

OF 10-6
Justice Dept., FBI

Survey of RACIAL CONDITIONS in the U.S.
Section 2 (Folder 2)

UNAFFILIATED OR INDEPENDENT NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

There are three organizations active in the United States composed largely of members of the Negro race, which are believed to have considerable influence in their field. Their primary purpose is the advancement of their race in this country. These organizations are classified for the purpose of this study as unaffiliated or independent, and no information has been received that, on a national basis, they are dominated or influenced by any subversive group or organization. They are:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Urban League
March on Washington Movement

Identifying information concerning each of these groups is incorporated hereinafter.

At the same time it is to be pointed out that there cannot be overlooked those smaller groups and organizations, local in scope, which have the same fundamental purpose and which have been described previously in the main body of this study.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

The National Association For The Advancement of Colored People was organized in February, 1909, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln and the year following the notorious race riot in Springfield, Illinois. It was incorporated in May, 1911, under the laws of the State of New York. The original organizers of this association were Oswald Garrison Villard, Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, John Dewey, Rabbi Stephen Wise and Samuel Bowles.

The headquarters of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People is located at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City and the national officers, which include both white and colored persons, are as follows:

Arthur B. Spingarn, President
Dr. Louis T. Wright, Chairman of the Board
Hon. Charles E. Toney, Acting Chairman of the Board

Vice-Presidents

Mary McLeod Bethune
Nannie H. Burroughs
Godfrey Lowell Cabot
Hon. Arthur Capper
Dr. Walter Gray Crump
Bishop John A. Gregg
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Manley O. Hudson
Hon. Ira W. Jayne
Hon. Caroline O'Day
Rev. A. Clayton Powell
Oswald Garrison Villard
William Allen White

Mary White Ovington, Treasurer

Executive Officers

Walter White, Secretary
Roy Wilkins, Assistant Secretary and Editor, "The Crisis"
Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel
Daisy E. Lampkin, Field Secretary
Ella J. Baker, Assistant Field Secretary
E. Frederic Morrow, Assistant Field Secretary
Randall L. Tyus, Assistant Field Secretary
Charlotte B. Crump, Publicity and Promotion
Madison S. Jones, Jr., Youth Director
Frank D. Reeves, Administrative Assistant, Washington Bureau
Richetta G. Randolph, Clerk of the Conference

"The Crisis" is the official publication of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People and is issued monthly. The subscription price of this magazine is \$1.50 per year.

This association reportedly claims to have 43,000 members and also various local chapters throughout the United States. The membership fee is \$1. a year, half of which is forwarded to the National Headquarters in New York City and the other half is retained for the support of the local organization.

Arthur B. Spingarn, President of the organization, is a wealthy white man. He is reported to donate large sums to the activities of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People. The association is stated to be financed by private subscriptions and contributions from various foundations. The notorious Garland Fund, is alleged to have contributed \$8,082 to the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People in 1935.

In 1912, the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People summed up the purposes of its organization in the following words:

"The NAACP seeks to uplift the colored man and woman of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens. Justice in all courts and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid every kind of education among them save that which teaches special privilege or prerogative class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the upholding of the Constitution of the United States and its administration in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of 'all men up and no man down.' It abhors negro crime but still more the conditions which breed crime and most of all the crimes committed in the mockery of the law. It believes that the scientific truths of the negro problem must be available before the country can see its way clear to righting existing wrongs. It has no other belief than the best way to uplift the colored man is the best way to aid the white man to peace and social content; it has no other desire than exact justice, and no other motive than humanity."

The specific contemporary purposes of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People are reported to be as follows:

1. The end of lynching
2. The ending of disfranchisement
3. The abolition of injustice in legal procedure based solely upon color or race.
4. Equitable distribution of funds for public education.

5. Abolition of segregation and discrimination, insult and humiliation based upon race or color.
6. Equality of opportunity to work in all fields with equal pay for equal work.
7. Abolition of discrimination against negroes in the right of collective bargaining through membership in organized labor unions.
8. The ending of peonage and the debt slavery of southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers.
9. Abolition of segregation in the Army and Navy.

In order to accomplish its ends, the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People has organized a lecture bureau, a bureau of legal assistance, a bureau of information, and a bureau of publicity and research.

Walter White, the Secretary of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, appears to be the most active executive of this organization and has been connected with them since 1918. He was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 1, 1893. He received an A. B. Degree from Atlanta University in 1916 and was awarded a L. L. D. Degree by Howard University in 1939. White is reported to be an author and was in France in 1927 and 1928 engaged in creative writing in prose as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. White was appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of the Advisory Council for the Government of the Virgin Islands which position he resigned in 1935. He is a member of the American Committee on Economic Policy; Board of Visitors, New York Training School For Boys, and a member of the Governor's Commission on the Constitutional Convention, New York in 1938.

A. Philip Randolph, a reported Socialist and President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L., is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People and was awarded the Spingarn Medal by the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People for achieving the greatest improvement for the negro race in 1942. Randolph organized the March on Washington Committee in 1942, which allegedly resulted in President Roosevelt issuing Executive Order 8802, which provided for the establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This executive order directed that the negro race be given fair employment representation in the war industries and provided for the correction of various negro grievances. Previous to the issuance of this executive order the March on Washington Committee threatened to march 100,000 negroes on Washington, D. C. from all parts of the country to protest against negro discrimination in the war effort.

Information has been received from reliable sources that the Communist Party, from time to time, has attempted to infiltrate the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People. Information has been likewise received that the Communist Party has been successful to a limited extent in this regard and that the responsible leadership of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People has spurned various overtures on the part of the Communist Party leaders who promised that the plight of the colored race in the United States would be improved by the activity of the Communist Party. However, certain individual members and local chapters of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People are reported to be friendly to the Communist Party.

In several local chapters of this organization it is said that there is some degree of Communist influence or control. In this regard, it has been reported that any Communist control or influence in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would only exist in local chapters. In Atlanta, Georgia, there is reportedly cooperating with the group there a Communist Party front organization. In the Detroit area several officers of the branch are said to be either members of the Communist Party or closely affiliated with it. In the Los Angeles branch Communist Party activity is reportedly in existence therein. It is said that in the New Orleans chapter members have either Communist Party connections or membership. Other areas in which there is reportedly Communist influence in local chapters are: Buffalo, Charlotte, Cleveland, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, San Diego, Seattle, Washington, D. C.

A confidential source in August, 1941, advised that one Leroy Willkins, Editor of the official organ of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, is strongly suspected of being a member of the Communist Party and is known to write material which could be construed as Communist.

Walter White, in 1931, expressed contempt for the Communist Party as a result of the Communist Party interfering with the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People in assisting the negro defendants in the celebrated Scottsboro case. The interference of the Communist Party in this situation led to the withdrawal of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People from the Scottsboro case.

A. Philip Randolph likewise disclaimed the Communist Party in 1940 when he resigned as National President of the National Negro Congress and attributed his resignation to the fact that he no longer could serve an organization which was dominated by the Communist Party.

The thirty-third annual convention of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People was held in Los Angeles, California, July 14 - 19, 1942, at which time one hundred voting delegates participated. The slogan of this convention was "Victory is vital to minorities." Wendell Wilkie was the chief guest speaker and President Roosevelt wired the convention, stating that the Administration "will accept its responsibility to the negro people". This convention passed twenty-eight resolutions including a statement of support of the war against the Axis. The only resolution presented by the Resolutions Committee which failed passage was a proposal calling for action to mobilize pressure for the opening of a second front against the Axis in Western Europe. A. Philip Randolph condemned this last mentioned resolution as being a "Communist maneuver" within the association. He accused the Communists of being "agents of Russia" and stated that the second front was being advocated by Communists merely as a move to save Russia.

Charlotta A. Bass, a negress, Editor of the California Eagle, the leading Los Angeles negro weekly, is reported to have addressed the convention of the National Association For The Advancement of Colored People and to have closely adhered to the Communist Party line during the course of her speech including a demand for the immediate opening of a second front in Europe and a scathing attack on A. Philip Randolph.

Recently the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has reportedly been working in cooperation with the March on Washington Movement in furnishing assistance to the organizational activities of the latter group. The wide area coverage of the Association is said to be a benefit to the movement. This appears to be a new type of activity and militancy for the organization in that formerly, it is reported, the Association confined its work to legal assistance to members of the colored race, lobbying, and conducting lecture and propaganda tours.

During the early part of June, 1943 the emergency conference on "The Status of the Negro in the War for Freedom" was held by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Detroit, Michigan. The conference extended from June 8 through June 10, 1943. A large mass meeting was held at the Olympia Stadium with the principal speaker being R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Philip Murray, president of the Congress of the Industrial Organizations and former Judge William H. Hastie, who also received the 28th award, Spingarn Medal which is offered to the Negro attaining the outstanding achievement of the year.

The conference is said to have been conducted on the basis of discussions led by people of national reputation who spoke briefly. They are said to have been followed by questions and answers so that a full participation between delegates could be had.

The key note address was made by Walter White, executive secretary of the organization who is said to have summarized the complaints and demands of the American Negroes. It is said that the business sessions dealt with the armed services, the right to work for victory, the treatment of the Negro

in the press, radio and the motion picture, the securing of democracy at home and the church as a force for democratic rights.

The discussion leaders included former Judge William H. Hastie, and Earl B. Dickerson, former members of the Fair Employment Practice Committee; George S. Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier; Albert Deutsch, columnist of the Newspaper FM; Thurgood Marshall, special council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, of the National Council of the YMCA; as well as other representatives from the newspaper, government and labor fields.

It is said that there were 550 delegates from 150 cities in the United States who participated in the conference.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

It has been reported that the National Urban League is an organization composed of whites and negroes dedicated ostensibly to the promotion of the interests of the colored race in regard to better working and living conditions, education, race relationship, and health.

As of August 12, 1942, the national headquarters of the organization was located at 1333 Broadway, New York City, and one Lester B. Granger was Executive Secretary. It has been reported that said organization publishes a magazine called "The Opportunity," a journal of negro life, and with regard to this publication, it has been alleged that "the tone of this publication is Communistic." The individual making this allegation gave the following quotation from the June, 1942 issue of said publication as the basis of his statement: "Added to the indefensible and shameless segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and widespread and cruel exclusion of negroes from defense industry....."

The Urban League has affiliates and branches throughout the country. The names of the affiliated organizations are not being set out along with the various cities wherein they exist. There are in the following cities affiliated or branch organizations of the National Urban League:

Akron, Ohio
Albany, New York
Anderson, Indiana
Asbury Park, New Jersey
Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Maryland
Boston, Massachusetts
Brooklyn, New York
Buffalo, New York
Canton, Ohio
Chicago, Illinois
Cleveland, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Detroit, Michigan
Englewood, New Jersey
Fort Wayne, Indiana
Greenville, South Carolina
Kansas City, Missouri
Lincoln, Nebraska
Little Rock, Arkansas
Los Angeles, California
Louisville, Kentucky
Massillon, Ohio
Memphis, Tennessee

Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Minneapolis, Minnesota
New Orleans, Louisiana
New York, New York
Newark, New Jersey
Omaha, Nebraska
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Providence, Rhode Island
Richmond, Virginia
St. Louis, Missouri
St. Paul, Minnesota
Seattle, Washington
Springfield, Illinois
Springfield, Massachusetts
Tampa, Florida
Toledo, Ohio
Warren, Ohio
Washington, D. C.
Waterbury, Connecticut
White Plains, New York

With regard to two of the branches of the National Urban League, it has been reported that allegations have been made that persons affiliated with the Atlanta and Chicago Urban League have Communist sympathies or affiliations.

In the Atlanta Urban League it has been alleged that certain officers of the branch are either members of the Communist Party or sympathetic with its principles. In the Chicago branch it has been alleged that certain persons who were alleged to be sympathetic with Communist philosophy had penetrated in an effort to utilize it as a medium for the promotion of their doctrines among the Negro people. It was also alleged that unidentified officers of the Chicago branch had records of cooperation and association with Communism.

The organization is reportedly looked upon in most sections of the country as a conservative organization with the purpose of assisting Negroes in a particular area to obtain employment or better employment conditions as well as other economic or social improvements. In at least two areas, namely St. Paul and Milwaukee, the organization has been likened to a "Negro Chamber of Commerce."

RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

Origin

The present March on Washington Movement has as its origin a reportedly anti-Communist group of Negroes who separated themselves from the National Negro Congress, a reported Communist front organization, in April, 1940. During the latter part of 1940 it has been reported this group of Negroes met with A. Philip Randolph, the head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and decided to plan an organization for an actual march on the City of Washington, D. C. The march, it is reported, was contemplated to be carried out during the spring of 1941.

The original purposes of the organization are reportedly as follows:

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

It has been confidentially reported that at its inception the Communist Party was very critical of the March on Washington Movement; however, it is stated that it later changed its policy from negative criticism to one of baring from within in an attempt to control and direct the policy of the organization through a Party faction.

The actual March on Washington, as originally planned by the organization, was abandoned by A. Philip Randolph upon receipt by him of a letter from the President requesting delay of such action until the matter could be studied and recommendations made. When the march was called off, it is alleged that Communists who had "wormed" their way into the organization were "furious". It has been reported that an attempt was made by Communist Party members in the organization to enlist support to oust Randolph and proceed with the march. The move, however, was unsuccessful. Information received reflects that thousands of Negroes agreed with A. Philip Randolph and denounced members of the Communist Party, branding them as insincere.

Subsequent to the acceptance of the President's request for a delay of any action, an executive order was issued to end discrimination in employment in defense industries. During the interim between the President's request and the issuance of the executive order, the officers and executive members of the organization are reported to have "purged" the movements of Communists and Communist sympathizers within the organization.

Aims and Purposes

The following accusations and demands constitute important factors in the program of this organization. These have been elaborated on by alleged examples in a press release issued by the organization for use after the holding of the National Conference of this organization in Chicago, June 30 through July 4, 1943.

The following accusations and allegations are made:

1. "NEGROES ARE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THE VERY ARMED FORCES WHICH SUMMON THEM TO SHED THEIR BLOOD FOR THEIR COUNTRY.
2. NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT.
3. NEGROES ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN MOST OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.
4. NEGROES ARE DENIED EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY.
5. NEGROES ARE CARICATURED AND SLANDERED IN THE PRESS AND ON THE STAGE, SCREEN AND RADIO.
6. NEGROES ARE DENIED PARTICIPATION IN THE POLICY FORMING ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.
7. NEGROES ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN RESTRICTED RESIDENTIAL AREAS AND SEGREGATED HOUSING PROJECTS.
8. NEGROES ARE JIM-CROWED IN TRAINS, BUSES, THEATRES, HOTELS, RESTAURANTS AND OTHER PUBLIC PLACES; AND THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH FORCED INTO JIM-CROW SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, HOSPITALS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS SUPPORTED BY TAXES PAID BY ALL OF THE PEOPLE.
9. NEGROES ARE LYNCHED AND MURDERED BY MOBS AND COWARDLY NIGHT-RAIDER BANDS."

The following demands were made by the organization:

- I. "WE DEMAND A DEMOCRATIC ARMY. We call upon the President to enforce Section 4 A of the 1940 Draft Act which reads:

'In the selection and training of men under this act and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this act, there shall be no

discrimination against any person on account of race or color.'

- II. WE DEMAND EQUAL ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES. This means a Fair Employment Practice Committee which has power to enforce decisions based on its findings and no discrimination in training opportunities, placement, wages, promotions and membership in trade unions.
- III. WE DEMAND AN END TO DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE SOUTH. The enactment of a federal anti-poll tax law, abolition of the white primaries and other registration devices that limit a free suffrage and enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments to the constitution will guarantee the right to vote to all men.
- IV. WE DEMAND EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES. This means equal facilities for the Negro child, equal pay for the Negro teacher and equal access to public, tax-supported institutions of learning for the Negro student.
- V. WE DEMAND AN END TO CARICATURE AND SLANDER IN THE NEWS-PAPERS, ON THE SCREEN STAGE, AND RADIO. The suppression of the story of the contributions of the Negro to America and the world must cease.
- VI. WE DEMAND NEGRO AND MINORITY GROUP REPRESENTATION ON ALL ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES SO THAT THESE GROUPS MAY BE ABLE TO DETERMINE POLICIES FOR ALL OF THE PEOPLE.
- VII. WE DEMAND AN END TO RESIDENTIAL GHETTOS AND 'RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS.'
- VIII. WE DEMAND ABROGATION OF EVERY LAW WHICH MAKES A DISTINCTION IN TREATMENT BETWEEN CITIZENS BASED ON RELIGION, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.
- IX. WE DEMAND A FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCH LAW AND THE PROTECTION OF THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF ALL CITIZENS.

Organization

The headquarters of the March on Washington Movement are located in the Hotel Theresa, 2084-7th Avenue, New York City. There are branches of the organization active in varying degrees located in the following cities:

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Chattanooga, Tennessee
Flint, Michigan
Meridian, Mississippi
Tampa, Florida
Jacksonville, Florida
Richmond, Virginia
New York, New York
Cleveland, Ohio
Cincinnati, Ohio
Denver, Colorado
Detroit, Michigan
New Orleans, Louisiana
Knoxville, Tennessee
Atlanta, Georgia

Washington, D. C.
Birmingham, Alabama
Mobile, Alabama
Nashville, Tennessee
Salt Lake City, Utah
Newark, New Jersey
Buffalo, New York
West Medford, Massachusetts
Chicago, Illinois
Los Angeles, California
Saint Louis, Missouri
Memphis, Tennessee
Miami, Florida
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

With regard to the formation of these branches, information has been received that the organizational work is done by Benjamin McLaurin and A. Philip Randolph, both executives in the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L. The organizational work is performed while these individuals tour the country in their work for the union, Randolph being the President and McLaurin the National Field Organizer. It is said that the transportation and expenses of their travel are provided for by the union.

In June, 1943, the temporary national offices were established in Chicago, Illinois for the purposes of the organizational activities connected with the National Conference held there in the period June 30 through July 4, 1943.

Officers

The following individuals and their respective capacities represent the officers and members of the National Committee of the organization:

A. Philip Randolph, Director
E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary
B. F. McLaurin, Secretary
Aldrich Turner, Treasurer
Dr. Lawrence Ervin, Eastern Regional Director
Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, Mid-Western Regional Director
Harold A. Stevens, Legal Counsel
Dean William Stuart Nelson, Chairman, National
Advisory Committee on Mass Action and Strategy
Neil Scott, Public Relations

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

J. A. Burns, Meridian, Mississippi
Thurman T. Dodson, Washington
Miss Layle Lane, New York City
Rev. M. C. Strachen, Tampa, Florida

C. L. Dellums, Oakland, California
Mrs. Senora Lawson, Richmond, Virginia
T. D. McNeal, St. Louis, Missouri

ACTIVITIES

National Conference at Detroit, Michigan, September 26-27, 1942

Some 66 delegates were present at the conference in Detroit, Michigan from the states of Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Florida, Louisiana and New York. An added purpose of the conference was to decide policy to be placed before the contemplated convention, nation-wide in character, of this organization to be held in Chicago, Illinois in May, 1943. Besides the adoption of a constitution, a Committee on Resolutions submitted for the National Policy Conference some 36 resolutions. The resolutions will be set out briefly as follows:

1. A resolution endorsing the fight of the United Nations to wipe out the Axis menace.
2. Endorsement of the policy of a mixed army on the grounds that it is a negation of democracy to segregate soldiers.
3. A resolution to call upon the President to in turn call upon Churchill to give independence and freedom to India and to release National leaders.
4. A resolution that President Roosevelt call upon Prime Minister Churchill to grant democratic status with broad suffrage rights to the peoples of the West Indian Islands.
5. Endorsement of the Trade Union Movement and a call upon the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. to abolish discrimination, segregation, Jim-Crow and the color bar in all forms in various affiliated unions.
6. A call for the representation of the Negro people of America on the committee appointed by the President to sit at the peace table at the end of the war.
7. Condemnation of the Sun Shipbuilding Project establishing a separate shipyard for the Negroes as a policy of freezing "the pattern of racial segregation in industry."
8. Endorsement of the Fair Employment Practice Committee in a demand that it be restored to its original status of independence and be supplied with ample funds.
9. The adoption of a program to fight to abolish discrimination, segregation and Jim-Crow before the war ends and a condemnation of all "Negro Appeasers who count for closing ranks and forgetting our grievances."

10. Endorsement of the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill.
11. A call to Congressmen, Senators and President Roosevelt to support "a Federal anti-lynching bill."
12. A demand for the revision of the Atlantic Charter to include the darker races and that the President of the United States take steps to see to it that the Negro people of America become a beneficiary of the Four Freedoms.
13. A resolution opposing any cooperation with the Communist Party or Communist front organization, at the same time stating that the same is not an expression of opposition to Russia in her fight against Hitler.
14. Condemnation of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism as undemocratic, unsound and a dangerous form of religious bigotry.
15. A resolution that the March on Washington Movement be non-sectarian in character.
16. A resolution recommending that the National March on Washington Movement collaborate with sound democratic, liberal and labor groups which are not under Communist control.
17. The resolution that no member of the March on Washington Movement may commit the organization to any political party or candidate although members individually may engage in politics.
18. Condemnation of pro-Japanese, pro-German or pro-Italian activities among Negroes and a call upon Negroes everywhere to repudiate all such activities.
19. A condemnation of "the White Primary" and a call for its abolition.
20. A condemnation of the policy "of the President in refusing to meet with Negro leaders" and a call upon all Negroes together with white liberals to join in sending telegrams and letters to the President demanding that he meet with a committee of Negro leaders selected by the March on Washington Movement for the purpose of discussing the problems of the Negro people.
21. Endorsement of the staging of giant public protest meetings.
22. Endorsement of "mass action including marches on city halls, city councils, defense plants, public utility works, picketing" and the establishment of a pressure campaign.
23. A resolution to approve the holding of a national conference of the Negro people of America for the purpose of expressing the desires of the people and to take action on the question of when Negroes should march on Washington to win their rights from the Government.

24. Recommendation to the National Conference that it declare its approval of the March on Washington of Negroes from all over America for the purpose of "pressing home to the President, the American people, the Congress, that Negroes want their full democratic rights now, during the war."
25. A resolution opposing the acceptance by the March on Washington Movement of any donations from any people except Negroes.
26. A resolution that the organization go on record setting forth as its goal economic equality, political equality, social equality and racial equality for ultimate attainment; as an immediate goal the abolition of discrimination and segregation.
27. A demand that the Government prepare a booklet for white American and foreign soldiers showing the contributions of Negroes to America and pointing out that Negroes are not in America by sufferance, thus that more respect be shown to the Negroes.
28. A resolution that the organization go on record as approving the idea of organizing millions of Negro people for the purpose of exercising pressure upon the Government leaders in the interests of securing equality, freedom and justice.
29. Endorsement of a program to raise a million dollars to provide for monthly broadcasts by Negro leaders to America and the world setting forth the cause of Negroes for equality and freedom and democracy.
30. Endorsement of Negroes entering public places and places of amusement that are acceptable to any other citizen in States where civil rights and laws protect them; also a recommendation that this practice be continued so as to bring the question of Negro rights before the American people, thereby warning them of the fact that Negroes will not remain quiet so long as they are holding the status of second-class citizens.
31. The resolution to boycott "anti-Negro movies".
32. A condemnation of all the Amos and Andy radio scripts and a resolution urging that Negroes and others send telegrams and letters to the National Broadcasting Company expressing their condemnation of the act.
33. An endorsement of the "Bloc system" or city square type of organization for the March on Washington Movement.
34. A resolution to go on record as welcoming youth into the March on Washington Movement.

35. Resolution to give representation to women and youths on the executive board of the March on Washington Movement.
36. Resolution that the National Director of the March on Washington Movement, A. Philip Randolph, will be in power and will have the power to appoint officers provided for in the proposed national constitution of the March on Washington Movement to serve until the meeting of the national conference, at which time their successors will be elected by the national body.

All of the foregoing resolutions were adopted by the National Policy Conference.

Attention is directed to resolution No. 13 which placed the national organization on record as being opposed to Communism and the Communist Party. It is recalled that as early as 1940, A. Philip Randolph broke with the National Negro Congress because of the Communist control and influence in it. This resolution, however, should not be taken as all-inclusive, as it has been said by confidential informants, since it is reported that various local units of the organization have Communist influence in them. Although the Communist Party has attacked the March on Washington Movement at times, it is claimed by confidential sources that attempts have been and will be made to obtain control in local units. In this connection, the Chicago and Detroit local units are said to have members who are either sympathizers or members of the Party.

The cooperation between this organization and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should not be overlooked. The latter organization is said to have extensive coverage and, of course, such will provide fertile organizational fields for the March on Washington Movement. Such will also add to the field of activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in that it appears that this latter organization has previously confined its activities to legal assistance, lobbying, and general lecture and propaganda tours by officials.

"Non-Violent Good Will Direct Action"

Late in 1942, the organization discussed undertaking a special type of activity as a means of accomplishing some of its aims. At first, these discussions centered around the technique of Mohandas Gandhi, Indian leader, that of civil disobedience, the purpose being to bring about a change of attitude and action toward the Negro population in this country by disobeying or disregarding "Jim Crow", segregation or restriction laws, measures or customs. In these discussions, as well as the consideration of this particular type of technique, it was reported that the Fellowship of Reconciliation, through various members of that organization, played an important part.

It is to be noted that this organization is a militant pacifist group whose activities not only are devoted to strict and utter pacifism but to such matters as the promotion of conscientious objection to war, inter-racial matters, a negotiated peace and related subjects.

The technique of Gandhi was changed to some extent in the contemplated action which was given the form of "non-violent civil disobedience". Subsequently, the terminology given to this action was "non-violent good will direct action", and with regard to this, the organization in early 1943 issued a digest of its study, portions of which are incorporated herein after as an explanation of the technique. In the publication of the findings, the fundamental form of the March on Washington Movement was discussed, and it was pointed out that different parts of the country were ready for different kinds of action (with regard to the obtaining of equal rights for Negroes). Certain conditions were referred to as existing in such cities as Richmond, Virginia; Chicago, Illinois; and New-York City. These conditions were pointed out as necessitating a change. It was noted in the manuscript that the program to bring about the change should first include conferences between people's representatives and civil authorities who are to be approached "in the spirit of good will". If the conference should fail then, it is pointed out, public opinion must necessarily be mobilized. The use of petitions, letters, mass meetings of protest and other means are suggested. If this form of action fails to bring about a change in the repugnant condition, then more drastic action is in line (here in the manuscript solutions such as boycotting public conveyances and walking; acquiring by purchase separate conveyances for Negroes, are condemned.) The more drastic action, or what is termed "the real solution" was set forth as "non-violent direct action".

The manuscript states "Americans are familiar with several forms of direct action, for example, picketing, the strike, the boycott, and mass migration but riots might result if direct action is taken without non-violence and good will, for which the March on Washington Movement stands. There is a double aim in non-violent direct action, first, to help opponents into a change of heart with reference to the injustice and, second, to change the system under which we suffer. If, after reasonable effort, opponents refuse to change, we are nevertheless morally obligated to refuse to cooperate further in the evil system, but in any case violence should not be resorted to and a strong effort should be made to appeal to the better side of the opponent as well as to the public sympathy."

The findings indicated that training for this type of technique or action must necessarily be given so that non-violence and good will may be instilled in those participating. In this regard the pamphlet has suggested "While training is going on, the agitation by means of ordinary

methods should be kept up. In this way, the spirit of the resisters will be kept aflame, the public further awakened, and new recruits added. As the campaign gathers momentum and the public is more favorable it is to be expected that more and more white allies will be won over but well in advance of the campaign, at least a few of the leaders should have taken a substantial training course in non-violent direct action in a suitable center. They will then be ready to take up the job of training the local non-violent resisters in weekend institutes, in which some resource leaders from outside may be used to advantage."

