

A REPLY TO MY CRITICS

Randolph Blasts
Courier a "Bitter Voice
of Defeatism"

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biggest economic victory for the masses in securing Executive Order No. 8802, which has been the means of securing thousands of jobs for Negroes.

Says the *Courier* in the issue of May 8: "The March on Washington leadership is completely visionary and has succeeded merely in staging a few giant mass meetings and stirring indignation and unrest which it lacks the administrative genius to constructively canalize. The measure of this leadership is evidenced by irresponsible talk about suicidal civil disobedience and mass marches which never materialize."

VALUE OF MEETINGS

And so giant mass meetings against jim-crow don't count, although the government of the United States uses them to whip up patriotism to increase war bond sales. Labor stages them to safeguard its rights and to win new ones; the Jews and other minority groups spend thousands of dollars and give months in sweat and toil to build them. From the very foundation of our republic and among all of the free and oppressed peoples of the world, the public meeting has been the chief agency for creating cause consciousness for freedom and peace. But to the *Courier* great public meeting demonstrations mean nothing.

Thus, despite these solid and constructive achievements, the *Courier* which would claim credit for every step of progress the Negro people make, elects hysterically and fanatically to deride, berate and decry the March on Washington Movement, its leadership, and all its works. If something isn't done to cause M. O. W. M. to do a disappearing act, this self-proclaimed incomparable paragon of journalistic wisdom will simply go beserk and possibly pass out.

The *Courier* is hell-bent upon selling the people a bill of goods to the effect that the March on Washington is going to cause our white folks to get so crazy, dizzy-mad that they will swing a shillelah on our doicho-meso-brachycephalic skulls and knock our Hottentot brains out.

COURIER'S LACKS

But happily, the inexorable law of diminishing returns will take care of the editorial struggles of the *Courier* to tear the March on Washington Movement limb from limb and give it the old run-out powders—even were we to refrain from saying "It ain't so." From M. O. W. M.'s diagnosis of the condition of the *Courier*, the conclusion is unavoidable that it is suffering from an acute masochistic complex. It feels sorry for itself despite its material affluence. And why? It lacks something.

We can understand why it cannot comprehend the deeper spiritual implications of the March Movement and the inescapable challenge of moving masses for a free world.

It lacks a cause.

It lacks a mission.

It lacks dedication to an ideal or principle bigger than itself.

It has no faith in the masses, black or white.

Its editorials breathe the lifeless air of defeatism, cynicism, suppersophisticationism and futilitarianism.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH (1889-1979) was one of the greatest labor leaders and civil disobedience strategists in American social history. He was the editor of *The Messenger*, and organizer of The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, whose key victories in the 1930s in negotiating with the Pullman Company opened the door for the gains of the Civil Rights movement 25 to 30 years later. Randolph was also the organizer of the March on Washington Movement which was instrumental in the integration of defense plants during World War II and eventually led to the integration of the armed services in 1948. These three articles, from the six that Randolph wrote in the June and July 1943 issues of the *Chicago Defender*, largely in response to his critics, particularly the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the leading black newspapers of the day, virtually lays out the format, strategy, philosophy, and tactics of the civil rights movement taken together, these pieces rank as one of the most important pieces of political writing by a black American.

The noble editorial pose of the *Pittsburgh Courier* as the High Command and infallible Arbiter on the grand strategy of organization for the solution of the Negro problem during these times of storm and stress, would be humorous were it not so tragically disastrous.

With a mere flourish of flippancy the strident voice of the petty black bourgeoisie buries the March on Washington under a mountain of words and bids it ever to be silent. Yes, strange as it may seem the *Pittsburgh Courier* disposes of a movement as simple as that, as it innocently thinks, which has staged the greatest anti-discrimination and anti-segregation demonstrations in the history of the Negro people, and won the

It sneers and snubs the people's struggles for economic, political and social righteousness.
With all of its ink and paper, it is the victim of editorial frustration.

GESTAPO JOURNALISM

Obsessed with its editorial personality inadequacy, it manifests homicidal tendencies toward the March on Washington Movement and militant struggles for social justice, believing with a sort of cruel religious faith that it is ordained to serve as the propaganda Gestapo of the M.O.W.M. But the March on Washington Movement is certain to survive the ravings of this commercial champion of comfort and conservatism.

Listen to the Jesuitical casuistry of the editorial Solon of the *Courier* and one would think that the March on Washington Movement is a throw-back to Neanderthal Man, and, withal, even without benefit of his primitive tools of fire and stone.

We hasten to assure our friends and foes that we only claim to be the "little men" of the species. Homo Sapiens, who humbly seek to play our part without hope of pomp or glory or thirty pieces of silver in making America a free land for black men.

AIMS OF MARCH

Now why does this journalistic colossus thunder his wrath against M.O.W.M.? Only because the March on Washington Movement proposes to march on Washington against Jim Crow.

Only because it proposes to hold a great "We Are Americans, Too" conference in Chicago June 30 to July 4, to proclaim that Jim-Crow must go and march to help make it go.

Only because M.O.W.M. proposes to ponder and to discuss as a form of strategy, to fight Jim-Crow, nonviolent, good-will direct action, which is a modified expression of the principle of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation set forth by Gandhi in India.

Only because M.O.W.M. proposes that the Negro people no longer rely solely upon the Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Communist parties but that they should build a powerful non-partisan political block without the benefit of the flesh-pots of either of the parties, but that they depend upon their own tight financial arm.

Only because the March on Washington Movement is an expression of mass pressure as a technique of action and socio-racial instrumentation for the achievement of Negro rights.

Only because the M.O.W.M. is an all-Negro movement, though not anti-white or anti-semitic or anti-American or anti-labor or anti-democratic.

Only because the M.O.W.M. preaches the doctrine of self-reliance to the Negro people, but with collaboration with other groups, white or otherwise, that seek to wipe out Jim-Crow.

HOW IT STARTED

But a word now about how the March on Washington came into being and how it functions.

The present crisis gave birth to the March on Washington Movement. It was formed in protest against a wild and reckless exhibition of racial discrimination and segregation in [the] defense industry and the government. Although the United States was working feverishly to become the arsenal of democracy, and hence needed skilled and unskilled manpower, Negroes were shunted from pillar to post, given the run-around and oft-times insulted when they applied for war jobs to help make our country an arsenal of democracy.

