Victory at Home, Victory Abroad: How the Double V Campaign and A. Philip Randolph Shaped the Debate over Service and Diplomacy with the Government in the African American Community During World War II

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I became interested in the Double V campaign and African American civil rights activism during World War II after reading about the factors that led up to the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Like many aspects of black history, this aspect of the war effort had been glossed over in all of my history classes up to that point. I was ashamed to have never heard of the Double V campaign or of A. Philip Randolph before starting this research, and I felt that not researching these topics would be tantamount to denying their role in the course of the U.S.'s war effort. I framed the Double V campaign as the primary vessel for the debate within the African American community over whether or not African Americans should serve a country that didn’t serve them, and I framed Randolph’s constant meetings and negotiations with President Franklin Roosevelt as a form of diplomacy between the federal government and the black community, two communities that were practically foreign to each other.

I conducted research by reading excerpts of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, books, and reports on the Double V campaign; interviewing an author and a professor of journalism history; and analyzing numerous letters, speeches, and presidential memoranda. I tried to paint a picture of the trials and tribulations faced by African American activists during World War II by relying on primary sources for the construction of my principal argument and using secondary sources as supplemental material to support the argument. I used NoodleTools to organize my annotated bibliography and take notes on sources, and I used Google Docs to write the paper itself.
My paper’s primary argument is that there were elements of both debate and diplomacy in the African American community in their fight for increased civil rights during World War II. The Double V campaign fostered a debate among both leaders and ordinary citizens alike in the black community about military service and labor during World War II. The campaign later took on a solely pro-war stance and contributed greatly to the enlistment of millions of African Americans in the U.S. Armed Forces. Additionally, the years of planning and fruitless meetings with President Roosevelt that Randolph went through to come closer to achieving employment equality for the black community constitute diplomacy between two dueling sides of the grand debate of racial equality.

This topic is historically important because the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s had its roots in the World War II civil rights movement. For instance, Randolph’s 1963 March on Washington, which featured Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and John Lewis among other speakers, was a delayed version of the proposed march that served as the impetus for President Roosevelt’s issuance of Executive Order 8802. The activism of the 1940s, though less known than that of later decades, established the historical pattern of using collective action to demand more rights which is still observed today.
“The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within.”

James G. Thompson, 1942

The mid-20th century history of the African American community is deeply steeped in the racial undertones of segregatory Jim Crow laws, de jure racial discrimination, and alienation from many spheres of society promulgated by virtually all levels of government. Lynchings were still used to silence and terrorize African American sharecroppers in the South. Employment equality for African Americans was practically unheard of at this time.

Nevertheless, during World War I, African Americans served in large numbers, with over 200,000 being sent to fight in Europe. They expected to be granted increased civil rights after the war, but were disappointed to find no real change. On the contrary, they were given the Red Summer of 1919, a period of deadly race riots across the U.S. resulting from post-war racial tensions.

Little tangible progress was made in the 1920s and 30s, a period in which events like the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre overshadowed New Deal efforts to employ more African Americans throughout the South.

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3 Lynching in America, 44.
Despite continued racism and oppression of civil rights, the development of African American newspapers demonstrated an upward trajectory both before and during World War II. Newspapers remained segregated enough to the point that black newspapers, the *Pittsburgh Courier* prominent among them, were considered to be the pre-eminent fora for discussions of racial matters. These newspapers facilitated planning for early civil rights demonstrations and provided a place for African Americans to express themselves when all other outlets were closed to them. Areas in which black newspapers took charge in calling for equality were employment and the armed forces. A so-called “fight for the right to fight” was thought to be the sole path to achieving full equality. African American activists and organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) ardently supported this effort. During World War II, the actions of both the *Pittsburgh Courier*’s Double V campaign and A. Philip Randolph’s proposed March on Washington fostered the debate over black service in the War and acted as diplomatic fronts between the black community and a federal government that at times treated African Americans as second-rate citizens.

