Negro soldiers by Special and General Courts Martial.

The situation here is difficult in many respects but the bright spot is the eagerness of the American High Command and the Ambassador to correct conditions. Mr. Agar and Messrs. Jackson and Hamlet of the OWI have been exceedingly helpful and generous.

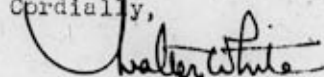
I have been asked to write one of the Army Talks and am doing so before leaving the ETO. In an article I have written for Life and in dispatches I am doing for the New York Post I have tried to emphasize the affirmative approach as well as the difficulties which race prejudice has created.



I was interested in noting in today's London papers that you are shortly going to the Caribbean. I hope it will be my good fortune to have your trip coincide with my arrival in the Caribbean Theatre.

Will you be good enough to give the President my kindest regards, and my warm congratulations on his veto of the Anti-Subsidy Bill and the Tax Bill.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Walter White". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Cordially,".

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

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OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS  
OF  
WALTER WHITE  
ON  
RACIAL RELATIONS IN THE ETO.

The following observations and recommendations are based upon a 16-day tour covering more than 1700 miles in the ETO, arranged by the U. S. Army, in which I visited some 25 installations. Most of these were ones in which Negro units were stationed. In addition, it includes conferences and observations in London and other places in the ETO.

I wish at the outset to express my appreciation to Ambassador John G. Winant, Major General John C. H. Lee, Lt. Colonel J. B. L. Lawrence, and to other officials of the United States Army, the American Embassy and the Office of War Information for their generosity in making arrangements for me. Every opportunity was given me to visit whatever installations or places I desired. I was permitted to talk with both officers and enlisted men under whatever circumstances I chose. Every facility possible was placed at my disposal to obtain a true picture of conditions.

All I wish to say is based upon the primary consideration that we in the ETO want to win the war as speedily as possible. But it is possible that we may win the war and lose the peace. Not the least of the dangers which may cause us to lose the peace is global as well as national racial friction. Conflicts between our professions of democracy and our practice of ~~along the front line~~ have created great

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problems, not only in the ETO and other theaters of operations but in the United States and in other parts of the world. Discrimination and segregation of Negro troops in the ETO and other theaters has been featured in the press of India, the West Indies, Africa and other places as well as the United States. Tokio and Berlin radios have played up such racial friction to the one billion colored people of the Pacific, as well as to the colored peoples of Latin America and the United States, as evidence of hypocrisy by the United Nations. Merely answering such allegations is futile. Demonstration of our sincerity by correction of these conditions is the only effective answer.

I wish to emphasize that the present situation is, in my opinion, neither hopeless or irremediable. Recognition of the existence of the problem and the affirmative steps being taken towards its correction by the American High Command in the ETO is tremendously encouraging. It is particularly satisfying to read the Directives which have been issued by General Eisenhower, General Lee, Colonel Thrasher, CO of EBS, SOS, and other United States Army officials. The adoption and enunciation of the principle that all soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States Army are fighting for the same objectives and are to be treated alike has undoubtedly lessened considerably the number of clashes which otherwise might have made the situation worse.

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From my observations of both white and colored soldiers in three Base Sections, it is apparent that the overwhelming majority of the white American soldiers in the ETO are decent, fair-minded individuals. Most of them have given little thought to the so-called race problem, especially those coming from northern and western States. But when the problem arises the majority of them react on a basis of wanting to see justice given to every other soldier, irrespective of race, creed or color. A small percentage have given thought to the broader implications of the question and are aggressively in favor of steps to eliminate injustice. It is most interesting to observe that many in this class come from southern States.

But a smaller percentage have brought strong racial prejudices with them to the ETO from the United States and persistently stir up friction. These persons, particularly officers, have spread vicious stories among the British people concerning Negroes. They have told the British such fanciful stories as that all Negroes have tails, that they are savage, diseased, illiterate and will rape their women. One variation frequently found is to the effect that the American Negro soldiers are not like British Colonial troops in that the former were picked up in Africa and brought to the United Kingdom to do manual labor only. Another variation is that American Negro soldiers bark instead of talk, and that they do not speak English. The Lord Mayor of one English town told me that he and all the people were frightened when they

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heard that Negro troops were to be sent there. For days the British avoided even walking close to Negro soldiers. But one morning the Lord Mayor was greeted with a pleasant "Good morning, Sir" by one of the soldiers. Startled that the soldier could speak English he entered into conversation with him and thus learned of the falsity of the stories which had been spread in the town by white Army officers and enlisted men.

The circulation of such stories and other acts of discrimination have had a most depressing effect upon the morale of Negro soldiers in the ETO.

I have been greatly disturbed by the disheartened attitude of many of these men. Some of them have become so embittered that they call their white fellow-American soldiers "the enemy". Several of them have asked me, "What are we fighting for? Were we sent to the ETO to fight the Nazis - or our white soldiers?". A few - fortunately only a few to date - are dangerously near revolt because of the continued insults they are subjected to. Others have become so pessimistic of any change in the situation, they seek relief in drink or, more frequently, in talking despairingly among themselves.

Such an attitude is bad both for the Negro soldier and for the war effort. It is tragic that the Civil War should be fought again while we are fighting a World War to save civilization. Those responsible are, in my opinion, as guilty of treason as would be those who deliberately and for pay betrayed us to Hitler.