Young Negro men and women who had passed civil service examinations with unusually creditable ratings, found a cold, if not hostile reception when applying for jobs even in government departments.

Negroes were turned down by defense personnel managers for many and sundry reasons such as, they simply had not worked Negroes before, or that they were lazy or incompetent or were too slow, or wouldn't make time or that the white employees would strike if Negroes were taken on. It did not matter that Negro workers had a record for high productive ability in the First World War. It did not matter that Negroes had given and were giving satisfactory performance of skilled tasks in private peacetime industry. Discrimination was riding the high winds of race hate.

Meanwhile, billions of dollars of the taxpayers, of whom Negroes represent no inconsiderable section, were being appropriated by the Congress for war contracts. Powerful captains of industry, waving the flag and proclaiming their patriotism the while, set up exacting profit-making demands as the only condition under which they would agree to transform and gear their plants for war production to defeat the Axis powers. Albeit, they got what they wanted. Moreover, they put dollar-a-year men on OPM and WPPB and other agencies to see to it that their contractual rights are protected.

Organized labor through the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. denounced no-strike legislation for the duration but agreed to waive the right to strike if the government set up the War Labor Board with labor possessing equal representation with capital and the public to settle disputes over wages, working conditions and union recognition that arose in defense plants. Labor also demanded equal participation in all government defense agencies to help run the war. It has not won all of its demands but it has not surrendered. It is still fighting and it is winning step by step.

But what about the Negro? Negroes never got and do not now have any real representation in anything. They were thrown the sop of "advisers" and "aides" although nobody accepted their advice or aid either in or out of the government. Negroes were and still are segregated in the Army, Navy, Marine Service Air Corps, WAACS, and rejected by the WAVES and SPARS.

PARLEYS FALL

Efforts to correct this outrageous, unjust and undemocratic condition through the ordinary conference technique with President Roosevelt and government depart-

ment heads failed and failed miserably. Top government spokesmen gave generously of their charm and courtesy in receiving Negro leaders but no jobs. They went to great pains not to offend Negro leaders in these conferences. In fact, their impeccable politeness without action was definitely boring, especially when everybody knew that Negro workers were being kicked around and Negro soldiers called "nigger" by bumpkins, Negro-hating southern white officers.

Yes, the conference method of handling Negro problems collapsed. The truth is, it never had worked. Negroes simply thought it worked. Negroes had never realized that a conference does not amount to a picnic unless there is power behind the representatives in the conference. The so-called good-will, interracial conferences don't mean a thing. They are chloroform for the masses. When the chloroform wears off, the passions of the beast of race prejudice flare up again.

Organized labor has long since learned the lesson of the value of organized power behind its leaders in conference. If the words of leaders cannot be backed by the deeds of the people, they are empty and futile and the leaders are useless and helpless.

DESPERATION APPARENT

A sense of utter helplessness came over the Negro leaders when nothing but glowing unfulfilled promises came out of conference after conference with government heads. Negroes became disillusioned and desperate.

While Negroes wanted to join the armed forces and produce ships and planes, guns and ammunition to help defeat the Axis nations, opinions were expressed from Jitterbugs to Ph. D.'s alike, to the effect that there was no difference between Hitler of Germany and Talmadge of Georgia or Tojo of Japan and Bilbo of Mississippi, so far as Negroes were concerned. This was the outcry of bitterness and resentment. Negroes were wounded.

In the midst of these conditions the March on Washington Movement was born.

In the March on Washington Movement, the voiceless and helpless "little men" became articulate. Though jobless, for the first time they experienced a thrill from a sense of their importance and worthwhileness. In meeting after meeting, the "forgotten black man" could rise and tell an eager and earnest crowd about jobs he sought but never got, about the business agent of the union giving him the brush-off, how he had gone to the gates of defense plants only to be kept out while white workers walked in, how he cooled his heels in an office and finally was told with a cold stare, "no more workers wanted" or how the government employment services would not permit him to enroll as a skilled worker but only as a porter or janitor or how he was denied entrance into certain government training courses for skilled defense jobs.

In very truth, in the March on Washington, little men can tell their story their own way.

Randolph Tells Philosophy Behind "March" Movement

Negroes are at the crossroads. They face new problems. These problems are made bigger, more complex and baffling by this global war.

The solution of these problems requires a re-orientation in program, strategy, method and technique. What is true of the Negro is also true of labor, all minorities, method and technique. What is true of the Negro is also true of labor, all minorities, method and technique. What is true of the Negro is also true of labor, all minorities, method and technique. What is true of the Negro is also true of labor, all minorities, method and technique.

But before we settle upon the pattern of this re-orientation, it is well to explore the nature of the times through which we are passing. This is no longer a period of capitalist democratic, social, economic and political equilibrium. Times have changed. We are living in a period of social acceleration. The tempo of our social metamorphosis has been stepped up. It continues to step up.

What has happened?

What is happening?

What may happen?

CLASH OF COLOR

World War II has brought into focus a sharp and threatening clash of color. It has deepened the conflict between monopoly, capitalistic democracy and totalitarian fascist autocracy.

The foundations of the century of financial imperialism and colonialism are cracking. The progress of science and industrialism, the deepening revolt against the master race ideology and the decisive challenge for ethnic democracy by the darker races, are bringing this about.

But what of the future?
Gandhi and Nehru and the All-India Congress leaders uncompromisingly defy the rule of Britain and demand independence and freedom for India.

China, not long from under the yoke of the white power European nations, Great Britain only yesterday having been expelled from Hongkong by Japan, wars against imperialist Nippon for peace and freedom.

AFRICA RESTIVE

While little or nothing is said in the news about Africa, except as the battle ground of the tanks and airplanes of the Allied and Axis powers, and as providing strategic military and naval bases for the United Nations, it is a matter of common knowledge that the natives in North Africa and in Africa south of the Sahara Desert, are restive and stirring under the imperialist rule of the old mandate system of the League of Nations and the colonial policies of Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Belgium.

And what of the natives? Is this war being fought to restore the rule of these imperialist powers? Will Singapore be handed back to Britain?