**Discrimination in the Military During World War II**

The treatment of African American soldiers, engineers, and other employees of the armed forces during World War II was primarily characterized by the same oppression and racist practices commonplace in the South. Though black enlistment in the military was higher than in World War I, African Americans were forced to serve in segregated all-black units. They were

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8 Cheryl Mullenbach, videoconference interview by the author, Shreveport, LA, February 1, 2022.
often given the most menial jobs despite similar commitment and expertise to white soldiers. Overseas, the only opportunities for equality came in the heat of battle, a time that William Holloman and other servicemen noted that racist attitudes melted away and “black and white [soldiers]... were all brothers.”

In many cases, African American servicemen were treated worse than Nazi prisoners of war, who were allowed to dine with white regiments. Furthermore, black nurses overseas were sometimes reassigned to treat exclusively Nazi prisoners of war instead of white American soldiers.

“Mr. President, Time is Running Out”: A. Philip Randolph and President Roosevelt

In January 1941, the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), A. Philip Randolph, penned a column in the Pittsburgh Courier urging a march of 10,000 people on the nation’s capital. Randolph called on African Americans to “wake up and shock Official Washington as it ha[d] never been shocked before” in order to receive equal employment and leadership opportunities in the armed forces. From his background in labor unionization, Randolph knew the only way to achieve tangible progress was collective action, and this march was a reflection of that belief. Randolph’s two decade-long quest for the eradication of
employment discrimination in the military constituted a diplomatic effort between the African American community and a federal government that had no interest in pursuing its interests.

Randolph knew that his fight for employment equality would only be viable if he attained recognition from the federal government. However, the pervasiveness of racism and segregation in the federal government made negotiations with President Roosevelt virtually impossible. Nonetheless, Randolph quickly accrued attention for his cause by forming alliances with other African American leaders.  

After a scheduled meeting with President Roosevelt in September 1940 failed to materialize, he did not give up. Instead, Randolph coordinated with the upper echelon of the NAACP, specifically Secretary Walter White, to plan his proposed march. Though the NAACP did not originally agree with such a demonstration, Randolph ultimately gained their support and was able to pool the NAACP’s resources with those of the BSCP and other external allies. Randolph also found an unlikely ally in Eleanor Roosevelt, who warned her husband in a memorandum that ignoring the demands of Randolph and White could cost him politically and in the war effort.

Both Randolph and White continued to work tirelessly to lobby President Roosevelt to take more action on the employment equality front. Randolph finally obtained a meeting with Roosevelt on June 18, 1941. Upon meeting with the president, Randolph demanded an executive order banning racial discrimination in the armed forces. President Roosevelt told him that he

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17 American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, "A. Philip," AFL-CIO.
would not authorize anything until the march on the capital was canceled. The president saw nothing more contrary to the war effort than such a massive demonstration and heeded the advice of Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, who feared such a protest would spark similar unrest in his city. After a week of tense negotiations, Randolph and Roosevelt arrived at a compromise: the President would issue an executive order banning racial discrimination in employment in the armed forces, and Randolph would call off the march.

**Executive Order 8802 and the Fair Employment Practice Committee**

On June 25, 1941, a full week after his meeting with Randolph, President Roosevelt banned all racial discrimination in employment practices of the armed forces with his Executive Order 8802. Though this action was meant to halt all further activism by Randolph and other March on Washington organizers, it only served to augment it. Just five days later, Randolph wrote to President Roosevelt, demanding that there be more African American representation on the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC), which the executive order had established. In doing so, Randolph made clear that his fight for employment equality and his ultimate dream of a march on Washington, D.C., were far from over. Roosevelt capitulated, allowing two of the membership seats on the FEPC’s Committee of Five to be occupied by African Americans. This

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represented the culmination of months of diplomatic efforts between Randolph and Roosevelt, albeit in a different form than what either had originally envisioned.