The manuscript of the findings digest stated in conclusion, "The kind of action that refuses to give in and yet will not inflict injury requires courage superior to, rather than inferior to, that which is necessary for physical combat..... There is almost no limit to the resources for social change in the many forms which non-violent direct action may take, according to the circumstances."

A. Philip Randolph, national leader, in defense of this technique and in distinguishing it from what he termed "non-cooperation" as advocated by Gandhi in India, stated that the objective in India is to effect a transition of governmental power from the hands of the British "Imperialists" into the hands of the Indian people, and that such activity amounts to a breaking down of British civil government. As distinguished from this, Randolph stated that the March on Washington Movement does not seek to bring about a transition of government, rather the modification of "behaviour pattern" by process of reconditioning. He added that the organization will not call on Negroes in the armed forces or in the defense industries to disobey commands or to stop work at any time in carrying out this technique. He stated that these groups would not come within the category of Negroes who would be called upon. These statements by Randolph are believed to have been made in defense of the organization which was criticized by not only the Communist Party but by such newspapers as PM and the negro publication The Pittsburgh Courier, the latter publication condemning the March on Washington Movement in its May 8, 1943 issue by stating that the organization has stirred indignation and unrest and lacks constructive administrative leadership. It also condemned the leadership by saying that it is evidenced by irresponsible talk about "suicidal civil disobedience and mass marches which never materialize."

Prior to the National Conference of the organization, held in Chicago, a meeting of the planning committee took place in Washington, D. C. on May 22, 1943, at which time a discussion took place of this particular type of action. The following information portrays that which

occurred at this meeting:

Dean William Nelson of the School of Religion at Howard University, Washington, D. C., is reported as having acted as the chairman of the meeting while Reverend J. Holmes Smith, white, who is connected with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and who has been affiliated with the March on Washington Movement to make a study of non-violent civil disobedience, made a report to the meeting. Smith is said to have read a set of principles upon which the program of civil disobedience was to be based and stated that such a program was the logical outgrowth of the resolutions passed at the Detroit conference held early in the Fall of 1942 by the March on Washington Movement. The resolutions referred to are related to be as follows:

1. Organize the mass of the Negro people.
2. Press home the fact that Negroes want their rights now.
3. Discipline the mass in order to wage an effective demonstration.
4. March on government establishments and defense plants all over the country.
5. Push the Negro's demand for admission to all public places.

Smith is said to have continued, describing "non-violent direct action" as drastic and as being entirely non-violent direct action, which is taken against an evil law and in which all of the better points of other "Protestant action" are used and both courageously organized and fearlessly executed. A confidential source has advised that Smith digressed slightly when questioned closely as to the value of such by Thurman Dodson, leader of the Washington unit of the March on Washington Movement, who indicated that he would not approve of deliberate disobedience to an established law. Smith is reported to have replied that Mohandes Gandhi once indicated that if the All-India Congress decided to dispense with this type of action as a weapon, he as an individual alone would have to continue.

Smith is reported to have elaborated on the statement of principles, mentioning the following steps to be taken in the application of this type of a program:

1. Negotiation.
2. Self-examination and self-discipline.
3. The pursuit of this program appeals to the better nature of an opponent.
4. The program must be based upon a devotion to truth, with no exaggeration and must derive confidence and respect.
5. Great courage is necessary to carry through the program.

It is related that it was also brought out in the meeting that the advanced stages of the program of non-violent direct action include picketing, boycotting, and mass demonstrations, all of which must be conducted in an orderly fashion and no resistance shown toward anyone seeking to molest individual participants. Smith is said to have stated that the non-violent direct action movement never recedes from justice, although from time to time it may revise its views of what constitutes justice. He is further said to have remarked that members must have an inspired, spiritual outlook and this must lead them to destroy the oppressive system, rather than to destroy the individual.

At this point in the meeting, Vincent Baker, a member of the organization in Harlem known as Modern Trend, a group alleged to have some Trotskyite influence in it, asked for a differentiation between good and bad laws, inasmuch as non-violent direct action presupposes the cause, intent and effect of any law under consideration. It is reported that a discussion was then held with regard to the nature of good and bad laws as defined for the purpose of such a program.

At the meeting recommendations were reportedly made as to the areas in which demonstrations of the non-violent direct action program would be held. It is said that such action or demonstrations should be held in Washington, D. C., Richmond, Virginia, or in the State of New Jersey, or in perhaps all areas. A confidential informant has advised that New York City was eliminated inasmuch as the Negroes in that city now enjoy so many of the advantages that a campaign of this nature might not attract a large following. It is reported that Detroit was also eliminated because of the preponderance of Southern people in its population. Richmond is said to have been particularly selected inasmuch as it was believed that this city would afford an opening of the gates to such a movement in the South. Washington, D. C., was reportedly chosen because of its large Negro population and its status as the capital of the nation. According to the informant, it was felt that the Negroes in New Jersey would also properly respond to such a program.

The confidential informant reporting on this matter advised that at this point of the meeting Bayard Rustin, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, related a story illustrative of this program of action in order to dramatize the application of non-violent direct action. Rustin is said to have told of his experiences in Knoxville, Tennessee, where he purposely sat in the white section of a public bus and was ejected and beaten by policemen. According to the story reported, Rustin was taken to the police court where he was again struck by policemen. At no time did Rustin make any effort to oppose the physical violence to which he was allegedly subjected. Rustin reportedly stated that after he discussed what had happened with the District Attorney he was released.

Indications have been reported, however, that varying conceptions of this activity are had by different national officers of the organization. In this connection, a confidential informant has reported on an Executive Committee Meeting, held April 12, 1943, at the headquarters of the March on Washington Movement in Chicago, at 4304 South Parkway, where ten persons were present, and the presiding officer was E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary of the organization.

In her remarks the Executive Secretary stated that the Fellowship of Reconciliation had been taking an active interest in the March on Washington Movement, and that it was at the time rapidly becoming closely affiliated with the organization. She indicated that on a recent tour her traveling expenses had been paid by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. She then referred to actual "marches" by local units in furtherance of the non-violent good will action program. She said that they were going to march with the technique of non-violence in view, but if necessary to obtain their demands, they were going to fight. She added that the first groups which would march on any particular place would be peaceful, and in the event they were attacked they would not retaliate in any manner. She continued that there would be follow-up groups, and where units had been met with violence from discriminating sources the follow-up units would, if necessary, fight.

The most recent decisions with regard to this type of activity were arrived at at the National Conference of the organization held in Chicago, June 30 to July 4, 1943. The non-violent good will action committee at the conference submitted a five point resolution recommending a program of non-violent direct action in fields of employment, civil and constitutional rights, "Jim-Crowism" and voting. It was decided to experiment with this technique in the cities of New York, Washington, Richmond, Chicago and Los Angeles. It was further recommended that the March on Washington Movement establish an institute to teach this technique, as well as appointing a paid national director to act in this field.

Later at a closed meeting at the conference held on July 3, 1943, the following resolutions were adopted by the delegates:

1. That the actual march on the City of Washington be used as one of the techniques of the non-violent direct action good will program.
2. That local marches on city and state government buildings be held by local chapters as soon as plans can be made which are to be used to train and condition marchers for the "National March Demonstration" in Washington.

3. That the time of the National March be determined by the National Executive Committee.

Meetings Preliminary to National Conference.

A regional conference was held by leaders of the March on Washington Movement at the Y.M.C.A., 1816 12th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., on May 1, 1943. According to a confidential source of information, this was a regional conference of representatives of the Washington, D. C., and Richmond, Virginia, units of the March on Washington Movement with national officers of the organization. It is reported that the program for the National Convention of the organization, held in Chicago, Illinois, from June 30 to July 4, 1943, was discussed at length along with the proposed panel discussions at the convention.

Among the panels which were said at the time to be contemplated for the National Convention were those concerning the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the question of "Clash of Color Here and Abroad." It is reported that an individual by the name of Epstein, who is alleged to have served as an attorney for the Committee at one time, was being considered to lead the first-named panel discussion. With respect to the latter, it was contemplated that this panel would be headed by Dr. Rayford Logan, and it was reportedly suggested that among the contributors to this panel should be Kingsley O. Mbadawe, a native of West Africa, and Dr. Allen Locke.

According to the source of information, the key people scheduled to participate in the National Convention were A. Philip Randolph, leader of the instant organization; Reverend A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Dr. Rayford Logan; Max Yergan, a reported Communist Party member and president of the National Negro Congress, a Communist front organization; Dr. Channing Tobias of the instant organization; Henry Johnson of the United Mine Workers; James Farmer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and a Dr. Charles Wesley who was reportedly to speak on the question of race imperialism.

It has been further reported that at the National Convention the question of the campaign of non-violent civil disobedience was to be discussed. In this connection it was further reported that A. J. Muste would make a report on the subject. It was said at that time this program was being studied for the March on Washington Movement by Dr. J. Holmes Smith, said to be a paid employee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation whose duty is to study the principles and philosophy of Gandhi.

It should be pointed out that Dr. J. Holmes Smith in September, 1942, was the leader of an inter-racial pilgrimage to protest discrimination against Negroes made from New York City to Washington, D. C. With respect to Dr. Smith's participation, the observation has been made by an informant in this matter

that although Dr. Smith is a white man and Randolph's policy has been to restrict his movement entirely to Negroes, it is, nevertheless, consistent with Randolph's policy to secure the assistance of white people even though they cannot become members of the Movement.

It is said that E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary of the March on Washington Movement, announced at the meeting that J. Holmes Smith, who had formerly worked with Mahatma Gandhi in India, would make a report on May 22 with regard to his recommendations on the civil disobedience campaign. In this connection, Natalie Moorman is said to have spoken at the regional conference on the role of youth in the March on Washington Movement. She is related to have discussed a recent picketing of the Little Palace Restaurant, 14th and U Streets, N. W., which had previously served only white customers, and stated that the activity had been a complete success and the pickets, who were students from Howard University, were successful in forcing the restaurant to serve Negroes.

According to the source of information in this matter, approximately twelve to fifteen people took part in the meeting, most of whom were from the City of Washington. A. Philip Randolph was not present. However, among those in attendance who were identified are the following: Horace Sheffield of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, C.I.O.; Horace and Roscoe Mitchell of Richmond, Virginia; F. B. McLaurin, a national officer of the March on Washington Movement; and E. Pauline Myers, Executive Secretary of the organization. It is said that among local Washington people attending the meeting were Lillian Speight, Lynwood Cundiff, Elizabeth Craig, Alexander Ronier, P. C. Speight, George Briscoe, Mazie Sandle, Natalie Moorman and Thurmon Dodson.

On June 20, 1943, a meeting was held at the Woodlawn Methodist Church in Chicago, at which Randolph was the principal speaker. He dwelt on the alleged treatment received by Negroes in the armed forces, saying that he had received numerous letters from Negro youths in the Army wanting to know if something could not be done. He referred to alleged mistreatment in various branches of the armed forces, and followed up by making in substance the following statements:

"The only thing that is wrong with this country is that it is being run by a lot of bourgeois politicians. The only way we can defeat them whether they are Democrats, Republicans, Socialists or Communists, is to form a solid block of our own. It can be done because we have shown it can be done in our organization. These bourgeois politicians are violating the law every day and nothing is done about it because in the Selective Service law it says, 'Every American citizen, no matter what his race, creed or color, will be

given equal rights in the United States Army, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines. Instead, our boys are being segregated in some branches of the armed forces, and in other branches they are permitted to enjoy the privileges of the white boys.

"Our enemy is now the Germans, Italians and Japanese. After this war they will enjoy the same privileges as the Americans and will even be allowed to become American citizens, while the Negro who is the real American will be segregated and pushed around unless we act and act now. Now is our chance to be put on an equal basis with the white men and have an equal right to rule."

On June 23, 1943, A. Philip Randolph called an emergency meeting of Negroes at the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago, Illinois, the purpose of which was to discuss the race riots in Detroit. From 700 to 2,000 Negroes were reportedly present. At this meeting a resolution was adopted to be sent telegraphically to the President, and delivered personally to Governor Green of Illinois and Mayor Edward Kelly of Chicago. This resolution contained the following steps:

1. That Negroes and white people have no riot in Chicago.
2. That Detroit riot be condemned as a disgrace to the country.
3. That a special grand jury be appointed to investigate the riot.
4. That Negroes be appointed to the grand jury.
5. That plant managers of national defense industries recognize rights of Negro workers.
6. That Detroit Police Department be investigated for their weakness in failing to prevent the riot and for killing the majority of Negroes while protecting white rioters.
7. That a fund be set up to reimburse those persons who suffered personal losses through no fault of their own.
8. That the Governor of Michigan be commended for his speedy action but condemned for failure to name Negroes to the Fact Finding Committee.
9. That President Roosevelt give a comprehensive statement to the people on race relations.
10. That Mayor Kelly appoint a racial group committee to study social problems in Chicago.
11. That race riots be condemned.

It was announced at the meeting that subsequent meetings would be held on June 24 and June 29, 1943. It was reportedly contemplated that the latter of these meetings would deal with policy and strategy of the organization and that it would be attended by Norman Thomas, Frank Crosswaith,

Dean William Stuart Nelson, and all section leaders of the March on Washington Movement.

Another meeting was held by the subject organization on June 25, 1943, at 205 North Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois, at which Charles W. Burton, E. Pauline Myers, A. Philip Randolph, and James Farmer, Negro national officer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, were speakers. Farmer, at the meeting, urged that Negroes everywhere adopt the non-violent civil disobedience program as an independent movement to secure additional rights for Negroes. He stated that members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation would attend the National Conference of the March on Washington Movement.

A. Philip Randolph reportedly instructed that the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee of the March on Washington Movement hold meetings in abeyance pending the decision of the National Conference as to what is the best way to proceed under this program. E. Pauline Myers in turn is said to have announced that Winfred Lynn, or his brother, Conrad Lynn, would be a featured guest at the conference.

National Conference, June 30 - July 4, 1943

The March on Washington Movement held its opening meeting at the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago on June 30, 1943, at 8:30 P. M. It was attended by approximately 500 persons. A. Philip Randolph, National Leader of this organization, presided, and he is related to have said that the March on Washington Movement was founded to express condemnation of those Governmental policies which permit racial discrimination and segregation. He is said to have announced that the Convention would consider the development of what he described as a powerful nonpartisan political bloc to bring pressure on Congress for the enactment of the anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills. This political bloc, according to Randolph, will ask that Negroes be given "first-class citizenship status."

Randolph is reported to have also stated the President would be requested to form a national race commission for the purpose of achieving a Congressional investigation of race riots.

Dr. Lawrence Ervin, who is the Eastern Regional Director of the organization, also spoke at the opening meeting and stated "the Negro must fight for his rights" and "who in hell is going to tell the Negro how he should go about getting his rights."

At 12:00 noon, July 1, 1943, a business session of the Convention was held and in attendance were approximately 110 people. The Credentials Committee at this meeting made various reports. The Convention's program was outlined and permanent national committees previously appointed by the Executive Board of this organization were announced.

An afternoon session was held on July 1 which was attended by approximately 270 delegates and members of the public. A discussion on "The Outlook and Future of the Fair Employment Practice Committee" was engaged in by Earl B. Dickerson and Milton P. Webster, both of Chicago, who were former members of this Committee, and Harold Stevens and Thurman Dodson, delegates to the Convention from Washington, D. C. A dispute arose between the Protestants and Catholics when Dodson is said to have attacked the President for appointing Monsignor Haas as head of the Fair Employment Practice Committee on the ground that Monsignor Haas was not suitable because of his training as a Catholic priest. Stevens, a Washington delegate, led the dispute against Dodson.

There were two resolutions adopted at the afternoon meeting on July 1, one condemning the action of Monsignor Haas for his decision in the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Corporation case in Mobile, Alabama, which permitted Negroes to work on only four of the ways in the shipyards. This action was labeled as discrimination against Negroes. The second resolution was an appeal to have Dickerson and Webster reappointed to the new committee of the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

It is said that both of the resolutions were sent to the President by telegram. In this connection, Randolph is reported to have read a resolution in the form of a telegram to the minority and majority leaders of both Houses of Congress, to the Vice President, and to Congressman Fish of New York in which an appeal was made that legislation be passed to create a "Commission on Race in America." It is allegedly desired that this commission rule on all racial questions arising in the United States. The last resolution was unanimously adopted.

The March on Washington Movement held a meeting on "Jim Crowism in America" at 9:00 P.M., July 1, 1943, in the Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 600 persons were in attendance, including 25 white people. Reverend Archibald J. Carey, Jr., Pastor, Woodlawn A.M.E. Church, Chicago, presided and introduced the following speakers, all of whom are Negroes: Layle Lane, March on Washington Movement Secretary, New York City; Carl Hansberry, President, National Negro Progress Association and wealthy Chicago real estate owner; Cordelia Green Johnson, President, Beauty Culturists League of America, Jersey City, New Jersey; Hank Johnson, United Mine Workers Union representative, New York City; Bayard Rustin, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York City, and Dr. George Edward Haynes, Federal Council of Churches in America.

All of the speakers criticized the alleged discrimination against and segregation of the Negro in labor and in the Army. Reverend Carey stated that Negroes should not go to Burma to save freedom if they can't get freedom

in Birmingham. He asserted that the cause of the riot in Detroit is to be found in the heart of the Negro who is oppressed. Layle Lane suggested that Negroes can secure political, social and economic freedom by use of the purchasing power and the right to vote found in the total Negro population. Hansberry advised Negroes to take advantage of all legal means to secure freedom from racial discrimination, and Cordelia Johnson suggested that Negroes take advantage of all opportunities to join inter-racial groups. She also quoted a colored friend who had stated that she would rather shoot her son than see him in the uniform of the United States Army, but continued by stating that she had tried to dissuade her friend from this course of action. Johnson stated, "Why should he (referring to the Detroit Negro) fight for freedom when his own citizens were being shot by policemen who were sent to protect him." She also advocated legislation to abolish "Jim Crowism" and placed the responsibility for the existence of "Jim Crowism" in the Army and in labor on the Federal Government. Bayard Rustin urged members of the March on Washington Movement to follow a direct action non-violence program to secure Negroes' rights at the present time. He stated that freedom would not come from the use of laws, but will come from the application of the non-violence technique. He asserted that violence would be suicidal and freedom would not come by the use of force.

Voluntary contributions were solicited from those in attendance at the meeting, and the booklet, "Jim Crow in Uniform -- War's Greatest Scandal," was sold. Copies of "Labor Action," a Trotskyite newspaper, were distributed.

On July 2, 1943, a meeting was held from 10:00 A.M. until 1:15 P.M., the purpose of which was to present the program of the March on Washington Non-Violence Direct Action Good Will Committee. Only delegates were permitted to attend this meeting, and members of the press were excluded upon the instructions of A. Philip Randolph, National Director. Several members of the Socialist press, however, whose names are presently unknown, were permitted to attend. Dr. William Edward Nelson, Chairman of the Non-Violence Direct Action Good Will Committee, and Dean of the School of Religion, Howard University, Washington, D. C., presided. The following persons who are members of this committee addressed the delegates: Miss Rita Baham, Chairman of the Chicago Local Non-Violence Committee and member of the Committee on Racial Equality; Dr. J. Holmes Smith, former missionary to India from New York City and operator of the Harlem Work Shop; Reverend James Farmer, Resident Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York City; Mrs. Melba Wilson, Fellowship of Reconciliation representative, Columbus, Ohio, and E. Pauline Myers, National Executive Secretary of the March on Washington Movement.

The speakers stressed the importance of not responding to violence on the part of white agitators and policemen, and a direct action non-violence

program was suggested whereby Negroes would be educated by a March on Washington Movement school for teaching the non-violence technique. This technique, it was stated, would consist of approaching white proprietors of restaurants, bus companies and theaters to secure service for Negroes as well as whites. The program as outlined by speakers Rustin, Baham, Smith and Myers stressed the fact that Negroes should passively resist until service is given. No alternative action was decided upon in the event the services are denied.

The Non-Violence Direct Action Committee submitted a five-point resolution which, according to confidential informants, will probably be adopted in its entirety. This resolution recommends that the program of non-violence direct action take effect in the fields of employment, civil and constitutional rights, "Jim Crowism" and voting. It was decided upon by the committee during the morning session of July 2, 1943, to experiment with the non-violence technique in the cities of New York, Washington, Richmond, Chicago and Los Angeles. It was also recommended that the March on Washington Movement establish an institute to teach the non-violence technique with headquarters to be located in New York City. In addition, it was advocated that a paid National Director of the March on Washington Movement be appointed.

At the afternoon session, which began at 2:00 P.M. on July 2, 1943, the discussion was devoted to the problem of "The Negro in Peace and Postwar Planning -- Africa, the Caribbean and the United States." The speakers at this session were: Dr. Lawrence Reddick, a March on Washington Movement delegate from New York City who is connected with the New York City Library; Dr. Eric Williams, Professor of Social and political Sciences, Howard University, and Dr. Louis Wirth (white) Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

On the evening of July 2, 1943, the organization held a "Town Hall" meeting which was attended by approximately 650 Negroes and 20 white persons. Golden Brown, President of the New York local of this organization as well as Chairman of the National Committee dealing with the Winfred Lynn Selective Service case, presided at the meeting which dealt mainly with the subject "Jim Crow in Uniform--The War's Greatest Scandal." Penny postal cards were distributed at the beginning of the session to be addressed to the President urging that he reschedule the railroad hearings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and reappoint Earl B. Dickerson to that Committee. The recipients of these cards were urged to write their own messages concerning these two matters.

The following individuals spoke at the meeting: Vincent Baker, Negro, National Director of the Modern Trend Progressive Youth Group; James Farmer, Negro, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Roscoe Mitchell,

Negro, Richmond, Virginia, delegate at the Conference; David Grant, Negro, St. Louis, Missouri, delegate at the Conference; Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Socialist Party; Ira Reed, Negro, head of the Department of Sociology, Georgia University; and Edgar G. Brown, Negro, representative of the National Negro Council.

Golden Brown, as Chairman, announced at the outset that the National Conference of the March on Washington Movement proposed to lift "the lid from the foul Jim Crow situation" which exists in the United States. He alleged that the problem originated from the Federal Government itself and stated that it is a sad commentary that all groups can serve in the country's war effort except the Negroes. He further alleged that 90 per cent of the Negro troops in the United States are in labor battalions rather than in combat units and urged segregation in the United States Army be eliminated.

With regard to the Winfred Lynn Selective Service case, Brown stated the March on Washington Movement plans to carry it to the United States Supreme Court and warned if the Supreme Court fails to rule in favor of Lynn, then the Negro has no recourse to the courts of the United States. He added if the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Winfred Lynn, then the "Jim Crow policy of the War Department" will have to be changed. He stated that July 4 means nothing to the Negro soldier; that to him hymns and prayers are fraud and deception, for revolting hypocrisy and barbarism are rampant.

Vincent Baker at the July 2 evening session remarked that Negroes are told not to be emotional over riots, yet if Negroes are to be indignant over the slaughter of Americans in Japanese internment camps, then surely they are entitled to become indignant over the slaughter of Negroes in American camps. He then stated that Hitler and Goebbels could not have done a more effective job of breaking up American unity than "Stimson and Knox" and alleged that everywhere American troops have gone, the prejudice of "Jim Crowism" has followed.

James Farmer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation informed that "Jim Crowism" exists throughout the United States and the world at large, and alleged the United States Army is under the hand of reactionaries in the South. He urged segregation be abolished for unity in order that true unity can be based on equality and justice. He then stated that Winfred Lynn is not breaking the law, rather upholding it in opposing segregation in the United States Army. He urged all Negroes to protest through demonstration and letters and telegrams to their Congressmen.

David Grant avowed the riots in Detroit were caused by segregation inaugurated by industrialists and urged agitation, exploitation and the expose of existing conditions by Negroes to cure "evils of Jim Crowism."

Norman Thomas in his speech urged the abolition of "Jim Crowism" in America and stated also that no Negro or white man can hope to have freedom without doing away with the war system and conscription under it. He urged Negroes not only to fight "Jim Crowism" but to fight against the whole system which permits conscription to exist.

In connection with the evening meeting of July 2, 1943, it was ascertained by a confidential informant that the Non-Violence Direct Action Committee of the March on Washington Movement would stage a demonstration composed of Negroes and white persons at the Walnut Room of the Hotel Bismarck in Chicago during the dinner hour on July 5, 1943. It was alleged that the March on Washington Movement would observe the outcome of this demonstration to determine the course of further activity on their part. James Farmer, previously referred to, was reportedly scheduled to make the initial demand for service at the hotel which would be followed by demands for service by other demonstrators.

On July 3, 1943, from 3:00 P. M. to 9:00 P. M., a closed meeting was held at the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago. This was a meeting of the Non-Violence Direct Action Committee of the March on Washington Movement, and the purpose of it was to present the recommendations on future activity in this particular field. There it was recommended that plans for an actual march on the City of Washington be made at the present time and a date be set for this march. It was further recommended that local chapters institute marches immediately upon their delegates' return from the National Conference to be directed at State and municipal buildings. William Stuart Nelson, Dean of Religion at Howard University and Chairman of the Non-Violence Direct Action Committee of the instant organization, introduced a resolution which was adopted by the delegates:

1. That the actual march on Washington be used as one of the techniques of the non-violence, direct action, good will program;
2. That local marches on city and state government buildings be held by local chapters as soon as plans can be made which are to be used to train and condition marchers for the "national march demonstration" in Washington; and
3. That the time of the national march be determined by the National Executive Committee.

This resolution was adopted unanimously. In this connection, it is reported that A. Philip Randolph, the national leader, in a private conversation, advised if a crisis comes as a result of local demonstrations, then the actual march on the City of Washington will be called and those persons participating in it will remain in Washington until a bill is passed

creating a "racial commission". The contemplated purposes of the "racial commission" are:

1. To outlaw "Jim Crowism" in the Army.
2. To investigate all racial questions in the Army and elsewhere.

On July 3, 1943, the delegates at the National Conference numbering 104 elected a new National Executive Committee composed of 26 persons and divided the United States into 7 geographical districts. They provided for three members in each district to hold membership in the Executive Committee and for five members at large from New York City. A quorum of the Executive Committee was set at five persons, which body has been given the power to meet at any time and to issue the "call" for a national march. It was voted 103 to 2 to exclude white persons from membership in the organization. Randolph, who apparently accounted for the extra vote, was in favor of permitting Socialists to become members. Layle Lane, National Executive Committee member, favored permitting white persons to become members inasmuch as the March on Washington Movement has accepted contributions from them. It is to be noted in this connection that representatives of the Socialist Party's newspaper "The Call" and "The Militant" which is generally recognized as the official publication of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite group, were permitted to attend the closed session.

The members of the subcommittee interested in the Winfred Lynn Selective Service case, referred to previously, issued recommendations at the closed meeting of July 3, 1943, that each local unit of the March on Washington Movement obtain additional cases of this character. They further recommended that Negroes be approached prior to their induction into the Army for the purpose of acquainting them with "the law" so that after they are inducted they can institute legal action against the War Department. According to a confidential informant, there was some discussion as to whether the Negroes approached should institute legal action before induction took place, although nothing definite was settled in this regard.

Among the other resolutions passed at the closed meeting of July 3 was that Communists be excluded from the membership of the organization. An additional resolution was that \$12,000 must be raised to finance the organization by the local units through staging rallies, concerts and dances. Another resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 104 to 1, urged assistance in winning the war and purchasing war bonds. In this connection, Layle Lane opposed the resolution on the ground that the war is "capitalistic" and requested that her vote be recorded.

On the morning of July 4, 1943, a morning prayer was given for the National Conference at the Negro Soldier's Monument in Chicago. This was

followed at 2:00 P.M. by a parade from the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago to the Du Sable High School where the final mass meeting of the Conference was held. Approximately 50 persons participated in what was called the "freedom parade".

