

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

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 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 Negroes as is he who would prevent Negroes from voting.

We insist upon the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes, white primaries, or lily-white party conventions, the gerrymandering of districts, or any other device designed to disfranchise Negroes 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.

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 Negroes unless it is committed to a legislative and administrative program for the elimination of this national disgrace.

The Senate rule requiring a two-thirds majority to limit debate, combined with the refusal of senators to vote for cloture, has recently prevented a vote on the Anti-Poll Tax bill. Negroes will not any longer accept the subterfuge of those who claim to favor anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and other progressive legislation yet refuse to invoke cloture so that their votes can be registered. Negroes will expect both major parties and all candidates for Congress not only to commit themselves to such legislation, but also to support such reasonable limitation of debate as may be necessary to bring these measures to a vote.

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 expect the vote of Negroes without supporting legislation for a permanent federal committee on fair employment practices with a sufficient appropriation for the effective operation of the said committee, and to continue adequate appropriation for the present FEPC until a permanent committee is established.

No injustice embitters Negroes more than continued segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. The national policy of segregating Negroes in the armed forces violates every principle of democracy. Any party or candidate that hopes to win the support and respect of Negroes and all progressive groups must prove their belief in democracy by adopting a democratic program for the integration of all Americans into unsegregated military forces and supporting federal legislation designed to assure all men and women in the armed forces the peaceful enjoyment of all rights of citizenship in every American community.

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 recognize China as an equal partner with America, England and Soviet Russia, and which will resolutely and unequivocally oppose either perpetuation or extension of exploitations 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.

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 Negro voters.

We repudiate all persons, Negro and white, who attempt for personal profit to "deliver the Negro vote."

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.

ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
Louise McDonald

ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
Belford Lawson

AME CHURCH
Bishop John A. Gregg

AME ZION CHURCH
Reverend B. C. Robeson

ASSOCIATION OF COLORED RAILWAY TRAINMEN
AND LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN, and
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RAILWAY
EMPLOYES
Charles H. Houston

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
Embry Jackson

BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
A. Philip Randolph
Ashley Totten

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
Max Yergan

DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
Elsie Austin

ELKS (I.B.P.O.E.W.)
J. Finley Wilson

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
George Milner

KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY
Carl R. Johnson

METHODIST CHURCH
Bishop Alexander Shaw

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED GRADUATE
NURSES
Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
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Thurgood Marshall
Walter White
Roy Wilkins

NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
Judge Francis E. Rivers

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
Sadie T. M. Alexander

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION
Ferdinand Smith

NEGRO LABOR COMMITTEE (CIO-AFL)
Frank Crosswaith

OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY
Z. Alexander Looby

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT
A. Clayton Powell, Jr.

PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
George A. Parker

PROGRESSIVE VOTERS LEAGUE
Maynard Jackson

SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE CME CHURCH
Channing H. Tobias

UAW-CIO
Walter Hardin

WASHINGTON BUREAU NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
Leslie Perry

June 17, 1944

July 6, 1944

Dear Mr. White:

I am so sorry you did not have a chance to see the President. I told General Watson the President said he wanted to see you and I cannot imagine why no appointment was made.

The President is as sorry as I am about this, and while he cannot see you before the convention, he will see you later on. Very confidentially, the President is going away for a while.

Sincerely yours,

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

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3550

Official Organ: The Crisis



June 29th
 1944

JUL 1 RECD
 H. W. WATSON

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FRANK D. REEVES	(ON LEAVE)
	ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS,
	WASHINGTON BUREAU

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt :

I have delayed answering your letter of June 17 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 20 when your letter was received. I asked if the appointment could be arranged on June 23 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 23, I wrote General Watson informing him that I could come to Washington for the appointment any day up to July 4 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
 Secretary.

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

WW:EE



HOTEL SHORELAND
FIFTY-FIFTH STREET AT THE LAKE
CHICAGO

File
100
Roosevelt
100

7 July 1944

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Very considerable concern is being expressed among Negroes over the rumor that Mr. Wallace is to be replaced by a conservative Southerner as the President's running mate. They see clearly that the so called "Southern revolt" allegedly over the Negro issue, is a calculated campaign to browbeat the Democrats into choosing a Southerner as vice president who would become president should Mr. Roosevelt resign after the war is ended.

This fear is so genuine and wide spread that the nomination of a Southerner would virtually drive the Negro vote into The Republican camp.

Sincerely,

Walter White

July 11, 1944

100

My dear Mr. White:

In the absence of Mrs. Roosevelt and her personal secretary, I am writing to acknowledge your letter of July 7, and to tell you I shall bring it to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention at the first opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer
Social Correspondence

Mr. Walter White
Hotel Shoreland
55th Street At The Lake
Chicago, Illinois

rnws

*Letter: read it
11/11*

*Re Carver American Council for erasing racial barriers etc through self help. Gives their Proclamation Plan., etc.

July 31, 1944.

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to send you the enclosed letter from Willie B. Lumpkin, 184 Richard Street, New Britain, Connecticut.

Mrs. Roosevelt wonders if you can find out if there is anything in this.

The return of the enclosed letter with your reply will be appreciated.

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

August 3, 1944.

W H L T E R
Dear Mr. White:

I read your speech with very deep interest. I am always torn in my mind as to whether the voicing of bitterness, and some of this speech is bitter of necessity, is going to help solve our extremely difficult questions both in the present and in the future.

I entirely understand why you and the other leaders of the colored race feel as they do. Both the President and I were as disturbed as you were by the reports which we received that Justice Byrnes was under consideration and showing considerable strength. I was very glad that he withdrew but I was never quite sure that he was not being used just as a red herring to prevent Wallace from increasing his strength and to make Senator Truman the candidate.

I do not know Senator Truman but from all I hear he is a good man. Of course, I would have preferred Mr. Wallace.

The liberals will have to learn to elect a majority of delegates beforehand and not trust to anything that is done at the last minute.

To tell the truth, from a personal standpoint and not for publication, a defeat will not be an unalixed sorrow for me. The President has felt that it is his duty to continue and since it looks as though the alternative would not be helpful to us or to the world, I suppose we will have to work and hope for success in November.

100
✓

Have your recommendations to the War Department had any measure of success? I would be glad to know how many were going to be put into effect. Are you planning to go in the other direction?

I have been glad to notice the recognition given the work of the colored Supply Corps in Normandy.

Very sincerely yours,

I am distressed

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

VDS

White

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e.r.

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

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JUL 20 1944

July 19, 1944

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	ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS, WASHINGTON BUREAU

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see the enclosed copy of the speech which I made at the closing session of the N.A.A.C.P. Conference in Chicago last Sunday. The police estimated the crowd at about 40,000; the Chicago Sun said it was 25,000; and the Chicago Tribune, which distorted the facts about the Conference and attacked the Association, myself in particular, for "selling out the Negro vote to the New Deal, Communists and the CIO", grudgingly admitted that we had 12,000 present. The audience was most vociferous in its applause of the section of the speech dealing with the Southern conspiracy to replace Mr. Wallace by a reactionary Southerner with an anti-Negro record. On returning to New York I was deluged with telephone calls from influential Negroes like Dr. Channing H. Tobias who were alarmed at the report that Mr. Byrnes was favored by the high command of the Democratic Party for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Every person with whom I have talked is convinced that his nomination would cause ninety percent of Negroes to vote the Republican ticket or abstain from voting.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

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

WW:RR

Walter White

Address by Walter White, Executive Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People, at closing meeting of Wartime
Conference, Sunday, July 16, Washington Park,
Chicago, Illinois

On this 952nd day of America's participation in a war to save the world from the military aggression and racial bigotry of Germany and Japan, the United Nations with a comparable master race theory of its own moves on to victory. The growing certainty of that victory intensifies determination to permit no fundamental change in the attitude of "white" nations toward the "colored" peoples of the earth.

This is the harsh reality of the report I must unhappily bring you from visits to battlefronts stretching from England to the Middle East. In that reality lies not only continued misery and exploitation for black and brown and yellow peoples who constitute two-thirds of the population of the world. In it exists as well the virtual certainty of another and bloodier and costlier world war in the not too distant future.

The white world has not yet learned the danger and folly of its racial greed and intransigence. The wholesome and becoming humility of the dark days of the early part of the war when Hitler seemed unstoppable has passed. The certainty of "white supremacy" is hastily wrapped again like a mantle about the shoulders of the United Nations as their citizens emerge from bomb shelters into the comforting light of victory, a little ashamed of the panic they had felt. Only a few wise men and women like Wendell Willkie and Henry Wallace, Edwin Embree and Sumner Welles, Marshall Field and Pearl Buck are

discerning enough to see that the old world is gone and that a new one must take its place or else we all may perish.