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As I have already pointed out, the condition is remediable. I wish now to point out the affirmative steps which have already been taken and to report on others which may be taken to implement the excellent enunciation of principle which the High Command and the American Embassy have made during the past two years.

Affirmative steps.

Mention has already been made of the over-all principles which have been laid down. But since the rules of behaviour were issued, most of them in 1942, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of American soldiers in the ETO. Inquiries of both officers and enlisted men show that many do not know of the Directives which have been issued. Hence, I recommend that means of implementing the Directives be considered.

I am informed that aboard ship lectures are given to soldiers enroute to the ETO regarding their behaviour in the ETO, which deals not only with the different conditions they will find but also the different attitude on race of the British people as contrasted with certain parts of the United States. This seems to me necessary and admirable. I believe that problems as complex and emotional as racial relations are not always best handled by a frontal attack upon it. But most of the racial clashes have been caused, as far as I have been able to learn, by troops recently arrived in the United Kingdom. It might be well to re-examine the lectures given aboard ship and prior to leaving the United

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States so that soldiers will be less inclined to cause trouble when they meet changed conditions in Britain.

I have been permitted to see "A Welcome to Britain", the interesting film which is to be shown to all American soldiers in the ETO. The sequence dealing with the racial situation in which General Lee and Burgess Meredith are featured is excellent. Indoctrination of this sort against ignorance and prejudice cannot help being effective.

Many officers and enlisted men from the South are heartily ashamed of the attitude of some white American soldiers against colored fellow soldiers. This body of opinion should be helped and strengthened. It has been my experience that to expect the best from a man usually evokes the best; while to expect the worst usually brings forth the worst. Some officers and enlisted men, unfortunately, accept without question the assumption that the majority of white Americans are incurably bigoted. The result has been an evasion of the problem involved and the adoption of temporizing policies which do more harm than good. Reference will be made to some of these policies later in this report.

An important factor in the keeping down trouble has been the remarkably fine behavior of an overwhelming majority of Negro troops. In virtually every place I visited, and in virtually every conference I have had with British people, ranging from high officials to so-called common people, this has been emphasized. There have been, of course, exceptions. But the majority of Negro troops have won the esteem of the British

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people not only for themselves but for the United States by their behavior. In one town in the Midlands, for example, the local newspaper published a laudatory article regarding a Negro trucking company which had been stationed recently in that town.

"No longer will we have to leap into the grass to escape being run down" was the tribute paid to the considerateness of Negro truck drivers as contrasted with that of white American truck drivers who has been previously stationed there.

One factor which should be mentioned is the fact that the average income of between 60% and 70% of the British people is £5/10 per week, which corresponds to the average wage of many Negroes in the United States. An economic bond of sympathy appears to have been created thereby. Negro soldiers have been less prone to comment audibly in the presence of British people upon the absence of radios, automobiles, bath tubs and other mechanical devices more common in the United States than among the majority of British people. The majority of white American soldiers are equally considerate. But it takes only a few with bad manners to speak disparagingly of the lack of convenience in Great Britain to label Americans as being inconsiderate.

Recommendations.

It is recommended that General Eisenhower's Directive to abolish "off limits" of towns, pubs and other areas, be enforced in all parts of the MTO. In some instances Commanding Officers have violated these orders. In others, MPs have taken it upon themselves to bar Negroes from entering certain towns and

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places of public accommodation, such as pubs, restaurants, hotels and dance halls. In others, MPs have barred white Americans from such places. It has been my observation that wherever a Commanding Officer is of strong character and sees to it that any trouble-maker, irrespective of race, is punished promptly and justly for any aggression against another soldier there is a minimum of trouble in that locality. Contrariwise, commanding officers who resort to the expedient of declaring places "off limits" or of issuing passes for "odd" and "even" nights usually have situations in which there is conflict or resentment on the part of soldiers under their command, particularly colored soldiers.

It is most unfortunate and humiliating that the situation reached such proportions that the British Home Office was forced to issue a circular letter to all Chief Constables reminding them that it is not the policy of His Majesty's Government that there be any discrimination as regards the treatment of colored troops and "That if the American service authorities decide to put certain places out of bounds for their colored troops, such prohibition can be effected only by means of an order issued by the appropriate American Army and Naval authorities. The police should not make themselves in any way responsible for the enforcement of such orders."

An interesting observation on the matter of towns being declared "off limits" was made to me by the Commanding Officer at a unit I visited in the Eastern Base Section. He pointed out that declaring towns off limits was a discrimination against white

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soldiers in its limitation of the number of places to which they could go. The same discrimination has worked against colored soldiers to a much greater extent.

I would like to point out the admirable situation at Wellingborough. There is but one Red Cross Club there under the direction of a Negro who is highly respected by the officers and men of the U. S. Army stationed there and by the townspeople. Among the first American troops sent to Wellingborough were infantry soldiers, all of whom came from the deep South as did the Commanding Officer. The Officer instructed his men upon arrival into town that they were no longer in the South and that they must accept conditions as they found them. He emphasized that any person causing trouble would be promptly punished. As a result of the firm stand he took there was no trouble at the outset and a pattern of behavior was established which had made possible the elimination of all friction either between white and colored soldiers in the street or in places of public accommodation as well as in the Red Cross Club. This pattern can be made to work in all except rare cases, in my opinion. Firm action in the rare cases by the proper authorities will lessen repetition. Temporizing merely spreads the belief that the patterns of racial behavior of the least advanced sections of the United States shall be the rule for the ETO.