In the West Indies, there are riots and rebellion of the natives for work and wages and against British colonialism. Black militant leaders of the natives are thrown into concentration camps. They are hounded and harassed but not silenced.

Negroes in the United States of America smart under a socio-economic, political racial chauvinism. They are awakening. They are questioning the domination of the so-called master white race. And they are re-examining their own moral, spiritual and intellectual armament.

THESIS OF MARCH

In the midst of this economic chaos, political disorder, social confusion, conflict of world ideologies, intellectual uncertainty and international unpredictability, the March on Washington Movement was born. Immediately it struck its roots deep in the soil of the Negro masses.

Its program and strategy, technique and methodology are set forth in the following thesis of the March on Washington Movement:

1. That this is a period of revolutionary ferment in which the patch-work, compromise and appeasement policy type of action is futile, useless and unnecessary in seeking a solution to the problems of race, labor or society.
2. That the Negro is passing through his darkest hour in the United States of America and throughout the world, and that his lot as a citizen has grown worse since Pearl Harbor, and will continue to grow worse unless some basic change is made in the policy of the Federal Government toward the citizenship status of the Negro.

SUPREME STRUGGLE

3. That the Negro must make his supreme struggle for his democratic rights and the status of first-class citizenship, now while conditions are fluid and unsettled for after the war is over it will be too late, since the social, economic, political, and racial relations will tend to become crystallized with encrusted dogmas that will resist change.

4. That the government is an accommodative and repressive organism which is constantly balancing pressures from conflicting social forces in the local and national communities, and without regard to the question of right or wrong, it inevitably moves in the direction of the pressure of the greatest challenge.

5. That the methodology and technique in an epoch of revolutionary ferment must be revolutionary, unusual, extraordinary, dramatic and drastic in order to be effective in placing the cause of a minority into the mainstream of national and international public opinion.

SELF-RELIANCE

6. That Negroes must develop the spirit of self-reliance, and take the initiative and assume the responsibility for the solution of their problem, but collaborate with their natural allies such as the trade union movement, and other oppressed minorities including the Jews and Catholics and those liberal forces that seek to extend the frontiers of a true democracy.

7. That the goal of the Negro is complete equality, economic, political, social and racial, with the immediate objectives of abolishing discrimination and segregation in the defense and peacetime industries, the Government and the Army,

Navy, U. S. Marines, Air Corps, WAACS, WAVES, and SPARS, in housing, education, transportation, places of service accommodation, such as hotels, restaurants and places of amusement, including theaters, dance halls, etc.

9. That the law of the achievements of freedom, justice and equality is the law of the Seed and the Cross. This is the law of struggle, sacrifice, suffering. It is the law of death. Death precedes life. The seed must decay and die before the tree can live. Jesus Christ had to bear the cross and die in order to give life everlasting. Verily, there is no royal road to freedom.

10. That the power resides in the masses and they must be organized and mobilized and disciplined to struggle for equality.

This is the philosophy of the March on Washington Movement. Without some such chart and compass, Negro movements and leadership will ever be hopelessly and distressingly unwitting of their way.

Their efforts and struggles will be purposeless and planless. And such is the case with a large section of Negro leadership today. It has no system of thinking by which to interpret events and issues and problems as they arise from day to day that affect the Negro and the workers. There is no well-developed philosophy of thought and struggle by which the Negro leaders evaluate the importance and significance of political movements, economic policies and social systems, to the Negro.

In fact, our leadership is dangerously divided. There is no agreement on segregation, whether it is a menace or promise. Note the fact that the *Pittsburgh Courier* has gone on record as suggesting and advocating a jim-crow army. It is not alone. Dr. DuBois [sic] quit the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the theory of utilizing segregated opportunity. In the First World War, Negro leadership accepted Jim Crow in the armed forces uncomplainingly. But the March on Washington Movement rejects segregation as the main pillar of racial chauvinism, oppression and exploitation. And segregation is the one pillar of the temple of racial fascism and oppression, which southern race bigotry will guard zealously and not surrender without a struggle.

In the "We Are Americans, Too" Conference which will be held in Chicago June 30 to July 4, segregation in labor, industry, government, education, housing, entertainment and transportation will be described and plans mapped to attack it as the major problem which confronts the Negro today.

Randolph Tells Technique of Civil Disobedience

A major strategy which will be thoroughly explored at the "We Are Americans, Too" conference in Chicago will be what is generally known as non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation.

According to the program of the March on Washington Movement this same principle will be expressed through what we elect to designate as constitutional obedience or non-violent good will direct action.

But this strategy has been condemned and denounced by critics on the grounds that we are attempt to introduce as a method for solution of the Negro problem, a strategy which was born in a foreign and oriental situation.

NOT VALID

However, this criticism is not valid. By the same token of reasoning one could condemn Christianity and reject it as a product of an oriental clime. Jesus Christ, like Gandhi, was born in the eastern world.

But there are certain basic principles of human behavior that are well-nigh universal, one, is some form of religious worship, Christianity, Confucius, Buddhist, or pagan. It is practically a universal trait also for people everywhere constantly to seek to achieve freedom and relief from pain, physical and social, and the securing of pleasure and happiness, individual and collective.

The difference between non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation as advocated by Gandhi in India and non-violent good-will direct action is set forth by the March on Washington Movement is that in India the objective is to effect a transition of governmental power from the hands of the British imperialists into the hands of the Indian people as represented by the all-India Congress. It practically amounts to the breaking down of British Civil government and the establishment of an Indian Civil government. Were this not so, the fight for Indian independence would have no point or meaning.

PURPOSE IN AMERICA

But in America the March on Washington Movement does not seek to bring about any transition of governmental power from the hands of the white people to the Negro people. There is no desire to see the collapse of American civil government. Negroes are not seeking independence as a racial unit. On the contrary we want to maintain American civil government because wherever it ceases to function, mob law reigns and Negroes are the victims.

But it is contended that the program of the March on Washington in advocating constitutional obedience will be provocative of violence, bloodshed and trouble. This allegation is doubtless based upon the theory that the March on Washington Movement will call upon Negroes in the armed forces, and in the defense industries to refuse to obey orders and commands and stop work at a given time, because this method of action is comparable to that which is practiced in India during the non-violent civil disobedience campaign.