Though the voices of the thousands here today may be only as one crying in the wilderness, nevertheless it is our duty to cry aloud unceasingly and, whatever the price we have to pay, doing so not for our own selfish interests but to save the world from destroying white and colored together.

But there is comfort in the fact that today ours is not a lone voice. The hundreds of millions of China and India, of Africa and South America and the Caribbean are neither silent nor inactive. A vast and unstoppable seething moves them. They take literally the shibboleths of the Four Freedoms. They intend to secure and enjoy those freedoms and to put an end to the old order in which men, solely because they are colored, can be worked to exhaustion, exploited, despised, spat upon and derided by those whose chief right to sovereignty is whiteness of skin. And Russia with a passion not only for economic equality but for racial and cultural equality is committed to the fight against prejudice and discrimination.

It is highly significant that the eyes that see and the voices that speak are not solely those of the oppressed. I was in England when four by-elections were held in which the people repudiated the old order of Winston Churchill and his class who would perpetuate imperialism for the benefit of the few. In North Africa and the Middle East I talked with Maquis just escaped from Nazi-controlled France whose gaunt figures and tense faces bespoke the strain of the underground resistance movement, who are determined that the old order shall not be restored where a decadent class lives in luxury on the exploitation of colonials and working class white

French men and women. In London and Algiers and Cairo I talked with men and women who had escaped from Balkan countries all the way from Estonia on the north down to the Black Sea and the Aegean. Almost without exception they favor,--distrustful as they are of the old order which brought on the terrible misery of this and the last war,-- alliance with a steadily more powerful Russia than further reliance on an Anglo-Saxon capitalist world. Mind you, they do not wholly trust Russia. But they place slightly more hope in the Soviet as perhaps the lesser of two evils.

Meanwhile, a similar process proceeds with even greater speed to the east of Russia in Asia and the Pacific. This is less Russia's doing than it is England's and America's. A high official of the British Empire's India Office told me bluntly that Nehru and Gandhi and the other leaders of the fight for freedom of India's three hundred and fifty million people would never be freed from prison until they confessed guilt of treason and insurrection for daring to demand that India's millions receive as well as fight for freedom. Lest he be made a martyr by dying in prison, Gandhi has since been nominally freed. But the brilliant Nehru and other Indian leaders remain in jail to furnish the Japanese propagandists with superb material to convince the one thousand million colored peoples of the Pacific that the white nations of the world are liars and hypocrites when they say that this is a war for the freedom of all men everywhere.

In this shameful program, the United States is doing her full share to create cynicism and skepticism. Every lynching, every coldblooded shooting of a Negro soldier in Louisiana or Mississippi or Georgia, every refusal to abolish segregation in our armed

forces, every filibuster against an anti-poll tax or anti-lynching bill, every snarling, sneering reference by a Mississippi Senator like Eastland to "burr headed niggers" in fulmination against an appropriation for the Fair Employment Practice Committee builds up a debit balance of hatred against America which may cost countless lives of Americans yet unborn.

Capitalist America and Great Britain fear and distrust Communist Russia, despite all the oleogenous talk nowadays about "our Russian Ally." If they hope to preserve a capitalist economy, would they not be wise enough to stop virtually forcing the oppressed of the world--white, black, brown and yellow--into desperate alliance with Communism or a racial war which would destroy white and colored peoples? Would not such a course be dictated at least by enlightened self-interest?

Instead of such a course what has recently happened and what will likely happen right here in Chicago during the next week? Three weeks ago the Republicans adopted here a weasel worded platform plank on post war international relations which is so meaningless that even the isolationist Chicago Tribune approves it. The same platform favors increased international trade and "a fair protective tariff"; opposes government subsidies and favors grants to farmers; pledges reduction of taxes and at the same time a reduction in the public debt and an abundant income for everybody. Since the Congress voted only a two and a half billion dollar tax bill with the war and the running of the government costing us nearly one hundred billion dollars a year one wonders what feat of legerdemain the Republicans plan to perform to achieve such a miracle.

But the height of double talk was reached when the Republi-

cans came to the Negro question. Painfully aware that they could not re-occupy the White House unless they can corral the 2,500,000 Negro voters who hold the potential balance of power in seventeen or more states with a total of 281 or more votes in the Electoral College, the Republicans set about to lure the Negro back into the Republican fold. They included one plank pledging Congressional establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee which, on the surface, was fair and unequivocal. But elsewhere they pledged "the return of the public employment office system to the states at the earliest possible time..." Shades of consistency!! Eight of the thirteen million Negro citizens of the United States still live in the South. Imagine,--if you will subject yourself to such torture,-- the chances of a Negro getting a post-war job in a state controlled employment system in a Mississippi controlled by Bilbo and Rankin!

Let's look at what the G.O.P. proposes to do about housing-- the direst of all needs of the ghetto-doomed Negro. They propose to stimulate "state and local plans to provide decent low-cost housing properly financed by the Federal Housing Administration"--the agency which has done more than any other body in the history of America to enforce restrictive covenants as a means of perpetuating, extending, and giving Federal sanction to the unholy pattern of condemnation of Negroes to slums forever.

The Republicans say they favor "legislation against lynching", but they neglect to specify whether they mean federal, state or municipal legislation. If they mean state legislation their gesture is both silly and dishonest in the light of the number of Republicans in the states where lynchings are most frequent. If they

mean federal legislation they are even more dishonest when they fail even to mention, much less pledge, to vote for cloture to stop filibusters by Southern Democratic Senators. I speak from more than a quarter of a century of experience with Republican majority and minority leaders including the late Senator Charles McNary and the present Minority Leader, Senator Wallace A. White of Maine. Both of these men smiled sweetly but delivered a sufficient number of Republican votes to estop cloture. We Negroes are finished with being treated as nitwits and dolts.

The Republicans promise Negroes an "investigation" of "mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces....and the adoption of corrective legislation." In 1941 the NAACP secured introduction of a resolution for a Senate investigation of mistreatment of Negroes in the armed services. It got little support from either Republicans or Democrats. Now three years later, on election eve, an investigation is promised. The Congress is in recess until August and, in effect, will be so until after the election. Only a miracle could effect the passage of a resolution for such an investigation by the end of the present Congress in January. Do the Republicans believe us to be completely stupid to think such an investigation will be put through by them in time to be effective in this war? Or are they thinking of World War III?

The whole procedure is redolent of the evasion practiced by Mr. Dewey in New York State in connection with the commission to investigate discrimination in war industries. The commission, composed

of distinguished Negro and white New Yorkers, devoted eight months to its work and recommended remedial legislation. This was pocketed by Governor Dewey and a new commission appointed to traverse the same ground and report some time in 1945--well beyond the 1944 election day. Dewey could find but two Negroes in the whole of New York State to serve on his new commission--one of them a political appointee. The Negro's coming of age politically is evidenced by the courage of men like Channing Tobias who refused to be deluded or kidded.

But most shameful of all is the Republican proposal to abolish the poll tax by a constitutional amendment. Southern Democratic Senators, aided by reactionary Northern Republicans, have time and again blocked by filibuster a vote on Federal legislation against the poll tax which required only a majority. How much more impossible will it be to pass a resolution for a constitutional amendment which requires a two-thirds vote of both houses of the Congress, and approval by thirty-six, or two-thirds of the state legislatures, of the amendment. After twenty years only twenty-eight state legislatures have approved the child labor amendment which most certainly is less venomously opposed than would be one to enfranchise ten million white and Negro Southerners whose disfranchisement perpetuates the Eugene Coxes and Rankins, the Bilbos and Tom Connallys in power. As a Negro I bitterly resent the Republican implication that we Negroes are as feeble-minded as they appear to believe us to be.

But if you think the G.O.P. platform dishonest and stupid as I do, we "ain't seen nothin' yet" until the Democrats get going here Wednesday. Playing a brazen game of bluffing, the sub-Potomac Democrats have been "revolting" for the past three years. They threaten to throw the election into the House of Representatives,

to "secede from the union", and to do a host of other dire things, not one of which they have the slightest intention of doing. Their strategy is not nearly as fantastic and bombastic as it seems. It is, instead, shrewdly and calculately conceived. They demand that Vice President Wallace be replaced as the President's running mate because his views on racial, social and economic questions are "fantastic" and "impractical." They conveniently forgot that what Wallace advocates today the President himself preached in 1933 but now no longer preaches--namely, a world of the common man.