At 3:45 P.M., July 4, 1943, the final meeting of the National Conference was held at the Du Sable High School in Chicago. In attendance were approximately 2,200 Negroes. The Chairman of the meeting was Dr. Charles Wesley Burton, Negro, President of the Chicago unit. He announced that the March on Washington Movement had decided to maintain the idea of marching on the City of Washington as the strategy to get rid of "Jim Crowism". He advised, however, this would be used only as a last resort. Burton also announced that the March on Washington Movement would prepare to discipline its members for the national march by instituting local marches upon various cities and State capitals in the United States. He welcomed an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stating that that Bureau stood for justice.

The following individuals also addressed the meeting: Dr. William Stuart Nelson, who has been referred to previously and who was appointed to direct the "action program" of the March on Washington Movement; Dr. E. Stanley Jones, white, a missionary to India, who was described as an aid of Mohandas Gandhi; A. Philip Randolph; Dr. James Horace, Negro, preacher of the Monumental Baptist Church; and Reverend T. B. Chapman, Shilo Baptist Church, Englewood, Illinois.

In his speech, Dr. James Horace stated, "The Church must come to grips with the race measure, the Church has upheld segregation and it is time it started confessing its sins. The Church has preached dogma and not brotherhood. It is a sin for a Negro to go to the Solomon Islands to fight for democracy that he doesn't have at home. I want the FBI to communicate that to the President."

Dr. E. Stanley Jones addressed the audience on the subject of non-violent solutions to the race program. He described the non-violent action program of Mohandas Gandhi and stated it was a principle of "we won't hate you, but we won't obey you". He recommended the organization to institute such a technique.

A. Philip Randolph in his speech stated the present war is one of imperialism and of white people's supremacy. He claimed the cause for freedom is in full retreat and the Allies may win but democracy will lose. He stated the Negro is not free and never has been free because of the inequalities

which have existed in America. He compared the liberation of Negroes to that of other enslaved peoples. He pointed out alleged instances of segregation of the Negro in the social, economic and political fields in the United States.

In his speech Randolph advocated the members of the local units of the March on Washington Movement contact public utilities through sending committees to seek employment for Negroes with the public utilities. He further advocated if employment is not obtained, the local units conduct picketing, institute marches, and stage demonstrations. He added that demands would be made by the March on Washington Movement of President Roosevelt to gain employment for Negroes in all branches of the United States Government. He stated the March on Washington Movement proposes a united Negro political bloc, mass picketing of public utilities and marches on city halls and State capitals. He called upon the Negro soldiers to vote in support of anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws as well as similar measures.

Randolph also remarked in his speech that the March on Washington Movement will demand an answer from the Republican and Democratic Parties on the question of racial discrimination. He also said the organization proposes to purge labor unions of discrimination by similar means. He severely criticized Monsignor Francis Haas, head of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, for his decision in the Mobile, Alabama, shipyards case, terming it another example of race segregation.

It was claimed by Randolph in his remarks that the Federal Government was entirely responsible for the race problem existing in America at the present time, and it would only do what was right when forced to by measures proposed by the March on Washington Movement. He added that Congress will be called upon to enforce that section of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that individual States discriminating against races be cut down proportionately in their representation in Congress.

On July 5, 1943, the National Executive Committee of the March on Washington Movement met in the Metropolitan Community Church in Chicago where subcommittees were appointed. William Stuart Nelson of Howard University, Washington, D. C., was re-appointed Chairman of the Non-Violence Good Will Direct Action Committee, and Thurman Dodson, a Washington, D. C., attorney, was named Chairman of the committee to work with the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

A new group was set up at this meeting to make plans for a conference to be held next year in New York City to discuss post war planning for "free Negroes and darker peoples". At this proposed conference it is planned to

draw up "a manifesto of four freedoms to apply to Chinese, Indian peoples and Negroes" for presentation to the United Nations Peace Conference following the war.

Charles W. Burton announced that a series of institutes are planned to teach non-violent, good will direct action, the first one to be held at Howard University. He also asserted that transportation and public utility companies of Chicago and elsewhere would be asked to hire Negroes equally and that if these requests are met with refusals, mass demonstrations will be employed.

The Winfred Lynn Selective Service Case.

On October 28, 1942, a Negro, Winfred William Lynn admitted he had failed to report to his local Selective Service board No. 261, Jamaica, Long Island, New York, for induction into the United States Army after he had been placed in a 1-A classification. The date on which he was supposed to report was September 18, 1942. Lynn stated he had had no intention of reporting for induction, nor would he report in the future, saying that although he was not a conscientious objector and had no beliefs to keep him from fighting, he would refuse to enter the armed forces because he felt that there was racial discrimination against Negroes in the United States Army. He said he did not believe there should be segregation of black or white, and that that was the reason for his refusal to be inducted.

Upon his arrest, Winfred Lynn was represented by his brother, Conrad Lynn, an attorney, who presented a brief to the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of New York in the form of a memorandum which he, Conrad Lynn, said portrayed the exact position of his client and brother. An analysis of this memorandum sets forth the facts of Winfred Lynn's case and points out that the local board with which he had registered selected Winfred Lynn's name as "one of a quota for Negroes" after receiving a "notice of call" from the State Director of the Selective Service System indicating that a certain number of Negroes were wanted for induction on September 18, 1942 and a certain number of whites. Conrad Lynn, in his brief on behalf of his brother, stated:

1. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, forbids "discrimination by race".
2. That it provides no instructions for separate quotas of Negroes and general quotas for all other racial groups.
3. Volunteering is provided for by any person, "regardless of race or color."
4. Taking the foregoing reasoning as a whole, it is plain that Congress did not intend to countenance race discrimination

in selecting men for service."

The resume continues:

1. Segregation is discrimination. (Various cases are cited pro and con.)
2. Health and economy are the sole factors to be considered in the classification of Selective Service inductees.
3. The method of using quotas unlawfully interferes with the liberty of the person, and although the Selective Service statute provides for equal protection, its operation can be attacked if it is in violation of due process.
4. A "race quota" violates the "spirit of conscription" and the preamble of the Act states that a fair and just system is provided for.

On December 19, 1942, Winfred Lynn was inducted into the United States Army, and on January 4, 1943, a petition for a writ of habeas corpus was presented to the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of New York in this case. The judge of this court stated that Winfred Lynn through his attorney had failed to prove his induction was pursuant to an induction quota stipulating separate groups of Negroes and whites, and therefore, no question of racial discrimination in his induction could be raised. It was said that inasmuch as Lynn had reported for induction on December 19, 1942 alone and not in an induction group he had been accepted not as part of any "quota" group but had been inducted separately without regard to his race, color or creed. No ruling was given as to the "quota" system.

It should be noted that Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union was an associate counsel and presented the brief in this case.

In the meantime, on November 11, 1942, Conrad Lynn spoke relative to his brother's case at a meeting of the New York City unit of the March on Washington Movement. At this meeting he urged that the March on Washington Movement go on record as opposed to the quota system.

On February 24, 1943, at a subsequent meeting held by the New York unit of the March on Washington Movement, Ashley Totten, an officer of the organization and National Secretary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A.F. of L., spoke. (Totten at the time was chairman of local Selective Service Board No. 55, 307 Lenox Avenue, New York City). Totten at the meeting requested the organization to support Winfred Lynn in his effort to obtain a writ of habeas corpus to bring him from the Army before the United States Court of Appeals in Brooklyn, New York, in March, 1943. He added that the participation of the March on Washington Movement in this case would serve as a rallying point for a nationwide struggle against alleged racial discrimination in the armed forces. Totten further requested that a representative be sent to a national conference contemplated for March 5, 1943 at the New York office of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, A. F. of L., at which time it was also contemplated that a National Committee for the defense and Support of Winfred Lynn was to have been formed.

On March 31, 1943, a committee consisting of A. Philip Randolph, Benjamin McLaurin, E. Pauline Myers, and Layle Lane was appointed to conduct negotiations with various organizations to enlist their support in the Winfred Lynn case. A mass meeting was scheduled for April 22, 1943, at which the Lynn case was contemplated to be one of the main issues. Endorsements were reportedly received from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers Defense League, and the Brooklyn and Long Island branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At the time it was reported that the National Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had not officially endorsed this case, and further, the participation of the branches did not in any way express the views of the national body.

A mass meeting on the Winfred Lynn case was held April 22, 1943 at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Lenox Avenue and 142nd Street, New York City. Approximately 750 people were present, including A. Philip Randolph, Arthur Garfield Hays, members of the Brooklyn and Long Island branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a member of the Workers Defense League, all of whom served as speakers. Randolph in his speech stated that "this" is a revolutionary period, and therefore he and his organization must use revolutionary methods to accomplish their objective. He referred to national and international affairs and to matters affecting the Negro population. At this time the Winfred Lynn case was discussed.

It is also to be noted that the sale of a pamphlet entitled, "The War's Greatest Scandal! The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform", was promoted. This pamphlet will be referred to hereinafter. It incidentally refers to the Winfred Lynn case.

It is to be recalled that at the July 2, 1943 evening session of the National Conference, which was attended by approximately 650 Negroes, Colden Brown, president of the New York unit and chairman of the committee dealing with the Winfred Lynn case, spoke relative to this case, saying that the March on Washington Movement plans to carry it to the United States Supreme Court, and further, if the Supreme Court fails to rule favorably in the case then the Negro has no recourse to the courts of the United States. He added that if the Supreme Court ruled favorably, then the "Jim Crow policy of the War Department" will have to be changed.

Later, at a closed meeting on July 3, 1943, the subcommittee interested in the Winfred Lynn Selective Service case issued recommendations that each local unit of the organization obtain additional cases of this character. It was recommended that Negroes be approached prior to their induction into the Army for the purpose of acquainting them with "the law" so that after they are inducted they can institute legal action against the War Department.

It is to be noted that the March on Washington Movement has distributed mimeographed copies of a reprint of the magazine "The Nation", dated February 20, 1943, which sets out detailed information concerning the Lynn case. In addition to setting out the facts concerning this case, the reprint states that it is the beginning of a case which has received almost no publicity but which is the only legal test case that has yet been made of the "Jim Crow" practices by which the military authorities are violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the basic law under which the present army is being selected and trained. It further states that while the case has received little publicity in the newspapers, it is known of in various places including not only the North but in the South.

"The War's Greatest Scandal! The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform"

The March on Washington Movement published during the latter part of 1942 a pamphlet entitled as above. This pamphlet has been given wide distribution and it is hoped by the organization that one million copies of it will be distributed. A confidential source has reported that Layle Lane, an executive of the New York local, secured 100 of these pamphlets which, she said, would be mailed to soldiers in the armed forces. This action, it is reported, was not looked upon favorably by other members of the organization.

It is confidentially reported that at a meeting of the March on Washington Movement, held on June 2, 1943, at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, one Private McAllister, who was said to have been on leave from the Tuskegee Air Base at Tuskegee, Alabama, was introduced to the meeting, and he is reported to have stated he would tell his comrades of the good work that the March on Washington Movement is doing for them.

At this meeting Layle Lane, of the New York unit, reportedly proposed that Private McAllister take several pamphlets of "The War's Greatest Scandal! The Story of Jim Crow in Uniform" back to his post and distribute them among his friends. This proposal was bitterly assailed by several members who stated Private McAllister would become involved with the military authorities if he were to distribute literature of this nature to his fellow soldiers. Layle Lane, in turn, contended, according to the reports, she had been sending the pamphlets through the mail to soldiers in various camps throughout the country and would continue to do so, so as to publicize "Jim Crow in Uniform". It is said that the final decision was to give one pamphlet to the soldier to carry back to his post for exhibition among his friends.

It has also been reported that a copy of the pamphlet was forwarded to an enlisted man in the New York area bearing the return address Layle Lane, 226 West 150th Street, New York City.

The pamphlet itself was written by Dwight Macdonald of the Workers Defense League, with the notation that the research was done by Nancy Macdonald. At the outset paragraphs in the form of news releases showing alleged mistreatment of negro soldiers in various areas are set forth. The comment is made thereafter:

"These things have happened in an army supposed to be fighting for democracy. They could be multiplied a hundred-fold. It is mere good luck that this undeclared war against part of our own armed forces has not broken out into large-scale rioting, bloodshed and lynching. The pattern is always the same: brutal and humiliating treatment of Negroes wearing the uniform of their country, and complete failure of the Army authorities to protect those wearing that uniform. A fantastic situation in an Army supposedly dedicated to wiping out Nazi racialism. And yet how can we expect anything else when we see those in command of this Army and Navy adopting as their official policy this very doctrine of Hitler?"

The next section is entitled "'Master Race' Vs. 'White Supremacy'". This section points out the various personnel needs of branches of the armed forces and then decries the alleged discrimination, segregation and mistreatment in the armed forces.

The next two sections deal with the Winfred Lynri case and thereafter incidents of heroism on the part of Negro members of the armed forces in past wars fought by this country are set forth.

There is then a section entitled, "Segregation is Discrimination" which states:

"Every one of the half million Negroes now serving in the armed forces is doing so on a jimcrow basis. Every regiment, every ship, every battery, every flying squadron and medical staff and jeep company is either all white or all colored. The most ingenious planning, the most complicated and voluminous quantities of paper-work, the tireless efforts of thousands of officers are devoted to the great task of keeping apart the two races. The instant he puts on the uniform of his country, the Negro becomes a deadly plague carrier, to be quarantined, isolated at all costs from his white comrades in arms.

"The military authorities, like the Supreme Court, deny that segregation is in itself discrimination. Actually, however, the record of the armed forces to date in this war is the strongest possible proof that discrimination is inextricably bound up with segregation. The Negro civilian in jimcrow states finds that, even if he is willing to accept segregation, he does not in actuality--whatever legal theories the Supreme Court may spin about it--get equal educational, housing and transportation facilities. And the Negro soldier or sailor also discovers, and even more dramatically, that even if he accepts segregation, he gets anything but equal treatment. The medieval Jew knew that ghetto-segregation was discrimination; the modern Jew in Nazi Germany knows that Nuremburg-Law-segregation is discrimination; and the American Negro soldier knows that jimcrow-segregation is discrimination--whatever the Supreme Court or the Secretary of War says about it. Again, let us have a look at the record."

The next four sections deal with alleged discrimination in the United States Army, United States Navy, United States Army Air Corps and the Red Cross (particularly with regard to segregated blood banks).

The following points are then made in the pamphlet:

"Those are the facts, and it is not a pretty picture. What can be done about it? There are three important factors:

"(1) The colored people of America have come a long ways since the last war; they are no longer willing to be pushed around as an inferior race.

"(2) The Roosevelt Administration has backed up the jimcrow policies of the military authorities as much as it has dared; nothing can be hoped for from Washington without a much tougher fight than the Negroes and other friends of democracy have put up so far.

"(3) This great issue must be faced; it cannot longer be evaded and compromised as our political leaders are trying to do. Either you advance towards real democracy, and the Negro with you; or you go backward to racialism and fascism."

The next three sections entitled "The Negro is on the March"; "The Roosevelt Record -- Words Vs. Deeds"; and "The Issue Must Be Faced-- Now!" refer in order to:

1. The advance in the rights for Negroes since World War Number One, especially with regard to service in the armed forces;
2. An attack on the administration in which it refers to its formula as "Democracy in Words, Jimcrow in Deeds"; and
3. The need for changing the present policies in the armed forces.

With regard to the last point, the pamphlet says that intelligent American Negroes are thinking in the terms expressed in a dialogue which the pamphlet attributes to a Negro teacher and a student:

"Student: I hope Hitler wins this war.

Teacher: How can you make such a statement?

Student: Because I am convinced that is the only thing that will teach these white people some sense--their knowing what it means to be oppressed.

Teacher: But don't you realize that conditions would be even worse under Hitler?

Student: They can't possibly be any worse than they are for Negroes in the South right now. The Army jimcrows us. The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. The Red Cross segregates our blood. Employers and labor unions shut us out. Lynchings continue. We are disenfranchised, jimcrowed, spat upon. What more could Hitler do than that?"

The pamphlet ends:

"Jimcrow in uniform must go! Every colored person in America, every real friend of democracy in America must take up the fight and refuse to be satisfied with anything less than the smashing of racial barriers throughout the entire armed forces. Jimcrow in uniform must go!"

On the back cover page the March on Washington Movement, its aims and purposes and its activities are set forth in question and answer fashion.

Mass Meetings

New York City Mass Meeting, June 16, 1942, Madison Square Garden

On June 16, 1942, this organization sponsored a meeting held at Madison Square Garden, New York City, which was attended by an estimated crowd of 17,000. The following individuals spoke at this meeting: Dr. Lawrence Mace Ervin, Chairman; Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Director of Negro Youth Division of N.Y.A.; Reverend A. Clayton Powell, Jr., member of the New York City Council; Reverend John La Farge, Associate Editor of America; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Director of Negro Division of YMCA; Mr. Frank R. Crosswaith, Chairman, Negro Labor Committee; Mr. Walter White, Executive Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.; Reverend W. O. Carrington, President, AME Zion Ministers Alliance of New York City and vicinity; Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League; Dr. C. Clay Maxwell, Sr., Pastor, Mount Olivet Baptist Church; Mr. Arthur Reid, organizer, 100 25th Street Job Campaign; and Mr. A. Philip Randolph.

It was reported that the majority of the speakers stressed Negro loyalty to the United States and the determination for "all out effort" to win the war. The determination, however, was expressed to continue the resistance for the "same rights and liberties" accorded to "other citizens of this country", not only during the war but subsequent to it. The speakers also stressed that while democracies might be able to win the war without the Negro, they cannot win peace unless there is "complete equality of opportunity and privileges for all races".

It was further reported that the most effective propaganda of the entire program were a series of short plays depicting a refusal of the Army, the Navy, Labor Unions and hospitals to accept services of the Negro in the same capacity as white persons.

It was announced at the meeting that the organization was to be continued until the demands of Negroes were granted. It was also announced that a committee would soon call on the President of the United States to make its requests for equality of opportunity and privileges. The attitude of the Communist Party with regard to the March on Washington Movement was clearly expressed in an article appearing on page four of the Communist Party organ,

"The Daily Worker" for June 18, 1942. This article was written by Ben Davis, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer of "The Daily Worker" and reported member of the Communist Party. The article states that the meeting of the March on Washington Movement in Madison Square Garden, June 16, 1942, "recorded a new high point in the militancy and aggressiveness of the Negro people for their just demands of equal integration into the war effort and complete citizenship in the United States."

The article continued, praising the "deep anti-Fascist feelings of the Negro people" shown at the meeting, the loyalty and devotion of the Negro people to their country, and condemning the discriminations existing against them.

With regard to the organization itself, however, the article stated, "...The meeting further revealed that Norman Thomas Socialists, Trotskyites, Lovestoneites and other malignantly defeatist elements are seeking to exploit the just grievances of the Negro people to turn them against the Negro's own best interests. These nondescript, unpatriotic elements--who insult the honor of the Negro people by trying to incite them to disloyalty to their country and to their own interests--have a heavy influence in the so-called March-on-Washington Movement, which conducted the rally."

The article termed A. Philip Randolph "a Socialist who has never repudiated the unpatriotic opposition of his 'party' to the country's war and who has never revealed this 'party's' danger to Negro rights."

The article praised such speakers as Dr. Channing Tobias, Director of the colored division of the National Y.M.C.A., Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr., and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. The article continued, terming a twenty-minute sketch, "The Watchword is Forward", presented at the meeting, as insidious poison of the Trotskyites, Norman Thomasites and Lovestoneites. The article stated that the tone of the sketch was that the main enemy of the Negro people is the National Government rather than "Hitler and the Fifth Column defeatists, the Norman Thomases, Coughlins, and poll taxers....."

A copy of the playlet, "The Watchword is Forward", by Dick Cambell, is being incorporated herein as reflecting possible seditious activity and utterances on the part of this organization and/or its members. (A copy of this playlet was furnished the Criminal Division of the Department under date of July 22, 1942, requesting an opinion as to whether the composition and presentation of it constitute a violation within the Sedition Statutes. By memorandum dated July 31, 1942, Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge requested that investigation of the March on Washington Movement be continued as well as a coverage to be made of the presentation of this playlet at subsequent meetings of the organization.) The copy of the script is set out as follows:

"Negro Draftee: Good Evening.

Draft Official: Good Evening. Have a seat. Mrs. Jones, what's the physical on Charles Williams, 1A-628?

Clerk presents card to official.

Draft Official: Williams, you've been judged physically fit by the examiners, so it looks like you'll be inducted soon. I'd advise you to get your affairs all straightened out and hold yourself in readiness for the call.

Negro Draftee: Uh, huh.

Official: Aren't you proud of the opportunity to serve your country?

Draftee: I guess so.

Official: What do you mean, guess so? You've got to make up your mind, Williams. Don't you know whether you want to go to camp or not.

Draftee: Yes Sir.

Official: Well?

Draftee: All right, I'll tell you. If what I've been hearing about how negro soldiers are treated in some of the camps is true, the answer is No! I don't want to go! Mister, What the Hell have I got to fight for? Don't hand me that 'Make the world safe for democracy' crap. We fought for that in the last war. And what did it get the black man? I ought to let you answer that just to see how much you can lie.

Official: How dare you talk to me like that.

Draftee: You ain't heard nothing yet, Mister. I'm gonna get this off my chest before you send me to Texas 'cause I may find them crackers down there worse than Hitler, Mussolini and the Japs put together. What about all them Negro soldiers killed by crackers and white M.P.'s in Army camps all over the country? What about them towns in Louisiana where a black soldier's face is an invitation to a riot? That Khaki uniform on a black man down there makes them crackers hate you all the more. Listen, Mister, get this straight. I ain't afraid to fight nobody, see? If I got to go to this man's Army I'll go. I'll take on Hitler, Mussolini and the Japs put together, see? But the same damn thing goes for them dirty crackers in Georgia. I don't like them no better'n I do Hitler. And if you send me down there, anything might happen. I just want you to know that in front, see?

Official: Williams, you're talking like a traitor. That sort of attitude will lead you straight into trouble.

Draftee: What kind of attitude do you expect, Mister. Do you know nearly half of the white people in this country hate Negroes worse than Hitler hates Jews. Do you know Negroes are still being dragged through the streets of Sikeston, Mo. and burned at the stake? Do you know that slavery still exists in Georgia? That's what I said, Slavery! Do you know that the Klu Klux Klan in Detroit is strong enough to tell the Government to keep Negroes out of the Federal houses that were built especially for Negroes, and named after a Negro woman, Sojourner Truth? What kind of attitude do you expect, Mister.

Official: Williams, this is not a war of sectionalism. This is not a war of Black against White. This is a total war. A world war of Democracy against Fascism and Nazism. Can't you understand that.

Draftee: Yeah, I can understand that. I can understand a lot of things. And there's some things I can't understand. Maybe you can tell me why Negroes were barred from Australia 'til the Japs started dropping bombs there. Maybe you can tell me why the British never thought about India's independence 'til a few weeks ago. And even now they can't make up their minds. Telling India you will get it after the war. That's a hot one. Seems to me America told Negroes the same thing before the last war. You'll get it after the war. I want it now. And by God I'll get it. Go ahead. Sign me out. I ain't none of them conscientious objectors. I'm ready to fight. But I ain't waitin' 'til I get to Australia to do it. I'm starting at Union Station and going straight through Georgia. And so Ladies and Gentlemen I'll be leaving for camp in a few days. Pretty soon I'll be some where fighting, fighting for freedom they say. Well there's one last word I want to leave with you folks I'm leaving behind. While I'm taking care of them Hitlers across the water, you take care of the Hitlers back here, Join that 'March on Washington Movement'."

On June 26, 1942, the March on Washington Movement sponsored a meeting at the Caliseum, Chicago, Illinois. It has been reported that approximately 8,260 persons were in attendance. The admission is stated to have been free. It is reported that there were no threats or indications of any violence.

The meeting is reported to have been first addressed by Charles Wesley Burton, who has been identified as the permanent Chairman of the Chicago Division of the March on Washington Movement. He is stated to have immediately made the comment that he knew there were FBI Agents present in the throng and that he welcomed their presence and in fact wished that the Attorney General himself could have been there.

Other speakers at the meeting were: David Grant, Attorney, St. Louis, Missouri; Mrs. Annie Baxter, Colored Woman's Club; J. Albert Wilkins, President of the Cook County Bar Association; Walter White, Executive President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Milton P. Webster, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices; A. Philip Randolph, National Leader, March on Washington Movement; Reverend Archibald J. Carey, Jr., Chicago, Illinois.

It was reported that Milton P. Webster, of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, criticized various Senators and Congressmen from southern states for their backing of the Poll Tax. He is stated to have reminded the audience that these Senators and Congressmen would not be in their present offices if it were not for the restrictions caused by such a tax.

The general tenor of the speeches made at the meeting was reported to have been in protest of the alleged discrimination against members of the Negro race in the armed forces and in defense industries. Demands were again made, as are made by the organization itself, for full social, economic, and political equality for the Negro race. It should be stated that there were no indications at the meeting that an actual march on the City of Washington would take place.

It has been reported that the Communist Party in Chicago supported the Unit of the March on Washington Movement located there in an attempt to gain leadership of it. As an example of this, it has been reported that Communist Party members and sympathizers were ordered to spread information concerning the meeting in order to obtain a large attendance. It was also reported that Morris Childs, Chairman of District 8 of the Communist Party, extended money for the down payment of the Coliseum rental. It has also been reported that Sam Lissitz, an organizer for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, spoke at a meeting of unit chairmen and section organizers of the Chicago Division of the March on Washington Movement held on June 22, 1942, at the Abraham Lincoln Center, 700 East Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, saying that activity of the Party in the organization would present an opportunity to obtain new members.

On July 2, 1942, a letter was addressed to Mr. Percy M. Gash, Manager of the St. Louis Municipal Auditorium, by the St. Louis Unit of the March on Washington Movement, requesting the use of the Auditorium for that organization on August 14, 1942. The letter stated that the purpose of the meeting would be the protest against discrimination against Negroes in defense industries, the armed forces, and Governmental agencies.

Listed as officers of this unit are:

T. D. McNeal, Chairman
Leyton Weston, Assistant Chairman
Mrs. David M. Grant, Secretary
Attorney George L. Vaughn, Speakers Committee
Attorney David M. Grant, Complains Committee
Columbus S. Ewing, Organizing Committee
Richard A. Jackson, Publicity Committee
Jordan Chambers, Treasurer
Harold Ross, Chairman, Finance Committee

Prior to its sponsorship of the mass meeting held at the Convention Hall of the Municipal Auditorium in St. Louis, Missouri, on August 14, 1942, several meetings were held by this unit. On July 15, 1942, a meeting was held with reference to discrimination against the Negroes as well as segregation of them, especially at the United States Cartridge Company in St. Louis, Missouri. Again on July 22, 1942, a meeting was held at which time preparation for the mass meeting on August 14, 1942, was dealt with. On August 5, 1942, further discussion with reference to the plans for the mass meeting at St. Louis, Missouri, on August 14, 1942, was held. Again, on August 12, 1942, a meeting

was held at which further plans were discussed relative to the mass meeting and a financial report was read to the effect that \$940.00 was on hand.

On several days prior to the mass meeting held on August 14, 1942, handbills were distributed on the street by this organization, bearing the heading in large print, "WAKE UP NEGROES," and requesting 25,000 Negroes to storm the Municipal Auditorium on the night of August 14, 1942, for the purposes of demanding jobs and protesting against: "Jim Crow St. Louis labor unions in war plants"; "lynching at Sikeston and Texarkana"; "mobbing and shooting our boys in Uncle Sam's uniform"; "violation of President Roosevelt's Order #6802"; "Jim Crow policy of the Navy, Army, and U.S. Marines"; and "insult of the Red Cross in segregating Negro blood."

On the night of August 14, 1942, there was held at the Municipal Auditorium, Convention Hall, St. Louis, Missouri, a large meeting sponsored by the St. Louis Unit of the March on Washington Movement, in attendance at which were approximately 9,000 Negroes. It is reported that the group was orderly and no trouble or riots in connection with the meeting were reported.