Absence of Negro officers of superior rank.

It is my information that, with possibly two exceptions, there are no Negro officers in the ETO above the rank of Captain.

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This omission has affected not only the morale of soldiers but also the formation of attitudes on the part of white soldiers towards Negro soldiers. It would be helpful, either by bringing to the ETO qualified Negro officers of the rank of Colonel or above or by promotions in the ETO on the basis of qualification, or both methods, to increase the number of Negro officers, especially in divisions dealing with morale, such as Special Services, and the Medical Corps and Public Relations.

Combat troops.

It is unfortunate that only Negro service troops have been sent to the ETO with the exception, so far as I know, of several anti-aircraft units. Building airports in the cold, rain and mud is as important in waging war as is flying bombers from those airports. So too, is unloading ships and handling supplies. But as one well-educated Negro soldier said to me in East Anglia "It is hard to identify one's self with fighting a war when all one does is dig ditches and lay concrete". The same applies in greater or lesser degree to all SOS troops. The Negro troops in the ETO, with virtually no exception, have little or none of the excitement or glamor of war necessary to raise the spirits and to give a sense of participation to men who engage in waging war.

It is suggested that consideration be given to bringing to the ETO, the 92nd or 93rd Divisions which have been in training in the United States for nearly two years or more. I attach a special supplement of the Arizona Daily Star of

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Tucson, Ariz., dated December 23, 1943, devoted entirely to the 92nd Infantry Division. Bringing this Division to the ETO and giving it opportunity to serve in the impending invasion would enormously and immediately raise the morale of Negro SOS troops in the ETO and help give a new concept to white American troops and to the world regarding the fighting quality of Negro troops. Stories are being circulated, particularly in the Southern Base Section, that there are no Negro combat troops because "Negroes are afraid to fight". It is no choice of their's that only Negro Service troops, with the exception noted above, have been sent to the ETO.

It is recommended also that Negroes being trained in the United States to fly medium bombers be brought to the ETO when their training is completed. I would like also to venture the recommendation that they be assigned to fly in non-segregated units. It will be particularly helpful if the commanding officers of such unit or units include southern CO's of vision and fairness.

Spreading of rumors regarding Negroes.

The spreading of falsehoods regarding colored soldiers is, I realize, difficult to track down and correct. However, I suggest that G-2 look into this propaganda. It would be helpful if intelligent Negroes are used in this effort. Appropriate punishment of persons found guilty, with suitable publicity of such punishment, would act as a deterrent. One Commanding Officer said that Nazis were responsible for these rumors. I have found no evidence of this being true. The circulation of such rumors

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is all the more harmful since it apparently is being done by Americans, not in the pay of the enemy.

Fortunately, some Negro soldiers have taken these rumors as a joke, but others are deeply resentful.

MPs

One of the most effective means of preventing inter-racial friction, I have found, is having one white and one Negro MP patrolling together. In some places there is complaint among Negroes because only the white MP is armed. Where one is armed the other should be also. However, I feel that no MPs should be armed except when guarding payrolls. This would conform with the British practice of bobbies and constables being unarmed, which has been found effective. Some British people have commented that Americans must be difficult to manage because the U. S. Army authorities find it necessary to arm their MPs.

Courts Martial.

Great unhappiness among Negro soldiers has resulted because of their belief that they are punished more quickly and more severely than white soldiers in Special and General Courts Martial. None object to punishment to the full extent of the law when guilty of violating the Articles of War. But they do object to the severe penalties handed down to Negroes, including a number of instances where Negro soldiers have been attacked by white soldiers, in which cases the aggressors have either been permitted to go free or have been given light punishment, while the attacked Negro soldiers were given heavy sentences for

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defending themselves.

At the Detention Training Center at Langport, I talked alone and at length with a number of the Negro prisoners. Since I have not had opportunity to read the courts martial records I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statements made. But here are a few cases related to me:

One Negro prisoner, from the Bronx, New York City, had applied for paratroop duty, which had been denied him. He wanted combat duty instead of working in a Service Battalion. After a lengthy term of service in an Engineer Battalion he became disheartened and one night went out and got drunk. He is now serving a six months' term for this single infraction of the rules. Another Negro soldier, from Ohio, serving in a Quartermaster Battalion told me he is serving six months for missing bed check once. Another from North Carolina was given six months for bucking a chow line. Another had been given six months for "mistreatment of a Government vehicle". He alleges that he drove his truck to the side of the road to permit a British civilian car to pass. The other car bumped into the truck, for which this soldier was tried in a Special Court and found guilty. In another case, a soldier was awaiting trial in a guard house for going AWOL to a dance. He alleges that a Lieutenant entered the mess hall and began abusing and cursing the men. When some of them protested against being cursed all of the men had additional charges placed against them. This soldier claims that he was not even in the mess hall when the episode occurred. He was, however, given six months for going AWOL. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~RESTRICTED~~ six months on the charges that had

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been placed against him and the others by the Lieutenant, and a third six months for telling the Court that the Army was "working Negroes to death, taking their money (in fines) and giving them time".