But Wallace is only a pawn in the hardboiled game the Southern revolutionists play with more than a fair chance of succeeding. Their real goal and purpose is to force the nomination as vice president on the Democratic ticket of a reactionary Southerner. They count on the President not surviving another four years in the White House or, more likely, his resigning when the war ends to head some sort of international peace commission and thereby turning over to the vice president the reins and powers of office.

Let me solemnly warn the Democratic convention that if it nominates a Southerner as vice president it can kiss the Negro vote goodbye. This is not a sectional issue. There are a number of Southerners, white and Negro, who would make excellent vice presidents. But none of them has a ghost of a chance to be nominated by the ruthless political machines of the South which perpetuate themselves in power by disfranchisement of from ninety to ninety-seven per cent of the voters, white and Negro.

Let me make crystal clear at this point that what I say today is not the opinion of a single individual or even of a single organization, even though it be the N.A.A.C.P. with 783 branches and a membership of 400,000. What I say is instead what is

deep in the hearts and minds of thoughtful Negro citizens all over this country. As evidence I submit excerpts from the statement, drafted and adopted with striking unanimity on June 17th by the spokesmen of the twenty-five most important mass organizations of Negroes in the United States with a combined membership of six and a half million.

Here is what these men and women ask of their country:

"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 practice, 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 add 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."

Later in the same statement, the twenty-five organizations declared:

"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 Negroes as is he who would prevent Negroes from voting.

"We insist upon the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes, white primaries, or lily-white party conventions, the gerry-mandering of districts, or any other device designed to disfranchise Negroes and other voters.

"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 Negro voters."

Let me emphasize here that what is asked is not asked solely of national political bodies nor of the South alone. It is directed as well at Northern Democratic and Republican organizations which have all too often played ball and made deals with Southern reactionaries, using the Negro vote as the vanishing pea in a political shell game.

Though the Republicans are little if any better--particularly in the recent years of the Congressional coalition of death composed of reactionaries of both parties--we may have to submit to the temporary defeat of seeing tweedledum replace tweedledee. There are disturbing rumors that the Southern bluff is likely

to succeed and that the President plans to "leave to the convention" the choice of a vice president. Negroes have reason to be grateful for much during the Roosevelt administrations. We have deep respect and affection for the courage and integrity of Mrs. Roosevelt. But we cannot run the risk--so desperate is our plight--of an anti-Negro figure as heir apparent to the most powerful position in the world today.

The South--or certain political elements in it like Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina and the Democratic State Committees of Texas, Mississippi and South Carolina--declare that they will secede unless they have their way. Let me say here quite seriously that a far worse fate could come to America than to have this happen. Just as the proverbial one rotten apple spoiled the barrel of apples, so democracy itself is being destroyed by the anti-democratic forces in the South today. They utilize hatred of the Negro precisely as Hitler used prejudice against Jews, Catholics and Christians. Through disfranchisement and the seniority rule, they head or dominate more than sixty percent of the Senate and House Committees which determine not only domestic legislation but foreign affairs and the shape of the post war world. Southerners constitute 28 percent of the nation's population but less than ten percent of them are permitted to vote. Thus approximately three percent of the population of America control, through the men they elect and who chair Congressional committees, the destiny of America. Perhaps democracy in America can be saved only by letting the rebels secede until the South is ready to obey the Constitution and the laws of human decency. Our nation's plight is far too precarious not only now but even more in the years to come to risk being jeopardized even more by the racism and bigotry of the Rankins and Bilbos.

Permit me to put race aside for the moment and point

out how much a menace this bloc is to the interests of Americans generally. Between eleven and twelve million American men and women are serving in the armed forces, nearly six million of them overseas. If any citizens are worthy of the privilege of participation by voting in a democracy, it should be those who are sacrificing most in defense of that democracy. But certain people in and outside of Congress feared that soldiers and sailors might upset their political apple carts by voting too intelligently and liberally. They got Eastland and Rankin of Mississippi, McClellan of Arkansas and McKellar of Tennessee to sponsor a substitute measure, shameless in its ineffectualness. Why did they select these four men to put over disfranchisement of men facing death? For the simple reason that these four legislators were invulnerable to the wrath of an aroused electorate because the overwhelming majority of that electorate is disfranchised.

Or consider another example from among many which could be cited--the Bankhead amendment to the price control act which would have added three hundred and fifty million dollars a year to the cost of clothing--not only, mind you, of the cost of clothing to the people of Senator Bankhead's state of Alabama but to the cost of clothing to the people of Illinois, California, New York and of every other state of the union. Fortunately, this barefaced attempt to add greater profits to the textile interests was blocked. But hamstringing amendments on the Office of Price Administration were affixed as the basis of compromise. How neatly Bankhead's amendment fits in with the Republican platform's pledge to "terminate rationing, price fixing and all other emergency powers." Inflation, that she blows!

This kind of legislative sabotage of all that we are

fighting for in the war illustrates an obligation upon American voters, particularly those who belong to racial, economic and religious minorities, which cannot possibly be stressed too strongly. Never forget that it is vitally important that we elect a president and vice president at this crucial stage of the world's history who by record and promise symbolize the march towards genuine democracy and freedom for all men everywhere. But it is equally important that we elect a Senate and a House of Representatives equally intelligent and liberal. In the October, 1943, and June, 1944, issues of the NAACP Bulletin we published the voting record of every member of both Houses of the Congress on issues which affect your interests. Study those records. Cast your ballot according to what that record shows; not by what candidates promise in some vague future. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Pay no attention to their party affiliations. Party labels, as we have seen in the Congressional coalition of reactionary Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans, mean nothing to the enemies of progress. They should mean even less to us.

Continue to repudiate venal, slippery politicians who claim to be able to deliver--for a price--the Negro vote. Make this particularly true of Negro charlatans who jump from candidate to candidate, from party to party which has the largest campaign fund, who are able to fool only gullible white candidates because the latter know so little and take so little trouble to learn what the masses of Negroes really think. But while we repudiate purchasable politicians, we must also vigorously support those political leaders who fight for principle and the rights of all.

Permit me now to report tersely to you on my trip

overseas since last we met in annual conference and to tell you how your sons and fathers and husbands and friends are faring. I covered as a war correspondent more than twenty thousand miles in the European, North African, Italian and Middle East Theatres of Operations. I talked with many thousands of officers and soldiers, white and Negro, ranging in rank from G. I.'s of engineering units who had just stepped off the boat from America to the Supreme Allied Commander, General Eisenhower. I shared with them the unique fraternity of enemy bombs dropping nearby and the ultimate democracy where race or color do not count--when men huddle together in a slit trench as enemy planes strafe at the rate of 3200 fifty-calibre bullets per minute per plane.

I wish it were possible for me to tell you truthfully that the alchemy of war and fighting to destroy Nazism had transformed the racial behavior of Americans in the armed services overseas. I cannot do so. We have merely transplanted to other lands the American pattern, both good and bad. As is true at home, there are some officers and enlisted men, from North and South, who are decent human beings who believe in and practice democracy. A decidedly encouraging note is the number of G. I.'s who, brought face to face with death, are reexamining their racial and other opinions. Some of them are beginning to realize that race is a global question which must be faced and solved. Unfortunately, our War and Navy departments, threatened by Congressional reactionaries and bigots, have manifested but slight and grudging recognition of the existence of this enlightened minority in the armed services. Basically, the root of all our difficulties overseas is in insistence on racial segregation.

As long as our government insists on segregation in an army, and navy allegedly fighting for democracy, the chasm between

the races will be perpetuated and broadened with resultant bitterness on both sides. When ten or eleven million men return after the war is over, our government cannot escape responsibility for whatever happens since it is in large measure responsible for immature racial, political, economic and social thinking among these men whose every act they have directed for the period of their army and navy service.

What some of us like to believe is that a minority of American soldiers overseas have deliberately fomented brawls with colored soldiers, and spread malicious falsehoods about Negroes among the citizens of countries where these men have been stationed. Among them are that all Negroes have tails, that they are illiterate and diseased and inferior, and even that Negroes are so sub-human that they cannot speak English but communicate their thoughts, if any, by grunting and barking. It is fortunate for America that colored soldiers had self-control and sense enough to treat this campaign as a joke. In some areas Negro soldiers, learning on arrival of the fanciful tales about themselves which had been spread in advance of their coming, barked at the English people of the neighborhood. Belying their reputation of being slow to catch on to a joke, the English soon began to bark back in a kind of warm, friendly language of friendship.