Charles Wesley Burton, Chairman of the Chicago Unit and attorney, was the first speaker. He outlined the purpose of the Axis doctrines as well as the democratic doctrines of the United States.

Burton is reported to have stated that Japan favored a war between the white and darker races, as the Japanese well know that the darker race outnumber the white about four or five to one. He also mentioned that the Negroes will make the supreme sacrifice if the same rights are granted to them as to others.

The second speaker was a Negro woman, Mrs. Sallie Parham, whose speech was entitled "Message from St. Louis Women." She is stated to have outlined the colored woman's place in the March on Washington Movement, stressing the abolition of racial groups in defense industries and stated that colored women must fight and in carrying on this fight would necessarily have to be in the picket line.

The third speaker was David M. Grant, an attorney in St. Louis, who spoke on "St. Louis Negroes and the War Effort." In his speech he outlined the Negro grievances in the St. Louis area, mentioning segregation of the Negroes at the ball park, 10-cent stores, and theaters. He went on to cite abuses in local war plants, stating that none of the Negroes were engaged in production. He further stated that one plant, the name of which he did not mention, did not have a single Negro employed; that this plant was ripe for a march; and that it would have a march in the very near future.

The next speaker was Walter White, Executive Secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In his speech he gave an advisory talk, listing grievances and explaining that there must be a unified action on the part of Negroes in obtaining their objective. He referred to alleged practices of discrimination and denial of equal rights of Negroes in the South.

The fifth speaker on the program was Milton P. Webster, whose topic was "Fair Employment Practice, What it Means." Webster was identified as being a member of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and First International Vice

President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He outlined discrimination practiced against the Negroes since Civil War days, stating that these discriminatory practices are more evident during this war period. In speaking of discrimination, he cited several cases of such and what the Fair Employment Practices Committee was doing in their regard. Webster was reported to have intimated that his Committee was powerful in so far as it was directly under the supervision of the President and that the President had a wide latitude, especially during war time.

The next feature on the program was a playlet entitled "The Watchword is Forward," which portrayed the scene of a Negro youth appearing before a draft board official relative to his induction into the Army. The script of this playlet has been set out hereinbefore.

Subsequent to the presentation of the playlet was an address made by A. Phillip Randolph, National Director of the March on Washington Movement, who outlined the purposes of the organization, saying that it was the belief of the March on Washington Movement that Negroes needed an all-Negro movement, the same as Jews have the Zionist movement and the Catholics have an all-Catholic movement and Labor, a movement of which only workers are members; and, further, that an all-Negro movement does not imply that there should not be a movement of mixed groups any more than a Zionist movement means that there should not be a movement composed of Jews and Gentiles. He is stated to have further remarked that the purpose of the March on Washington Movement was to definitely stress and emphasize that the main and basic responsibility for effecting the solution of the Negro problem rests upon the Negroes themselves; that the Negro should supply the money and pay the price, make the sacrifices, and endure the suffering to break down the barriers to a realization of full citizenship rights in America; and that the March on Washington Movement believed in racial equality and proposes to fight for it.

In his talk, Randolph dealt with prior meetings in New York City and in Chicago of the March on Washington Movement and how the March on Washington Movement in 1941 was responsible for obtaining from the President his order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

He advised that several of the newspapers had stated that the March on Washington Movement was abandoned, which was entirely incorrect; that it had only been postponed; and that a march on the City of Washington would take place unless grievances were corrected. He also referred to the following cablegram which was to be sent to Mahatma Gandhi in India:

"The March on Washington Movement represents the Negro people of America. They owe the struggle of India for independence. Your cause is just and win you must. The Negro people believe that the denial of independence to the people of India is inconsistent with a fight of a United Nation for a free world."

In this connection, a resolution suggesting that this cablegram be sent was directed to the audience and the same was adopted and passed.

Local Units

As has been pointed out previously under the section involving the organization of the March on Washington Movement, there are a number of local units. The amount of activities of the local units vary considerably. Perhaps the most active is the New York unit, followed closely by the St. Louis unit, thereafter coming the Chicago unit. A small degree of activity is engaged in by the Detroit and Washington local units; however, in these interest previously evidenced in the organization has seemingly been lost, although delegates were sent by these units to the National Conference.

The more active units fight alleged instances of discrimination as well as segregation; however, the issues generally involved are local in nature and have included such matters as obtaining increased employment of Negroes in defense industry, opposing "Jim Crow" and segregation conditions and attempting to break down employment rules in public utilities, especially in various telephone companies. In this regard, the St. Louis unit claims to have obtained more than 8,000 jobs for Negroes in that area, allegedly adding to the income of the Negro population there in the amount of over one million dollars. Similar action is said to have been taken by the Chicago unit where also actual use of the non-violent good will action technique has been put into effect.

As regards the New York unit, it is to be noted that this unit also serves as a "testing ground" for policies of the national organization either actually in effect or contemplated for future enactment.

Varying estimates have been made as to the strength of the local units, although it is said that the St. Louis unit has approximately 4,000 members, the Chicago unit anywhere from 2,500 to 7,000 members, and the Washington unit approximately 20 members. No accurate figure has been reported as to the total membership of this organization although it is known that 270 delegates representing a large number of cities attended the National Conference.

The influence of the organization, however, can be seen in referring to the various mass meetings held by this organization wherein the attendance varied from 8,000 to 17,000. No accurate estimate can be made as to how many Negroes this organization can influence, although it is said Randolph has made the statement that he hoped 20,000 Negroes could be obtained for a march on the City of Washington.

With regard to Communist Party influence in the various local units, it has been reported that there were in the past evidences of Communist infiltration into the Washington, Detroit and Chicago units; however, no indications have been received that control was ever obtained by Communist forces. In this connection it is to be recalled that the National Conference

as well as national leaders have opposed any cooperation with Communist-controlled groups or organizations.

It is also to be noted that there have been indications of cooperation by the local units with local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This has been evidenced particularly in the action taken by the New York local unit of the March on Washington Movement with regard to the Winfred Lynn Selective Service case. Therein it is recalled the Brooklyn and Long Island chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have supplied their support.

Reception of Organization by Other Forces

It has been pointed out hereinbefore that the Pittsburgh Courier, perhaps the largest Negro newspaper in the United States, has attacked the March on Washington Movement, and more specifically, its National Director, A. Philip Randolph. In addition, the organization has been subjected to numerous accusations and tongue lashings by the Communist Party.

Typical of these is an article written by James W. Ford, National Committee Member of the Communist Party, who wrote in the July 23, 1943 issue of the Communist news organ, The Daily Worker. This article was entitled, "Randolph Policy Aids Enemies of Negro-White Unity Fight". It appeared on page 8. It should be stated in this connection that while the Communist Party has militantly and blatantly called for social equality, added rights, abolition of discrimination and segregation, and other matters of interest to the Negro, it has also attempted to coordinate that part of its line urging all-out effort in the war program with its maneuverings and machinations among the Negroes. It should also be kept in mind that the national organization of the March on Washington Movement has opposed and has kept out influence of Communist forces within its branches.

In his article, Ford alleges that the movement for Negro rights has reached an extraordinary degree of development in the trade unions and states that "big results have been scored among win-the-war forces generally for the betterment of the position of colored citizens in American life." Ford then works into a condemnation of Randolph, the National Director of the organization, and a statement attributed to him by the New York Times in which Randolph referred to the barring of whites from the organization to avoid Communist infiltration. Ford claims that Randolph by his statement concludes that of all white people in the United States, only white Communists fight for Negro rights, and that he is irritated by the unquestionable fact that there are many Negroes in the Party. He then states that the Communists would seem silly sectarians if they held any such designs as wishing that non-Communists be kept out of the fight for the rights of Negroes. He then states that Randolph is not helping to win the war, nor is he interested in conducting a genuine struggle to win Negro rights.

He claims further that Randolph is playing on narrow racial interests and endeavoring to get the Negro people to oppose the war and strike at the President. Randolph is then likened with John L. Lewis. Thereafter, Randolph is condemned for his attitude toward the Soviet Union. Throughout the article Ford eulogizes the activity of the Communist Party with regard to Negroes.

As early as June, 1942, the two Trotskyite factions, the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party, expressed their opinions through their representative publications: "Labor Action" and "The Militant". Comments in these two organs I believe worthy of note and are accordingly incorporated hereafter.

As reflecting the attitude of the Workers Party, a Trotskyite group of Communists, the official publication of this Party, the "Labor Action", in its June 8, 1942 issue, carries an article styled, "March on Washington Movement Stirs Again". The article is written by one Ria Stone.

The article traces the activities of A. Philip Randolph in arousing the "hopes of Negro masses" by proposing a march on Washington in the Spring of 1941. It states that the march was planned as a movement to put pressure on the Roosevelt administration, "which was then moving toward a war abroad, while forms of Hitlerism existed at home." The article advises that the march was postponed because "Roosevelt, after conferences with Randolph, and in the face of a mass Negro march, issued an executive order against discrimination in the war industries."

The article continues stating that nearly a year has passed since the executive order of the President regarding Negroes, but that "on all sides it is admitted that Jim Crow is still boss in the war industries". The article accuses the setting up of the Naval Unit for Negroes as a "Jim Crow" measure, and states that Negroes who aspired to be sailors are employees in shipyards at low military pay instead of the usual civilian rates. The article attempts to point out other alleged discriminations.

The article criticizes the March on Washington Movement leaders, stating that there is a reluctance on their part to arouse "real mass pressure", and that they are curbing such. The article states, "they curb the natural inclinations of the masses because they, as leaders, are afraid that mass action will go 'beyond bounds'." The article further states that the Negro people find little satisfaction in the orders of the "Administration" to cease discrimination. It calls the orders "face-saving devices" for the Administration and states that "the masses know this".

The article contends that "today the Negro masses want a March on Washington", but Randolph "since Pearl Harbor, is even more reluctant than

before to call for a March on Washington."

The article demands "the Negroes must march on Washington to prove to Government officials and to employers all over the country the mass strength which lies behind their demands!" In addition, the article insists, "they must march on Jim Crow plants to prove to each employer the Negro workers will no longer stand by passively and suffer want and privation while jobs are available!"

It is stated that the Workers Party supports the March on Washington proposal, in that "class conscious workers understand that through the initiative and mass actions of Negro workers in conflict with their political and economic oppressors, Negro workers will develop their class consciousness."

The article concludes stating that, "the March on Washington Movement can really become a mass movement if the Negro masses insist on making it their movement....."

Appearing in the June 27, 1942 issue of the publication, "The Militant", which is the official organ of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite organization, is an article styled "The Stalinists Betray the Negro Struggle". This article is by Albert Parker.

This article attacks the Communist Party in its attitude toward the Negro situation at the present time and the attitude expressed in the "Daily Worker" on June 12, 1942, in an article by Benjamin Davis, Jr., which attacked the March on Washington Movement.

The article advises that prior to the meeting of the March on Washington Movement in New York City on June 16, 1942, the "Stalinists" attacked the March on Washington Movement and its National Leader, A. Philip Randolph, stating that there is an attempt "to exploit the just demands of the Negro..."

The article continues, stating that "the Stalinists" recognized the impression made by the March on Washington Movement on the Negro people in New York City, and as a consequence "the Stalinists" desired to counteract this impression by holding another Negro meeting on June 28, 1942, under the auspices of the Negro Labor Victory Committee which includes non-Stalinist elements but is dominated by the Communist Party."

The article then quotes a statement made by Randolph with respect to the meeting "dominated by the Communist Party":

"This is a typical Communist-front movement that has been roping people in. It wants the Negro to forget all his grievances and to make it appear Negroes are not concerned with discrimination in the army and navy and

the war industries. It is definitely in opposition to the March-on-Washington movement."

The article then advises of Randolph's "policy". It states that without the backing of the Negro masses "Randolph does not amount to two cents and he knows it." It advises that without the support of the Negroes Randolph would not be permitted "into even the back door of the White House." The article claims that it is not Randolph's support of the war alone which attracts the Negro people but that to keep the mass support he wants, Randolph has to speak "the language of militancy." The article continues that it is Randolph's illusion that by speaking militantly he can secure a number of concessions from the Administration and thus maintain his leadership with the Negro movement. The article accuses Randolph of being afraid to lead a fundamental struggle against the capitalist class.

The above article explains "The Stalinist policy." It states "their line on the Negro question as on everything else is determined by the Stalin bureaucracy in Moscow, which is concerned only with protecting its own interests. Sometimes these interests seem to coincide with those of the Negro and white workers in the United States, sometimes they clearly do not; but that does not concern the Stalin bureaucracy or its stooges in this country. In this you can find the explanation for the "Daily Worker's" attack on a movement which despite the defects of its leadership expresses the aspirations of the Negro people."

THE NEGRO AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

In viewing foreign-inspired agitation among the American Negro population, it is believed pertinent to set forth the possibilities of German and National Socialistic propaganda compiled to bring about disaffection in this particular minority group. In approaching this problem it is believed significant at the outset to examine the official German attitude toward the colored race. Consequently some of the most pertinent sources and happenings are being briefly reviewed.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO IN GERMANY

It should first be noted that Germany is comprised of a homogeneous population. There are few, if any, real minorities existing within the territorial boundaries of Germany. Negroes of any origin are extremely rare in Germany and the attitude of the State and the people is not at all favorable to any alien people residing in the community, particularly when there is a difference in color. The question of intermixture between Germans and the Negro race dates back to the time when Germany as a nation maintained the semblance of a colonial empire. The intermixture of German colonists so freely with Negro women in Africa caused bitter debate in the German Reichstag in 1912. Germany's attitude toward Negroes in their colonies in Africa prior to the first World War was never one of consideration and humaneness. It was largely a question of exploitation of natural resources available to further develop the colonial empire then possessed by Germany.

The occupation of the Ruhr and other border sections by French colonial troops after the World War did not serve to increase the favoritism of Germany and its people toward the colored race. This fact has been used as a propaganda argument by Adolf Hitler on many occasions in showing the unfairness of the Versailles Treaty and the depravity of the Allies in subjecting Germany to a disgraceful armistice.

In point of time the attitude toward the Negro is next seen in the book entitled "Mein Kampf". This book is replete with references to the racial policy upon which National Socialism is based. It is this racial policy which was placed in effect at the time Hitler became Chancellor of the Third Reich on January 30, 1933. The majority of the rantings in "Mein Kampf" are leveled at the Jew, however, the Negro is not completely overlooked nor is any race overlooked. All races with the exception of the Aryans are considered inferior. In his chapter on "People and Race", Hitler endeavors to impress his readers by arguments against intermixture of any kind between races, basing this theory upon the natural law that all animals mate with their own species. This is followed by argument after argument that the

Aryan race has been the fountainhead of all culture and advancement in the history of the world and that the diluting of the Aryan race with alien blood has caused the demise of all prominent civilizations. As an example of the attitude expressed in this chapter as applied to the Negro race, it is stated that history "shows with alarming plainness that every mingling of Aryan blood with inferior races results in the end of the sustainers of civilization. North America, whose population consists overwhelmingly of Germanic elements which have mingled very little with inferior colored peoples, can show a very different sort of humanity and culture from Central and South America in which the predominantly Latin settlers mingled, sometimes on a large scale, with the aborigines." Further, "mingling of blood, with the decline in racial level that is caused, is the sole reason for the dying-out of old cultures; for men are destroyed not by lost wars, but by losing that stamina inherent in pure blood alone."

In the chapter entitled "World Concept and Party," Hitler devotes much time to the alleged faulty premises of Marxism as compared with what he terms the fundamental law of nature with reference to racial elements. He rejects the racial equality theories of Marxism and proletarianism, pointing out that the populist world concept realizes the racial inferior or superior merit with their variations and feels the necessity of assisting the victory of the better and stronger and demanding the subordination of the worse and weaker. He then contends that this concept acknowledges the aristocratic basic idea of nature and concludes by stating that an ethical idea cannot be permitted to exist if this idea represents a threat to racial life of the sustainers of a higher ethics. He then states "in a bastardized and negroit world any concept of the humanely beautiful and noble as well as any image of an idealized future for our part of humanity would be lost forever. Human culture and civilization on this continent are inseparable from the existence of the Aryan."

In his chapter on "The State," Hitler again reveals himself as a hater of all races except the Aryan. In this chapter he castigates the churches and their activities in Germany for failing in their attempt to improve future inhabitants of that country by working among them yet trying to find recompense in the blessings of the church among Hottentots and Zulus. While our European peoples, praise God, are falling into the condition of physical and moral outcasts, the pious missionary travels to Central Africa and sets up Negro missions so that our 'higher culture' may turn healthy, if primitive and low-grade, human beings into a corrupt brood of bastards even there.

"It would accord far better with the spirit of this world's noblest Man if, instead of annoying the Negroes with missions that are neither desired nor understood, our two Christian Churches would teach Europe, kindly but seriously, that in the case of not wholly sound parents, it is a work more pleasing to God to take pity upon a healthy little poor orphan, giving him father and mother, than to bring into the world a sickly child of ones own, which would only cause suffering and misery to itself and the rest of the world." In this same chapter Hitler also advances the theory that "creative achievements can occur only when ability and knowledge are mated." He then illustrates by stating:

"From time to time the illustrated papers show the German bourgeois how a Negro has for the first time become a lawyer, a teacher, perhaps even a minister or a heroic tenor somewhere or other. The feeble-minded bourgeoisie takes notice of such a miracle of animal-training with admiring astonishment, and is full of respect for this marvelous result of modern education; in the meanwhile the Jew is very shrewd about constructing from it a new proof that the theory of the equality of man, which he is forcing down the peoples' throats, is sound. It never dawns on the degenerate middle-class world that this is truly a sin against all reason--that it is criminal madness to train a born half-ape until one believes one has made a lawyer of him, while millions of members of the highest of civilized races must remain in a position altogether unworthy of them; that it is a sin against the will of the Eternal Creator to let hundreds and hundreds of thousands of his most gifted creatures decay in the modern proletarian bog while Hottentots and Zulus are being gentled for intellectual professions. For animal-training it is, just as with the poodle, and not 'scholastic' education. The same care and pains spent upon intelligent races would equip every individual for similar achievements a thousand times more quickly."

The above quotations from "Mein Kampf" are only a few that could be cited to show the true attitude of Adolf Hitler and National Socialism toward the Negro. This attitude is exemplified by its contempt toward a race which is considered inferior and only to be used for exploitation by the "Herrenvolk" - the master race. An analysis of the various expressions set forth above permits only one conclusion; that is, from the National Socialist standpoint the Negro is placed in the same category with the Jew. A view of the persecution to which the Jew has been subjected in Germany can only permit one conclusion, that is, in the event of the success of National Socialism as a world concept, the Negroes' economic state in America would be lost. He would not be permitted to engage in the professions, lynching in its most reprehensible form would probably be prevalent, and all of those steps which Germany considers necessary to restrict the growth and development of a so-called inferior race would be practiced. The Negro would not be permitted his own newspapers, his own church, his own societies, or his own way of life.

Germany today has two separate and distinct lines of propaganda with reference to the Negro, the first as applied in Germany, and the second as applied to the Negro as a minority in the United States. Under this subheading the attitude in Germany will be treated. In this regard attention is directed to an article entitled "The Nazi Plan for Negroes", by Hans Habe, German refugee writer, published in March, 1941. This article states in part:

"In recent weeks the German press has devoted more and more attention to American Negroes; the three or four latest issues of Der Sturmer, Hitler's anti-Semitic sheet, have been directed entirely against the Negroes. Julius Streicher, its editor, is the Fuehrer's own intimate friend, an 'old militant', and the only Party leader who may 'Thou' Hitler. Streicher declares: 'The emancipation of the Jews and the liberation of the black slaves are two crimes of civilization committed by the plutocrats in the last few centuries. '"

Habe also states in this article that Negroes are isolated from white prisoners in German prison camps. Barbed wire is placed around Negro barracks and no white man can converse with them. Although the conditions of the white prisoners were miserable enough, those of the Negro were described as much worse, and food rations were a starvation diet and those who became ill were not provided for.

Under date of May 18, 1942, an article entitled "Roosevelt Interned Women and Children", by Heinz Cramer, former New York Deutsche Nachrichten Bureau representative, appeared in the Schlesische Zeitung, Breslau, Germany. This article was written entirely for home consumption with a view to inspiring hate on the part of the Germans for the treatment given Germans in the United States in the beginning of the war in December, 1941. Conditions were described as inadequate and unsanitary and other complaints were made about the treatment of Germans by the American authorities. The article states in part, "In order to round out the picture of degrading treatment which was documented by a thousand summary individual reports let us only note that they (the Americans) did not even spare the Germans on Ellis Island from being guarded by Negroes. In other internment camps Germans were even locked up with Negroes....."

As a further indication of the propaganda being distributed within Germany and bearing on this subject, it will be noted that on September 28, at 4:00 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, a broadcast was made in German to the German people by the Frankfurt Radio Station which stated in part "The wife of the United States President appears to enjoy playing the role of protectress of Negroes in the United States", adding "according to Time (Time magazine) Negroes in the Southern part of the United States are forming 'Eleanor Clubs'. Negro girls form 'Daughters of Eleanor'. " Further excerpts include, "The Negroes are said to be grateful for Mrs. Roosevelt's participation in Negro meetings and the fact that she allows herself to be photographed with them. She even reviews parades of Negro soldiers.

"Mrs. Roosevelt is a good business woman and the fact that she has 'discovered' means nothing but business. This farce is a large scale attempt to gain as much black cannon fodder for Roosevelt's war as possible."

Information has been secured from an individual who was formerly affiliated with the monitoring service maintained by the German propaganda radio in Berlin, Germany, that news broadcasts from the United States were translated literally and made available to the Analization Section of the Foreign Office, Saarlandstrasse, Berlin, Germany. Experts on all subjects and linguists possessing social and political background then reviewed this material. Selections and excerpts thought of possible value for use in the German propaganda scheme were digested therefrom. The monitoring service was only one of the mediums through which material was obtained, since various American publications after a reasonable lapse of time became available for analization and excerpting. From past experiences it is known that attention is given to any item of news that could in any way be used to influence a minority such as the American Negro. Selections are also taken from this material for use in the propaganda scheme within Germany. This same individual points out that while in Germany he saw numerous posters in which the Negro served as a medium of propaganda for home consumption and mentioned two posters specifically, one containing a photograph of a Negro lynching in the United States which bore the caption, "This is How Democracy Works." The other poster specifically mentioned contained the photograph of Mrs. Roosevelt shaking hands with Marion Anderson and bore the caption, "This is Mrs. Rosenfelt Handshaking with a Negress to Counteract Their (the Americans) Well-Known Atrocities." These posters reportedly received wide distribution in Germany.

Another factor that left an engraved impression upon the American Negro is the treatment of Jesse Owens at the time he was a member of the American Olympic team in 1936 and won a number of medals at the Olympic games in Germany. A majority of the winning contestants were afforded the opportunity of meeting the Chancellor of the Third Reich, Adolf Hitler, however, he outwardly avoided shaking hands with Jesse Owens. One source prominent in Negro activities in America states that this action was one of the main factors absolutely alienating the intelligent American Negro from any favoritism toward National Socialism.

The attitude toward the Negro is not an isolated one since a reading of "Mein Kampf" and other quasi expressions of the German attitude on the racial policy will show this feeling also exists toward the Japanese, the Mongolians, the Jew, and, in fact, all races not Aryan.

It is believed that the racial policy of National Socialism, the statements of its leaders, the prosecution of minorities, and the ruthlessness of Germany's social and economic policies absolutely preclude Germany from effective proselyting among the Negroes in this country.

TRENDS OF NATIONAL SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA AMONG THE AMERICAN NEGRO

It is believed of primary interest to set forth the fact that Germany has considered the problem of using the American Negro population as a potential group for agitation in America. The German government does have existing certain offices which have interested themselves in this problem although the exact extent to which plans have been put into effect are not known. It has been determined through a confidential source that this problem would logically fall within the jurisdiction of the Aussepolitiches Amt der NSDAP (Foreign Policy Office of the National Socialist German Workers Party), headed by Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg. Rosenberg bears this title as a Nazi Party official, but as a state officer bears the title of Reichsminister of Russia. He is the interpreter of Hitler's ideas on National Socialist ideology and Hitler allegedly considers that his theories along this line most closely coincide with his own. Rosenberg is considered as "the appointed one of the Fuehrer for education and schooling of the National Socialist German Workers Party," and this statement reportedly appears upon the letterhead used by him. Various departments are set up under the Foreign Policy Office of the Nazi Party and according to the informant the Negro problem would fall under the Scientific Bureau headed by Walter Malletke. Dr. Draeger, Director of the Bureau of Interstate Cultural Relations in the Foreign Policy Office of the Nazi Party, could be considered a helper of Malletke in a problem of this nature and Malletke would probably remain in the background. The Scientific Bureau headed by Malletke maintains a special training school for the purpose of instructing individuals who are academically superior to learn the dialect of the country to which they are to be assigned in the future. This training school is to supply individuals to take the place of those who in the past had served the Party abroad. Rosenberg is the head of all of these activities and holds a position extremely enviable in the Nazi Party. He has wide authority which permits him to call upon the Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party or the Foreign Office of the German government for whatever assistance he deems necessary. For administrative purposes there are various commissions existent in the high authority of the Party in Germany and the German Government which is 100 per cent party controlled. Men on these commissions represent the interest of the Party or agency with reference to the problem at hand, and the system be compared to interlocking directorates. The informant advises that in July, 1939 a conference of what is known as Rosenberg's Commission met in Berlin, Germany, and considered the problem "The Practical Exploitation of National Conditions Concerning Existing Friction on the American Continent." This commission was made up of the informant, Dr. Albrecht Haushofer as a representative of the Geopolitical Institute, Munich, Germany, and Walter Malletke

mentioned hereinbefore. In addition, Dr. Draeger, mentioned above, and Dr. Karl Boemer, a specialist on conditions in the United States and one or two others were present. Dr. Karl Boemer at the time was the Director of the Press Bureau in the Foreign Policy Office of the Nazi Party and also lectured on various subjects in the University of Berlin. He is considered as a man of high calibre by the informant and one purely conversant with the practical aspects of propaganda.

It will be recalled that Dr. Boemer, shortly prior to the invasion of Russia by Germany, betrayed Hitler's intention of a military advance to the East. He was tried before the People's Court in Berlin and was only saved from the firing squad by the intercession of Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda. He was eventually released, although having previously been convicted of treason, upon the condition that he would go to the front as a common soldier. He was wounded at Krakov, Russia, and reportedly died at a hospital in Cracow during the latter part of August, 1942.