This construction of non-violent good-will action as espoused by the March on Washington Movement is wholly erroneous and misrepresents it. The March on Washington will not call on the Negroes of the armed forces or defense industries to disobey commands or stop work at any time. These groups will not come within the category of Negroes who will be expected to comply with the program of non-violent good-will direct action nor will the procedure and technique of behavior be of a piece with the Indian Nationalist pattern.

BASED ON COMMON UNITY

Non-violent good-will direct action in the first place is based upon the theory of the common unity of all peoples and the possible modification of behavior patterns by

a process of reconditioning through the word and the deed, but fundamentally through the deed. While language plays an important role in the transformation of human action and human institutions, action, the deed is far more potent and in fact it is perhaps the human crucible through which the language forms are developed.

Now for a long time the Negro has relied rather completely on the processes of persuasion through the written word such as, petitions and statements and eloquent orations of condemnation to and of the white ruling class. But the Negro people as such have never been thrown into actual physical motion against jim-crow, discrimination and segregation in America. Because of this fact the word or statement and oratorical method of dealing with the question of Negroes has been quite ineffective because they could not be descriptive of any basic actual human struggle Negroes were waging to achieve the objectives, namely, freedom, justice and equality.

While the use of the word will still be of paramount importance, the word will play an entirely different role according to the program of the March on Washington Movement in as much as it will reflect and portray human effort that the social and physical movements of Negroes are carrying on to bring about the abolition of jim-crow in America today.

OUTLINES PROCEDURE

For instance, when the March on Washington Movement projects constitutional obedience as an instrument to change the racial exclusion policy of a given restaurant, hotel or place of entertainment with respect to the Negro, it will proceed through the action technique, namely by having a group of Negroes visit the restaurant, hotel, or said place of entertainment preceded by a group of whites.

If the Negroes are refused, the whites who have been trained with the Negroes as to the procedure, will join with the Negroes and call upon the management for a reason for the racial exclusion policy. If it is not possible to change the policy through negotiation then a civil action suit will be planned with the white persons cooperating as witnesses.

When the negotiation period has ended and it is recognized as being impossible to change the position and policy of the enterprise, non-violent good-will action calls for the next step which is possibly the staging of a sit-down strike of white and colored citizens who have been well trained with respect to technique of action and procedure.

The picketline may also be employed. When this is done and the law is invoked by the proprietor, the March on Washington's policy will be for the Negroes and whites to stand their ground in the said restaurant even to the point of being thrown out physically, in which event, action will not be taken for damages for physical injury but only for civil rights on the grounds that physical injury is an incident of the struggle and that some suffering and sacrifice must be made by Negroes if they expect to win their freedom.

Should Negroes March On Washington — If So, When?

Is Jim Crow in Washington? What a question! Is water wet? Is fire hot? Is Mississippi's Senator Bilbo anti-Negro? Is Texas's Congressman Dies against racial equality?

Yes "Mr. James H. Crow" has his habitat in Washington. In the capital of our republic, Negro citizens are segregated in life and segregated in death. In the capital of the arsenal of democracy Negro citizens cannot buy a sandwich beyond the Black-Belt except at the railroad station.

Verily, Washington is not only the capital of the nation. It is the capital of Dixie, of 20th Century Copeheaded Confederacy. There, crackerocracy is in the saddle. Ku Klux Klanism runs riot. Here, the alleged headquarters of the democracy of the world, an anti-poll tax bill is filibustered to death by a tiny faction of "title wilful men"—southern senators, and an anti-lynching bill cannot survive.

Not only is Jim Crow in Washington. Jim Crow is running Washington. Negroes cannot eat in the restaurant of the Congress. They cannot even sit in the peanut gallery of any cheap theater in downtown Washington.

This is an affront. It is an insult. Here is the Negro's dilemma. They are not first-class citizens because they are jim-crowed and they are jim-crowed because they are not first-class citizens. Thus, to win first-class citizenship is to abolish jim-crow and to abolish jim-crow is to win first-class citizenship.

JIM CROW RUNNING D. C.

But, the tragedy is not only that Jim Crow is in the District of Columbia, but that the pattern of Washington's Jim Crow is being spread by "official" Washington into areas of our country—North, East and West, where it was hitherto unknown. Our federal government in Washington has become an official carrier of the germ of Jim-Crow throughout the length and breadth of our land, and is infecting the body politic everywhere and poisoning the blood stream of national public opinion. Official Washington is freezing Jim Crow. It is perpetuating the pattern of segregation. It is crystallizing second-class citizenship.

What can be done about it? This question is naturally posed.

Why is Washington such an important center for the Negro to direct his forces upon? In short, why march on Washington? The answer is, Washington is the head and front and nerve center of the world. Washington is the political symbol of the greatest power on earth today. Prime ministers and kings of all of the nations of the earth look to Washington, not so much for ideas as for lend-lease, and they accept America's ideas on race and color. Because of the billions now being appropriated by the Congress in Washington to help the United Nations win the war and for the promotion of plans for the post-war rehabilitation of both the Allies and enemy powers, Washington is the financial and economic powerhouse of the entire world. Upon the well-known theory that politics is a reflex of economics, the political influence of Washington is destined to grow into towering proportions.

Thus, if the Negro people permit Washington to continue and develop as a

symbol of color and racial Jim-Crow-ism, the colored and subject peoples everywhere will look with contempt upon the Negro as the classic second-class citizens of all times.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CENTRALISM

Under our monopoly capitalistic economy, economic power and control are being steadily concentrated into the hands of the few. There has been no appreciable modification of the fact that two percent or less of the population own ninety percent of the wealth in the last decade. Pari-passu with this amazing economic concentration has gone the centralization of political power in our federal system. The existing gross inequalities in wealth and natural resources in our geographical regions, makes federal control and determination of broad economic and legislative policies well nigh inevitable. Then, Washington is required not only to provide lend-lease for Russia but also lend-lease or WPA for Georgia, one of the southern states, distinguished for its backwardness in racial relations, [and] social and labor legislation.