In Italy I ran across a deliberate printed campaign of vilification of Negro American soldiers. Large green placards appeared mysteriously one day on billboards in Naples, allegedly put out by the "Comitato Italiano-Americano", whose full name, translated, is the Italian-American Committee for the Preservation

of the Italian race. The Placard vilified Negroes, declaring them to be inferior because their skins were black and warned Italians that they would not receive much consideration or help if they treated American Negro soldiers as equals.

As your representative, I investigated these and other attempts to spread prejudice against the Negro and reported my findings to Major General David G. Barr, Chief of the North African Theatre of Operations. I am happy to read you the following excerpt from a letter recently received from General Barr:

"As a result of your letter calling my attention to the conditions which you came across during your visit to Naples, I directed that an immediate investigation of the conditions. . . be instigated so as to enable us to take remedial action, if necessary. I have delayed answering you until such a time as I might have the benefit of the report submitted as the result of this investigation.

"The 'Comitate Italiano-Americano' poster referred to by you appeared in Naples on 12 January 1944. The investigation revealed that an American soldier of Italian extraction was fully responsible for its posting. This soldier, and two others who had assisted in financing and distributing the poster, have subsequently been tried and convicted by court martial under the 96th Article of War."

General Barr's prompt and effective action in this instance is matched, fortunately, by some of the other high officers of the United States Army overseas. Lt. General John C. H. Lee, Deputy Theatre Commander of the European Theatre of Operations, has recently written, "My staff has been instructed to implement

wherever possible your many fine suggestions. It should be a source of great satisfaction to you to know that you have played a definite part in the preparation of our men for the primary mission--combat operations against the enemy. Suggesting such as promotion for Negro officers; the placing of certain officers in positions where they can be of most value are being gone into thoroughly, and, I know, will bring beneficial results."

In General Lee, I found a real friend of fair play and justice for the Negro. When the War Department published an excellent pamphlet, "The Command of Negro Troops," General Lee had many thousands of copies printed in England for distribution to every officer in the European Theatre of Operation.

When I was in England, virtually all of the Negro soldiers there were so-called service troops--members of quartermaster, engineer, port battalion and trucking units. It was strongly urged that Negro combat troops as well be brought to the European theatre and given opportunity to participate in the invasion of the Continent. You have recently seen Army photographs of Negro combat troops on the Normandy beachheads, and you heard at the opening session of this conference General Eisenhower's tribute to the part Negroes are playing with other Americans in beating Hitler.

One of the most galling practices to Negro soldiers overseas is the designation of certain towns and other places as "off limits." This practice sorely limited already greatly limited areas in which soldiers could find diversions while on leave. An order has been issued by General Eisenhower forbidding such practices.

Some prejudiced officers have utilized court martial to intimidate Negro soldiers. This has been true both here and overseas. It has been strongly urged upon the War Department that special boards of review of such cases be established and that on

them shall serve able Negro lawyers, appropriately commissioned, to insure justice. It is our intention to follow up this recommendation to the end that no officer of the United States Army will dare utilize the machinery of the court martial to implement his prejudices.

Another source of dissatisfaction I found was the tendency to transform Negro combat units into service units. We have reason to believe that facts presented on this issue will check this process.

These are but some of the specific problems and the specific action which your Association attempted to take on them. There are others which are in process of correction. But all of these and other problems are but the surface manifestations of the basic evil--segregation. If I were asked to state my most fundamental criticism not only of our Army and Navy, but of our whole governmental attitude, it would be this--that white America has so little faith in the inherent decency of white Americans. Wherever I went overseas, I found many young, intelligent, decent Americans, both northern and southern, who are disturbed by the race problem. They would like to bring their practice of democracy into line with their profession of it. But they fear that to do so would get them into difficulties with their superior officers. I believe the time has come for our government and all its agencies to stop basing their racial patterns on the lowest common denominator of American thought and action on this question. Unless it does so, I predict broadening of the chasm between the races which can only result in greater hatred, more friction and a weakening of the whole democratic structure.

Our final word regarding the fanning of the peace and the post war years. I am happy to announce that the distinguished American scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois will return to your NAACP on September 1 as Director of Special Research. His first and chief responsibility will be the preparation of material, in cooperation with a distinguished committee of Negro and white Americans, for presentation of the Negro's cause to the peace conference or peace conferences. If the peace treaty is based on the perpetuation of white overlordship over the peoples of the earth, another war is inevitable. On behalf of the Negroes not only of America, but of Africa, the West Indies and other parts of the world, we shall make our voice heard in an effort to save the framers from the folly of another Versailles Treaty.

We have just completed the most active and successful year in the Association's history. Ahead of us lie tears and heartaches, problems and hard work. But also there lies ahead greater strength out of which will come inevitable greater victories. We must, in the wise words of C. C. Spaulding, teach America that "It cannot play the Star-Spangled banner without using both the black and the white keys."

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August 9th
 1944

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I deeply appreciate your frank and honest letter of August 3rd.

I did not intend my speech to be bitter. I only tried to tell the truth as I saw it. I quite agree with you about the necessity of liberals not waiting until the horse is stolen before locking the barn door. As I said at the dinner for Senator Norris nearly two years ago, the decent people of America have got to be on the job constantly, as are their enemies.

But I am more and more alarmed at the way in which the unholy coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans are riding roughshod over men like Mr. Wallace and Mr. Willkie. The debacle at Chicago, both in the defeat of Wallace and in the inadequate planks on Negroes and other issues, should be enough to stir up decent people to a realization of their peril. I wonder if it will.

Most of all, I am disturbed by the despair among Negroes who feel that there is little for them to hope for from either party. Their sole ray of hope is that between now and election day the Administration, and in particular the President, will by act and word demonstrate that the fight for liberalism is not only going to be continued but will be stepped up.

Some of my recommendations to the War Department have been acted upon, but I have not been able to get details. Though it is somewhat immodest for me to do so, I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed letter from Lt. General John C. H. Lee. It is my hope to go to the Pacific and to include India, China, Russia and the Middle East

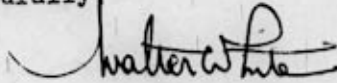
Mrs. Roosevelt

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August 9th, 1944

in the fall. I had planned to leave immediately after our wartime conference in Chicago, but our Board of Directors felt that this year's election was so crucial I should not be out of the country until after the election. At the moment, I am inclined to believe that I could be of greater use in the Pacific than here.

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".

WALTER WHITE.

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

WW:DW

HEADQUARTERS
EUROPEAN THEATER OF OPERATIONS
UNITED STATES ARMY

3 April 1944.

My dear Mr. White:

May I thank you again for your invaluable visit to this Theater? I understand that you are getting along splendidly with your tour; so will send this letter to your office in the United States in hope that it will greet you upon return.

General Eisenhower has asked me to express to you his deep gratitude for the many contributions made while you were with us. As for myself, the quality of your great work has been ever inspiring. It was gratifying to have your keen mind cooperating with us in our efforts to thoroughly cement American soldier understanding, regardless of color or race, creed or nationality.

On one of the occasions when we dined together, you will remember that General Eisenhower was quoted regarding "teamwork", how he leads us by stressing that "teams" win and "teams" succeed, no matter what the objective. To me, your activities while here, demonstrated the wisdom of General Eisenhower's guiding philosophy; that if we work together, with one aim and toward a common goal, there is nothing that can prevent us from attaining the full measure of success. The manner in which you approached the myriad problems that arise when American soldiers are suddenly transported far from our beloved country, with the many resulting sudden readjustments, well demonstrates that you are "on the team"--and that is all our country asks of any man or woman in this War.

The report of your observations and recommendations has been personally reviewed by the Inspector General, European Theater of Operations, and an investigation conducted on the several points raised. As a counterpart to your report, I am forwarding for you a copy of the Inspector General's report; the two taken together, considering them as one, reflect an accurate theater-wide review. Considerations of security have prompted me to delete, as a matter of convenience to you, names of places and units; I trust it will help you in the evaluation of your observations.

Since the preparation of the Inspector General's report, two fine letters from General Eisenhower have been received. Copies are inclosed.

My Staff have been instructed to implement wherever possible your many fine suggestions. It should be a source of great satisfaction to know that you have played a definite part in the preparation of our men for the primary mission--combat operations against the enemy. Suggestions such as promotion for Negro officers; the placing of certain officers in positions where they can be of most value are being gone into thoroughly, and, I know, will bring beneficial results.