The conference mentioned above was to consider the practical application of propaganda to the American Negro and according to the informant is believed to be the first consideration given this particular problem by those interested. Its real objective was to effect a crystallization of ideas and along this line the results of the discussion were described by the informant as follows. All propaganda addressed to the American Negro would be based on the primary premise that they were the subject of suppression and discrimination in America. The general theory behind the approach utilizing these conditions admits this type of propaganda is wholly destructive, consequently some constructive propaganda in the nature of promises was not only desirable but necessary. This crystallized into two parts, first, offering the Negro for his very own a country located in South America. This was considered particularly clever since it did not interfere to a large extent with the ideas of the American white population and secondly would not entail the transportation of the Negro over too great a distance. Part two of the plan was to offer the American Negro certain northern states in the United States which could be considered a promise of higher living conditions and was thought to be the most readily accessible answer to the problem due to the short distance of transportation and the fact that it is generally conceded that northern states are much more highly industrialized than the southern states which now are occupied by the Negroes. It was understood that Dr. Boemer would handle the propaganda to the colored people, emphasizing suppression and discrimination. The first wave of approach would be passive resistance to cooperation with the white population and secondly urging an armed uprising with the assistance of Germany through the supplying of money, arms, and leaders. In addition to the propaganda it was considered desirable to train agents to work among the Negroes. This part of the program would fall within the jurisdiction of Walter Malletke's training schools mentioned hereinbefore. Dr. Draeger, Director of the Bureau for Interstate Cultural

Relations would also have a prominent part in the program. In analyzing the cultural side of the appeal to the American Negro, Malletke would be further assisted by Hans Scheidt, Director of the Foreign Political Training Bureau of the Nazi Party, a subdirector of the Foreign Policy Office. Dr. Albrecht Haushofer of the Geopolitical Institute and son of General Karl Haushofer who is considered the father of German Geopolitics today would have the job of conducting a large portion of the research in Germany incident to this program. His approach would be largely scientific. As an example, the development of language similarities and differences, political similarities and differences, economic similarities and differences affecting the American Negro might quite well also involve the comparison between the condition of the American Negro and that of the Negro in Liberia or other areas inhabited by colored races. Malletke, through his established agents, would forward the information to the Geopolitical Institute for consideration and analysis and this in turn would be passed on to the young men being trained by Malletke who were expected to go into the field at a later time. At this conference, which was held two months prior to the invasion of Poland in September 1939, mention was made of Father Divine and a discussion was had as to possible methods of using him and his immense following for the benefit of Germany. There was no reference in any way inferring that Father Divine had been approached, or was the subject of approach, but he was merely used as an example of the type of appeal that necessarily would have to be made to the Negro in America. It would have fallen within the prerogatives of Dr. Draeger as the Director of the Bureau for Interstate Cultural Relations to analyze the religion expounded by Father Divine and adapt it to German use. The general conclusion along this line was that the appeal to the American Negro would have to be conditioned to his mentality and practically applied to insure the greatest of dividends. Dr. Albrecht Haushofer brought up various issues in which he was particularly interested and would attempt to analyze and adapt to any program ultimately put into effect. In this regard Haushofer was interested in information as to the number of Negroes in police forces, military services and local, state and national government. He was also interested in the number of Negro students and the number of Negro professional and businessmen. Upon the compilation of this information Haushofer would have supervised the necessary research in the compilation of points to be used to propagandize among the Negroes.

The fact that the above conference actually transpired in Berlin in July, 1939 is indicative of the thoroughness of German planning to the end of exploiting minorities in all countries. As was pointed out in the beginning there is no indication apparent that the initial discussion described above resulted in any definitely executed plan as applied to agitation among the Negroes in America and as will be seen hereinafter no instance has occurred that would counter this conclusion. From another source who was affiliated at one time with the monitoring service maintained by the German Propaganda Ministry, it has been pointed out that the German approach to the Negro problem in the United States takes the following trend: "You in your

(American) propoganda are accusing us of subjugating peoples - but you in 1863 were freed, but we know that you are the subject of prejudice and suppression, industrially and economically. The right of the ballot is voided. Justice in the courts is questioned and lynching is practiced." This trend is obviously an appeal to the Negro that although he is told by the white Americans that he is free, in reality he is still the subject of discrimination and injustice.

An extensive survey of agitation among the Negroes has not revealed any pattern that can be identified with German planning and resourcefulness along this line. Isolated instances have occurred where individual Negroes have commented that the Negro race "would get somewhere" if Hitler and the Japanese win this war. Inquiries, however, fail to reveal that these statements are foreign inspired in any way. They are generally made by disgruntled individuals whose intelligence has in no way presented them with the opportunity of viewing the true attitude of the Germans toward so-called "inferior races." Those Negroes who can be considered leaders of their race in no instance have brought forth any evidences whatsoever of activity that can be traced to German sources. The known German organizations in this country which have exhibited favoritism for the present regime in Germany have made little attempt to appeal to any racial sections of the population other than the German and no definite instances have been reported wherein German organizations have attempted to propagandize or utilize the Negroes as such. The German-American Bund at no time attempted to effect cooperation with Negro organizations. In fact, the lecturers and speakers who have appeared before various units of this organization over a period of years were almost without exception of German background. There are several instances where an Indian lecturer was advertised by individuals active in the Bund and by the Bund itself in that particular area, but this lecturer himself had apparently adopted the racial theory of National Socialism since he ranted openly against the Jews.

It can be readily seen from what has been set forth hereinbefore that the Germans are in an anomalous position should they appeal to the American Negro and identify this appeal with Germany. The only possibility of agitation would be through the use of agent provocateurs, that is, the encouraging of agitation among the Negroes by persons actually sympathetic with the German regime, but ignoring the theory of National Socialism. The appeal would have to take the line adopted by reformists or, for that matter, Communists. The former appealing to the humane side of the question, suppression and discrimination, and the latter expounding the usual mouthings of racial equality and the cause of the common people. It is doubtful that Germany would stoop to abandoning its own theory of racial supremacy which has been sold lock, stock and barrel for a period of years to the German people merely for the purpose of agitating among the Negroes in this manner and thereby strengthening the opposition.

One should not be prone to identify anti-Semitism among the Negroes with foreign inspired propaganda. It is generally conceded, particularly in industrial areas, that reports recur from time to time of a strong feeling of anti-Semitism on the part of the Negro population. Although not entirely based on fact this feeling is probably traceable to the landlord-tenant relationship and the merchant-consumer relationship always prevalent in a section of the population which largely lives from hand to mouth. Added to this, the sharp practices of certain small loan agencies and the rigid collection policies of some businesses and a condition is existent that must have some value of exhaust. The normal trend is for the victim of these conditions to single out some particular type of merchant and heap all the criticism thereon. This problem could be very well alleviated by a more sensible landlord-tenant relationship and more elasticity in the subjection of the American Negro to economic pressure. There is no indication that where these rumors of anti-Semitism have occurred that they have originated with foreign sources. It is apparent that the conditions current in the community itself were far more responsible for the rumors than any alien-inspired ideology that incidentally possesses the same attitude on anti-Semitism.

In conclusion it can be seen that Germany has either not attempted agitation among the Negroes or has utterly failed in any plan that she might have adopted. In viewing agitation among the Negroes there is a striking absence of any German-inspired movement as distinguished from the infiltration that has been attempted by the Japanese and the Communist elements. Those reports that have been received where Negroes have allegedly expressed a favoritism for National Socialist Germany have been without exception unsubstantiated. The above treatment of this subject, coupled with the fact that German agents qualified to engage in agitation among the Negroes cannot now enter the United States, leaves only one view at this time, that is, in analyzing Negro agitation one must look to other than the Germans for its origin.

JAPANESE INFLUENCE AND ACTIVITY
AMONG THE AMERICAN NEGROES

Since the declaration of war there have been frequent complaints and numerous rumors of a pro-Japanese sympathy existing among the colored people and of Japanese attempts to disrupt the internal security of the United States by attacks upon the morale and loyalty of the American negro. Many of these complaints and rumors have been baseless but it has been clearly demonstrated that the Japanese government has endeavored to implant pro-Japanese ideas and attitudes in the minds of the colored people and to call attention to racial prejudices and restrictions to further their propoganda that this war is a race war for the purpose of creating disunity within this country to diminish or destroy its military strength.

Much of the Japanese inspired agitation has been traced to organizations promoted by persons believed to be connected with the Japanese government or in contact with individual Japanese. However, to present a perspective of Japanese influence and activity among the American negroes so that the dissemination of Japanese inspired propoganda and its effect upon negro organizations and views may be properly evaluated, it is well to first briefly summarize similar activities of the Japanese in Asia, the islands of the South Pacific and among colored races in other parts of the world.

A resume of Japanese influence upon the American negroes or other minority groups in the United States and elsewhere should, at the outset, point out that the Japanese are highly nationalistic and race conscious as evidenced by their belief in the myths of their divine origin and the conclusion that the Japanese are therefore, "the master race". They propose, as such, to lead the people of the East in a "Greater East-Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" under the banner of "Asia for Asiatics". Through this scheme Japan would break Caucasian economic and political control and reduce the white people to a subordinate race or class and thus lead in liberating the dark-skinned element of the world population.

Japan has not failed to capitalize on the superior economic position of the white races in the Far East and their leadership of "non-white" races elsewhere in their attempt to assume the position of the "savior" of the colored, i.e., "non-white", races throughout the world, when obviously seeking to substitute their dominance for that of the Caucasian under the guise of liberating colored people as well as "Asiatics". Their schemes of political liberation emphasized the economic inequality of the native races throughout

the East Pacific and their domination by European countries. These aims have been accepted by certain nationalistic movements in the East without regard to the fact that such meant only a change of leadership as exemplified by the formation of Japanese controlled puppet governments rather than an improvement of economic and social conditions. The same political liberation schemes and particularly the inequality theme were readily translated to appeal to a certain type of American negro because of previous agitation designed to raise their standards of living. These were adopted in varying forms and in different degrees by certain negro movements within the United States.

That Japan was endeavoring to assume the position as champion of the "non-white" races was manifested soon after the Russian defeat by the Japanese in 1904-05. At this time, the Mohammedans as well as some other colored races expressed their pleasure over the defeat of the Russians, a white race, by the Japanese, a "colored" race, the term colored again being used in the sense of non-white. This may have laid the foundation for a propoganda campaign designed to make Japan appear as the "protector of Islam" in order to gain sympathy and prestige among the Eastern and South Eastern Asiatic populations. In 1935 Mitsuru Toyama, the head of the Black Dragon Society (Kokuryu Kai) was said to have financed the training of four Japanese students who were dispatched to Arabia and Egypt to prepare themselves to act as propagandists in Mohammedan countries. To justify their interest in Islamism, a small group of Mohammedans was located and brought to Japan. For them and a small number of Japanese Islamites, Mosques were constructed and ceremoniously opened at Kobe in 1935 and at Tokyo in 1938. The Koran and other Moslem holy books were thereafter printed in Japan to prove the enthusiasm of the Japanese government and people for Islam. This apparent championship of an African people, that is, the adherents of Islamism, a religion indigenous to Africa, may be one reason why certain negro groups, who call themselves Moslems or followers of Allah and identify themselves as part of a large "colored race" which apparently includes the Japanese and all races other than white, exhibit a sympathy toward Japan. However, no positive evidence has been developed to accurately prove negro, pseudo-Moslem groups expressing similar beliefs which may have been obtained from Japanese sources.

Japan's interest in the negroes in the United States began a number of years ago. In April of 1919, when en route to the Peace Conference at Versailles, a Japanese diplomat engaged an American negro of intelligence and standing in conversation. The diplomat referred to this negro as "one of us", and made many inquiries about racial differences existing in the United States, pointing out that he could not understand how colored citizens of the United States could remain loyal in the face of conditions existing here. He was also concerned as to what the Japanese influence on American citizens of color would be in a crisis, and indicated that Japan considered

the use of racial prejudice in furthering any plans they may have against the United States. This same negro pointed out that Japanese sailors ashore from Japanese ships in the Monrovia, Liberia harbor expressed similar thoughts relative to the loyalty of Negroes to the United States. This Japanese delegate to the Peace Conference was of the opinion that in the event of another war, Mexico would not ally itself with the United States, explaining his conclusion by stating that Mexicans are of mixed blood, reddish-brown in color, and for the most part anti-Nordic in sentiment. He was equally confident that in the event of such a war, American negroes by the thousands would cross into Mexico and join forces on the other side. He was also of the opinion that the American negroes would welcome an opportunity to rebel in the event of a race war.

The proceedings of the Preliminary Peace Conference reflected that on February 13, 1919, Baron Makino, who was one of the Japanese delegates in attendance at the Peace Conference submitted to the Commission of the League of Nations an amendment to the Covenant embodying principles of racial equality.

"The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of States Members of the League equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality."

At the Plenary Session of April 28, 1919, Baron Makino explained the grounds for the amendment proposed by the Japanese delegate to the Commission with a view to secure recognition in the Covenant for the equality of all nations and their subjects, and held the amendment out as an example of the Japanese readiness to contribute their utmost to any and every attempt to found and secure an enduring peace of the world. He also stated that "If just and equal treatment is denied to certain nationals, it would have the significance of a certain reflection on their quality and status. Their faith in the justice and righteousness which are to be the guiding spirit of the future international intercourse between the Members of the League may be shaken,....."

Baron Makino concluded by pointing out the regret of the Japanese government and people at the failure of the Commission to approve their just demand for laying down a principle aiming at the adjustment of this long-standing grievance.

The fact that the Japanese have long considered the use of negro organizations and negro leaders as a means of creating unrest and racial dissension within the United States has been reflected by the interest of certain Japanese residents of the United States in the negro problem.

Yasuichi Hikida, an alien Japanese who entered the United States on April 14, 1920, and who was employed by the Japanese Consulate at New York City as a translator from April through November, 1941, was apprehended as an alien enemy on January 13, 1942. He did not at this time claim diplomatic status but was subsequently removed to Hot Springs, Virginia, in accordance with the program of interning various Japanese diplomats and was repatriated as a diplomat with the Japanese diplomatic group. Prior to his open employment with the Japanese Consulate, Hikida worked as a cook, guide and interpreter, but even during this period, he was actively interested in negroes and had written several articles concerning them, one bearing a title similar to "The Yellow Man Looks at The Black Man."

It was learned that Hikida, prior to his employment by the Japanese Consulate, gave the impression that he was a spokesman for the Japanese government. At this time he had no visible means of support, but was in funds as he reputedly bought a life membership in the organization known as "The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People". In this connection, it is observed that Hikida was said to have translated an article, "Fire In Flint", written by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, into the Japanese language. He also claimed membership in this group in an official questionnaire.

On Hikida's apprehension it was determined that he possessed a large quantity of literature concerning the negroes in the United States, supporting a previous statement that Hikida had been in charge of Japanese propaganda among the negroes for four or five years and had formerly been employed by the Japanese Consulate to spread propaganda among the negroes. One of his associates, Tateki Iriye, an employee of the Japanese Institute in New York City, indicated that Hikida, a frequent visitor at the Institute, wrote articles under the name of Yonezo Hirayama. A document, interesting in view of Hikida's association with both the Japanese Consulate and the Japanese Institute, was found among the records of the Japanese Association at 1819 Broadway, New York City. This paper, captioned "Interracial Understanding Between the Japanese and American Negroes" did not bear the name of the author but referred to letters of Hikida and a translation prepared by Hirayama which, together with its style, strongly indicated that it was written by Hikida. This outline claimed that the white people of the United States are anti-Japanese while the negro is sympathetic to them. It also pointed out that the American negroes were deeply interested in the Japanese nation during the Russo-Japanese war. When Japan proposed racial equality principles

at the Peace Conference after the World War, many negroes of America were said to have decorated their homes with pictures of the Japanese Baron Makino. The negroes were said to have protested vigorously against the Japanese Exclusion Act and during the Manchukuo and Shanghai incidents of 1921 and 1922, the Negro Press was assertedly pro-Japanese.

The writer of this outline also suggested that the negro be given an opportunity for first hand observation in Japan and Manchukuo to afford them a knowledge of Japan to be thereafter disseminated to the negro population through syndicated articles. In this connection he stated that the opinions of the American negroes who have visited Japan are overwhelmingly favorable to Japan and pointed out that Dr. E. R. Moulton, when head of the Tuskegee Institute visited Japan as did Dr. Eugene Dibble, also of Tuskegee. Others visiting Japan were said to be James Weldon Johnson, deceased, who attended the Kyoto Pacific Conference; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who visited Japan in 1936 and 1937; Dr. and Mrs. Charles H. Thompson of Howard University, who attended an educational conference in Japan in 1937 and Dr. Benjamin Mays, who is apparently connected with the Negro Y.M.C.A.

This outline alleged that Japanese literature on the Sino-Japanese conflict had been sent to an unidentified professor at a negro university in the south who requested additional copies for class discussion. This statement was followed by the paragraph: "It is the general opinion of intellectual negroes in the United States that the negro's concern of Japan is not small. In this world of white arrogance against the oppression of colored races in Africa and in America it is natural that the negro should hope that Japan will not be crumbled. As long as Japan is able to face squarely the Western Powers, there is hope for the negroes." Among other recommendations was the suggestion that a Negro press agent be sent to Japan, Manchukuo, and China to connect the Domei News Agency with the Associated Negro Press; to establish a Negro Problem Research Center in Japan, and to employ negroes to aid in the dissemination of information concerning Japanese culture and civilization to American audiences. He also suggested the establishment of a Japanese-Negro Interracial Committee in the United States and the publication of English language text books on Japanese history written from a racial angle. In conclusion the writer urged Japan to pay special attention to a sympathetic American negro audience eager to learn something about Japanese culture and civilization as by "fate of color they are sympathetic toward Japan and her leadership in Asia."

In the fall of 1939 the Japanese Foreign Office held a meeting for the determination of policy in the investigation of Communism and other trends and activities in the United States. The document reporting the conclusions pointed out Japan's desire to know the extent of certain influences,

including negro, on public sentiment and in public affairs and discussed the appropriation of funds and plans agreed upon for the investigation of these influences and activities. Vice Consul Inagaki, then in attendance, was designated to take charge of the project and instructed to make his headquarters at San Francisco, California. He was to be assisted by a Consul and a secretary at New York and secretaries at Los Angeles and San Francisco, California, Chicago, Illinois, and Vancouver, Canada. This "special information net" was to expand to South America and proceed independently of the intelligence agencies of the Japanese army and navy. An appropriation of ¥ 51,210 was made to finance this project for 1940. It was also indicated that substantially similar appropriations had been made in 1938 for the same purpose.

It was learned from official Japanese quarters that in June, 1941, the Japanese government again considered the use of propaganda among the negroes as a scheme to disrupt the internal security of the United States, and requested its officials in this country to advise them immediately as to the feasibility of training and utilizing negroes for their ends and possible methods of contacting leaders and agitators among the negroes in both left and right wings. That they intended to spend money to subvert the colored people in the United States was expressed in their desire to know what expense would be incurred in carrying out these directions.

That Japan has sought to capitalize upon the legitimate grievances of the negro and endeavored to curry their favor by alleging racial affinity, that is, asserting both are "dark races" as opposed to the white race, is reflected by the action of the Japanese Ambassador at Buenos Aires, Argentina, Tomii, who, when reporting to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs on August 6, 1942, on conditions in North America, discussed the status of the negro worker in the United States, and stated in connection therewith that riots in Detroit over housing facilities for negro workers were effective propaganda material for both Germans and Japanese. On May 15, 1942, grasping that situation, the Manchukuo foreign radio broadcast that the "so-called Democracy of Anglo-America is a history of racial prosecution and exploitation" and had subsequently "frequently broadcast advice to the colored people."

This contact of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Tokyo also advised his principal that the colored people within the United States are "complete isolationists" and have "no connection with regions abroad as the majority were born in the United States". He continued by pointing out a number of jobs which he claimed were not available to colored workers and further, asserted that certain labor unions will not grant charters to negro unions.

It is interesting to note this Argentine contact commented that "Germany, the originator of Mein Kampf, has not addressed the colored people

publicly but Japan has been very active and has carried on propaganda work among the colored people". He also stated Japan has used the racial issues which have been employed in Asia and thinks these should be effective among the colored people of the United States.

Other experiences have shown that the Japanese give attention to any items, however minute, that can be used to attract, or which tend to influence minority groups such as the American negroes.

Even Japanese fiction has manifested their interest in utilizing negroes against the United States as illustrated by a book entitled, "Nichi-beisen Miraiki" (Forecast of Future American Japanese War) written by Lieutenant Commander Kyosuke Fukunaga and prefaced by Admiral Kanji Kato, both of the Imperial Japanese Navy, published as a supplement to the Japanese magazine "Hinode" on November 28, 1933. This story concerns a fictitious battle between the American and Japanese Navies in which the Japanese emerge victorious. One incident relates that a negro mess boy, won over by the Japanese, procured information as to the time United States warships would pass through the Panama Canal after the commencement of hostilities between the United States and Japan. This negro mess boy leaves the fleet at Havana after planting a time bomb which resulted in the fictitious destruction of the Battleship Oklahoma while it was passing through the Canal lock.

The Japanese racial propaganda, that is, propaganda directed against white economic and political leadership, was attractive to certain classes of unscrupulous and pseudo-intellectual negro leaders who found the more ignorant class of colored people receptive to any scheme or philosophy which offered to relieve their economic condition and real or imagined discriminations practiced against them. The organizations proposing colored domination of the United States found many followers among the credulous as did those which provided mystic rituals and theatrical trappings such as the so-called negro "Moslem" groups. These appear to have a tenuous relation to the Japanese Moslem overtures but only an abstract connection with the Japanese government or Japanese aims. Few of these organizations had Japanese affiliations or contacts of any consequence even with them as individuals. These societies appear to be chiefly devices used by racketeering negroes to solicit funds and to enhance their position with their followers. Some of these so-called leaders, preying on the ignorance of the type of negro attracted to them, apparently assumed fictitious connections with Japan and used the seeds planted by Japanese propagandists to suggest that the authority of the Japanese government was behind them to lend credence to their contention that they were leaders in a "race war" in which the Japanese were the champions of oppressed negroes in the United States and of "colored" people the world over.

Several negro organizations which had no direct connection with Japan, and are not definitely known to have received subsidies or money from Japanese organizations or individuals, have seized upon the Japanese "race war" theories, furthering the propaganda efforts of the Japanese government without cost to it and leaving its imprint on negro thinking. This is illustrated by these organizations placing a program of social amelioration before the war effort and undermining the confidence of the colored in the sincerity of the proclaimed war aims. This type of organization also identified the negro with not only Japanese but other peoples such as Moslems and British East Indians. The arguments of these groups center upon the "Why fight the white man's war?" formula, stir up old hates, fears and prejudices and thereby, perhaps unconsciously, work for Japan's ends.

It may be seen by reference to the highly nationalistic and race conscious attitude of the Japanese that they place themselves in an anomalous position in propagandizing the alleged racial suppression and discrimination against the negro in the United States and in ethnologically identifying Japanese with the negro. This stand is incompatible with Japanese racial theories for their conception of racial superiority long antedates Nazi race theories. Their conviction that they are superior to all other people goes back to the myth that they are descendants of the Sun Goddess who sent the Emperor Jimmu to Japan in about 660 B.C. to found "the master race"—the "Sons of Heaven", although they are, as a race, of a mixed and uncertain origin. Within Japan, in addition to the traditional subservience to authority and practices which not only include class distinctions having their origin in the not distant Japanese feudal order, discrimination along racial lines exists as exemplified by the contempt in which are held residents of the Okinawa Prefecture because of their Malayan characteristics and the Ainu, the aborigine of Japan again because of racial distinctions. It may also be noted that there has been little intermarriage between the Japanese and persons of other races either in Japan or the United States. In Hawaii, where interracial marriages are common, the marriage of a Japanese to a person of another race would result in social ostracism. It follows that these practices would thus prevent effective proselyting among intelligent negroes.

It would therefore seem that any scheme advocated by the Japanese proposing resettlement of the Negroes would fare better. Further, an "Africa for Africans" campaign would be in line with their widespread "Asia for Asiatics" propaganda and give them a sort of geopolitical basis for the dissemination of propaganda among the negroes. This line of propaganda has recurred among negroes from time to time since World War I and was present in

Japanese inspired or infiltrated organizations such as the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World which endeavored to indoctrinate the negroes with the belief that since the Japanese are a colored race, the negroes would achieve their victory should the Japanese win the war.

The fountainhead from which stem most of the crack-pot negro organizations seeking escape from social and economic restrictions is the Universal Negro Improvement Association founded by Marcus Garvey, a West Indian negro who sought to be the Messiah of the millions of colored people in this country. His announced intention to take possession of Africa and establish a government with himself, of course, as president found many followers willing to pay for shares in his "Black Star Line" which was to transport his people to Liberia but resulted in his conviction for mail fraud in 1922 and subsequent deportation.

It appears that the financial success of Garvey led a number of the more ambitious and less scrupulous members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to emulate him as a prophet by striving to create their own organizations, adopting the technique of Garvey and superimposing any other trends or theories that may appear currently popular.

The ingenuity and effectiveness of the presentation of the philosophies, if they may be called that, of the newer movements are far below the standards of the parent group. This, as well as familiar earmarks of rackets, leads to the conclusion that the promoters were active in the associations more for personal monetary gain and less because of the commitment to a cause. Yet they provided the means of implanting pro-Japanese ideas and attitudes in the minds of the colored people.

The "Back-to-Africa" slogan and the curious ethnology of Garvey admirably fitted into the Japanese racial propaganda pattern. The Japanese co-prosperity theme, "Asia for Asiatics", was easily transposed to "Africa for Africans" and was not incompatible with the negro schemes of resettlement based on the teachings of Garvey. It also served the Japanese in identifying themselves as kindred negroid people under the oppression of the white race. This was apparently acceptable to negro leaders who were in need of some act, program or connection to enhance their prestige and distinguish their organization from others of similar aim and expression, and provided the Japanese with a vehicle for an attack upon the loyalty of the American negro.

The infiltration of pro-Japanese ideology into negro organizations previously concerned with improving the social and economic welfare of their members as well as the converting of an essentially anti-white attitude into a pro-Japanese sympathy is best illustrated in the promotion of these organizations themselves. The series of groups influenced by Naka Nakane alien Japanese are the only groups of this type in which a direct contact with Japanese forces was traced. They are described hereinafter.

DEVELOPMENT OF OUR OWN

The use of existing negro organizations as a front by the Japanese was first observed in the investigation of Naka Nakane who appears in Japanese agitation among the American negroes as the promoter of the "Development of Our Own", also known as "The Onward Movement of America" and the "Ethiopian Intelligence Sons and Daughters of Science", and other groups. This alien Japanese came to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1933 following the report that he originated what was then termed a secret organization for colored people, the Development of Our Own, by representing himself as Satakata Takahashi, a Major in the Japanese army and a representative of the Kokuryu Kai, the Black Dragon Society, in the United States. He was alleged to have been associated at this time, with other Japanese, one of whom was Chosuke Ohki, and a British Indian, M. A. Kahn. Nakane, born in Tokyo, Japan, emigrated to Victoria, British Columbia in about 1903 and while living in Canada married Annie Craddock, said to be an English woman, and became a Canadian citizen. On June 2, 1922, he moved to Tacoma, Washington, and lived there until 1926 when he disappeared because of financial difficulties. He claimed that his occupation was "special doctoring, a kind of religion in which he acted as a preacher", having received instruction in that field at an institution similar to a seminary in Japan thereafter becoming a Shinto priest. It is noted with reference to his statement that he engaged in "special doctoring" that the doctrines of Shinto include faith healing. Nakane related that he was preaching his own doctrines among the colored people in Detroit, Michigan, where he appeared in 1933. It was learned that he visited numerous negro churches in Detroit, representing himself to be Major Satakata Takahashi, and through acquaintances developed in these churches, formed the movement, Development of Our Own, advocating the joining together of the "Dark Races" of the world and in cooperation with Japan, to overthrow white supremacy. There is no indication he was spreading the Shinto faith or was interested in the establishment of a Shinto shrine or temple.

His efforts resulted in the incorporation of the Development of Our Own at Lansing, Michigan, on October 5, 1933. It was termed, in the articles of incorporation, a patriotic, independent and loyal brotherhood, proposing "through organization, education and cooperation and otherwise to advance the interests of the members along the lines of cultural, intellectual, social, industrial and commercial activities as deemed necessary by the organization". It was to be financed by initiation fees, dues and assessments and to be a non-profit organization. An amendment was filed on January 30, 1934, listing the officers. This was followed by another on June 8 of the same year again reflecting changes in the identities of these officers.

Nakane was said to have promised assistance, arms, money and supplies to negroes in a war against the white race and further, stated that Japanese agents were covering the entire United States in the interests of this organization working in conjunction with the United Negro Improvement Association. This latter organization is probably the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Nakane and his wife, Pearl Sherrod Takahashi, a negress, both claimed to have been in contact with the Japanese Consul at Chicago and with various other Japanese organizations and government officials.