But political centralism is condemned and rejected by the Southern bourgeois politicians and branded as "bureaucracy" and the antithesis of the American democratic system whose roots are deep in the soil of the village and town meeting where all policies affecting the local communities are aired and made. This theory, if followed, will safeguard the poll tax, white primaries and other discriminatory registration devices and the right of the South to handle and settle the race problem in its own sweet way.

Hence, the doctrine of States' rights is being revived with all of its old-time violence and vitality by the Southern political theoreticians. A break with the New Deal Democratic party and an alliance with the Middle Western Republicans that also views this trend of political centralism with alarm, is threatened. These two political doctrines are now coming to grips. Which will survive?

FOR POWERFUL FEDERAL SYSTEM

Where should the Negro stand? It is almost axiomatic that the hope of the Negro in the South lies in the decreasing influence of states' rights and the increasing power of the federal government. If Negroes are ever to get an equal break in educational, farming and labor opportunities in the South, they will get it through enlightened and liberal federal government policies and financial subsidy, with some voice in the application of the basic principles of democracy.

But Negroes must be realistic. Dangers lurk in increasing federal power. It's the danger of a Jim-Crowized and segregationized federal system. If this obtains, the South won't need states' rights anymore. They will have control over federal rights. In which event, it is possible that the Negroes in America, like the Jews in the Third Reich of Hitler, may be sentenced by federal state decree to official Jim-Crowism.

Whether this happens or not, will depend largely upon the Negro himself and the extent and effectiveness he is able to convince labor and liberal America that

the spread of Jim-Crowism or anti-Negroism is a pre-condition to the rise and progress of Fascist forces and the Nazi theories of racialism that may destroy our democratic system, such as it is.

If the South succeeds in selling the federal government and America as a whole its doctrine of racism, it is conceivable that the time may come when Jim-Crow may become constitutional fiat. Note the laws against the Jews in Germany and France.

A CENTRAL POINT OF STRATEGY

But with all of the real and imaginary dangers involved in the possible control of our federal system by the apostles of Southernism, since the Negroes' legal and constitutional status as citizens in our Republic has its origin and source in federalism through the specific adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment following the Civil War, and since under the shibboleth of states' rights, Negroes have been shorn of the rights they theoretically possess, we have no choice save to stand for the strengthening of our federal political organism.

However, this does not mean that Negroes in the hinterlands of Mississippi and Alabama and in the big metropolitan centers should sit down, fold their arms and wait on Uncle Sam to make all things wrong right. No, not at all. Because even if the federal state apparatus had not fallen under the dominion of Southernocracy, it would not voluntarily take up the cause of the Negro or any other group in the national community and fight for it. Governments don't act that way. Whatever concession any group secures from the American state is either the result of control or pressure.

Because the head of every organism is its most sensitive part, the head of every state usually registers the slightest adumbration of the social forces, Negroes, like the South, labor, business and farmers, must carry their problems to Washington with increasing force, intelligence and drama. And the extent to which either one of the aforementioned social forces gets] a favorable hearing at the capital is in virtually direct ratio to the amount of pressure-power it can mobilize and exercise upon the machinery of the federal state. Risking a possible over-simplification in the statement of the situation, it practically amounts to this: No pressure, no concession. Even the justice of a group's cause is not sufficient. A group must not only be right, it must have might. Even the decisions of the Supreme court of the United States as Mr. Dooley says, oftentimes follow public sentiment.

PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENT

The question of whether the Negroes shall put pressure upon the local, state and federal governments to achieve their rights, is tantamount to asking shall the Negroes seek to survive. But Negroes want more than survival. They want to survive as equals, as first-class citizens, possessing and enjoying all of the rights, privileges and immunities of any other citizen.

However, Negroes will not survive as equals unless they are fit to survive as equals. And they are not fit to survive as equals unless they have the power to

survive as equals. They will not possess the power to survive as equals unless they are organized upon a mass basis from the so-called bottom to the top, including the so-called uneducated and the educated, the poor and the well-to-do, the jitterbug and Ph.D.s, the sharecroppers and city workers.

Not only must the chasm between the uneducated and educated Negro be abolished and all brought into a common mass struggle to develop the maximum striking and pressure power of the Negro in the liberation movement to attack Jim-Crow but the "little Negro" must be drawn into the fight by actual participation and given a sense of his importance, responsibility, obligation and ability to share in the performance of vital tasks that are nominally thought to be the exclusive function of the educated and professional Negro.

CANNOT WIN WITHOUT THE MASSES

The fact is the Negroes' cause cannot win without the masses. Negroes of talent, genius and ability are about at the end of their ropes. The demonstration of the Negroes' capacity for cultural advancement has been a necessary stage in the evolution of Negro life. And it must continue to go forward. But the Negroes' primary problem now is to survive as an economic, political, social and racial equal.

This involves power, economic, social and political power. The masses alone can supply that power. The masses have numbers. Effective public demonstrations need numbers. The public is always affected by numbers. It is also affected by the purpose for which great masses demonstrate. The public, Negro and white, is affected by large number of people in physical motion. Great mass formations affect all of the physical senses. They stir the feelings of the people. They provoke thought. They cause officials of state to pause and wonder.

Demonstrations of great masses of workers in strikes, on the picket line, is the chief strategy of the trade union movement. It has gotten results and will continue to get results. But the demonstration must be non-violent. The demonstrators must not possess offensive deadly weapons such as knives, razors or guns of any kind. The Negro's most effective weapon is his purpose, cause, moral courage and non-violent mass demonstration.

Thus, it appears that an important part of the future strategy and technique of the Negro must be in the field of demonstration, both non-violent mass activity and disciplined non-violent demonstration of small Negro and white groups for civil and economic justice.

And it does not appear that anything is calculated to awaken both white and black America to the justice and necessity of the Negroes being recognized and accepted as a full-fledged American citizen except some demonstration with the drama of a March on Washington. But when? The answer is: when the people are ready and the times and conditions give such a program strategic power. Even the much talked about Second Front is considered from the point of view of time strategy or its whole point may be lost.

Moreover, the people must not only be ready but they must be prepared and disciplined to march on Washington. And this may have to be done. Such a

comprehensive maneuver will require the support and cooperation of Negro leadership from church, labor, business and the people.
But a March on Washington must be the Negroes' last resort.