But, beyond all of this, I cannot but feel that there is something far more fundamental in the contributions you have made. I somehow feel that most of the troubles which our Country faces from time to time, whatever the cause or the subject, come primarily from lack of understanding of one another, of our respective aims in life, of our respective purposes in life. Frequently, by discussion and frank talk, we are better able to understand

(2)

each other and our reactions; in so doing, we are better able to get "onto his team" and to him "onto our team".

There is no Negro problem in the European Theater of Operations, United States Army, nor has there ever been a Negro problem. There is always an American Citizen problem when American citizens leave their peace-time pursuits and find themselves in uniform, serving their country in war, overseas. They face a readjustment, the carrying of certain American prejudices with them, prejudices which have not grown up in the Army, but which have been carried into the Army from civilian life.

Many of these prejudices, irrespective of subject, are of long standing. Wiser minds than those of us in the Army have been working on them for generations. Progress is being made. What we all seek is evolution, not revolution. But particularly is that important to those of us who have been directed to lead our soldiers into battle. We have but one primary job--to protect our Country, the United States of America, by beating the enemy, so that our democratic form of Government may remain and may solve the many American problems confronting us all.

Therefore, to you, Mr. White, for your understanding; for your appreciation of the grim mission we soldiers have before us; for your belief in responsibility we feel towards all of our troops; for your willing cooperation and helpful contributions, I want to say once more: Thank you. May we all work together, when peace again graces our Earth, toward the solution of all of the many problems that must be solved to permit free men to work for the common good of all.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) JOHN C. H. LEE,

Lieutenant General, U. S. Army,
Deputy Theater Commander

Mr. Walter White
New York Post
New York, New York

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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



August 11th
1944

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WASHINGTON BUREAU

act
8/18/44

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would enjoy this charming column by Langston Hughes in this week's issue of the Chicago Defender. I enjoyed it immensely.

And apropos our recent correspondence, I thought you might like to see a column of mine in the same issue in which I speak of some of the more hopeful signs out of the South.

Cordially,

Walter White

WALTER WHITE.

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

WW:DW

*Thanks & closing to you
at your request
to please acknowledge*

100
August 18, 1944.

Dear Mr. White:

I think Mr. Hughes column
on Josephine Baker is a charming one.
I can not say I like yours because it
is based on premises with which I do
not agree.

Very sincerely yours,

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

VDS

PEOPLE AND PLACES

By WALTER WHITE

Willkie-Wallace Ticket

WILL YOU join me on a political marihuana binge? O.K., let's go.

How would you vote if there were a Willkie-Wallace ticket in the field? What would your emotions and inclinations be if you had the choice of choosing from a Dewey-Bricker, Roosevelt-Truman or a Willkie-Wallace ballot? Yes, I know, because I feel the same way myself.

Nothing will come of this idea but in the lull between the conventions and the actual campaign when it really gets into stride late in September there's no reason why we shouldn't while away some of the hot summer months dreaming of a more ideal state. No more will happen than did to a proposal the most stout-minded of readers of this column will remember was suggested in the July 31, 1943, column — a Roosevelt-Willkie or a Willkie-Roosevelt ticket, the sequence to be determined by the flip of a coin.

Principles First

THE 1940 REPUBLICAN presidential candidate and the more recently double-crossed vice president have jointly, done far more to keep faith in human decency and the democratic process alive than they could possibly have done by achieving their political ambitions — they placed their principles and personal integrity above holding a job.

How much cleaner and greater is Wallace's stature today than is that of the President who damned with faint praise the man who took it on the chin for his chief in the notorious row over who should be top man in the Board of Economic Warfare — Wallace, or the Texan, Jesse Jones,



Walter White

who holds more jobs and has bungled more of them than any man in modern history.

And how much nobler was Wallace when he, alone of all the men and women who addressed the Democratic convention, had the guts to say what he believed when he threw into the teeth of the South his unshakable belief in the abolition of the poll tax, the need of doing right by the common man than were the cheap machine politicians — North and South — like the "regular" Texas gang and the Hannegans, Hagues and Kellys.

Gallant Combination

THE CONGENITAL decrepitude of the Republican Party is most clearly seen in the choice their convention made when that choice was one between a Willkie and a Dewey. Had Willkie been willing to make deals such as the one reputed to have been made to him in California with Governor Warren or to pipe down on the Negro question or to submit to dictation by Roosevelt-haters and reactionary Republicans he could have won the nomination hands down and kept The Mustache true to his pledge to serve out his term as governor of New York. But like Wallace, Willkie decided it was better to be able to sleep comfortably at night and look at himself in the mirror without flinching as he shaved each morning.

Here are two men who are great in the American and human tradition and who thereby have done more than perhaps they now realize to keep alive a sense of decency in the often sordid and mercenary game of politics. Doorbell ringers and political advertising and the intricacies of getting a new political party's name and candidates and political insignia on the ballot being as expensive, difficult and legally technical as they are you and I won't be able, probably, to choose between Dewey-Bricker, Roosevelt-Truman and Willkie-Wallace on the first Tuesday after the first Monday next November.

Nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, I give you the most gallant and thrilling contemporary combination of decent Americanism — Wendell Willkie and Henry Wallace! Bottoms up!

August 12, 1944.

100

Dear Mr. White:

I think the material you used in connection with the transportation strike in Philadelphia is very good. Thank you for letting me see it.

Very sincerely yours,

I heard your organization had done a grand job.

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

VJS

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



August 5th
1944

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8/2/44
AUG 7 - 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed leaflet and the press releases telling of what we tried to do to stop the disorder and to help solve the tragic transportation strike in Philadelphia.

Longford

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

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

WW:DW

Attention Citizens!

PTC is standing pat on upgrading Negro workers (6 p. m. Tuesday)

WMC also stands firm.

The CIO top leadership is opposed to the stoppage and against compromise on upgrading.

FEPC stands pat.

Negro and white people and organizations have flooded officials with telegrams urging a square deal for Negro workers at PTC. Only a well-organized handful among the bus and trolley operators are behind this race-hating, undemocratic action. **THEY CAN AND WILL BE DEFEATED IN THEIR EFFORTS.**

CITIZENS — SIT TIGHT

Keep Your Heads and Your Tempers!

THIS STOPPAGE IS A DISGRACE TO PHILADELPHIA, TO AMERICA AND TO DEMOCRACY, but it will be settled and settled right if you —

1. Wire PTC, Mitten Bldg., to continue to stand pat on upgrading Negroes.
2. Wire Mayor Samuel to insist as Mayor that Negroes be upgraded at PTC.
3. **KEEP COOL. Treat other people as you would be treated. Share your car.**

PHILA. METROPOLITAN COUNCIL FOR EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY
(Representing 24 business, church, labor and civic organizations in Phila.)
Room 922 — 121 North Broad Street

NATIONAL ASS'N FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
16th and Lombard Streets. For information call, PENNypacker 3470

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August 3, 1944

**NAACP BOARD AFFIRMS
RIGHT TO CHALLENGE PARTIES**

New York--At a special meeting on Monday, July 31st, the National Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. reaffirmed the continued non-partisan political position of the Association as restated by the annual conference of the Association in Chicago, Illinois, two weeks ago. The Board approved and endorsed the critical comment of its Secretary, Walter White, upon both the Republican and Democratic national platforms, and expressed the intention of the Association to continue to challenge both parties on the issues of major concern to the Negro and to the common man generally.

The Board further expressed the intention of the Association to call upon both parties and their national leadership in a demand for action in Congress between now and the November elections upon those domestic issues vitally affecting the interests of common people.

**N.A.A.C.P. ASKS F.B.I.
ACTION IN PTC STRIKE**

8/3/44

✓ New York--After a two-day personal investigation of transportation strike hostilities in Philadelphia, Assistant NAACP secretary, Roy Wilkins, wired Attorney General Francis Biddle: "I wish to urge strongly that the Department of Justice through the Federal Bureau of Investigation make a special examination into the activities of James McMenamin, Don Lasher and Frank P. Carney, who are leaders of the so-called committee representing the strikers. Statements attributed to Carney by Philadelphia papers of August 1 and 2 seem to be clearly incitement to riot. Rumor has it that Carney and Lasher were either given or took much time off from work during past three weeks devoting their efforts to fomenting racial hatred and stirring up employees to paralyze Philadelphia with the surprise stoppage. Statements attributed to McMenamin in the New York Herald Tribune of August 3 come within the category of incitement to riot. Carney and McMenamin have preached open defiance of federal government as well as vilest and lowest forms of racial hatred. My personal observation among Negro population of Philadelphia for 36 hours informs me that the statements of these strike leaders have done more to embitter Negro population and lay basis for serious clashes than any other aspect of tie-up. Prompt and effective action by FBI is urged."