However, it became more and more apparent that the desires of African American laborers had little-to-no sway on the actions of President Roosevelt, and that negotiating with him for meaningful change was a herculean effort akin to diplomacy with a foreign government. The FEPC languished as its funding was progressively cut and its abilities to regulate the workplace were constantly stripped away.\(^{27}\) In response to a severe labor shortage on the homefront and renewed efforts by black activist groups in 1943 to stage a march on Washington, D.C., President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9346. This amendment to Executive Order 8802 granted the FEPC more funding, sixteen regional offices around the nation, and more power to enforce the agency’s agenda of workplace equality.\(^{28}\) With this executive order, the FEPC was better able to provide opportunities and training for blacks to achieve higher-paying jobs, especially in the South. This demonstrated that African Americans were not going to be given any advances in rights without a constant struggle.

**Double V Campaign: Origins and Practices**

On January 31, 1942, the *Pittsburgh Courier* published a letter written by an African American defense worker from Kansas by the name of James G. Thompson. In the letter, Thompson argued for a dual war effort: triumph over American racism and triumph over overseas fascism.\(^{29}\) Editors of the newspaper saw this as an opportunity to advance the black


\(^{28}\) Collins, "Race, Roosevelt."

\(^{29}\) Euell A. Nielsen, "THE DOUBLE V CAMPAIGN (1942-1945)," BlackPast, last modified July 1, 2020, accessed December 7, 2021,
community’s fight for equality, also citing a “two-pronged attack against our enslaver at home and those abroad who would enslave us.” The campaign saw rapid success in its first few months by tapping into the sentiments that the black community had internalized following World War I.

As the nation’s most widely circulated black newspaper at the time, the *Pittsburgh Courier* had enormous influence over the way African Americans were informed about the war and the actions they should take to advance equality. The newspaper’s readers realized that World War II was an opportunity for societal advancement if they could prove their value through service towards the war effort. This realization was actualized by the dozens of black and white leaders and celebrities who endorsed the campaign, the numerous Double V clubs across the nation, and the 200,000 members involved in the campaign by mid-July 1942. The campaign served to unify and strengthen the pro-war effort voice within the black community. The *Pittsburgh Courier* gave a voice to thousands of formerly voiceless readers by promising to publish any letter sent to the newspaper expressing a black reader’s views on the government's inequitable employment policies. Money raised by Double V activities went to regiments of

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33 Mullenbach, videoconference interview by the author.
black soldiers serving abroad. Double V clubs were inexpensive to establish and greatly increased publicity and readership for the newspaper (see Appendix A).

However, the Double V campaign’s most pervasive effects can be seen in the changes in the ways African Americans were being informed. Never before had a black newspaper reported from a battlefront. The *Pittsburgh Courier*’s black war correspondents spoke directly with black soldiers at a time when white newspapers glossed over the military’s racist practices.\(^{38}\) For instance, reports on how Nazi prisoners of war were treated in higher regard than both African American female nurses and soldiers stirred the opinions of African American readers.\(^{39}\) Pictures that appeared in the *Pittsburgh Courier* and other newspapers of African Americans participating in battlefront action on Guadalcanal inspired patriotism in readers (see Appendix B).\(^{40}\) Black readers felt empowered to call out white prejudices for what they truly were: injustices to an “ally that ha[d] never shown a shortage of courage and sacrifice.”\(^{41}\)

President Roosevelt also interacted with the Double V campaign in various capacities. Even before the campaign began, Roosevelt wrote to the *Pittsburgh Courier*’s publisher requesting him to tone down the paper’s radical rhetoric.\(^{42}\) After fighting hard to prevent Randolph’s March on Washington, Roosevelt knew the war effort he envisioned was in peril of losing the allegiance of African Americans. The advent of the campaign only heightened these fears. Columnists in the *Pittsburgh Courier* directly called on Roosevelt to “declare war…

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\(^{39}\) Mullenbach, videoconference interview by the author.