It has been reported that Mrs. Takahashi, accompanied by six or seven other negroes contacted Dr. I. Tashiro, a Japanese dentist at Chicago in 1938 as delegates of the Development of Our Own to arrange an audience with the Japanese Consul for the expressed purpose of making a contribution to the Japanese war effort. These delegates again called on Dr. Tashiro in 1939 and he was of the impression that on each occasion these delegates contributed in excess of \$300 to the Japanese government or one of its agencies.

Nakane was deported to Japan on April 20, 1934, by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, but on August 29 of the same year, he reappeared at Vancouver, Canada, possessing about \$2,000 although he was without funds when deported four months earlier and without a visible source of income. He resided at Vancouver, Windsor and Toronto, Canada, directing the policies of the organization through his wife, Pearl Sherrod Takahashi. As a result of marital difficulties, Nakane removed his wife from the group and appointed Reverend Cash C. Bates, a negro, as the executive officer which action was fought in the circuit court of Wayne County, Michigan. Of interest in these proceedings was the statement that Mrs. Takahashi married a Japanese alien, that is, Nakane, who represented an idea or plan to ultimately undermine the system of American government; that Mrs. Takahashi was spreading propaganda since the deportation of her husband to the effect that the American Government was depriving the colored people of their rights and that they should claim allegiance with the Japanese government and its principles so that the Japanese government could ultimately give the Negroes their full support.

Nakane illegally reentered the United States at Buffalo, New York, on January 11, 1939, using the identification of another Canadian Japanese, Hisazi Kubo, presumably because of the strife occurring within the organization. He reorganized the negroes remaining loyal to him into another association of similar type known as the Onward Movement of America which was, in fact, identical with the Development of Our Own except for the absence of Mrs. Takahashi. This organization was incorporated in the State of Michigan on January 30, 1939, for the same purposes as the original group. Nakane did not appear as one of the incorporators but his associate, Cash C. Bates, did.

This group continued to operate the Producers and Consumers Market, a cooperative incorporated by Nakane as an adjunct to the Development of Our Own.

Nakane was arrested on June 22, 1939, for illegally entering the United States and the attempted bribery of an immigration inspector. He was convicted of this offense in the Federal Court at Detroit, Michigan, on September 28, 1939, and was sentenced to a term of three years imprisonment and a \$4,500 fine. Nakane was transferred from the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, to the medical center for Federal Prisoners as a mental case and was released therefrom on February 27, 1942. He was immediately apprehended as a dangerous enemy alien and was interned as such on April 2, 1942.

The organization reputedly recruited members throughout the United States dispatching field organizers as far south as Louisiana and Alabama, and claimed that within six months of the initial meeting obtained 60,000 members in the State of Michigan. At its height, this group was reported to have had 20,000 members at St. Louis, 6,000 at Kansas City, and smaller numbers in other towns. These claims were apparently greatly exaggerated as Nakane in 1934, only claimed approximately 3,000 members in the Development of Our Own.

He asserted that because of his success in organizing among the colored people of the United States, he was granted an interview with Ryobei Uchida, president of the Kokuryu Kai, in which an agreement was reached wherein he was to be the representative of the Kokuryu Kai in the United States as both he and Uchida were interested in effecting the same end, namely, the unification of all "dark races." Nakane denied, however, that he was an official of the Kokuryu Kai; that the Kokuryu Kai was connected with the Japanese government or that he had any purpose other than to help raise the living standards of the colored people. There is nothing to substantiate or even indicate any connection between the Development of Our Own and this Japanese terroristic group except Nakane's unsubstantiated claim that he is the representative of the Black Dragon Society. There exists the possibility that Nakane may have claimed membership in the Black Dragon Society in the same manner and for the same purpose that he adopted the Japanese military title of Major, that is, to impress his Negro followers.

The conviction of Nakane on September 28, 1939, seems to have stripped the Onward Movement of America of its leadership and the organization has gradually died out although Cash C. Bates remains the nominal head of the group in Detroit. It may be pointed out that the Development of Our Own was incorporated in the State of Illinois on October 1, 1936, as a non-profit organization but was dissolved in that state on October 27, 1939, for

failure to file required annual reports to the Secretary of that state. It also appears that the names of at least some of the incorporators were fictitious or fraudulently used.

Bates stated that the Onward Movement of America has at the present time no more than 170 members in all of its five units. It is also known that the group still meets at Gary, Indiana, under the leadership of General G. Pope and is active at Chicago, Illinois.

Bates recently indicated that Nakane taught that the Japanese would lead the negroes as the leader of all "dark races" and bring about their "liberation", but claims these teachings have been discontinued since Nakane's removal from the group.

PACIFIC MOVEMENT OF THE EASTERN WORLD

This is another negro organization founded through the efforts of Naka Nakane who injected pro-Japanese sympathies into a scheme of social amelioration patterned after that of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He began his organizational efforts which resulted in this Movement among members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association who had already shown they were receptive to any scheme promising relief from their economic ills. Nakane approached and obtained the assistance of a Filipino, Policarpio Manansala, commonly known as Mimo De Guzman, after a meeting of negroes at Chicago in 1931 and probably after having learned that De Guzman had been attending meetings of the Universal Negro Improvement Association with Elsie De Mena, a West Indian negress reputedly national organizer of the group.

Manansala, or De Guzman as he will be called, advised that De Mana introduced him to the theories of Marcus Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and enlisted his services, introducing him thereafter as a Japanese, Dr. Ashima Takis, before negro audiences in Chicago, Illinois, Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio, to impress these audiences with the idea that the Universal Negro Improvement Association was sponsored and encouraged by the Japanese government.

Nakane, who represented himself to De Guzman as Major Satakata Takahashi, Imperial Japanese Army, solicited his services to organize colored people into groups which would follow his principles and accept speeches of a pro-Japanese tenor. The ostensible purpose of this organization was to establish a government for negroes in Africa, provide means for them to return to that continent and alleviate their racial grievances, but was in reality designed as a propaganda front to stir up racial prejudices and resistance to the war program under the guise of liberation and impair the loyalty of Americans of the negro race. The resettlement scheme was apparently adopted from the doctrines of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, an organization active in proposing the resettlement of negroes in Africa and anti-discrimination measures in the United States.

De Guzman averred in a signed statement that Nakane represented that he, a Japanese official, had been sent to the United States by the Japanese government to organize the colored people explaining that the Japanese Baron Tanaka prepared a memorial outlining the policy of the Black Dragon Society in Japan which proposed, among other things, the unification of all the "dark people" of the world by organization and promulgating a policy of "Asia for Asiatica" wherein Japan would assist "dark people" to organize themselves and form their own government. De Guzman stated that Nakane claimed to be affiliated not only with the Black Dragon Society but the Japanese Consulate at San Francisco, California. Nakane informed him there were Japanese situated in various communities in the United States working among the Negroes as it was then a good time to organize "because the people of the United States were unsuspecting and

would laugh at such propoganda but, in fact, the time was not far off when Japan would take action". De Guzman admitted that after his discussion with Nakane he agreed to pursue his plan to organize the colored people in what subsequently became known as the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, a name said to have been suggested by Madam Mittie Maud Lena Gordon, president of the Peace Movement to Ethiopia, with whom De Guzman previously became acquainted at Chicago and who was an officer of the branch of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World organized there by De Guzman. The name of this branch was subsequently changed to the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. Nakane was said to have paid De Guzman and a Chinese, Moy Liang, who was said to have died in 1938, each \$100 to initiate the Movement.

De Guzman made a number of pro-Japanese speeches at meetings of the Universal Negro Improvement Association posing as a Japanese and assuming the names of Dr. Ashima Takis, Lima Takada, Dr. A. Koo and Conrado De Leon. He appeared at Indiana Harbor, Indiana, representing himself as Japanese in 1932, and was arrested because of the inflammatory nature of his speeches but was not prosecuted.

He claimed to have been successful in securing a membership of 20,000 persons in Chicago after working among the negroes there for about two years. He then disagreed with Nakane, according to his statement, because he did not follow Nakane's instructions when speaking before his audiences, and subsequently endeavored to organize for his own benefit a similar group at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There he promoted a chapter of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World with one E. G. Baker, a negro, and met Leonard Robert Jordan who sought his assistance in founding the Ethiopian Pacific Movement at New York City. He continued his organizational efforts at St. Louis and Kansas City, Missouri, Cincinnati, Ohio, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and New York City. In 1938 he met and obtained the assistance of a negro, Walter Lee Peeples, now deceased, who introduced him to Universal Negro Improvement Association audiences at St. Louis as a Japanese. After establishing a large membership, Peeples incorporated the group but failed to include De Guzman as an officer. After this rebuff, De Guzman proceeded to Kansas City where his efforts were not productive. He stated that he engaged in similar activity at Cincinnati but was exposed as a Filipino rather than a Japanese by a negro and a Japanese whom he believed was previously associated with Nakane.

De Guzman states that after leaving Pittsburgh, he went to Philadelphia and with the assistance of a colored preacher, organized a similar group which may have subsequently become a branch of the Development of Our Own.

There was issued by the Corporation Department of the State of Illinois a certificate of incorporation which sets out that the "Pacific

Movement" was incorporated in Cook County, Illinois, on December 7, 1932, as a non-profit religious, civil and educational organization with the purpose of promoting the welfare of citizens. These incorporation papers vested the management of the "Pacific Movement" in a board of three directors, namely Ashima Takis, President General, Chicago; Samuel Nichola, Robbins, Illinois, and J. L. Logan, Chicago. The organization was ordered dissolved on June 4, 1937, by the Secretary of the State for failure to file annual reports. It is observed that Ashima Takis was the alias used by Mimo De Guzman at this time, and that the date of organization is identical to that of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia.

The corporate records of the State of Missouri reflect that the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World was incorporated by Peeples on October 2, 1933, as a non-profit organization to, among other purposes, encourage the return of those people who have no opportunity for development in the United States to the land of their fathers.

The by-laws of this organization also provided for a military unit to have charge of the organization of their military forces. It was learned that uniformed guards presumably representing the "military forces" have been in attendance at meetings to deny entrance to unauthorized persons. The organization conferred military titles on members of the unit and they drilled with wooden guns prior to the declaration of hostilities.

A similar charter was also obtained in Pennsylvania on August 30, 1935, to permit operation of the society in that state, and the Pittsburgh unit of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World was organized under its authority.

Reverend A. L. Hill, who was made state president of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World in Mississippi by Walter Peeples in 1933, endeavored to incorporate the Movement in Mississippi but was refused permission in view of its presumed foreign origin. It is interesting to note in this connection that Hill deleted the phrases "Asia for Asiatics" and "Africa for Africans at home and abroad" from the motto of the Movement distributed in Mississippi.

A charter issued by the Secretary of State of Kansas on December 27, 1933, lists 697 members in Kansas City. This branch was also said to have been organized by a Filipino, undoubtedly Mimo De Guzman, posing as a Japanese. It is said that Dr. A. Porter Davis, a negro physician, president of the association and one of its incorporators, sought political office and used the organization to solicit political support which resulted in a rapidly diminishing interest. The organization was said to have reached its peak in 1936-37 with about 5,000 members but interest soon died out and the membership dwindled to about 20 in 1938 and ceased to exist in that city soon thereafter.

The group purchased, in 1936, a two-story building at 1129 Grandview Street, Kansas City. To save their interest, Davis and five others formed a "Redemption Club" and paid the balance due on this property, entering into a contract whereby the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World could redeem the building at any time it chose. Dr. Davis denied there were pro-Japanese influences within the organization stating its purpose was primarily to effect the resettlement of American negroes in Africa. He did admit, however, that Dr. K. Furuichi, a Japanese, addressed one meeting, but could not recall if Furuichi uttered pro-Japanese statements.

It is reported that Dr. Davis was elected president of the Kansas City branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on December 20, 1942, to succeed R. B. Brown.

David D. Erwin, the national president of this organization after the death of Peoples and subsequently national adviser, is said to have made statements at East St. Louis, Illinois, to the effect that no person who was a member of his organization will be required to fight for the United States because they have a means of making each member of draft age a licensed preacher and thereby exempt from serving in the armed forces, offering the status of minister in the pseudo-religious adjunct of the Movement for a fee. Erwin denied making this statement but admitted he had the power to ordain anyone as a minister in the "Triumph, The Church of the New Age", and also that he planned to merge units of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and this church as the members of the Movement were also members of the church. It may also be pointed out that Erwin was once associated with Marcus Garvey.

Leaders of various units including General Lee Butler, president of the organization succeeding Erwin, have asserted that the lives and property of members of the organization will not be seized or molested by the Japanese when they invade this country as they have signs and banners familiar to the Japanese and that members qualified to give these signs or display these banners will not be subjected to any discomfort by invading Japanese. Erwin is also reported to have stated in a speech at one of their meetings that the Japanese would soon invade and conquer the United States, and thereafter the organization would attain all of its objectives. He is alleged to have said, following the attack on Pearl Harbor, that he would not mind dying if he could take twenty or twenty-five white people to death with him. This same leader informed his members that if it became necessary for them to fight the Japanese they should recall that the Japanese have plenty of food and clothing and would accord excellent treatment to the negroes. He is also said to have advised prospective negro soldiers to surrender to the Japanese. Searches of the hall of the instant organization at East St. Louis, Illinois, disclosed six wooden guns and a similar number of billy clubs. Searches of the residences of officers and members of the organization at East St. Louis disclosed firearms and ammunition, and in-

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investigation revealed that leaders of the group in East St. Louis were making an effort to obtain ammunition.

The searches also disclosed a Japanese travel pamphlet and a newspaper entitled "Pacific Topics" published by the organization at Chicago naming A. Takis, presumably Mimo De Guzman, as editor. The newspaper contained pro-Japanese articles and the statement that the Pacific Movement was born out of the rejoicing over the victory of Japan over Russia as it was regarded as a victory of the East over the West.

Along the same line, it is noted that there was found in the files of Madam Mittie Maud Lena Gordon, leader of the Peace Movement to Ethiopia at Chicago, a membership card of William Green Gordon in the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World signed by "Sato Kata Takahashi, President General, Kito, Japan" which indicates at least a pretended affiliation with Japan if not an actual sponsorship by a representative of that government. It has been established that Takahashi is an alias of Naka Nakane.

Leaders of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World claimed branches in all countries of the world and throughout the United States but Erwin stated, in September, 1942, that there were only three units of the organization then active--Boynnton, Oklahoma; St. Louis, Missouri, and East St. Louis, Illinois. It was also learned that Erwin urged members to migrate to South America where a colony was to be established and operated under Japanese control and solicited the sum of \$10 from each member who expressed his desire to make the trip. It is interesting to note that in connection with the oriental names appearing in the minutes of the meetings as officers of the international body of the organization were apparently truthfully explained by Erwin as having been copied from the signs of business establishments in El Centro, California, as the names Okamura, Sukiyaki and Buena Comida are translated as Okamura (a proper name), Japanese meal, and a good dish and were probably taken from the sign of a Japanese restaurant.

While Erwin was in the southwest, he promoted units of this organization in Arizona, ostensibly as benefit societies. These were not successful because of limited membership and alleged misappropriation of funds. The Yuma unit was disbanded in about 1936 and those at Phoenix and Gila Bend in about 1940. The Movement was also active at Newark, New Jersey from about 1934 to 1937 and was reported to have been organized by a "Dr. Katasha" or "Takahashi", probably Mimo De Guzman. Reuben Thomas, alias Reuben Israel, head of the "House of Israel", a negro group advocating evasion of the Selective Service Act, was said to have been an ardent follower of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, then the Pacific Movement, and a co-organizer with De Guzman.

In 1940 a Japanese and a number of negroes from East St. Louis were

said to have organized units of this organization at Bardwell and Blandville, Kentucky. These units were not successful and went out of existence upon the commencement of hostilities.

The records of the Secretary of State of Oklahoma disclosed that the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World was incorporated in that state on October 6, 1939. The charter was delivered to David D. Erwin who then gave his address as Okmulgee, Oklahoma. Erwin, Reverend F. R. Baker, W. M. Clement and Fred Brown were named as directors and Erwin, on September 16, 1939, certified it to be a church society. Branches were established at Tulsa, Boynton, Okmulgee and Sapulpa, Oklahoma, by J. W. Isom in about 1934. After the death of Isom in 1938 meetings were conducted in a desultory manner and the organization ceased to exist in Oklahoma.

William S. Washington, a negro war veteran, promoted a unit at Omaha, Nebraska, which was active in 1935 and 1936 but of little consequence. It died out prior to Washington's departure from that city in 1938 and was apparently not re-established.

Mimo De Guzman was arrested on July 30, 1942, at New York City for a violation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. He was removed to St. Louis, Missouri, where an indictment had been outstanding against him since June 20, 1942, for a violation of the Postal Laws arising out of a forged money order. He entered a plea of nolo contendere to the charges contained in this indictment and was sentenced on October 1, 1942, to a term of three years on each count of the indictment, such sentences to run concurrently.

This matter was presented to an investigative Federal Grand Jury at East St. Louis, Illinois, on September 22, 1942, and a similar Grand Jury inquiry was held at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 17, 1942. The testimony pertaining to this investigation was also heard by a Federal Grand Jury at St. Louis, Missouri, on July 22 and 23, 1942. No indictments were returned as the object in presenting this testimony to these Grand Juries was exploratory to determine the extent of the organization in this area. A Grand Jury investigation was also made at Oxford, Mississippi, on September 21 and 22, 1942. These facts were presented to a similar investigative Federal Grand Jury at Kansas City, Missouri, on November 2, 1942.

The Department of Justice authorized the United States Attorney at East St. Louis, Illinois, to institute prosecutive action against David D. Erwin, General Lee Butler and the corporation. Thereafter the November term of the Federal Grand Jury was ordered to reconvene at East St. Louis to consider this case and on January 27, 1943, this Grand Jury returned an indictment charging the organization, General Lee Butler, the national president, David D. Erwin, the national adviser and one John Doe, a Japanese,

with conspiracy to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States in violation of Section 34, Title 50, U. S. Code. A second count of the indictment charges these persons with conspiracy to hinder compliance with the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 by offering the status of minister in the "Triumph, The Church of the New Age" to all members of the Movement who paid the required fees.

Butler and Erwin entered pleas of not guilty when arraigned before the Federal Court on February 2, 1943. Both were remanded to the custody of the United States Marshal in default of bond, set at \$5,000 each.

PEACE MOVEMENT OF ETHIOPIA

The Peace Movement of Ethiopia owes its origin to the same circumstances as the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and the Ethiopian Pacific Movement and embraces substantially the same schemes, an anti-white attitude and pro-Japanese sympathies superimposed on a plan for the resettlement of negroes in Africa modeled upon the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. It will be recalled that a Filipino, known as Mimo De Guzman, mentioned in connection with the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and other negro organizations attended meetings of the Universal Negro Improvement Association at New York City in 1931, and there met Elsie De Mena, a West Indian negress. De Guzman related that she provided him with a book on the theories of Marcus Garvey, the founder of that organization, and informed him she was the national organizer traveling throughout the United States promoting units of the association. She enlisted his services by offering to defray his expenses if he would agree to pose as a Japanese, Dr. Ashima Takis, with whom she claimed to have been previously acquainted.

This woman thereafter introduced him as a Japanese before negro audiences at Dayton, Toledo, Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio, Indianapolis, Indiana, and Chicago, Illinois. He stated that he was then unable to speak sufficient English to address a group and merely sat on the platform to impress the audiences with the idea that the Universal Negro Improvement Association was sponsored by Japan.

Madam Mittie Maud Lena Gordon said that she joined the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1923 or 1924 and had invested money in the bonds of the association shortly before Garvey was convicted for mail fraud. She was a member of the "division" which met at 3333 South State Street, Chicago, but claimed she was not active in the Association; yet at the same time she admitted attending the so-called international conference of the Universal Negro Improvement Association at Kingston, Jamaica, in August, 1929. She said she became disgusted with the conduct of the leaders and convinced there would be no real gains made by the organization. Because of this conviction she claimed she no longer took an active part in the organization; yet she admitted she had met with others to keep alive what she termed the legitimate objectives of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. This was the first indication of the formation of a new organization by Madam Gordon.

Madam Gordon related that she heard of one Takis, a Japanese major, and Liang, a Chinese, appearing before meetings of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Chicago making speeches to the effect that they would assist colored people to return to Africa. She advised Takis announced that he was financed by the Japanese Consul at Chicago and shortly thereafter that he approached her with the proposition that he was promoting the Pacific

Movement of the Eastern World and desired her assistance which she claims to have declined. However, Madam Gordon subsequently attended a meeting at Indiana Harbor, Indiana, and there apparently fully agreed with the statements of De Guzman, then known to her as Takis, as she asked and received his permission to circularize a petition among his listeners calling for the repatriation of negroes to Africa. She said several thousand persons signed her petition and she had others interested in the movement thus developing opened headquarters in Chicago subsequently moving to 3833 South State Street, the previous address of the Chicago division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. She refused to give the petition and its signatures to De Guzman upon his demand principally because she feared that he was rapidly becoming a leader in her Movement which was then known as the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, a name said to have been suggested to her by Liang, and on December 7, 1932, De Guzman refused to allow her to enter one of the meetings. She and her followers evicted him, and on the same day, assembled and organized the Peace Movement of Ethiopia for the expressed purpose of repatriating negroes to Ethiopia. Madam Gordon claimed she broke with De Guzman because of her feeling that he was not sincerely interested in assisting the colored people but was defrauding them of their money rather than over the question of leadership. She did not mention her quarrel with Elsie De Mena, the organizer of the Universal Negro Improvement Association shortly prior to her disagreement with De Guzman. It therefore appears that through personal disagreements of Madam Gordon the Chicago division of the Universal Negro Improvement Association successively became the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. The close relationship of these associations is further exemplified by Madam Gordon's terming the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World as her organization and her possession of a membership card in the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World issued to William Green Gordon, her husband, and signed by "Sato Kata Takahashi, President General, Kito, Japan".

In pursuance of their announced plan to repatriate negroes to Africa, Madam Gordon, in imitation of the efforts of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to resettle in Liberia, directed a letter to President Edward Barclay of Liberia on October 20, 1938, proposing the immigration of American negroes to that country. This was followed by the dispatching of delegates to confer with Liberian authorities on the premise that the United States government would provide passage and subsequent subsistence for the migrants. David J. Logan, an officer of the Movement, and Joseph Rockmore, now deceased, arrived in Liberia on December 5, 1938, as representatives of the organization which subsequently resulted in an accounting action being brought against Madam Gordon by several members of the Movement to determine the disposition of funds collected by the organization. Following these discussions with the Liberian government, Madam Gordon stated that she and many of her members indicated their desire to obtain Liberian citizenship and forwarded a list bearing

their names to Liberia. Thereafter she informed those who had so expressed their willingness to return to Liberia that they were Liberian citizens. Claiming she was subsequently advised by the President of Liberia that it was neutral, she publicly advised her members on the premise that as citizens of Liberia, a neutral country, they need not respond to the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

After the return of their delegation from Africa, Madam Gordon continued to claim that the Liberian Government favored the immigration of negroes sponsored by this movement but failed to advise them that Liberian officials did not look with favor on mass migration but would only consent to a select immigration of negroes skilled in some trade and financially able to find themselves in a new country.

The Peace Movement of Ethiopia ostensibly embraced Mohammedism but the members did not adopt "Moslem" names, a characteristic of other negro pseudo-Islamic cults as the Moorish Science Temple and the Allah Temple of Islam, or prepare a "Koran". Madam Gordon related that she and her members talked at their rallies of worshiping Allah, their God, and Mohammed, his prophet. There was no indication of a sincere or thoughtful effort to learn and follow the precepts of that religion but rather the mere use of Mohammedan terms as a device to further distinguish the negro from the white races. This is expressed in one of the objects of the constitution of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, "We believe in the God of our forefathers, the history, language and Islam religion", and by their speeches urging the negroes not to follow the "white man's religion". Yet, at the same time, the by-laws claim the organization is built "on a Biblical standpoint" and refers to the scriptures to illustrate this contention.

The constitution of this organization, prepared in 1941, describes the movement as a "social, charitable and expansive society" having as its aims the "return to our motherland, to our true name, to our own language and to our own true religion" and concludes with the statement that each of the members is "wholly devoted to my country, Africa". Of interest in other stated objects are the expressions of belief in the slogan "Africa for Africans", and negro national rights and the "nationalistic principles of Marcus Garvey", who, it is recalled was the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. This printed document urges the repatriation of negroes to Africa because of the discrimination and prejudice against the negroes and the lack of opportunity for them in the United States. It also alleges that Senator Bilbo of Mississippi presented on their behalf a "repatriation bill" before Congress on April 24, 1939.

David James Logan, one of the delegates dispatched to Liberia, observed upon his return in January, 1939, that Liberia maintained an army. This observation apparently prompted Madam Gordon to institute military training within the organization, forming, as stated in the constitution, a

"detective" corps presumably meaning and also referred to as a "protective corps". It is stated therein that a military department was established to protect the principles of the organization. The Movement conferred military titles and a few members drilled with wooden guns, carrying a Liberian flag. Its duties seemed to be limited to maintaining order at meetings, acting as ushers and promoting the sale of the movement's literature.

Madam Gordon was arrested upon a complaint filed before the United States Commissioner at Chicago on August 2, 1941, charging her with counseling negro registrants to evade the provisions of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. This complaint was based specifically on her counseling Johnnie Lee Johnson not to execute his Selective Service questionnaire. The matter was presented to a Federal Grand Jury at Chicago on August 21, 1941, and a no bill was returned on August 27, 1941. The case against her was then dismissed by the Commissioner upon her assurance that she would not further interfere with the Selective Service Act and instruct the members of her Movement to comply with the provisions of this Act. She made no statements in keeping with her promise but on the contrary, and under the impression that she would or could not be prosecuted, became bolder and more antagonistic toward the United States as well as distinctly pro-Japanese in her speeches, instructions and remarks, such becoming more virulent after Pearl Harbor.

Madam Gordon and other leaders of this group admitted telling the members they are not American citizens notwithstanding their birth in the United States or the Amendments to the Constitution relating specifically to the citizenship of persons of the negro race. Several members, in executing their Selective Service questionnaires, followed her declarations to that effect and made notations as "African citizen, not United States citizen" in response to the inquiry as to their citizenship. Other members refused to execute questionnaires upon Madam Gordon's instructions that they were not citizens of the United States. She appeared before a Local Board at Chicago in connection with the registration of Johnnie Lee Johnson, and, among other things, stated that if she had been able to contact all the registrants prior to registration, she would have advised them not to register. She continued by stating that as it was too late for this course of action, she held meetings three nights each week at 4451 South State Street, where registrants were instructed to refuse to fill out their questionnaires. Members who had completed their questionnaires were told to file Form 47 for conscientious objectors. She mentioned that she had given assistance to some thirty men in helping them fill out conscientious objector forms but later retracted that statement. Attempting to prove that her members were not citizens of the United States, Madam Gordon procured a history book setting forth the "Dred Scott" decision of Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court in 1820 to the effect that negroes whose ancestors were brought to the United States as slaves could not be citizens of this country.

Following the declaration of war, the leaders and speakers of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia made frequent and numerous speeches of a seditious nature showing a strong Japanese sympathy as exemplified by statements quoted hereinafter.

At a meeting on May 31, 1942, at the Boulevard Hall in Chicago Madam Gordon addressed an audience of approximately four hundred persons consisting of members of this association stating among other things "that on December 7, 1941, one billion black people struck for freedom...that the Japanese were going to redeem the negroes from the white men in this country"; "that the spoils of the United States would be equally divided between Hitler and the Japanese".

Under similar circumstances Madam Gordon addressed a similar audience stating "that it is impossible for America and Britain to win this war". On August 2, 1942, at the same place and before the same group she publicly stated that "the members of this organization are not citizens of the United States...they are citizens of Liberia and they have no flag except the flag of Liberia", "that because they have no flag they owe no allegiance to the United States; that when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor they wrought vengeance against the United States for the injustices that were visited upon her"; "that you", referring to the members of her organization, "should not fight for the United States because there is nothing worth fighting for here". At subsequent dates Madam Gordon made similar public statements before audiences composed of members of this organization.