N.A.A.C.P. BRANCH OFFICER
ACTS IN P.T.C. STRIKE

8/3/44

Philadelphia - At a meeting yesterday in the office of Dr. A. A. Mitten, director, industrial relations, PTC, Theodore Spaulding, president, the local branch NAACP, said of the strike situation, "The question here is one of democracy which in my opinion means much more than the money involved." Later, Mr. Spaulding along with Mayor Bernard Samuel, Joseph Sharfsin, FEPC; James McNamee, WMC; and Reverend Thomas Palmquist appealed to strikers to return to work over radio station WCAU. A hundred thousand leaflets urging citizens to remain cool in waiting for the defeat of undemocratic action against the upgrading of Negroes were circularized by the Philadelphia branch NAACP.

P.T.C. STRIKERS' TALK
"INCITES RIOT" - NAACP

8/3/44

New York--Statements attributed to James McMenamin and Frank P. Carney, strike leaders in the Philadelphia Transportation tie-up, were cited yesterday as fomenting race hatred and incitement-to-riot, in a wire to the Department of Justice by Roy Wilkins, Assistant Secretary, NAACP.

McMenamin, chairman of the strikers' general committee, declared "the issue to be strictly black and white." In explaining resentment to Negroes he said: "Due to low health conditions, their inferior education and their general economic condition, their standard of living is very far below the standard of operators. We have a condition here where every man swinging between runs gets a rest on a bench in the depot. This would require a colored man to lie beside a white man, or a white man to lie where a colored man had been. The colored people have bedbugs. These benches are wood, and wood breeds bedbugs, and I don't want any bedbugs."

Frank Carney, former president of the old PRT employees Union, told listeners point blank: "We won't go back to work until they take the Negroes off." On the other hand a supplementary statement by operators pointed out that: "Under the upgrading privileges now in effect, Negroes employed in other departments have priority over all new applicants.

"This means that when a Negro is upgraded his place in his former department is filled with a new Negro applicant, which effectively excludes white men and women from employment.

"We sincerely regret the inconvenience caused the public but believe that the public will sympathize and understand when they learn we are trying to keep the public transportation system from being under the domination of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

NAACP IN THICK OF PTC
STRIKE IN PHILADELPHIA

8/3/44

Philadelphia, Pa.--During the strike of the Philadelphia Transportation Company employees, begun here August 1, the NAACP was in the thick of the dispute which revolved around the employment of Negroes as motormen and conductors.

The Philadelphia branch, with Theodore Spaulding, president, and Mrs. Carolyn D. Moore, executive secretary, was on the job. Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary from the national office in New York, came to Philadelphia a few hours after the strike started and remained until the Federal government took over. From its Washington Bureau, Walter White and Leslie Perry kept up contact with Federal government officials. The NAACP thus brought to bear its entire resources in the emergency.

The original complaint on the discrimination in PTC was brought by the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP, and the group has been in continuous contact with developments. Tuesday night, August 1, President Spaulding and Mr. Wilkins toured north, south and West Philadelphia areas, making a personal investigation of sporadic outbreaks and clashes, including the looting of some few stores. Hundreds

of telephone calls and telegrams were handled through the branch which acted as the coordinating agency of all groups interested in the problem. More than 100,000 leaflets were distributed by the NAACP Wednesday night, August 2. President Spaulding participated in a half-hour radio program over station WCAU along with Mayor Bernard Samuel, representatives of WMC, FEPC and others.

PHILLY REFUSES PERMIT
FOR SOUND TRUCK TO NAACP 8/3/44

Philadelphia, Pa.--On the second day of the transportation strike here, the NAACP applied for permission to send out two sound trucks to broadcast information on developments and to urge persons to refrain from violence, but city officials refused to grant permits for the trucks to operate.

"The NAACP merely wished to show that it wanted to cooperate at its own expense in keeping law and order," said Theodore Spaulding, branch president, "but the city denied us the opportunity."

NEWARK TEL & RADIO
STOPS TIMERS POLICY 8/3/44

New York--Adjustment and elimination of discriminatory practices in the hiring of Negroes in a division of the Federal Telephone and Radio Corp. (Local #477, UERMA-CIO), Newark, N.J., was reported to the NAACP today by the Regional Office, FEPC, Philadelphia. Investigation followed protest by the NAACP Secretary, last Dec. 7 on receipt of a copy of a letter purportedly written by a factory manager to the Personnel Director stating: "We do not wish your subordinates to hire N----- for work in this plant as long as I have any say in the matter. So far we have been fortunate in not being forced to accept them through the USES agency on the War Labor Board. While we admit someone must help them why not let the government do it?"

Recent reports show not only confirmation of a non-discriminatory employment policy, the deletion of all references to race or color, but Negroes being hired now up to 25% of the total employment.

NAACP ASKS OPA
HOLD RENT CEILING 8/3/44

New York--A statement sponsored by the NAACP in support of a brief by the New York chapter of the National Lawyers Guild to sustain the rent ceiling for housing in the New York City Defense area, was filed Wednesday by Walter White in the OPA office, Washington, D.C. Disclaiming any necessity for a general 10% increase in maximum rentals, the Association requested the OPA Administrator to deny the request by the Joint Protest of the 315 W. 97th Street Realty Co. Inc., for such regulation. Along with many others, more than 5,000 NAACP members residing in the section would be actively affected.

NAACP PROTESTS STATES'
UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION 8/3/44

Washington, D.C.--A letter protesting "states' rights" control of the unemployment compensation program for the duration of industrial mobilization, on the basis that the plain people, especially Negroes would be the inevitable sufferers, was sent today by Walter White, secretary NAACP to Senator Alben Barkley, Democratic Majority Leader; Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., Minority Leader; and other prominent members of the Finance Committee, Military Affairs Committee, and the Senate generally.

Recommending instead adoption of the Kilgore Bill, Mr. White said: "We as a nation found it necessary during time of war to mobilize our resources on a national instead of on a state-by-state basis. We found this brought maximum efficiency. How much more necessary will it be for us to follow the same procedure during the trying days of peace when there will be greater competition for jobs and greater tensions?"

"It is our conviction and contention that there will be

-4-

racial and other clashes if this important matter of peacetime adjustment is left to the several states. We ask, therefore, that you give most serious consideration to this matter and that you do all you can to secure the adoption of the principle embodied in the Kilgore Bill."

All persons are urged to write their Senators in this important issue.

PACIFIC SOLDIERS FORWARD
\$1,895.59 FOR NAACP WORK

8/3/44

Pittsburgh--Contributions amounting to \$1,895.59 which were sent from soldiers and officers in the Pacific were forwarded to the national office from Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, Field Secretary, NAACP. The donation in appreciation of Association's work, came from the Regimental Chaplain, Andrew L. Johnson and members of the 25th Infantry Regiment. Billy Rowe, Pittsburgh Courier war correspondent in that sector is credited with initiating the move made by the soldiers.

"24-HOUR" GUARD FOR
CAMPFOREST WACS

Washington--Response to the NAACP request made July 1 for immediate investigation by the War Department of the threatened rape and invasion by white paratroopers of quarters occupied by Negro Wacs at Camp Forrest, Tenn., was received today.

A twenty-four^{hour}/a day guard has been posted around the WAC camp and the area declared "off limits" for all white soldiers. The order was issued from the Inspector General's office following thorough investigation.

100
August 14, 1944

Dear Mr. White:

It was very kind of you to write me so fully and frankly. I doubt if I go to Russia at all and I have no idea of going before the election!

If I should go, I would certainly get inside of people's homes, because I would want the young Russian people whom I know to assure me of that beforehand, and I would certainly want it understood that I wished no wining and dining! I would only wish to talk to people informally, for I have no official status.

With many thanks and my good wishes,
I am

Sincerely yours,

0

Mr. W. L. White
56 West 12th St.
NYC

W. L. White

56 WEST 12TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

August 8, 1944

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Hyde Park,
New York

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Maybe you remember that just before I left for Russia you gave me the informal commission of finding out how the Russians would react to a visit from you.

I talked to a couple of the best American reporters about this. Henry Cassidy of the Associated Press said that unquestionably, it would be popular with the Russian people. Maurice Hindus concurred even more heartily.