Randolph Tells Program To Win Full Race Equality

Before a program for any oppressed minority or majority can be formulated, it ought to be determined what the group needs and wants. A discussion of needs and wants is timely because a group may need what it does not want and it may want what it does not need.

Since Negroes in the United States of America live under a democracy—though limited—especially in terms of race, where public opinion—the most powerful single force in modern society—is created, or rather ought to be created by the free interplay and free competition of ideas in the arena of public discussion, they, the Negroes, need the status of free and equal citizens. They must be free and equal in order to participate in and help shape and determine constructive and creative human action and human institutions.

Negroes must be free in order to be equal, and they must be equal in order to be free. These are complementary and supplementary rights and conditions. The existence of one is a condition to the existence of the other. Under the terms of our liberal democratic traditions, the absence of freedom or equality means the absence of democracy. Men cannot win freedom unless they win equality. They cannot win equality unless they win freedom. Men cannot remain free unless they remain equal. They cannot remain equal unless they remain free. These are axioms of a democratic, progressive society. Their validity and verity are as unquestionable as the mathematical statement two plus two equals four.

NEGRO NOT FREE

But the Negro is not free. He never has been free. He is not free because he is not equal to other citizens within the framework of the laws, institutions, customs and practices of our so-called democratic government.

Why?

The answer is: the Civil War, the American liberal bourgeois, democratic, socio-economic, political revolution failed to complete its basic historical mission.

Unlike the European liberal, bourgeois, socio-political revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries in France, England, Italy and Germany, the Civil War or the American Revolution, was aborted. It did not run its course. It was of the pattern of the Russian Revolution under the Czar of 1905.

What is the path of history of the liberal bourgeois democratic socio-political revolution?

What are its objectives?

They are as follows:

1. The overthrow of the old slave or feudal governmental regime and the establishment of a democratic republic.

2. The breakup of the slave or feudal economy and the creation in its stead [of] a free, competitive capitalist order.
3. The transition of the power to rule from the agrarian slave or feudal class to the industrial and financial bourgeoisie.
4. The transformation of the slaves or serfs into free workers and independent peasant proprietors.
5. The creation of an economic stake for the former slaves or serfs in the new social order.
6. The adoption of a universal free suffrage.
7. The establishment of a free public school system.
8. The recognition not only of the right of the former slaves or serfs to vote but to be voted for and to share in the operation and direction of the governmental apparatus and to rule.
9. The economic unification of the national community.
10. The centralization of political power in a strong, federal, or national system.

TASK OF NEGRO

Only a casual examination of the historical, political and social economy of the United States of America will reveal that the American Revolution was arrested and only those aims were realized that contributed to the consolidation of the power of the new ruling class, namely, the capitalists.

What then is the immediate task of the Negro?

It is to complete an uncompleted liberal bourgeois democratic socio-political revolution—commonly known as the Civil War.

What does this involve?

It involves giving life, reality and force to those basic, substantive, organic, social and political principles of freedom, equality and justice, set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, and, especially, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, the Proclamation of Emancipation and the recent Rooseveltian Four Freedoms, in relation to the Negro.

While the slave power was broken, the slave masters were not eliminated. They rose and seized the reins of state rule and served as industrial and plantation padrones or an absentee owning capitalist class of the North. Soon the newly emancipated slaves found themselves hedged in, limited and handicapped by the old remnants, hangovers and vestiges of a pre-capitalist era.

HANCOVER OF SLAVE ERA

For a free suffrage, the freedmen were given Grandfather clauses, Poll-Taxes, White Primaries and other restrictive registration devices.

For a free public school system, they received a segregated pattern, in which the strongest lesson Negro students are taught is that they are inferior to white boys and girls.

For the status of free workers and independent peasant proprietors, Negroes, by poonage, vagrancy laws, sharecrop and the company store system, were reduced to the lot of serfs bound to the land, turpentine stills and lumber mills, in a semi-

capitalist plantation economy, and whipped and frightened into submission and docility by a lynch-ropes, Ku Klux terrorism.

How can this problem be met?

This question suggests method.

Around method invariably revolve multiple opinions.

Now the most basic phase of the Negro problem is economic.

Why?

The origin of the Negro problem was economic—namely, the slave trade.

The reason for putting Negroes in slavery was economic—cheap labor.

The reason for the abolition of slavery was economic—the rise of capitalism and the uneconomic character of the slave-labor production of cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco.

And the biggest problem confronting Negroes today is economic, that is, getting work and wages to buy food, clothing and shelter.

Thus, the M.O.W.M. sets as the cardinal and primary cornerstone of its program, economic action.

LABOR UNIONS

And the major and paramount form of economic action is the building of trade and industrial unions and the employment of the technique of collective bargaining.

Why?

Because well-nigh 99% percent of the Negro people are workers—who sell their labor power in the market for wages. Hence, the biggest business of the Negro is to sell at the highest price that which he has the most of—namely, his ability to work.

But labor, through trade unions, may win decent wages at the point of production and lose them at the point of consumption, when, as a consumer, they go back in to the market to buy back, with their wages, the goods they have produced with their labor. Consumers' co-ops provide an agency through which the workers, of hand and brain, can conserve and increase their purchasing power by buying from themselves on the Rochdale principle. This form of economic action may include retail, wholesale, trade, manufacturing, giant agriculture and dairy farming and every form of modern enterprise. It is an important key to economic security and economic democracy for the little man.

NEGROES IN BUSINESS

Now, much controversy has ranged around the so-called Negro business. But there should be no such thing as a Negro business. There should be such a thing as a Negro in business and he should do business as a business man and not as a Negro business man. When a Negro who is in business does business as a business man and employs sound purchasing and selling principles and managerial and accounting standards, he will succeed.

But when a Negro goes into business as a Negro business and expects to trade upon race loyalty, without competing in the market in terms of price, quality and

service, he is attempting to perform an uneconomic task and is quite certain to fail, and, of course, he should fail. Negroes should be encouraged to go into all kinds of businesses and to cater to the wide public without regard to race or color. And as business men they should employ workers upon a basis of need and efficiency, without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

Negroes should also go into business with white, as well as Negro partners, and co-ops may have Negro and white members. This is just as practical and proper as are mixed trade unions. And, of course, Negroes, like white men in business, have a right to choose whomsoever they wish as partners.