David Jones Logan, who bears the title of Executive Chaplain and who was a member of the Executive Council of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, Seon Emanuel Jones, president of the main local branch of the group, Local #1, and a member of the Executive Council, and William Green Gordon, the husband of Madam Gordon, who bears the honorary title of "Father Gordon" attended executive council meetings of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia and formulated the policies of the group and carried on its activities. Each of them occupied positions on the speakers platform and addressed assembled audiences on many occasions and were present when Madam Gordon made the statements attributed to her.

Jones addressed members of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia at Boulevard Hall on August 21, 1942. An excerpt from his speech "and now is the time for the negroes to act because if they wait until after the war they will be back in slavery again, but if they act wisely they will free themselves now and they will be free and it won't be very long" reflects the context of this and other speeches made by him. In subsequent public utterances, Seon Jones expressed his belief that the Japanese would win the war and that negroes should not register for the draft or fight for the United States as they would then be fighting for something they did not have. He also pointed out that the

negroes should not fight the Japanese as the Japanese are not fighting them and further that the negroes should do their fighting here as the white man is their enemy.

David J. Logan, among other things, is said to have stated before a meeting on September 6, 1942, "that the members of this organization did not have to register for the draft because they were Liberians and as such did not owe any allegiance to the United States". A Japanese connection or at least a pro-Japanese sympathy on the part of the leaders of this organization was indicated by the attendance of orientals at a meeting of the organization on June 21, 1942.

Madam Gordon introduced a Mr. Shaack to her audience on September 13, 1942, who stated in his address that the present war was a racial war between the white and the colored people and in the same speech related that a Japanese Prince married an Ethiopian Princess for the purpose of creating good will among the negroes. Shaack also spoke of the friendliness of the Japanese to the natives of Liberia.

Madam Gordon advised in a statement that the Peace Movement of Ethiopia continually advocated the affinity of all black groups and that it was her belief that the black race and the Japanese race were one and the same. A four-page handwritten letter was found among the effects of Madam Gordon, addressed "To His Highness General Sadao Araki, Esq., War Office, Tokio, Japan". This letter, briefly, petitioned that in the event of war between the United States and Japan the members of the Movement be advised as to their conduct as they are not enemies of the Japanese and were hopeful of uniting the dark races of the world. It also asked for a truce between them and the "dark skinned people of the eastern world". It concluded with the statement that they will not fight against "our dark skinned brothers of the eastern world" and expressed their desire to enter into a secret alliance with the Japanese government. A notebook of the same source contained the names: Dr. Doera Ariyoki, Commerce Department, Japanese Colonial Affairs, Tokyo, Japan; Captain Sunao Ota; Japanese "Council", Addis Ababa Ethiopia; Japanese "Council" S. Ognichi. There was also found a copy of a two-page typewritten letter addressed to the "Honorable Kenji Nakauchi, Chicago, Illinois", over the typewritten signature of Madam Gordon as President of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, seeking his cooperation and advice. Nakauchi was Japanese Consul General at Chicago during 1934 and 1935. A receipt for a registered article was also located among these effects which indicated that Madam Gordon forwarded such to the former Japanese Ambassador, Hiroshi Saito. The contents of this letter or article are not known.

The leaders of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia endeavored to branch out in other cities and states. Their efforts resulted in the formation of a branch at East Chicago, Indiana, under the leadership of Harry Collins. The

speeches made before this branch were similar in content to those made at Chicago but emphasized their scheme for resettlement in Africa. Collins denied that the purpose of the organization was subversive, contending that the organization aimed to provide a haven for the colored people. The secretary of this branch indicated that there were about 400 members at East Chicago and Collins furnished a list purporting to be the entire membership of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia in the United States. This list contained approximately 4,100 names.

Tommye Thomas, a negro, endeavored to organize a local near Grady, Arkansas, in the fall of 1940 but the attempt failed through dissension between the members.

William Ashley Fergerson, Platka, Florida, corresponded with Madam Gordon from time to time and was designated as organizer for that state. It appears that in the early part of 1936, he read of this organization in the Pittsburgh Courier, a negro newspaper, and thereafter inquired of Madam Gordon concerning the Movement. She subsequently designated him as leader of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia for the State of Florida and urged him to solicit members. From time to time she instructed him concerning the conduct of the group. Fergerson spoke in colored churches and in the homes of colored people in and about Platka, Florida, frequently reading letters from her to his audiences. Fergerson had approximately one hundred names listed in a book purported to be the roster of the Movement in Florida. However, many of the persons named had no knowledge of the Movement and it appears that Fergerson actually contacted only a few but recorded the names of many negroes known to him. The organization was not very active or effectively led in Florida.

In 1937, a Mrs. C. J. Allen of Chicago, Illinois, appeared in Mississippi as the national organizer of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. She enlisted the services of Thomas H. Bonner, at Mathersville, Mississippi, and with his assistance set up a local chapter. Bonner subsequently organized other locals terming them Locals #10 and #11, and acted as the leader of both. He claims that there were, in November, 1942, three hundred members in that state. Bonner received instructions from time to time from Madam Gordon but insisted the Movement in Mississippi only advocated the return of negroes to Africa. Celia J. Allen also contacted George C. Green at Long, Mississippi, in 1936 or 1937 as organizer in the State of Mississippi, and with him promoted what was termed Local #9 at Long, Mississippi. This was not received with enthusiasm, had no regular meeting place, but did obtain the names of two hundred persons as members. Of these, only about fifteen were said to be present at meetings.

The Peace Movement of Ethiopia was also active in Jersey City, New Jersey, from 1935 to 1937 meeting at the Fraternal Hall, 49 Kearny Avenue. Leonard Robert Jordan and "Dr. Takis," that is Mimo De Guzman, appeared before the meetings. Takis apparently organized the group subsequently turning over

the leadership to local negroes. Reuben Thomas, also known as T. Thomas, may also have been affiliated with this organization.

Ernest Sevier Cox, a white man interested in negro affairs, particularly organizations advocating resettlement of negroes, was an unofficial representative of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia in Virginia. Cox, who resides in Richmond, did not organize any branches of the group and claims he was only interested in the Movement because of its resettlement aims.

On September 19, 1942, complaints were filed before the United States Commissioner at Chicago charging Madam Mittie Maud Lena Gordon with violation of Sections 33 and 34, Title 50, United States Code, and William Green Gordon, David James Logan and Seon Emanuel Jones with a violation of Section 34, Title 50, United States Code. They were apprehended and arraigned on September 21, 1942. All were ordered held and on the following day Madam Gordon posted a bond in the sum of \$10,000. The other defendants were remanded to the custody of the United States Marshal in lieu of bonds of \$5,000 each. The facts in this case were presented to a Federal Grand Jury sitting in Chicago, Illinois, considering seditious activities in the Northern District of Illinois. This Grand Jury returned an indictment on October 23, 1942, charging Madam Gordon, in eight counts, with violating the above-mentioned sections of the United States Code; that is, with wilfully making certain oral statements with the intent to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, and wilfully to obstruct the recruitment and enlistment in the service of the United States to the injury of the service and of the United States. On the same date this Grand Jury returned an indictment against each of the defendants including Madam Gordon with a violation of Section 34, Title 50, United States Code, that is to say with conspiring to violate Section 33 as set forth above. They were ordered held by the United States District Judge on October 28, 1942, and were brought to trial on January 25, 1943. Madam Gordon, Seon Emanuel Jones and William Green Gordon were found guilty of the charges named in the indictment against them on February 15, 1943. Madam Gordon and Jones were sentenced to terms of two years each and were placed on probation for three years, the probation period to commence at the expiration of their prison terms. William Green Gordon was also placed on probation for three years but no other sentence was imposed upon him. David James Logan, who was indicted jointly with the other persons named for conspiracy to commit sedition was found not guilty.

The defendants' attorney, Lloyd T. Bailey, on February 16, 1943, requested a stay of execution pending an appeal which was granted for forty days during which period a bill of exceptions will be filed. Madam Gordon posted bond in the sum of \$5,000 and Seon Jones \$2,500 for their release.

A number of the members of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia became

delinquent under the provisions of the Selective Service Act by reason of their failure to execute a questionnaire or report for induction and for other reasons. These persons were afforded an opportunity to comply with the provisions of the Act and subsequently many removed their delinquencies. Some complied upon apprehension and others only after indictments were returned against them resulting in the dismissal of the charges filed. These persons were: Granville Kirkendall, Johnnie Lee Johnson, Eddie Davis, Alexander Lyle, Samuel Brown, Lonnie Warnegy Sims, Ernest Charles, Sylvester Washington, Willie Dixon, Jesse Carpenter, Dan Tillman, and William Jerry McLendon, all of Chicago. Leo Weatherspoon, Indiana Harbor, Indiana, became delinquent but subsequently removed his delinquency and was inducted into the armed forces.

Edmund Holiday, Secretary General of the organization was sentenced to a term of three years for a violation of the Selective Service Act on March 5, 1942, and Elijah Ross received a similar sentence on July 19, 1942.

On April 6, 1943, Otey was rearrested after he had failed to appear before the Federal district on April 1, 1943. He was brought before court where his sentence was stayed and he was placed on probation for two years.

Clevis DePugh, formerly a national organizer for the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, violated the Selective Training and Service Act in the spring of 1943. He reportedly had departed from Chicago after the arrest of Madam Gordon and other leaders of the organization. On June 11, 1943, he was apprehended by agents of the FBI and placed in custody of the United States Marshal to await trial.

ETHIOPIAN PACIFIC MOVEMENT

Reference has been made to this organization in discussing the activities of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Pacific Movement was closely connected in its inception with these groups and their ostensible purposes were identical, that is, the resettlement of American negroes in Africa as suggested by the "redemption of Africa" scheme proposed by the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the alleviation of racial grievances, and the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation. This movement also owes its origin to the same pro-Japanese influences asserted through Naka Nakane, an alien Japanese, and his proselyte, Mimo De Guzman, a Filipino, and like the other groups, was founded and expanded among the followers of the Universal Negro Improvement Association by former members who were apparently willing to capitalize upon the legitimate racial grievances of the colored people for their own financial benefit. It differed from them, however, in that it did not have a religious bias or flavor comparable to the pseudo-Islamism of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and the Moorish Science Temple of America.

Mimo De Guzman, who was involved in the organization of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World and the Peace Movement of Ethiopia, held himself out as a Japanese propaganda agent engaged in promoting the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World on behalf of the Japanese for almost two years prior to his meeting Leonard Robert Jordan in 1935. De Guzman related that he associated with this negro, whom he knew as Robert O. Jordan, for about six months and assisted him in establishing a group which subsequently became the Ethiopian Pacific Movement at New York City, utilizing the principles as well as a name suggested by the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World. De Guzman admitted receiving money from Naka Nakane which was presumably from funds of the Japanese government, for his services in connection with the establishment of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World. He denied that he received Japanese financial assistance to promote the Ethiopian Pacific Movement insisting that he aided in the organization of this movement solely for his own financial benefit and was not then employed by the Japanese government or any Japanese national. During this period, De Guzman assumed the name of Dr. Takis, posing as a Japanese and pretending to have influential Japanese contacts. It was noted in connection with this pretended connection that Jordan stated, when publicly addressing his audiences, he promoted the movement with the assistance of Dr. Takis, a Japanese. However, Jordan subsequently disagreed with De Guzman and according to De Guzman's statement brought several Japanese who were members of a Japanese organization, presumably the Japan Institute at New York City, to a meeting where they exposed him as a Filipino and thus terminated his connection with the Ethiopian Pacific Movement. De Guzman could not furnish any information which would indicate the extent of Jordan's contact with these Japanese or substantiate their affiliation with the Japan Institute. He also could not state whether or not Jordan was employed by the Japanese to disseminate their propaganda but related that during the time when he

was employed by Nakane, the Japanese were anxious to engage persons who could work among the negroes and it was, therefore, his opinion that Jordan may have been contacted by Japanese and was in their employ. In discussing the possibility that Jordan was employed by the Japanese, De Guzman said that Jordan urged him to join the Ethiopian Pacific Movement in the fall of 1941, assuring him that he was about to get financial aid from the Japanese, and, therefore, both would be able to make money through the organization. Jordan was said to have exhibited letters which he claimed were from Japanese. De Guzman observed that one of the signatures appeared to be a Japanese name and further, another letter was on the stationery of the Japanese Consulate at New York City.

De Guzman also pointed out that prior to the formation of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement he and Jordan were active workers and speakers in the Universal Negro Improvement Association and had become associated through their membership in that group.

Jordan continued with the Ethiopian Pacific Movement after his differences with De Guzman and was named as one of its officers prior to its first annual meeting as a corporation according to the records of the County Clerk which also reflect that the Ethiopian Pacific Movement was incorporated in New York County on September 18, 1935. Its principal offices were to be located in New York City and its officers were to include not less than five nor more than twenty persons. The expressed purposes of the group were to create a better understanding between races, nations, and classes of people; to foster a desire for universal peace; to promote disarmament and to stimulate the intellectual advancement of the members and friendship among them as well as between other Pacific Movements. It was noted that Leonard Robert Jordan, as Robert O. Jordan, appeared first in the list of officers named in the incorporation papers.

Weekly Sunday evening meetings of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement were held, usually at 113 Lenox Avenue, New York City, under the guidance of Jordan with about one hundred to one hundred fifty persons, chiefly colored, in attendance. Leonard Robert Jordan always appeared as one of the principal speakers and was frequently followed by James Thornhill, Lester Holness, Ralph Green Best and Joseph Hartrey. These speakers continually expressed a distinct pro-Axis sympathy and disparaged American institutions and service in the armed forces of this country. Jordan made statements such as, "Those that have the interest of the black man at heart should make every effort to give Japan every protection that he can. Japan is not interested in Japan alone. She is interested in the one hundred fifty million dark races of the world. She will liberate the dark races so that the black people can rule black people and have their own country". His attempts at persuasion were accompanied by threats voiced as follows: "I am trying to prepare you for the coming of the new order. Everybody who did not hear of the new order when we have one will be beheaded. So you had

better get your name down on the books as members of this organization."

Interspersed in his address were statements such as "the black man would be a sucker to join the United States Navy." Jordan also made commendatory remarks about Hitler and Mussolini, usually in connection with the statement that he had the Axis powers behind him.

Jordan often claimed connections with the Japanese and in an address on January 25, 1942, stated he served for three years as a second officer in the Japanese Navy. He also claimed that he had been a Japanese agent since 1922, the date he finished his training with them. He openly boasted that he was a fifth columnist and urged every negro to be a fifth columnist. In another address, he stated he would never fight under the American flag and would give his life under General Tojo if necessary because Japan was going to form a government in Africa which the negroes could rule under Japan.

Jordan on other occasions stated that he had been a second engineer in the Japanese Marine service but upon its apprehension, stated only that he had been employed on a Japanese merchant vessel as chief quartermaster. It is interesting to note that he could not recall the true name of the ship, stating it was the "S.S. Maru." The word 'Maru' is customarily used in the names of Japanese merchant ships and does not signify any particular vessel.

Lester Holness made numerous statements following the pattern set by Leonard Robert Jordan of which an example is: "Japan is doing a great piece of work. The fulfilment of her plans will be the emancipation of the black people."

Ralph Green Best, in an address before the Ethiopian Pacific Movement, made statements of a similar vein such as, "I am on the side of Japan to win this war, I shall not be any more liberation except this and the almighty and eternal God through the working of the Japanese government, the great Nipponese, the rising sun is going to chop the whole link right down and will not stop fighting until they bring liberation to every black man, woman and child the world over." Best claimed that he was the spiritual adviser of the group and had been ordained as a minister in the New York Colored National Spiritualist Organization.

Joseph Hartrey was a regular Sunday night speaker of this organization from November, 1941 to June 7, 1942, declaiming on racial discrimination and expressing his opinion that a Japanese victory would be of great assistance in establishing a free Africa for colored people all over the world. He stated that Jordan knew of his pro-Axis sympathies and had, therefore, invited him to take part in his program. In a speech made before the

assembled members of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement on February 8, 1941, Hartrey stated that the United States had been beaten at Pearl Harbor and that the Allies had "ganged up on Japan and are trying to put the blame upon Japan that she ganged up on this country." He also attacked the Jews as being responsible for racial discrimination practiced against the negro and their generally low economic condition.

Hartrey, a white man, was born in the United States and was employed for several years as a laborer by the Work Projects Administration, and had received relief for a number of years. He related that he had been a street speaker beginning with the "Scottsboro Case." Hartrey was associated with the Christian Front organization in 1938 and 1939 as a speaker. In June, 1939, he started speaking in behalf of Joseph McWilliams and his Christian Mobilizers. Hartrey was active with this organization until the fall of 1940 and was chairman of the Board of Speakers as well as a member of the Executive Council, receiving a small salary for his services.

James Thornhill, a former member of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and of the Citizens League for Fair Play, became acquainted with Jordan in the early 1920's when both were members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. He began as a speaker in the Ethiopian Pacific Movement at Jordan's request and at the same time also addressed meetings of the African Nationalist Pioneering Movement in New York City. It is interesting to note that Thornhill held meetings of the African Nationalist Pioneering Movement in the hall used by the Ethiopian Pacific Movement after its meetings were discontinued in August, 1942.

All of the leaders mentioned except Hartrey were West Indian negroes. Thornhill was born in the Virgin Islands; Holness and Jordan at Jamaica, British West Indies, and Best in Barbados, British West Indies.

It was determined that Leonard Robert Jordan endeavored to make contacts with Japanese organizations. Jordan accompanied by Dr. Thomas F. Cathcart, called at the Japan Institute in June, 1941, bearing a letter of introduction from Kyuya Abiko, Executive Secretary of the Japanese Association. Jordan claimed that he visited the Japan Institute merely for the purpose of obtaining magazines and other sources of Japanese history. He also admitted visiting the Japanese Christian Society at 1819 Broadway, New York City. It is also interesting to note that Jordan claimed to be able to speak some Japanese.

Jordan stated in addresses before the meetings of this organization that the Ethiopian Pacific Movement was recognized by both the German and Japanese Governments and that if every man in the audience were not so stupid each could have \$100 if they would cooperate with him in his work. Jordan stated that he and Holness were members of the Japanese

Black Dragon Society and demonstrated signs with his hands which were supposed to represent membership in that Society. As a further indication of his strong pro-Japanese sympathy, Jordan is said to have made a speech to the effect that the Japanese and the negroes are racially similar.

Jordan mentioned in connection with his pro-Japanese activities that he would have received \$20,000 for the establishment of a weekly newspaper to be used for the dissemination of Japanese propaganda in this country if the attack on Pearl Harbor had not occurred.

Jordan was acquainted with a Japanese, Byron Kikuchi, who advised that Jordan visited many Japanese and tried to display his influence and standing among them to members of his own race by inviting Japanese to attend meetings of his group, as far back as 1935 and 1936. Kikuchi stated that Jordan urged these Japanese to speak on racial discrimination but the Japanese subsequently reached the conclusion that Jordan was using them to further his own private ends and he was thereafter unsuccessful in obtaining persons of that race as speakers.

It is observed that Jordan and Holness were arrested on February 18, 1942, upon a charge of conspiracy to violate the Alien Registration Act. They were released upon their own recognizance and were thereafter arrested by the Immigration authorities and charged with not possessing an unexpired Immigration Visa. On March 4, 1942, an information was filed against Jordan in three counts charging him with violation of the Alien Registration Act in that he failed to file a change of address with the proper government authority. He was found guilty in the United States District Court of the Southern District of New York and was sentenced on March 11, 1942, to ten days on each count, to be served consecutively. During Jordan's confinement in the Federal Detention Home in New York City, meetings of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement were regularly held with Thornhill appearing as a speaker. Jordan resumed speaking after his discharge from jail on April 12, 1942. He claimed that he was arrested on a "silly charge" and was prevented from showing in court the real reason for his arrest because the Judge and the United States Attorney were afraid of what he might have to say. This statement met with great applause from his members and Jordan concluded with the statement that he knew those with whom he would "get even when he took over in Africa."

An indictment was returned by a Federal Grand Jury for the Southern District of New York at New York City on September 14, 1942, against Leonard Robert Jordan, Ralph Green Best, Lester Holness, James Thornhill and Joseph Hartrey for sedition. All of them entered pleas of not guilty upon their arraignment on September 14, 1942. Joseph Hartrey, who was charged in this indictment with conspiracy to commit sedition, changed his plea to guilty on September 25, 1942. On September 30, 1942, a Federal Grand Jury returned a second indictment against Jordan, Best, Holness and Thornhill charging them

with sedition (Title 50, Section 33, United States Code) in that on or about the fifth of July, 1942, at a meeting of the Ethiopian Pacific Movement, Incorporated, held at 113 Lenox Avenue, New York City, these defendants, when the United States was at war, did unlawfully, wilfully and knowingly cause and attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States; that the said defendants stated to a person wearing the uniform and distinctive insignia of a member of the United States Army and to others, in substance, that negro soldiers should not fight for the United States against Japan and the other Axis Powers with which the United States was at war. On December 14, 1942, the prosecution of these persons began in the Federal Court of New York. There were three negroes on the jury, two men and a woman, the latter being chosen forewoman, which returned a verdict of guilty against all defendants on both indictments recommending leniency for Best on both charges.

These persons and Hartrey appeared before the Court on January 14, 1943, and received the following sentences:

Leonard Robert Jordan—10 years and \$5,000 fine on each of the two indictments, sentences to run concurrently.

James Thornhill—8 years on each of the two indictments, to run concurrently.

Lester Holness—7 years on each of the two indictments, to run concurrently.

Ralph Green Best—4 years on each of the two indictments, to run concurrently.

Joseph Hartrey—6 years on the conspiracy indictment.

MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

This organization came to attention in 1931 when J. T. Bey, a negro barber at Reading, Pennsylvania, asserted he was the 'Supreme Grand Governor' of the Moorish Science Temple and explained that the cult was organized in 1913 at Newark, New Jersey, by Noble Drew Ali who headed the American organization from 1913 until his death in 1929. According to Bey, the organization then had temples in seventeen different cities throughout the United States including Cleveland, Milwaukee, Chicago, Baltimore, Richmond and Norfolk, and was part of a world-wide organization. However, he could not state the location of the international headquarters or name even one other country where the organization may have existed. Bey related that the temples discontinued public meetings in 1933 and adopted the policy of carrying on the work of the organization as individuals. He said it was not really inactive but had merely ceased public operations to enable it to conduct its work in secret. He claimed the organization had 3,200 enrolled members with national headquarters at 3603 Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, at the time it changed its policy in 1933.

The Moorish Science Temple has as its bible a pamphlet which they term "The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple of America". This book names Noble Drew Ali, reputedly a North Carolina negro named Timothy Drew, as the "last prophet in these days" who was "divinely prepared by Allah to redeem men from their sinful ways". Marcus Garvey, who is remembered as the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, a movement proposing the resettlement of Africa by American negroes is described in this pamphlet as the "divinely prepared forerunner who was to prepare the earth to meet the coming prophet bringing the divine creed of Islam, Noble Drew Ali". The Koran appears to have been put together during the life of Marcus Garvey and contains a curious mixture of Christianity and Islamism weaving Mohammedan terms into Christian precepts and biblical stories.

The "Koran" describes what it terms the divine origin of the Asiatic nations, names the United States as the Asiatic nation of North America, and asserts that the Egyptians were the progenitors of the Japanese and Chinese and describes similar sources of origin of other people concluding with the statement that all are Moslems. It also contains the statement that "according to all true and divine records of the human race there is no negro, black or colored race attached to the human family because all the inhabitants of Africa were and are of the human race". This curious ethnology concludes with the expression that, through slavery, "the nationality of the Moors was taken away from them in 1774 and the word negro, black or colored, was given to the Asiatics of America who were of Moorish descent".

An examination of the "Koran" disclosed that much of it was abstracted word for word from "The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ"

by Levi H. Dowling, published by E. S. Dowling for the Aquarian Commonwealth, Chicago, Illinois, which is described as "the philosophic and practical basis of the religion of the Aquarian Age". Mohammedan terms, such as "Allah" for "God", were substituted for the Christian names and material like the "Koran Questions for Moorish Children" and "Laws for Moorish Americans" were added.

The organization also utilizes well known Christian hymns with the verses changed usually by substitution of "Allah" for "God" and "Islam" for "Lord".

Following the theories expressed in "The Koran", Bey explained the organization proposed to recover the "Birthright of the Moors" which he alleged was taken from them in 1774 by persons whom he could not name or describe, and thus enable them to again be known as Moors and govern their own country, Morocco. As descendants of the Moors, the negro members of this temple claimed to adhere to the Mohammedan faith and to pay homage to Allah and Mecca. It was learned that the Moorish Science Temple at this early date seemed to favor a revolution of some sort and sought to promote equality of all races.

It may be seen that this embodied a scheme of resettlement similar to that of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and other negro organizations such as the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World which were pro-Japanese in sympathy. It was reported that on several occasions in the summer of 1939, members of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce spoke at meetings held by the Hartford, Connecticut, Chapter of this organization and, therefore, the possibility existed that the Japanese government might be disseminating propaganda through the organization.

Frederick Turner EL, a resident of Brooklyn, New York, who claimed to be head of the Eastern Division of the organization established this branch, number 35, of the Moorish Science Temple at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1936 for the express purpose of "uplifting the lot of the poor negro in the United States". EL claimed at this time there were 8,000,000 members throughout the United States, an unsubstantiated and grossly exaggerated claim.

Turner, as "Tamad Frederick Turner EL, Grand Sheik and National Counsellor of Brooklyn" also organized a Branch at Bridgeport, Connecticut, on November 21, 1941, under the direction of Jacob E. Holmes. It then claimed 100 members, now dwindled to less than 20 because of the prevalent opinion among colored people of Bridgeport that it is a subversive organization. Turner claimed it "patriotic and non-subversive" and that it proposed to engender self-respect among his people through teaching them of their Moorish descent and nationality.

Temple Number 45 at Louisville, Kentucky, organized in 1938, has about 106 "adept" and "regular" members under the leadership of Arthur Slaton Bey, "Grand Sheik", and Goldie Mae Porter El, "Assistant Grand Sheikess". In their regular Sunday meetings they have identified the negroes with the Japanese, Chinese, Mexican and other dark races and as members of the "Asiatic Nation". The speakers also made statements to the effect that the Japanese were laying down their lives for their brothers, the negroes, and that soon the people of color will become the rulers of the world. Goldie Mae Porter stated that President Roosevelt went to the Moors for guidance, referring to the Casablanca Conference, and that this country is now ruled by a Sultan, C. Kirkman Bey, "who tells Roosevelt what to do". They have also addressed audiences to the effect that President Roosevelt will be the last European in that office and that after the fall of Europeans, the country will be ruled by C. Kirkman Bey.

It was reported on December 24, 1941, that Robert Washington, an organizer for the temple, made statements at Mound City, Illinois, to the effect "that when the Japanese take over this country those who are members of his organization will not be molested" and further that colored people are not negroes but Asiatics.

Rubin Payne, who had in his possession a certificate which referred to him as 'Rubin Payne El Sheik', certifying him to be a Moor, issued by the Moorish Science Temple of America at Chicago, was organizing in Yazoo and Humphreys Counties, Mississippi, and apparently established locals at Belzoni and Mileston, Mississippi. It was reported that the group was there teaching that negroes who joined the organization would not be required to register under the Selective Training and Service Act, and if they had registered, would not be required to report for induction as the organization would get them out of any trouble caused by their failure to comply with this Act. These men claimed that membership tickets, sold for \$1.25, would keep the holders out of the United States Army and insure them of good treatment when the Japanese invaded the United States. Payne also advised that a burial policy, valued at \$60.00, was included as one of the benefits of membership. Barnes, who was subsequently joined by Payne, solicited members for this organization at the prompting of J. Shelby, Chicago, to whom he forwarded the membership fees collected.