I have, in addition, a few reflections of my own. In a way it would completely flabbergast Russian officialdom for the reason that the wives of prominent men don't exist in the Soviet Union. Of course, they live, keep house or work, have children and die, but none of this ever gets into the newspapers. In this respect it might be a Mohammedan country.

We were feted, wined and dined from one end of that lugubrious land to the other by all of the important commissars and yet not one of them entertained us in his home, or brought his wife to any of the banquets.

Consequently, I got very curious as to what really goes on and if you are able to penetrate behind the harem wall and meet any of their wives, I wish you would tell me what goes on.

If you are interested in my own advice, I would like to suggest that you do not make a trip to Russia until after the election.

I am planning to vote for your husband, and if you went, undoubtedly the Republicans would set up some kind of a loud ruckaboo, which of course, is to be expected and discounted in advance, only some of it might be effective, particularly if we happen to be in a delicate situation with the Russians in foreign affairs, which I can easily envisage.

W L White

86 WEST 12TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

- 2 -

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

August 8, 1944

So far as Russian public opinion is concerned, its reaction would be exactly what the Soviet government wanted it to be - no more and no less and no one can predict this in advance.

For instance, the Russian people were delighted with the Teheran conference. They felt, at last they were no longer alone in the world and that they had friends and allies. Then the government decided that international feeling was getting too strong, so they released that little story to the effect that maybe the British and Spain and Portugal were intriguing for a separate peace with the Germans.

The government was surprised when this created such a furore in America and England, as it had been intended purely for domestic consumption and to counteract to some extent, the international feeling which grew in Russia after Teheran.

The publicity on your visit to Russia will be handled in exactly the same way and what the Russian newspapers say about you will depend entirely on whether at the time the government wants to promote closer relations with America or to cool them down.

Of course, nobody can predict this in advance, and what the Russian people would actually think of you, if they could meet you, will have little relation to what they will learn about you in the press.

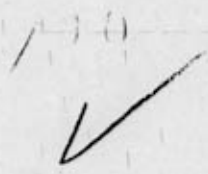
Yours very sincerely,

W. L. White
cum

WLW:AM

P.S. I'm just leaving for the country, and I'm very sorry I won't be able to sign this.

Hyde Park, N.Y.
September 16, 1944



Dear Mr. White:

I am very glad to send you a copy of the letter which I wrote to Mrs. Stallworth and also a copy of her letter.

You will see that I have said nothing which I haven't said many times before.

It is unfortunate that parts were lifted out of my letter and nothing was said about Mrs. Stallworth's letter. I thought she had written in good faith.

The newspapers asked me to release the correspondence, but I refused so this is for your personal and confidential information.

Very sincerely yours,

SEP 11 1944

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

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	WASHINGTON BUREAU

September 8, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have read excerpts from your letter to Mrs. Catherine Stallworth of Evergreen, Ala., regarding your racial views, but I would like very much to see the full text of your letter both because I am interested and because I have had several inquiries about it.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WW:TXV

THE WHITE HOUSE

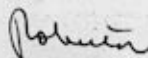
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS THOMPSON:

Dear Malvina:

I believe you wanted this file returned after Walter White had seen the President. He, with Mrs. Bethune and Dr. Channing Tobias called on the President today, Friday, September 29th, at 11.45 a.m.


ROBERTA

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memorandum for the President

What happened at this interview?

E.R.

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October 4, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

As you doubtless know by now, Mrs. Bethune, Dr. Tobias and I had a most interesting talk with the President last Friday. I thought you would be interested in seeing the enclosed copy of the memorandum which was the basis of our conversation.

Application has been made for my accreditation to the Pacific theatres of operation, India, China, Russia, the Middle East, and other places. It is my present plan to leave shortly after the election. Before going, I would like very much to talk with you, particularly about China. I wanted, also, to find out if you believed Madame Chiang Kai-shek is able and would care to talk with me while she is in the United States. Would you give me the benefit of your guidance on that?

With cordial personal greetings.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

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September 28, 1944.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States

The undersigned deeply regret that it was impossible to confer with you prior to the recess of the Congress until after Election Day. When the request for this interview was made on September 5 it was our hope to discuss with you prior to the recess bills pending before the Congress which are of paramount concern to Negro Americans and to members of other minorities because of their direct bearing upon the economic status and physical security of many American citizens.

We wish now to propose that the President, as the leader of the present national administration, which has a clear majority in both Houses of Congress, announce forthwith that the bill, S. 2048, is a major item in the legislative program of the administration to be given highest priority for enactment during the 78th Congress. In addition and in implementation of this pledge, we urge that the President advise with the leadership of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and particularly with the Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Committee on Rules in the House of Representatives, to the end that the legislation be brought speedily to a vote.

Of equal concern to Negroes is the plight of the Negro soldier. S. 1227 has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House Judiciary Committee. This bill was introduced at the request of the War Department, and has the approval of the Department of Justice. It is moderate in its provisions in that it merely makes unlawful violence on a member of the armed services a Federal crime.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt-2

It is notorious that members of the armed forces, particularly Negroes, have been subjected to uncontrolled violence in the civilian community. The War Department states that it is unable to cope with this situation. The Department of Justice states that under existing law, there is rarely any basis for federal intervention. In such circumstances, the urgent need for this legislation must be apparent.

Seldom have Negroes of the United States been so aroused as by the recent revelation that the War Department has ordered the segregation of returning Negro soldiers under the rotation furlough system in two small hotels on Chicago's South Side and in New York's Harlem, both areas already tragically overcrowded, while white soldiers are to be housed at government expense in luxurious resort hotels in New York, California, North Carolina, Florida and Arkansas. This disgraceful plan again brings into sharp focus the basic ills of segregation in our armed services. We urge that the President take this opportunity not merely to direct the discontinuance of this one phase of army segregation, but also that he advise the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy, simply and directly, that it is his desire, as Commander-in-Chief, that the reorganization of the peacetime Army and Navy, now being planned, shall be a non-segregated bases without racially separate units.

Finally, we wish to say to you that not only Negroes but many white citizens of America are concerned with the policy of our government, both while the war is being fought and in the years to follow, regarding imperialism and colonialism. We are concerned with Americans fighting and some of them dying to recapture from the Axis

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt-3

territories in which live human beings who have been exploited partly because they are members of the black, brown and yellow races. We are concerned that our country make clear to all nations and peoples, including our present Allies, that no American life or dollar will be expended to perpetuate imperialism. We urge that such a policy and principle be enunciated now and lived up to hereafter.

These, Mr. President, are issues of immediate and serious concern to American Negroes. There are others which are part and parcel of the basic ills of our country from which these specific situations have arisen, lynching, disfranchisement, educational and job discrimination. We ask you as President of the United States to speak and act as the titular head of the American people to the end that these objectives be achieved at the earliest practicable date.

Respectfully,

Mary McLeod Bethune

Channing H. Tobias

Walter White

October 6, 1944.

Dear Mr. White:

I very much appreciate your letter and if I do as you suggest and publish the whole correspondence, it will create a bad precedent, I think. No one will feel free to write me and I prefer to know what people think even when it is disagreeable.

Very sincerely yours,

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

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VDS

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OCT 4 - 1944

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September 29, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you very much for sharing with me your correspondence with Mrs. Stallworth. It seems to me that you were most generous in thinking that she had written you in good faith. Her notion of herself as being a highly superior person who is one of God's elect is distinctly negated by the tone of some of her statements addressed to you as one of America's greatest citizens and wife of the President of the people of the South as well as of the North. I refer to such statements as her charging you with "parading your most absurd and obnoxious ideas", her references to "our most faithful and humble Negroes" and the like.

I don't know whether it was Mrs. Stallworth's action or that of the local newspaper correspondents to whom she gave the correspondence, but the conspicuous failure to quote your sentence, "In this country we are completely free to choose our companions and no one has any right to interfere" is of great significance.

If I may be so bold as to suggest it, I think it would be an excellent idea to release the full correspondence to the papers and in particular the sentence just quoted.

Ever sincerely,

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park,
New York

Walter White
Secretary.

WW:DW

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October 10, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

After reading your letter of October 6th, I am won over to your point of view, but I still resent the indecency of the treatment accorded you by those who so loudly and belligerently assert that they are the wise and honorable ones.

Cordially,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WW:DW

October 11, 1944

100

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the memorandum of your talk with the President.

I think Madame Chiang Kai-shek would like to talk with you and I will ask her to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

Walter White
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the President

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FRANK D. REEVES	WASHINGTON BUREAU

October 17, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am grateful to you for offering to make the appointment for me with Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WW:DW

October 25, 1944.