EMPLOYMENT FOR NEGROES

Concerning the employment of Negroes:

The March on Washington Movement takes the position that Negroes should fight for integration on a basis of equality in all American businesses and into all categories of work, skilled, unskilled, technical and professional. This may be effected through various forms of pressures, such as: mass marches, picketing and the boycott, following systematic efforts at negotiations.

Of course, the M.O.W.M. maintains and fights for Negroes to be employed in every department of the government, municipal, state and federal; from a porter or janitor to the highest form of technical, skilled and professional order, upon a basis, naturally, of merit and ability.

Since Negroes as workers and consumers are tax-makers and tax payers, they should fight for placement in all types of employment in public utilities. Public utilities in every city should have their Negro motomen, conductors, bus drivers, ticket agents, telephone girls, gas meter readers, bookkeepers, stenographers and foremen and places in the supervisory departments.

How to get them?

Answer:

1. Negotiation
2. Mass marches
3. Picketing
4. Boycott
5. Inter-racial, inter-faith pressures
6. Seek trade union cooperation
7. Inform and propagandize consumer-public on right of Negroes to jobs
8. Membership in trade union

ROLE OF F.E.P.C.

Because the March on Washington has a policy of putting first things first, it launched its first campaign to win jobs and justice in national defense plans and the government. Executive Order 8802 and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice were its first fruit. While war manpower shortage had a great influence in opening up new employment opportunities for Negroes, no one can

gainsay the fact that Executive Order 8802 and F. E. P. C. has opened many doors of opportunity for jobs hitherto closed to Negroes.

While most people, including Negroes, have jobs, the problem of upgrading Negroes upon a basis of skill is still far from being solved. Twenty thousand white workers in the Packard automobile plant struck because three or more Negro workers were placed in skilled jobs and a race riot broke out in the Mobile shipyards because three or more Negroes were made welders.

Unfortunately Monsignor Francis J. Haas, newly appointed chairman of F. E. P. C., accepted the dangerous and unjustifiable compromise of segregation to effect a settlement. It goes without saying that this is no solution of the problem but complicates the matter and creates a new problem.

The M. O. W. M. will continue to press for the immediate rescheduling of the railroad hearings, an adequate budget and office and field personnel, rescheduling of the Capitol Transit hearings, the hearings in Detroit, St. Louis, El Paso, Baltimore, Buffalo and Cleveland. The March on Washington Movement will also project a fight to secure federal legislative sanction and permanence for F. E. P. C.

Need For Race Political Bloc Seen By Randolph

As a major strategy for the effective employment of Negro political power, the March on Washington advocates . . . building in every local community and also on a national scale a powerful non-partisan political bloc.

This does not require that Negroes come out of either the Republican, Democratic, Socialist or Communist parties. But it does require that when a crucial question of universal concern and importance to the Negroes arise, that Negroes will express their united political strength regardless of party politics on the issue.

When this is done, it will strengthen the position of the Negro leaders in the Republican and Democratic parties and make the white boss politicians more disposed to give serious consideration to all questions affecting the interests of the Negro. Negroes as Democrats are not so strong. Negroes as Republicans are not very strong. Negroes as Socialists or Communists are helpless.

But when Negro Republicans and Democrats step forward face to face with a powerful political boss or mayor, governor, President, Senate or House committee and demand consideration for the Negro or ELISE, they will get consideration. For politicians and office holders respect nothing but VOTES.

They are seldom moved by questions of principles, ideals, human justice or injustice. Politicians are hungry for power and jobs. They fear votes and the righteous wrath of the people. They will only do the right thing for the people when they are made to do so by pressure-power, public opinion and votes.

Therefore, upwards of 15 million Negroes don't need to beg anybody for anything. They have power if they will mobilize it by registering and organizing it into one powerful non-partisan political bloc which can be thrown against or for a public official or measure.

FINANCED BY NEGROES

Such a political bloc should be financed by Negroes entirely, for he who pays "the fiddler" calls the tune. Such a bloc should not accept any money from Republican, Democratic, Socialist or the Communist parties.

This political bloc should send speakers into districts to oppose the enemies of the Negro and support their friends on a basis of their record in office. This piece of political machinery could have experts draft campaign literature on the issues and the candidates and distribute it widely throughout the country, expressing the position of the Negro on vital questions and men seeking office. It could take whole page advertisements in strategic papers, white and colored, at the strategic time during a campaign to let the world know that the Negroes are not asleep or dumb.

If such a powerful non-partisan political bloc was honestly, courageously and intelligently directed, it could transform the political status of the Negro people; put a Negro on the U. S. Supreme Court, on federal courts, in the Cabinet, on policy-making commissions, get Negroes their rightful share of jobs in government agencies, abolish anti-Negro legislation, reverse anti-Negro court decisions, eliminate discriminations in administrative agencies and secure for Negroes the respect enjoyed by other citizens.

How can this bloc be built?

It could be set up by a federated body of religious, fraternal, civic, labor, educational, woman, business, and political groups that would agree upon a minimum program.

Labor is now in the process of building such a bloc through the federation of the A. F. of L. [and] C. I. O., the Big Four Railroad Brotherhoods and the National Farmers Union.

The farmers already possess a powerful non-partisan political bloc. So has big business.

And it works.

Meanwhile, Negro political leaders could continue to carry on their activities in the respective parties and in a more effective way.

SOCIAL ACTION

M. O. W. M. advocates and practices the following forms of social action procedures and techniques:

1. Social pressure through mass action: mass marches, mass picketing, mass boycott, mass letter writing, mass telephoning, mass telegraphing to public officials concerning vital social issues affecting the Negro.
2. Pressure through organized, disciplined, non-violent, good-will direct action.
3. Social pressure through giant public mass meetings.

The immediate positive and direct value of mass action pressure consists in two things: one, it places human beings into physical motion which can be felt,

seen and heard. Nothing stirs and shapes public sentiment like physical action. Organized labor and organized capital have long since recognized this. This is why the major weapon of labor is the STRIKE. It is why the major weapon of business is the lock-out—the shut-down.