My impression is that the men were telling the truth, especially since I warned them that I would be unable to help them unless they did tell me the truth. I suggest setting up a Special Board of Review of Courts Martial cases, at least one member of which would be a qualified Negro lawyer. I recommend that there be brought to the ETO with appropriate rank for this purpose an able lawyer, of the caliber of Judge William H. Hastie, former civilian aide to the Secretary of War, former United States Judge in the Virgin Islands, and now Dean of the Law School of Howard University, Washington, D.C.; or of the type of Charles H. Houston, practicing attorney in Washington, D.C., veteran of World War I, and Harvard Law School graduate.

If neither of these men or one like them is obtainable I have no doubt that there are competent Negro lawyers available among the Negro troops now in the ETO.

The authorities at Langport told me that the inmate population of the institution the day I was there was 891 (701 white and 190 Negroes). That approximately 27% of the prisoners were Negroes, when they constitute only 10% of the troops in the ETO, is a disproportion which might well be looked into.

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Relations between Negro soldiers and the British people.

From conversations with all classes of the British people and with officers and enlisted men, both white and Negro, of the United States Army this appears to be the most serious of all issues. I do not profess to know the complete answer. But if the British people wish to invite American white soldiers into their homes or to associate exclusively with them this is obviously their own business. The same principle obtains if they choose to associate with Negro Americans. It is unfortunate that many white Americans believe that such relations are exclusively on a sexual basis with prostitutes. I have found innumerable instances of British citizens wishing to associate and actually associating with Negro Americans on a basis of common interests and tastes. There is very considerable ill feeling against the United States because of some Americans attempting to dictate in the United Kingdom the social relations of the British people. It is manifest that much ill feeling will be left against Americans if it is not handled properly.

Particularly disturbing is the report that a request has been made by Americans to the British Government that ATS, WRENS, WAAFS and other British female army or other units be forbidden to associate with colored Americans under penalty of severe censure.

Instances wherein American white soldiers have attempted to dictate the social behavior of the British people have occurred

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with alarming frequency. Here is an example: The manager of an Aero Club in the Eastern Base Section and a traveling accountant of the American Red Cross were driven to a hotel on a cold night through the blackout from the camp at which they were working. Because of the inclemency of the weather they asked that the Negro driver be served a drink. The proprietor declined saying that American officers had ordered him not to serve Negro soldiers on penalty of their boycotting the hotel. A Negro Red Cross woman worker joined the party at this point and was also refused service. When the two white British men protested, an American Major curtly told them in a loud voice: "If you insist on associating with colored people you must expect to be treated like one."

Venereal disease.

Tied in with the British social problem is the report of a higher v.d. rate among colored soldiers. This was explained to me in some measure by a highly-educated soldier in the ETO who besides being a college graduate, had finished at the Graduate School of the University of Michigan, his specialty being mathematics. He told me of having been invited, along with other colored and white soldiers, for a delightful evening at the home of a distinguished British citizen. It was the only occasion he had had since arriving in the ETO to associate with cultured and educated people with whom he was accustomed as in the United States. But the furore raised by some of the white soldiers in the vicinity over the incident had caused the townspeople to be reluctant about

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entertaining colored troops again. "The result is that the only female companionship the colored soldiers have are the women one meets in pubs, and yet they blame us for a high v.d. rate" he said.

I suggest there be attached to the Office of the Chief Surgeon of the ETO at least one qualified Negro physician. A very large percentage of the Negro soldiers in the ETO come, I am informed, from the South, where instructions in sex, prophylaxis and hygiene are meager, if non-existent, for white as well as Negro Americans. Because of the intensity of the feeling over association with white British people and American Negroes, I am informed that Negro soldiers are reluctant to reveal contacts which may be sources of infection. A competent Negro member on the staff of the Chief Surgeon could aid materially in attacking this problem.

Proposed lectures by Americans to British troops.

I understand that, in response to requests from the RAF and other British units wanting to know about conditions in America, a plan is being considered to exchange lecturers between American and British troops. Properly handled, this seems a most valuable idea in so far as time and the exigencies of war will allow. I wish to utter a word of warning, however, in the selection of Americans who lecture to the British troops and civilian population. Since this question of race is of importance to Great Britain, with her problems in India, Burma, Africa, the West Indies

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and other parts of the world, extreme care should be exercised in selecting Americans who are intelligent on the American race problem and the global one as well. I recommend that qualified members of the armed services be included among those selected to speak not only on the race problem but on America as a whole. Excellent results have been achieved in bringing to the U.K. distinguished Americans like Dr. Margaret Mead, Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin and Dr. Robert Lynd. If the practice of bringing such authorities to the U.K. and other theaters of operation is to be continued, I suggest that competent Negro authorities be included.

Entertainment of troops.

I have found only unqualified enthusiasm for the performances given at the Royal Albert Hall in London and in other cities of the United Kingdom by the Army Negro Chorus organized by Chaplain Perkins, as well as of the Negroes in Irving Berlin's "This Is The Army". While Negro entertainment, by itself, cannot solve the complex problems of race in the ETO, I believe it has added considerably to greater understanding between white and colored people, and it would help lift the morale of Negro troops if more Negro actors and singers were brought to the ETO.

Paternalistic attitude.