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt is in receipt of a letter dated October 17th, from Madame Chiang Kai-shek, which reads as follows:

"I have received your letter of October 12th. I should be glad to see Mr. Walter White if he is not going immediately on his Pacific trip. If, however, he is starting within a month, my doctors feel that it would be unwise for me to see him, as recent experiences have proved their point that the strain of talking to strangers hinders the progress in regaining my health."

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.

VDS



October 17, 1944

OCT 18 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have received your letter of October 12th. I should be glad to see Mr. Walter White if he is not going immediately on his Pacific trip. If, however, he is starting within a month, my doctors feel that it would be unwise for me to see him, as recent experiences have proved their point that the strain of talking to strangers hinders the progress in regaining my health.

Sincerely yours,

Chiang Kai-shek

Thank you so much for the lovely robes - W.P.C.

December 11, 1944

Dear Mr. White:

I am very glad to know that Mrs. Pandit is to be in this country. I have already written Mrs. Pearl Buck that I hope to be able to arrange a time to see Mrs. Pandit during her visit to this country.

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored people
69 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

EBH:ia

Mrs. Helm.

To be answered
when you get reply
from State Dept.
Mrs. R to sign

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	ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, WASHINGTON BUREAU

November 28, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just heard that Nehru's sister, Mrs. Pandit, is en route to the United States to study her two delightful daughters, who are studying at Wellesley, and to pay a visit to friends in the United States.

The suggestion has been made that nothing would do more to hearten the people of India and to offset anti-American propaganda in India than an invitation to Mrs. Pandit to be the over-night guest of yourself and the President at the White House. May I suggest consideration of this?

Respectfully

Secretary.

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

WW:DW

100

November 4, 1944.

My dear Mr. White:

I have your letter of October 27th
and the letter addressed to Madame Chiang
which I have forwarded 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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Letter forwarded to
 Madame Chiang
 11/4/44

October 27, 1944

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Dear Miss Thompson:

Will you express my thanks to Mrs. Roosevelt for transmitting to me copy of Madame Chiang Kai-shek's letter? The War Department has accredited me to the Pacific Ocean Theatre and word is expected shortly by the Navy from Admiral Nimitz regarding Navy accreditation. It is, however, impossible for me to leave the country before the middle of November. I would be grateful, therefore, if you would Madame Chiang the enclosed note of inquiry as to whether or not she could see me sometime during the week of November 12th.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

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

WW:DW

W

The White House
Washington

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NEWYORK NY NOV 11 1944 1025A

MALVINA THOMPSON, SECRETARY TO MRS ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

PLEASE INFORM MRS ROOSEVELT WILL BE HAPPY SEE HER HERE

SUNDAY ELEVEN AM

WALTER WHITE ..

*AM
11/13/44*

November 13, 1944

*Let her know I saw her letter
on Sunday
of the 13th
I will try to get her
for her
ER
/ 100*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am most reluctant to add a single task to the terrible load you already have on your shoulders. But I would deeply appreciate your writing a brief note to my sister, Mrs. Olive Westmoreland, 375 Cain Street, Atlanta, Georgia, whose son and my namesake, Lieutenant Walter D. Westmoreland, has been missing in action since October 18th, as you will note from the enclosed letter from General Twining

Walter was a fine and charming individual. He made a brilliant record in college and graduated summa cum laude. I saw him in Italy in April where he was flying out of the Capodichina Airfield at Naples as a member of the 332nd Fighter Group. Shortly after I saw him, his plane was shot down. He bailed out and landed just inside our lines. His leg was fractured in two places and he was in a plaster cast for some time. He was given the privilege of coming home but refused, preferring to continue fighting, and now he is missing in action.

He is the youngest of four children and as is so often the case with the last born, was the apple of his mother's eye. His possible loss has gravely affected her health which was not too good at the time she received the news. A word from you would mean much to her, and that is why I take the liberty of asking you to write her.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
WALTER WHITE.

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

NOTE.

600

100

November 11, 1944. *

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

If you are in New York City Mrs. Roosevelt hopes you come to see her
29 Washington Square West at eleven a. m. Sunday the 12th.

Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

VDS

wire Walter White -
^{you are}
If, in reply Mrs P
hopes you come to
see her 29 Wash St,
W - at 11 am Sunday,
the 12th

wire Mrs Hy Parish
8 E 76

Will be in reply on
Sunday + will stop
in to see you at 12¹⁵
noon don't bother to
ans unless convenient
Love
EP

NOV 2 1944

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October 31, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see the enclosed title page of a book I have just finished for Doubleday Doran dealing with my observations in the European, North African, Italian and Middle East Theatres.

I hope it is agreeable to you my using this Herald-Tribune clipping quoting yourself in that admirable statement.

The book will be titled THE RISING WIND. I had chosen, because I like it so much better, A WIND IS RISING. But my publishers have just informed me that a novel by H. M. Tomlinson under that title was published by Little, Brown in 1942.

I have just been accredited by the War Department for the Pacific and am awaiting Navy accreditation, which is necessary for the Pacific Ocean Theatre. I am expecting to leave between the 15th and 20th of November. I would like before leaving to have opportunity to talk with you and the President confidentially about the situations in China and India so that I may be guided aright.

With cordial personal greetings,

Ever sincerely,

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

Secretary

WW:RR

11/11/44

300
Walter White
12-15
12-15
12-15

"At the close Mrs. Roosevelt quoted a phrase from the late Thomas Wolfe, ending, "a wind is rising and the rivers flow."

"Yes," she said, "a wind is rising throughout the world of free men everywhere, and they will not be kept in bondage. The rivers flow in the democracies that now exist through to those who are held temporarily in slavery on to the deluded human beings who are voluntarily slaves."

"They have thought that force and cruelty and people who cast aside free choice and accept the will of one man or a few men can endure and dominate. But the rivers flow so swiftly they cannot be turned back, and the new beds which they make for themselves are in the pattern of new ideas which the people who believe in freedom in the world are fashioning today. Democracy shall triumph."

The New York Herald Tribune
September 29, 1941

100
November 16, 1944.

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt is very glad to give you the enclosed letters of introduction to Prime Minister John Curtin and to Prime Minister Peter Fraser.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

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

VDS

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DEC 8 1944

November 28, 1944

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LESLIE S. PERRY ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT,
 WASHINGTON BUREAU

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The case of ^{RIGGINS} Donald Riggins is a heart-breaking one for me to take away from America as my last NAACP job before leaving. I have, however, turned the matter over to Mr. Thurgood Marshall, our Special Counsel, urging him to do everything humanly possible for the young man, and I have also asked him to keep you advised of what he is able to do.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

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

WW:DW

FROM

The White House
Washington

100

TELEGRAM

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X 188 ELIZABETH WILSON
3 PM
164 DUANE STREET
NEW YORK CITY

MRS ROOSEVELT HAS LETTER FROM WALTER WHITE SUGGESTING
SHE SEE YOU STOP CAN YOU CALL AT MRS ROOSEVELT APARTMENT
29 WASHINGTON SQUARE, WEST, AT FOUR OCLOCK TOMORROW, SATURDAY
AFTERNOON

MALVINA C. THOMPSON
SECRETARY

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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*



*Done by former for
at H. Fineman 16th
of New York*

December 5, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When you receive this, I will be well on my way to the Pacific.

Sometime when you are in New York City, I wish you would grant a few minutes to a very intelligent young newspaper woman, Miss Elizabeth Wilson, who as a reporter on a New Orleans newspaper dug up the facts about the lynching of the Reverend Isaac Simmons in Amite County, Miss., on March 26, 1944. Her work in that case led to her being offered a place on the newspaper PM where she is doing a very brilliant job.

I have just recommended her for a fellowship from the Rosenwald Fund to do a novel. Miss Wilson does not wish to see you as a newspaper woman. But she is a fine example of the enlightened South and I know you would enjoy meeting her. She can be reached at PM, 164 Duane Street, New York 13, N. Y.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
WALTER WHITE.

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

WW:DW

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*Article "The Negro's Responsibility" Re: F. H. Lampkin, ousted principal of Spencer High, who was arrested for embezzling school money, etc.

April 9, 1945.

My dear Mr. White:

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. William A. Kline, Sr., 891 Peachtree Drive, Columbus, Georgia, to which he attaches a clipping from the Columbus Inquirer and Sun.

Mrs. Roosevelt will appreciate it if you will let her know what the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People knows of the cases cited and how she should answer Mr. Kline.

The return of the enclosures with your reply will be appreciated.

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.