All people feel, think and talk about a physical formation of people whenever they may be. This is why wars grip the imagination of man. Mass demonstrations against jim-crow is worth a million editorials and orations in anybody's paper and on any platform. Editorials and orations are only worthwhile when they are around and on actual human struggles for specific social and racial rights and against definite wrongs.

AWAKEN AMERICA

Mass social pressure in the form of marches and picketing will not only touch and arrest the attention of the powerful public official but also the little man in the street. And, before this problem of jim-crow can be successfully attacked, all of America must be shocked and awakened. This has never been done, except by race riots that are dangerous social-racial explosions. Mass efforts are a form of struggle for Negro rights in which all Negroes can participate, including the educated and uneducated, the rich and poor. It is a technique and strategy which the little Negro in the tavern, pool-room, on the streets, jitterbug, store-front preacher and share-cropper, can use to help free the race.

While constitutional obedience or non-violent Good-Will Direct Action cannot be executed through the mass action technique, it tends to arouse and educate mass interest and thinking.

Now, the March on Washington Movement is an all-Negro movement, but it is not anti-white, anti-American, anti-labor, anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic. It's simply pro-Negro.

Why?

Because jim Crow is primarily anti-Negro.

Since no other group in the country is jim-crowed but the Negro, it seems to be as simple as water tends to run down hill that the Negro must take the initiative and assume the responsibility to abolish jim Crow. This does not mean that Negroes should not invite Catholic, Jewish, labor and business groups of white people to help them win this fight. While labor unions are only composed of workers, they seek the help of clergymen, housewives and liberals who may be non-workers. During strikes, unions form citizens committees to help the workers but they do not take the citizens into the unions.

It is well-nigh axiomatic that white citizens may sympathize with the cause of striking miners or autoworkers or lumberjacks, but the fact remains that the miners, autoworkers and lumberjacks must take the initiative and assume the responsibility themselves to win higher wages and shorter hours.

By the same token, white liberals and labor may sympathize with the Negro's fight against jim Crow, but they are not going to lead the fight. They never have and they never will. The fight to annihilate jim Crow in America must be led by Negroes with the cooperation and collaboration of white liberals and labor.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE SCARED

But the black petit bourgeoisie and intellectuals are scared. They write about a struggle in which they have never participated. Columns of words are written about the Negro problem and the writer assumes that a great and satisfactory job has been done. Newspaper labor experts who have never organized the first couple of workers into anything, talk omnisciently about labor strategy and presume to tell the workers what to do. But fortunately, the workers follow their own mind.

They, the intellectual with white-collaritis, magnify the dangers of any proposal for action against jim-crow. They want to abolish it with words, that is, some of them do and some of them want to keep jim-crow to continue to shoot at. They advise the use of the type of technique which involves no personal risks and requires nothing more than ink and paper. They always seek an escape mechanism in ponderous, wordy and clever defeatist dissertations. And they always attempt to get solace for the avoidance of action techniques by viewing with alarm any forward, aggressive program which may be branded as out of the framework of the so-called American way of life, whatever that is.

The petit black bourgeoisie whose proud vocal representative is the *Pittsburgh Courier* which is likely to be on anybody's side at any time, regardless of the principles involved, are like one of two mules of an old farmer. One mule was willing to pull the load and the other old mule was willing to let him pull it. The petit black bourgeoisie are always hunting for some white angel at whose feet they may place the Negroes' problems. At one time they unloaded on the C.O.P. on the grounds that it was the party of "Father" Abraham Lincoln. Then when the political pickings got kind of slight they fled to the Democratic Jackass. Ere long they will learn that there is no fundamental difference between Democrats and Republicans either with regards to Negroes or labor, that they are like two peas in a pod, two souls with a single thought—tweedledee and tweedledum.

The *Courier's* reaction to suggested new ethnic techniques is like that of the old ape preceding the age of the Pliedown Skull Man, who in a convention of anthropods, woke up in time to hear one young radical ape proposing that all apes henceforth stop hanging by their tails and walking on all fours like they didn't have any sense but that they stand up erect on their hind legs and walk. He let out a squawk that no good would come of this new-fangled notion because any ape with two grains of brains could see that it was easier to walk on four legs than on two. But the anthropods that became man and built a civilization, as bad as it is, stood on their hind legs and walked forward. That is the admonition of the March on Washington Movement to the Negro: STAND UPON THY FEET AND THE GOD OF JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS WILL SPEAK UNTO THEE.

RACE RIOTS

The March on Washington Movement urges Negroes to hold public meetings and discuss the epidemic of race riots now sweeping the country to bring the issue intelligently into the open.

People's committees should be picked in the meetings from the floor by the people and given a mandate to go to see the mayor of the city—and to join with other committees of similar cities to see the governor to urge and demand that commissions on race relations be appointed to study the labor, economic, housing, recreational, educational and law enforcement policies and forces with a view to making recommendations to the mayor and governor to take measures to prevent riots and to stop them promptly and effectively when they start.

These public meetings should also call upon President Roosevelt to appoint a National Commission on Race to perform the aforementioned task on a national scale. They should also call upon Congressman Sam Rayburn, Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Congressman Martin, Republican Minority Leader, to set up machinery for a Congressional investigation of the Detroit race riot and the riots in Beaumont, Texas; Mobile, Alabama; Los Angeles, California; and other places.

The public meetings should also plan the formation of city-wide interracial-interracial committees, composed of trade unionists, business, educational and political representatives to serve as a public group of citizens to cooperate in the study and maintenance of law and order and to cooperate with all public officials.

Such meetings should also call upon the President to send Negro and white troops into riot areas and to keep them there to insure the right and opportunity of the Negro workers to continue with the white workers in the production of war materials, ships and planes to enable the United Nations to win the war and destroy Axis tyranny.

Negroes must not be deceived into thinking that Hitler caused the Detroit race riot or any other riot. These riots are the result of our government's policy of segregating and discriminating against Negroes for decades, long before Hitler was ever heard of, and riots will continue long after Hitler is dead and forgotten if our government does not stop practicing the segregation of Negro citizens and integrate the Negro into the government and war and peace time industry on a basis of equality with their white brothers and sisters. Of course, these riots help the cause of Hitler and fascism.

Let the Negro masses speak. Demand that organized labor join the fight to abolish the cause of race riots and fascism.