The number of officers and enlisted men openly hostile to Negro troops is relatively small. But quickly destructive of morale is the outstanding paternalistic attitude of a great

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percentage of white officers and enlisted men. This is more resented by both well-educated and less-educated Negroes than is open antagonism. They resent being treated as "boys". A glaring example of this is a memorandum sent last July to Commanding Officers of colored troops in which such statements are made as:

"That colored soldiers are akin to well-meaning but irresponsible children. As such they have to be given the best possible care by their officers and at the same time be subjected to rigid discipline. Generally they cannot be trusted to tell the truth, to execute complicated orders or to act on their own initiative except in certain individual cases.

"That among the peculiar characteristics of the colored race - ... influences such as excitement, fear, religion, dope, liquor, or the accomplishment of something without their usual sphere, they individually or collectively can change form with amazing rapidity from a timid or bashful individual to brazen boldness or madness or become hysterical ... The colored individual likes to 'doll up', strut, brag and show off. He likes to be distinctive and stand out from the others. Everything possible should be used to encourage this. For example, know their names and occasionally call a man 'Corporal John' in place of 'Corporal Smith'.

"In the selection of NCOs the real black bosses should be picked rather than the lighter 'smart boy'."

The memorandum in question contains some good points but they are negated by the type of paragraph quoted above, as well as by such instructions as never to carry white and colored troops jointly in liberty trucks. Such rules to me appear to be both useless and dangerous. I have seen white and colored men working together in complete amity, checking the fuses on 155 m.m. shells, which is about as dangerous a job in warfare as actual combat. To load these men in separate trucks after they have worked all day

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together needlessly emphasizes separation and segregation. As far as is humanly possible, under the stress of war conditions, officers assigned to serve with colored or mixed units should be of sufficient intelligence and sensitiveness to avoid patronizing attitudes, not only because they are instructed to do so but because they have within themselves respect for human personality - irrespective of the color of the skin.

I recommend abandonment of the cliché that southern white officers are best for Negro troops because only they "understand" Negroes. In saying this, I do not advocate the policy of never assigning white southern officers to Negro troops any more than I would subscribe to the doctrine that because an officer comes from the North he is therefore free from prejudice. Neither of these is true. Officers, both white and colored, to serve with colored or mixed troops should be chosen on the basis of their professional qualifications and their intelligence on the racial issue.

An important factor to be considered in this connection is that the educational and economic standards in the South for both whites and Negroes are considerably below the average for the United States as a whole. According to the United States Bureau of Education the average per capita expenditure in 18 southern States for the education of white children is \$44 annually and that for Negro children \$12, as contrasted with the average for the country as a whole of approximately \$130 annually.

We must studiously avoid perpetuating the pattern of racial

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behavior of such States determine the practices and standards in the ETO. We should follow the pattern of the most enlightened States and of Great Britain in this matter.

Because virtually all Negro troops in ETO are SOS troops it is more difficult to publicize their work than that of combat troops. However, I believe that more publicity can and should be given to Negro troops in The Stars and Stripes, Yank, in newsreels and other media of publicity. The bringing in of Negro combat troops and Air Force units will greatly facilitate this publicity. Such publicity should not be the slapstick variety and should be formulated along the same lines given to white service and combat units. I am pleased to note that a Negro has recently been added to the staff of The Stars and Stripes.

By confining Negro troops to the lower, plebeian type of participation in the war, they have little of the glamor and excitement which other troops enjoy and which stimulate them to greater effort. The right kind of publicity will help give Negro troops this necessary sense of participation and improve the attitude of white troops towards them.

Training of Negroes in combat.

It appears to me imperative that refresher courses be given to Negro Service troops in the use of firearms, machine guns and other weapons. Many of these Supply troops will closely follow the assault waves of invasion. They will be under fire and subject to as great danger as the assault troops. They need to be

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made competent in the use of weapons, not only to protect supplies and themselves but to enable them to do their part in the trying days when we invade the Continent. In only one of the units I visited did I learn of refresher courses being given. I was told in this camp that although two days a week had been set aside for such training, the instruction given was only half-hearted and superficial.

The American Red Cross.

In many respects the American Red Cross is doing a superlative job in the ETO. But in certain respects it has manifested a willingness to submit to the least advanced attitude on race. In the matter of segregation of blood plasma it has given the excuse that it is following the U.S. Army pattern of segregation. Also the "white" and "Negro" clubs in many areas have not only introduced the American pattern of segregation into British communities but have denied white and colored soldiers the opportunity of fraternizing and learning to know each other as fellow Americans under admirable circumstances. The excellent job done in places like Wellingborough where white and Negro, northern and southern, soldiers have learned to get along together with each other at the one ARC club, should be the pattern in all ARC clubs.

But I would like to go beyond the question of racial relations with respect to these clubs. I recommend that consideration by the U.S. Army and the American Red Cross be given

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to joining with the British and other Allies to open United Nations canteens which would be used by Allied soldiers of all nationalities. This will permit British soldiers to know American soldiers; Australians to know Canadians; Polish soldiers to know Free French soldiers. I believe this would contribute immeasurably, if handled wisely, towards the elimination of misconceptions about each other among soldiers of various countries, creeds and races. If this plan is not workable now I would certainly recommend it for implementation when the U.K. becomes an evacuation Theater after the invasion has been launched.

Ambassador Winant explained to me that much of the money for the operation of these clubs was given by American people for the use of their own soldiers and that this is one of the logical reasons why the use of the club is confined to those wearing the American uniform. But there is also the consideration that the Red Cross has taken over more than 100 of the hotels and buildings in the U.K. - with this and other costs being charged against lend-lease. This raises a question which may conceivably later injure Anglo-American relations. But even if that does not happen, the Red Cross is losing a golden opportunity by limiting its services to Americans.