Rubin Payne and Jim Barnes were tried in the Circuit Court of Holmes County, Mississippi, and Barnes was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and Payne to two years, neither sentence to exceed the duration of the war, for violation of Chapter 178 of the Mississippi Laws of 1942 making it a criminal offense to teach any belief that advocates the overthrow by violence of the present form of Government. The conviction of

these men terminated the activities of this organization in that vicinity and has made the colored people there reluctant to pay dues to, or attend meetings of similar organizations.

Members of the organization have expressed the belief that they are in possession of signs and signals and passwords which will preclude harm from Japanese or German troops when they invade the United States. It is observed that the members of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World were similarly taught signs purportedly for their protection in the event of invasion. It also appears that there is a military unit within the organization termed the "Brothers of the Military Department", another indication of similarity between this organization and the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World. It is noted in the "Moorish Voice" that this group provides entertainment at their meetings.

It was learned that the head of the organization is known as "Colonel" C. Kirkman Bey, Supreme Grand Advisor and Moderator, who maintains the national headquarters at 1104 Sedgwick Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The headquarters of the organization publishes a mimeographed pamphlet known as the "Moorish Voice" which appears to be issued monthly and is sold for 10¢. It seems to be concerned with the social activities of the various branches and the sale of devices and trappings of the organization.

Investigation has disclosed that the Moorish Temple of Science of America was incorporated under the "Not For Profit Act" of the state of Illinois on November 29, 1926. A certificate was filed with the state of Illinois on May 21, 1928, changing the name to the Moorish Science Temple of America. The organization was incorporated in the state of Indiana on March 17, 1930, for the expressed purpose of teaching the Koran, to establish the Mohammedan faith in America and to conform to that faith by annexing the names of Ali, El and Bey. It was also incorporated in the state of New York with the principal office at 44 Jefferson Avenue, Brooklyn and attempted to domesticate in the state of Virginia but was there refused permission on the ground that the state constitution prohibits the incorporation of a religious denomination previously incorporated under the laws of another state.

The Moorish Science Temple of America also maintains a colony near Prince George, Virginia, known as the National Home of the Moorish Science Temple of America. The local leader, F. Nelson Bey, claims over one million members in the organization and has indicated that these members support the colony which in turn prints the "Moorish Voice" and manufactures various devices for the use of the organization. It appears that the inhabitants of the home come from various branches of the Moorish Science Temple, utilizing it as a refuge.

Investigation and an examination of copies of the Moorish Voice have disclosed that there are or have been branches of this organization in a number of cities. These were designated as Temples and given a number. In some cities there were two or more Temples with different numbers and other Temples had branches in more than one town. These Temples, listed in order of their numbers, are as follows:

| <u>TEMPLE</u> | <u>LOCATION</u> | <u>LEADER</u> |
|---------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Temple #1 | Chicago, Illinois | T. Rhodes El |
| Temple #2 | Charleston, W. Va. | H. White Bey |
| Temple #3 | Milwaukee, Wisconsin | B. Johnson Bey |
| Temple #4 | Detroit, Michigan | W. Allison El |
| Temple #5 | Columbus, Ohio | D. Busby Bey |
| Temple #6 | Richmond, Va. | Mosley El |
| Temple #7 | Cleveland, Ohio | M. Fuller Bey |
| Temple #8 | Pine Bluff, Ark. | A. Brown El |
| Temple #9 | Chicago, Illinois | Sister M. Dove El |
| Temple #10 | Newark, New Jersey | William Edward Moore El |
| Temple #11 | Philadelphia, Pa. | L. Dublin El |
| Temple #12 | Youngstown, Ohio | P. Edison El |
| Temple #13 | Baltimore, Maryland | H. Graham Bey |
| Temple #14 | Akron, Ohio | W. Owens Bey |
| Temple #15 | Columbus, Indiana | C. Frasier Bey |
| Temple #15 | Indianapolis, Indiana | C. Frazier Bey, or T. Beckwith Bey |
| Temple #16 | Chattanooga, Tennessee | Sister Irene Williams Bey |
| Temple #17 | South Bend, Indiana | J. Jones Bey |
| Temple #18 | Fostoria, Ohio | McGaughy El |
| Temple #18 | Toledo, Ohio | J. Donald El |
| Temple #19 | Flint, Michigan | J. Nelson Bey |
| Temple #20 | Pontiac, Michigan | T. Rhodes Bey |
| Temple #21 | Brooklyn, New York | Frederick Turner El |
| Temple #22 | Indiana Harbor, Indiana | I. Cook Bey |
| Temple #22 | Gary, Indiana | C. Wells El, or C. Barker Bey |
| Temple #22 | East Chicago, Indiana | E. Smith El |
| Temple #23 | Brooklyn, New York | Sister Z. Abel Bey |
| Temple #24 | Atlanta, Georgia | Sister P. Beyshauret Bey |
| Temple #25 | Detroit, Michigan | W. Davis El |
| Temple #26 | Steubenville, Ohio | Sister G. Butler El |
| Temple #27 | New York, New York | D. Carrington Bey |
| Temple #28 | Glassboro, New Jersey | D. Smith Bey |
| Temple #29 | Cairo, Illinois | B. Griffin Bey |
| Temple #30 | Chattanooga, Tenn. | Sister H. Neal Bey |
| Temple #31 | Boston, Massachusetts | |
| Temple #32 | Springfield, Massachusetts | N. Taylor Bey |

| | | |
|------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Temple #33 | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania | W. Bradley El |
| Temple #34 | New York, New York | J. Corbin El |
| Temple #35 | Hartford, Connecticut | Countryman Bey |
| Temple #36 | Benton Harbor, Michigan | A. Wise Bey |
| Temple #37 | Harvey, Illinois | C. Brakins El |
| Temple #38 | Cincinnati, Ohio | H. Hampton Bey |
| Temple #39 | | |
| Temple #40 | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania | S. Smith Bey |
| Temple #41 | New York City | W. Price Bey |
| Temple #42 | Anderson, Ind. | Will Townsend El |
| Temple #43 | Mt. Clemens, Michigan | H. Washington El |
| Temple #44 | Saginaw, Michigan | |
| Temple #45 | Louisville, Kentucky | Arthur Slaton Bey |
| Temple #46 | Kansas City, Kansas | Sister Bessie Burton Bey |
| Temple #46 | Kansas City, Kansas | Sister Maryann Walker Bey |
| Temple #47 | Atchison, Kansas | William Bey |
| Temple #48 | Trenton, New Jersey | |
| Temple # | Bridgeport, Connecticut | Jacob E. Holmes |

The records of the 12th annual Convention held at 218-220 West Oak Street, Chicago, Illinois, from September 15 to 20, 1939, are said to have listed what were termed the 'Grand Governors' of several states. These are:

| | |
|----------|----------------|
| Illinois | S. Lovett Bey |
| Indiana | I. Blakely Bey |
| Ohio | A. Bryant Bey |
| Michigan | F. Nelson Bey |

The letterhead of the New Haven Division of the Moorish Science Temple reflects that F. Turner El is "Executive Councilor and Moderator of the Eastern District", 340 Hancock Street, Brooklyn, New York, and that R. Scott Bey is the National Chairman. Harold Peters Bey, 707 Grand Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut, is named "Grand Deputy Councilor of the Eastern District."

The organization has recently been somewhat active in Detroit, Michigan, where it has been reported the organization has taught that Japan will overthrow the United States; that after the United States and Japan go to war, the colored people will not be attacked providing they surrender to Japan; that America should arm the negro and then the negro should surrender to the Japanese and that it is necessary for the Negroes to establish a front in the United States. It has been reported that Naka Nakane, who will be recalled as the promoter of the Development of Our Own in Detroit, was at one time active in the Moorish Science Temple of America under the name of Satakata Takahashi, a major in the Japanese army, and a representative of the so-called Japanese Black Dragon Society.

A negro known as Father Mohammed Bey founded a unit of this organization at Kansas City, Kansas, which was said to have broken away from the national association in about 1935. The organization was at one time very active and in 1936 or 1937 had approximately 500 members. The membership subsequently dwindled, possibly because of the death of Mohammed Bey. This organization differed from the National Moorish Science Temple chiefly in that it prohibited male members from shaving and required them to wear red fezzes at all times. There were also other requirements as to dress, particularly of the women. Thirteen members of this cult were arrested on July 24, 1942, for violations of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Seven of them, Winifred Boyd Bey, Jr., Winifred Boyd Bey, Sr., Roy Lee Boyd Bey, Otha McGee Bey, Paul Jackson El, Lenzie David Bey and John Hunter El, were convicted in the United States District Court at Kansas City and were each sentenced on January 19, 1943, to terms of four years and to pay a fine of \$1,000. The remaining persons arrested were released on October 24, 1942, by order of the Attorney General.

Claudius O. Watson, a negro janitor employed by the Walt Manufacturing Company, Springfield, Massachusetts, admitted placing hardened pieces of metal on a milling machine, knowing that this action would ruin a cutter as well as hinder the importance of the production. He denied an intent to impede war production but stated the negro race would be better off if Japan won the war. He formed this conclusion on the premise that the basis for the war is discrimination between white and colored races. He said he would not serve in the United States Army because of the racial segregation of the troops. He admitted membership in the Moorish Science Temple in this area and is alleged to have been strongly influenced by its teachings.

COLORED AMERICAN NATIONAL ORGANIZATION,
aka WASHINGTON PARK FORUM and THE BROTHERHOOD
OF LIBERTY FOR THE BLACK PEOPLE OF AMERICA

The Colored American National Organization was known by several names, the Washington Park Forum, the Afro-American National Organization and the Brotherhood of Liberty for the Black People of America, and appeared to be an offshoot of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World or a least influenced by the Japanese racial propaganda emanating from the same sources. It was founded by Charles Newby and Stokely Delmar Hart in 1939 ostensibly for the purpose of promoting the welfare and better economic condition of the negroes. Newby, the president of the organization prior to August 10, 1942, is an ex-convict who served a term of one to ten years for grand larceny in the State Reformatory at Pontiac, Illinois, in 1920, and another term of one year and one day in the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, for a violation of the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act. He is a soap-box haranguer who has posed as an evangelist concerned with negro welfare, and a former associate of Mimo De Guzman, a Filipino instrumental in the formation of other negro organizations of similar stripe, the Ethiopian Pacific Movement and the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World.

Newby and Hart claimed to be furthering the principles of Marcus Garvey, a negro organizer who advocated the resettlement of colored people in Africa through his Universal Negro Improvement Association. The speakers for the Colored American National Organization demanded that all negroes join a negro movement and demanded that if they did not join their movement, they must join Madam Gordon's movement, that is, Pacific Movement of the Eastern World, or the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Stokely Delmar Hart, among others, addressed a large number of persons assembled at a meeting of the Colored American National Organization held at a public forum in Washington Park, Chicago, among whom were persons available and eligible for recruitment and enlistment in the military and naval forces of the United States as well as others who were liable for military and naval service under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. On May 22, 1942, Hart made an address containing in substance, the statement that anybody who joins the army or navy is a damn fool. A negro should not support this country's war effort--there is a common bond between the Japanese and the negroes because both are members of the 'colored race' and that he, Hart, would not fight for the United States because he would rather go to the penitentiary than go to the army and that the Japanese will liberate the negro from the white man's yoke. On another occasion Hart, in a speech, referred to Tojo, the Premier of Japan, as the savior of the American negroes and continued by stating that when the Japanese invade this country the people belonging to this organization will assist the Japanese and those

not members would be killed when the Japanese arrive. At still another meeting Hart spoke to an audience and stated, among other things, that his "prayers to Tojo were answered by the bombing of Pearl Harbor"; that "the negroes only interest in this war is to see a Japanese victory", and that "the negroes freedom depends on a Japanese victory". Hart made numerous other speeches in which he identified the Japanese as a 'colored race' and kindred people of the American negroes.

Charles Newby, the president of the organization, addressed a large audience consisting of members of the organization and other persons stating among other things that "colored men should not join the United States Army...Colored men should not register for the draft and colored men should do all in their power to hinder our war effort".

On July 16, 1942, Newby, speaking from the Forum in Washington Park said in substance, that the "negroes would fare better under the Japanese than they have under the white people"; that "the only good white man was a dead white man"; that "the more white people killed in this war, the better chances the colored men will have to come out on top"; that it was "to the negroes advantage to fight with the Japanese in this war"; and that "those negroes who would not fight with the Japanese should have their heads cut off". On another occasion he made the statement that Hitler and Tojo are the 'light of the world' for the negroes and that the negroes of America need not worry if Hitler and Tojo win the war.

The leaders from time to time expressed their belief in a Japanese victory and that the American negroes would assist the Japanese in achieving such a victory, declaring they had connections with Japan and were in a position to inform the Japanese army upon its arrival in the United States which negroes were uncooperative with their movement and thereby unfriendly to Japan.

The organization first held its meetings in a public forum in Washington Park which had been, in the past, the scene of many discussions usually of a political nature. After the organization had secured sufficient members, it held meetings at Bacon's Casino in Chicago where motion picture films were exhibited. Some of these pictures included scenes of Japan and others were advertised to depict scenes of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Frederic Harold Robb, who styled himself Nammurabi Robb, made comments to the audience concerning the films. He described himself as an "African lecturer and world traveler" who did research work in connection with the history of the black man and his contribution to civilization throughout the world.

Newby continued as president of the organization until August 10, 1942, when he was evicted from a meeting then in progress. At this time

the Brotherhood of Liberty for the Black People of America was founded as a successor to the Colored American National Organization. Hart was elected president and James Graves, vice president. At this meeting, Robb commented in connection with the pictures he was exhibiting "that Japan is one of the 'dark races' and it is time for the 'dark races' to take over the world"; that "the United States does not have a chance in this war" and that "Tojo would rule this country and it would be better for all of us negroes". At a subsequent meeting, Robb continued in the same vein by asserting "negroes owe no allegiance to the American flag because it was not the black man's flag", and that they "should learn the color of the Japanese flag if they were to go on living". He also stated that the negroes were going to deal with the white men here on the home front and in order to take over this role, they would have to learn how to handle a gun, drill and exercise.

The meetings of the Colored American National Organization were also said to have been addressed by Robert Chino, a member of the War Resisters League who was convicted of a violation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

The facts in this case were presented to the Federal Grand Jury sitting at Chicago, Illinois, on October 23, 1942. An indictment was returned against Stokely Delmar Hart charging him in ten counts with violation of Section 33, Title 50, United States Code, by wilfully making certain oral statements with intent to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States and to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States. On the same date, a similar indictment was returned against Charles Newby charging him in eight counts with a violation of the same law. These two persons, together with Frederic Harold Robb, James Graves and Mrs. Annette Goree were charged with conspiracy to violate the sedition laws. These facts were resubmitted to a Federal Grand Jury at Chicago on December 7, 1942. This Grand Jury returned on December 18, 1942, a true bill similar to the original indictment. Their trial was set for January 14, 1943, but has since been continued to March 8, 1943.

On April 14, 1943, Newby was sentenced to three years' imprisonment while later, on July 11, 1943, Hart was found guilty and was sentenced to three years in the custody of the Attorney General.

ALLAH TEMPLE OF ISLAM
aka, THE MOSLEMS

This organization professes to follow the Mohammedan religion and is in many respects similar to the Moorish Science Temple of America. It has been particularly active in Washington, D. C., and Chicago, Illinois. The leaders of the organization at Washington were apprehended in May, 1942, for violations of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 as they had informed their members, American Negroes, that they were Moslems and according to the tenets of their religion, were not required to fight in any war or to register in compliance with the Selective Training and Service Act. A number of the members of this organization were taken into custody for failure to register under this Act. The leaders of the organization at Chicago, Illinois, were taken into custody on September 20, 1942, for conspiracy to commit sedition and also for violation of the Selective Training and Service Act. Seventy members of the organization were also apprehended at this time because they had not properly registered for Selective Service.

Thirty-one of thirty-eight Negroes who were indicted for Selective Service violations in connection with this matter entered pleas of guilty and thirty of them were sentenced to three years each. One, Emanuel Mohammed, with aliases, the son of Elijah Mohammed who was indicted for sedition, was sentenced to five years upon his plea of guilty. Six of these Negroes pleaded not guilty and were held for trial. Seven were released when it was determined they had complied with the provisions of the Selective Service Act. The remaining twenty-five of the Negroes apprehended were indicted for violations of the Selective Training and Service Act and were arraigned on October 22, 1942. At this time, eighteen entered pleas of guilty and each of them was sentenced to three years in custody of the Attorney General. The seven who entered pleas of not guilty were found guilty after trial and each of them was sentenced to identical terms.

A Federal Grand Jury sitting at Chicago returned an indictment on October 23, 1942, against Elijah Mohammed in eight counts charging sedition. An indictment was also returned at this time against Mohammed, Lynn Karriem and Pauline Bahar, as well as Sultan Mohammed of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and David Jones of Washington, D. C., charging them with conspiracy to commit sedition. The trials of these persons as well as a Selective Service case against Karriem were postponed until April 5, 1943. Voluminous records and correspondence were seized at the Temple of Islam and at the homes of the leaders upon their arrest. These were examined but failed to disclose any indication of Japanese activity within the organization since 1933 or 1934. Among the records seized were minutes of meetings held during the period from 1933 to 1934. These minutes referred to a speech made in the latter part of 1933 wherein Elijah Mohammed stated that the Japanese had sent a teacher to the black people and that the Japanese were brothers and friends of the American Negroes.

The records of subsequent meetings did not indicate that any Japanese attended meetings of the organization or had been active within it. Further no correspondence was located which would indicate any connection between the leaders of this group of colored people and the Japanese government or any Japanese person.

It was reported that various leaders of the Japanese people in Chicago believe the government was justified in arresting the leaders of this cult. These Japanese were said to have stated that there had been no Japanese active within the organization in recent years and if there had been any Japanese active in the organization, he must have returned to Japan long ago.

On April 23, 1943, Lynn Karriem was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for a violation of the Selective Training and Service Act.

AFRICAN MOSLEM WELFARE SOCIETY OF AMERICA

The African Moslem Welfare Society presents three of the characteristics common to pro-Japanese Negro organizations; the adoption of the Mohammedan religion; the identification of Japanese and the Negroes as kindred colored people, and the resettlement of American Negroes in Negro colonies.

It was organized at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1927 and incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania, filing its name as required by the Pennsylvania Fictitious Name Act on January 5, 1928. The purposes of the organization as stated in these proceedings were, among others, to unite the Moslem people and eradicate racial differences due to their color and nationality and bring them in closer association with each other. The records of this society provided for the establishment of branches and indicated that such existed in Cleveland, Ohio, New York City, New York, and Detroit, Michigan. Murad Jemel, Elias Mohammed, Helena Klale, Joseph Taisr and Siedetha Gama all of Pittsburgh subscribed to the incorporation petition which was prepared by Joseph I. Winslow, a Pittsburgh attorney.

Jemel was president of the organization at its inception although one Majid, who is said to have later returned to his home in Sudan, Egypt, was reported to have been responsible for its organization. Two years after its incorporation, Elijah Martin assumed control of the society and subsequently permitted it to cease functioning. In about 1938, Ishmel Moore, alias Abraham Moore, together with Frank May, Albert Stewart and Joseph Taisr obtained possession of the original charter and again activated the group. It has since been meeting at a hall at 115 Continental Street, Pittsburgh, frequently used by other Negro groups. This action split the organization in two groups, the other being headed by Martin who reputedly conducts meetings at his home and a school in Islamic.

The members professed to sincerely follow the Mohammedan religion and although American Negroes, professed to be Mohammedans. However, it has been reported that Moore was born in Arabia and others were born in the West Indies. Members have worn fezzes and long robes at meetings and speakers have read from the Koran, the Mohammedan equivalent of the bible. The organization also had in its possession Egyptian, Turkish and Moroccan flags.

The society was said to have conducted itself as a religious organization until approximately nine months ago when several of the persons connected with it exhibited pro-Japanese sympathies as illustrated by the statement of Mohammed Zayn "when you belong to this organization you are in touch with a foreign government of your mothers' land and our ancestors". Zayn explained that the government he referred to was that of the Japanese with the further statement that "they are a dark race and are fighting our cause". Another member, Frank May, stated at a meeting that "the Negroes should not

fight for the United States. The United States is gone. The Japs and Turks will deliver us". Jemel is also said to have stated in private conversation that his mission is working for the Japanese government and further that Majid was sent to the United States to organize the colored people for the Japanese government. He is also alleged to have said before a meeting of this group that "all of us who have found ourselves state we are for the United States Government, but if the Japs take us prisoners we will come back as soldiers...Japan counts on the Negroes to help them" and "the Japs won't harm us".

This organization is unusual in that it claims affiliations with Turkey or at least Turkish persons. Frank May stated at a meeting on December 6, 1942, that he was required to report on the organization's affairs to Winslow, the attorney previously mentioned, who desired that they select sixteen representatives to meet with a Turkish representative at Washington, D. C. May also stated at this time that the Japanese and Turks will deliver them.

There appears to be considerable internal dissension within this organization as several of the members have accused others of making seditious statements and have warned the members to not talk freely or make pro-Japanese remarks. It appears that they were aware of the prosecution of the leaders of pro-Japanese Negro organizations at Chicago at this time inasmuch as they criticized the Government's action in entertaining prosecution.

ADDEYNUE ALLAHE UNIVERSAL ARABIC ASSOCIATION

This organization teaches that its members, American Negroes, are of Arabic descent and have for years been living under "slave" names. It is their belief that American names given them by slavers who brought their ancestors to America, must be changed by the adoption of the African names of their forefathers. This premise varies only a little from the reasons given for the adoption of the surnames Bey and El by the adherents of the Moorish Science Temple of America, which this organization strongly resembles. The members also profess to follow the Mohammedan religion, term themselves Moslem, and express the belief that they are not really Negroes.

Mohammed Ez Al Deen, the head of the organization, has conducted classes of the association's school at 473 Central Avenue, Rochester, New York, speaking in favor of Japan and exhibiting bitterness against the white race. Mobararak Hasson, a teacher at the school, has made similar expressions such as his hope that Japan will win the war and that the white race will be conquered. Hasson has indicated that the purpose of the organization is to locate all of the "Hamitic Arabs" in the United States and teach them their history. In this connection, it may be stated that the society is reported to be actively engaged in teaching the Arabic language and history.

The group is said to have originated at Buffalo, New York, in about 1938 and now is estimated to have about 200 members in Buffalo and 75 in Rochester, New York.

All of the members of the organization eligible under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 are said to have registered as conscientious objectors. Troy Vaughn, who assumed the name of Arrefa Rukabun, directed a letter to his Selective Service Board stating that he could not take an active part in military service; that he was of the Mohammedan faith; that the majority of the Mohammedans are Japanese and that as the Japanese are of the "dark race" he regarded and respected them as his people. Others have claimed exemption on the ground that they are unable to eat food other than that prepared by members of their own faith and thus could not eat the food served in the army.

INTERNATIONAL REASSEMBLE OF THE CHURCH OF
FREEDOM LEAGUE, INCORPORATED

Ethelberth Anslem Broaster, a West Indian Negro born at Belize, British Honduras, has resided in the United States for more than twenty years. He is registered under the provisions of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 but has not taken out citizenship papers. He preached in Philadelphia from 1934 to 1937 and in the latter year promoted the International Reassemble of the Church of Freedom League, Incorporated, at New Orleans, Louisiana, which now has a membership of 257 including 243 men.

Broaster taught that the American Negroes are the direct descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and are the true members of the Hebrew race. He insisted that it is against the beliefs of his organization for any of its members to engage in "expeditionary warfare", but claims none of them are conscientious objectors.

There is no indication of any direct Japanese contact with this organization but investigation has disclosed that Broaster, who terms himself as 'General Messenger' of this society, appeared before meetings of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World at East St. Louis, Illinois, the Allah Temple of Islam, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and the Colored American National Organization in July, 1941. He urged members of the Pacific Movement of the Eastern World who were interested in avoiding military service to see him privately or communicate with him through his New Orleans office. He also advocated that colored people should buy guns for their protection at home and which would prove helpful in carrying out some of the plans set out in "God's Plan".

Broaster also filled frequent lecture engagements before religious fraternal and civic groups in New Orleans and the activities of his League were well publicized by New Orleans Negro newspapers. Frank Alonzo Carlton, a member of the Communist Party indicated that the Communists were greatly perturbed over the activities of Broaster and feel that he is a paid Japanese agent. There is no indication that Broaster has engaged in any pro-Japanese activities other than his association with groups of pro-Japanese sympathy and his interference with the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, which may not be construed as a definite illustration of Japanese activity or sympathy.

In July, 1941, Broaster promoted a unit of his league at Chicago, Illinois with Vernon B. Williams, Jr., as secretary and leader of the unit. Investigation is being conducted at this time relative to possible violations of the Selective Service Act by Williams and Chicago members. He is reported to have advised members of the League, who had previously been instructed not

to report for induction, to fulfil their obligation under the Selective Service Act and to report for induction. He also has made the statement that "any members blood being shed on foreign soil will be required of the President and of this country". The Chicago office of the Secret Service has been advised of this threat against the life of the President.

In connection with Broaster's instructions to obtain guns, it is interesting to note that at the time of the arrest of members of this League at New Orleans the majority of them were in possession of firearms. The New Orleans Police Department substantiated the purchase of firearms by Negroes, possibly in preparation of a coming race war, by stating that eight to ten Negroes sought permission each day to carry concealed weapons.

Broaster was sentenced to serve a total of fifteen years in a Federal Penitentiary by Federal Judge Caillouet in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana on February 3, 1943, upon his conviction for conspiracy to violate the Selective Service Act and aiding and advising members of the League to evade service, the latter offense being in six counts. He was first sentenced to ten years imprisonment and placed on probation for five years, but upon his protest against the probationary term, Judge Caillouet changed the sentence to a total of fifteen years. Thirteen other officers and members of the League were convicted and sentenced at the same time. Roynell Lawson was sentenced to a term of one year and one day on each of the seven counts named in an indictment against him, such sentences to run consecutively. Other members received suspended sentences and were placed on probation for five years each. At the same time three members of the League were sentenced to terms varying from three to nine months for failure to report for induction, the sentences to run consecutively with those imposed upon members who were convicted for conspiracy.

The sentence imposed upon Broaster is one of the heaviest ever given under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. Sentences totaling twenty-two years and seven days in the Federal Penitentiary, 291 months and one day in suspended sentences, and sixty years probation were imposed against the officers and directors of the League for conspiracy and for aiding and advising members of the League to evade the provisions of the Selective Service Act. In addition four of the defendants were sentenced to serve a total of eighteen months in a Federal Penitentiary for failure to report for induction, the sentences to run consecutively with those previously imposed upon the members for conspiracy. One defendant was convicted of all seven counts of the indictment but sentence was not imposed as the Judge believed him to be feeble minded.

MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS

A number of organizations composed of colored people and colored persons as individuals have been reported to be pro-Japanese in attitude and sympathy or at least interfering with the internal security of the country by causing racial unrest and racial disturbances. It appears that the anti-white attitude of these persons and organizations, ostensibly developed by racial discriminations, has brought about expressions of sympathy for the Japanese on the premise that a Japanese victory will 'liberate' the negroes, a kindred colored people. Some of these groups exist in name only, some are very limited in membership and influence and others, which at first seem to be distinct groups, merely represent a succession of different names used by loosely organized societies with much internal friction. Some of these groups are the Ahmadiya Religious Movement at Baltimore which is reported to practice rituals similar to those of the Moorish Science Temple of America and may be a part, or at least an off-shoot of that organization; the Afro-American Benevolent Improvement Association and the March Toward Liberty of the Black Man in America at Detroit, Michigan; Environment at East St. Louis, Illinois; the Liberian American League at Chicago and the National Congress of Afro-American People and its affiliate, the Afro-American National Infantry at Atlanta, Georgia. These groups are presently under investigation.