The joint informal United States Army and American Red Cross committee, appointed at the suggestion of Ambassador Winant, offers possibilities for real service in attacking these problems, especially if the committee is given authority to act and function effectively.

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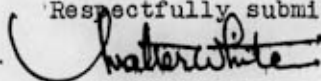
Acknowledgments.

I wish to express gratitude to Captain Max K. Gilstrap, who arranged the tour and accompanied me on it. His deep interest in the subject and his wide experience were of immense value. I wish also to express appreciation for the aid given us in the Eastern Base Section by Lieutenant Robert Dehler, PRO, EBS; to Major Rodney Manson, of Fort Intelligence, WBS; and to Lieutenants Gordon J. Berger and Wellington C. Parker of SBS. Each of these persons accompanied Captain Gilstrap and myself in his respective Base Section.

-----

I arrived in the ETO January 3, 1944. After spending two weeks in London and vicinity conferring with officials of the U. S. Army, the American Embassy, the Office of War Information, the British Ministry of Information, the American Red Cross and other agencies, as well as individuals, I visited between January 18 and February 3, 1944, the camps and other installations in the three Base Sections on which the foregoing observations are based.

Respectfully submitted,



WALTER WHITE

11 February 1944.

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February 24, 1944

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Dear Mr. White:

I am very much interested to have your letter and I appreciate your writing. I am so glad you find things better and I will share your report, when it comes, with the President.

I will look forward to hearing about your trip when you return.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Should go  
Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White  
APO 887  
Care Postmaster NYC

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OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

AMERICAN EMBASSY  
LONDON

FEB 22 1944

13 February 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have had an exceedingly busy five weeks here in which I have seen and learned a great deal. I believe conditions are much better than when you were here, though there are a great many things which are disturbing and need correction. The most hopeful aspect, however, is that there is a very real will to correct these conditions on the part of the top officials like Generals Eisenhower and Lee and Ambassador Winant.

Herbert Agar, C. D. Jackson and others at OWI have also been most kind and helpful.

I have been requested to make a report on my observations to the Army and Embassy officials and am, of course, doing so. I shall send you a copy of the report, which I would appreciate your sharing with the President. I shall return to the United States early in May and would then like to talk with you and the President about things I have seen or will see in the various Theaters of Operation.

I was very much interested in reading in the London papers that you are planning to visit United States troops in the Caribbean. Because I have found that the time I allotted to the trip is not sufficient to do a thorough job, I am turning

back at Iran and shall try to put India, China  
and Russia on my Pacific trip, on which I plan  
to leave the States around the first of July.  
It is my plan also to stop off for a bit in the  
Caribbean as I shall be returning via Brazil.

Cordially.

Walter White

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

~~Thank you for writing. I am sorry to hear  
find things so hard. I will share your  
report to her - it seems both the President  
I hope I managed to bring you -  
Yours I & W~~

Mr. Walter White  
NAACP  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

May 3, 1944

Mrs. Roosevelt away tenth. Could you come to apartment  
29 Washington Square West at six pm on eighth?

Malvina Thompson  
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt

May 8  
100  
May 8  
6:30 pm

May 3, 1944

*J. Perry* hcr

MISS THOMPSON:

Mr. Leslie Perry from Mr. Walter White's office called to say that Mr. White would appreciate it if he could see Mrs. Roosevelt on May 8th, at 6:30 p.m.

He has a board meeting that day which will last until 6 p.m. and since it is the first one he has attended in three months he does not feel he should miss it.

Mr. Perry's telephone number is National 5794.

*MTV*

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MALVINA C THOMPSON SECRETARY TO MRS ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

REGRET GREATLY MUST BE IN CHICAGO MAY FOURTH THROUGH SEVENTH  
WILL BE IN NEW YORK MAY EIGHTH AND IN WASHINGTON MAY TENTH  
WOULD EITHER BE POSSIBLE FOR MRS ROOSEVELT MOST GRATEFUL FOR  
COMMENT ON MY REPORT  
WALTER WHITE.

*handwritten notes:*  
Sent to Mrs. Roosevelt  
Rec'd by Secretary  
MAY 11 1944  
MAY 11 1944  
MAY 11 1944

NIGHT LETTER

May 1, 1944

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

Mrs. Roosevelt could not go to New York because of the death of Secretary Knox. She could see you here before Friday or in New York on seventh. She liked your report and thought very fair and objective.

MALVINA C. THOMPSON  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1944

Miss Thompson:

Mr. White says he is going to be in New York tomorrow - Friday - through Tuesday next week and he would like to see Mrs. Roosevelt there if possible.

DD

I'd like to see the letter to be his own  
account of Gen. Kluge's letter -  
What you report very much things.  
How Jones got together. Can you  
let me know Friday or <sup>in</sup> ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~mail~~ ~~to~~

Note.

April 27, 1944.

Mr. Walter White,  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People,  
69 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, New York.

Mrs. Roosevelt will be here until Friday night and glad to  
see you stop Sending report to President.

Malvina C. Thompson  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

VDS

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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3, N. Y.**

**TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550**

*Official Organ: The Crisis*



April  
 25th  
 1944

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*4/2/44*  
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*Understand +*  
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*leading report*  
*of the situation*  
*anyway*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is my report to the War Department on my observations in North Africa, Italy and Egypt. I am informed that several of the recommendations which I made with respect to the European Theatre of Operations have been put into effect. I will come to Washington this week for conferences with the War Department.

Will you be good enough to share this report, also, with the President and to say to him that if he wishes to discuss any of the matters referred to in the reports, or any other matter relating to the situation in the countries where I have been, I will, of course, be happy to do so. Because of the shortness of time, I had to forego visits to Brazil and to the Caribbean. I hope to include these on a later trip. My next one will be to the Pacific on which I hope, also, to visit China, India, Russia, and the Middle East provided the War Department approves.

With cordial personal greetings.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

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

WW:DW

May 15, 1944.

100

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for the copy of your report to the War Department and the report to the Board of Directors.

I am returning the British report as I find I have another copy.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for  
the Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York (3), New York.

VDS

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 ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS,  
 WASHINGTON BUREAU

*ack  
 5/15/44.*

May 9, 1944

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. White asked me to send you his report to the War Department sent from England and also a copy of what he reported yesterday to our Board of Directors on later developments.

These are enclosed herewith.

Sincerely yours,

*Richeta L. Randolph*  
 Secretary to Mr. White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt  
 29 Washington Square  
 New York City

*Handwritten notes:*  
 That's the Butler  
 copy of journal  
 copy  
 etc.

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May 8, 1944

MEMORANDUM FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

The following results have taken place, to date, on the Secretary's recommendations to the War Department on his observations in ETOUSA, NATOUSA, Italy and USAPINE:

1. A very large unit of Negro combat troops (92nd Division) will be sent to the European Theatre of Operations.
2. Decision to convert the 2nd Cavalry Division from combat to service status is to be partially reversed. Some particularly artillery and reconnaissance units, are to be reconstituted as combat units. The policy of converting Negro combat to service units is to be stopped.
3. The 99th Pursuit Squadron is to be retained as a part of the 79th Pursuit Group, partly on the basis of the fact that it is being shifted from P40's to P47's. General Eakers has recommended Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., to be made a Brigadier-General to command a Wing which will include white squadrons.
4. General John C. H. Lee, Deputy Theatre Commander of ETOUSA, has had printed 200,000 copies in England of the "Command of Negro Troops" which has recently been issued by the War Department.
5. A special film unit, of which General Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., will be an adviser and of which Carlton Moss, who was associated with Frank Capra in the making of "The Negro Soldier", will serve as technical adviser, is being sent to ETOUSA to take pictures of Negroes in the invasion of the Continent. Other film units will be sent to other Theatres of Operations where Negroes are serving.
6. The Morale and Special Services Divisions of the Army are concentrating on shipboard lectures on race to white troops proceeding overseas.
7. The War Department confirms the issuance by General Eisenhower of orders prohibiting the establishment of "off limits" of towns or sections of towns in ETOUSA on the basis of race. Ambassador Winant informed the Secretary that the Embassy had been attempting this for two years and that had the Secretary's trip produced nothing but the issuance of this order it would have been worth while. The Secretary found this the chief grievance of colored soldiers as well as of many white ones.

8. The War Department informs the Secretary that the promise made by the American High Command in ETOUSA to have white and colored MP's patrol in pairs has been kept and this method of patrol has been instituted throughout ETOUSA.
9. The insulting paternalistic order issued by the then Colonel Plank, now Brigadier General Plank was ordered withdrawn and all copies destroyed. The Secretary does not know the nature of the rebuke given to General Plank but was informed that such a rebuke had been given and was assured there would be no repetition of such order by General Plank or any other officer.
10. An effort is being made to arrange to have colored artists go overseas to entertain troops. Miss Lena Horne is shortly to leave for overseas, as the first.
11. No report has been received by the War Department as yet on the recommendation of the Secretary that a special review board to include a highly qualified Negro such as Judge Hastie or Mr. Houston, suitably commissioned, be appointed to review courts martial sentences in ETOUSA. But before the Secretary left England, by order of General Lee, General Inspector General of ETOUSA, ordered an investigation of all cases of apparent discrimination. The Secretary conferred with General \_\_\_\_\_ and afterwards with each of the three colonels who were directed by General \_\_\_\_\_ to investigate the charges and to recommend corrective action, each colonel having been assigned to cover one of the three base sections.
12. An intelligent Negro sergeant was put on the staff of Stars and Stripes before the Secretary left England. Sergeant Morrison is an able and intelligent writer. Several of his stories appeared in Stars and Stripes prior to the Secretary's departure from England. It is hoped that both Stars and Stripes and Yank will carry an increased amount of information about the work of Negro troops.
13. An order ~~was~~ issued by a British officer for confidential issue to senior officers of the Army, the RAF, the ATS and the WAAF advising British soldiers to avoid public association with American Negro soldiers because it gives offense to certain Americans has been formally placed by the Secretary before the Joint Anglo-American Military Civilian Board of which Mr. Winant, Mr. Eden and others of equal rank are members. The Secretary requested that the order be rescinded by request of the American Military authorities.
14. Cable to Colonel Jock Lawrence:

"COULD SUGGESTION BE TACTFULLY MADE CORRESPONDENTS INCLUDE  
COVERAGE ANY OUTSTANDING WORK DURING INVASION BY NEGRO ENGINEER,  
QUARTERMASTER, COMBAT OR OTHER TROOPS?"

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May 16, 1944

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt would appreciate your advice  
as to what she can do about the enclosed letter.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White  
NAACP  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

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**ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS,**  
**WASHINGTON BUREAU**

May 29, 1944

100

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

My gratitude is greater than I am able to express for the things you said about the N.A.A.C.P. and myself at the Dinner Thursday night. All I can do is to say "Thank You" and trust that you will read into it the extent of my appreciation in which Mrs. White, Jane and Pidge join.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
 Secretary

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

P.S. - Your letter and that of the President in the book which was presented to me were magnificent. May I thank you for yours. I will write to thank him also. - WW

WW:RR

Hyde Park, N.Y.  
June 17, 1944

WALTER

Dear Mr. White:

I talked to the President and he will be glad to see you and General Watson will make the appointment with you.

The President feels that you should not make a point of coming out as a minority group for the Japanese, but as each case arises in a community, the colored people should take their stand with the forces in the community that are for proper and kindly treatment.

Very sincerely yours,

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June 23rd  
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My dear General Watson:

Mrs. Dennison of your office told me when I called her from Chicago yesterday that the appointment with the President would be made within the next ten days. I am available anytime with the exception of Thursday, June 29th, when I have a meeting here in New York, up to July 5th when I leave for speaking engagements in the Middle West on which I shall be gone until July 20th or 21st.

With kindest personal regards.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*

Secretary.

Major General Edwin Watson  
 The White House  
 Washington,  
 D. C.

WW:DW



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June 29th, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have delayed answering your letter of June 17th, because I had hoped by this time that the appointment with the President would have been made. I want you to know the action which I have taken in compliance with your suggestion that I arrange the appointment through General Watson.

I telephoned General Watson on June 20th when your letter was received. I asked if the appointment could be arranged on June 23rd, when I would be returning from appearances with a committee before the Republican Platform Committee. General Watson's office asked me to telephone from Chicago on the 21st which I did. I was then asked to call again the next day. I was then told that the President would be able to see me within the next ten days.

On returning to New York on June 23rd, I wrote General Watson informing him that I could come to Washington for the appointment any day up to July 4th, when I leave for Wisconsin and Chicago from which trip I shall not return until after our committee has appeared before the Democratic Platform Committee.

I make this report to you so that you may know that I have made every effort to comply with your request. Thank you very much indeed for all you have done.

Ever sincerely

Walter White

June 27, 1944.

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My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to thank you for your letter of June 20th.

Mrs. Roosevelt was interested to see the statement which accompanied your letter and appreciates your thoughtfulness in sending it to her.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People  
69 Fifth Avenue  
New York (3), New York.

VDS

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
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**69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 3 N. Y.**

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June 20, 1944

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of June 17. I am getting in touch with General Watson to arrange the appointment with the President.

At the moment I am awaiting word on when the Republican Platform Committee will hear a delegation of which I am a member and which was appointed here on Saturday. The N.A.A.C.P. invited the twenty-five major Negro organizations to meet here in New York to draft a composite statement on what the Negro asks of the Republican and Democratic parties. I enclose a copy of the statement. We also proposed that instead of each organization asking to be heard by the Platform Committees that a small committee be selected to speak on behalf of all twenty-five groups which have a total membership of six and one-half million.

We plan also to publish the statement in the New York Times, the Pittsburgh Courier, the Chicago Sun, the Baltimore Afro-American and the Chicago Defender.

I was immensely impressed with the unanimity of opinion among the organization representatives. There was no disagreement on principle and little on the form of presentation. It is our hope that the Platform Committees will understand the significance of a committee speaking for so large a number of Negro voters.

Ever sincerely,

*Walter White*  
Secretary.

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

WW:ee

WARTIME CONFERENCE—Chicago, Illinois—July 12-16, 1944

## A DECLARATION BY NEGRO VOTERS

In the coming November election, the Negro voter will judge political parties, as well as candidates, by their words and deeds as to whether they show a determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged peoples. Political parties and candidates that seek the votes of Negroes must be committed to the wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory, must agree to the elimination of the poll tax, by Act of Congress, the passage of anti-lynching legislation, the unsegregated integration of Negroes into the armed forces, the establishment of a permanent federal committee on fair employment practices, and a foreign policy of international cooperation that promotes economic and political security for all peoples.

The votes of Negroes cannot be purchased by distributing money to and through party hacks. They cannot be won by pointing to jobs given a few individual Negroes, although the recognition of the Negro as an integral part of the body politic through the selection of qualified Negroes for appointive or elective offices is included among the Negro's demands. Negroes are no longer persuaded by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day.

Negroes no longer belong to any one political party. They will vote for men and measures. Negro voters played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as Judge in the same community, a Democratic Mayor in Cleveland, a Republican Governor in Kentucky, and in cooperation with organized labor and other progressive forces, in the withdrawal and defeat of hostile congressmen in Alabama, Texas and California. Public officers who have not made a record of liberal and democratic action may expect Negroes to help remove them from office. If their successors are no better, they may expect the same fate at the next election. For if Negroes do not always find a satisfactory candidate to support, they can and will continue to help remove unsatisfactory officials until truly democratic forces shall come into power.

The undersigned are officers of church, fraternal, labor, civic and educational organizations with a total membership of more than 6,500,000. We recommend to the membership of our respective organizations and all other voters that they measure all appeals for their