\(^{40}\) Patrick Washburn, videoconference interview by the author, Shreveport, LA, January 24, 2022.


against racial prejudice,” but the President ignored this advice. To Roosevelt, fighting enemies abroad and fighting racial injustices at home were mutually exclusive; doing one would be undoing the other. Nonetheless, the publishers of Double V and Randolph both continued to inspire thousands of African Americans to fight for a better future. Whereas A. Philip Randolph looked to mass action for immediate change, proponents of the Double V campaign advocated for a more planned-out course of action in which civil rights gains would accompany a lack of employment discrimination. These viewpoints both constituted diplomatic efforts aimed at directly and indirectly inciting change from within the federal government.

The Decline and Legacy of Double V

The Double V campaign’s decline was just as precipitous as was its surge in popularity. The Pittsburgh Courier, along with five other widely circulated black newspapers, was designated by the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) to be harmful to the war effort due to its radical headlines. As a result, the Pittsburgh Courier’s conservative editor, Jesse Vann, decided to shift the newspaper more towards celebrating gains that had already been made in the black community rather than demanding even more civil rights. For instance, the newspaper started to emphasize the advent of the Women’s Army Corps and the Navy’s Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service corps. Vann wanted to prevent further government scrutiny while also balancing potential losses in readership that would arise from less radical

44 Bailey and Farber, "The 'Double-V'".
46 Washburn, The "Pittsburgh, 83."
publications. Additionally, it was around this time that companies that historically catered towards white people started to advertise to blacks. These companies did not look favorably upon advertising next to articles written by columnists threatened by the FBI with indictment for sedition. Although weekly Double V material withered to a fraction of its former size in the *Pittsburgh Courier* by December 1942, the campaign remained alive in other black newspapers, most notable of which the *Chicago Defender*, which continued to use the Double V symbol and rhetoric.

Regardless of the rapid decline of the *Pittsburgh Courier*’s Double V campaign, its effects on military service are undeniable. Before the campaign started, prominent voices within the black community demanded African Americans to boycott military service, seeing as blacks were being called to die for a country that would not even afford them the chance to sit where they wanted at a restaurant. The irony that the United States armed forces, the same military that would liberate Europe from a fascist regime, was fighting with a segregated army was not lost in the African American community. However, the campaign seemed to drown out anti-war effort voices, and its dominance in the black press made anti-war newspapers almost unheard of after the U.S.’s entrance to the war. Statistics on black service during the war also reflect this. In 1943, the number of African American enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Forces

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48 Washburn, video conference interview by the author.
49 Washburn, video conference interview by the author.
54 Washburn, video conference interview by the author.
swelled to an unprecedented 2,197,114 compared to only 152,125 at the U.S.’s entrance to World
War II (see Appendix C).

The Double V campaign and its offshoots are seen by many as a precursor to the Civil
Rights movement that began in the 1950s. In fact, the first sit-ins in the name of equal rights
were conducted by the Congress of Racial Equality during World War II. 55 Moreover, A. Philip
Randolph’s vision for a march on Washington, D.C., did not die out when he canceled his
original march after President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802. 56 His vision came to
fruition in his 1963 March on Washington, which saw remarks from himself, Dr. Martin Luther
King, Jr.’s “I Have a Dream” speech and is seen by many to be the pinnacle of the Civil Rights
movement. 57 It is clear how the collective action of the Double V campaign and diplomatic
negotiations between African American leaders and President Roosevelt during World War II
laid the groundwork for the greatest expansion of civil rights for African Americans since
Reconstruction. The debate and diplomatic efforts fostered by these two aspects of the war effort
were integral to the nation’s wartime success and continuous struggle for racial equity.

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55 Mullenbach, Double Victory, 61.
56 A. Philip Randolph, “The Call to Negro America to March on Washington” (speech transcript, May 1941).
57 March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom, Lincoln Memorial Program (Washington, D.C., 1963), accessed
This excerpt from the *Pittsburgh Courier* shows the degree to which the Double V campaign dominated the daily publications of the newspaper. Clubs, campaign materials, and the “Yankee Doodle Tan” song contest are all being advertised as part of the campaign. This demonstrates how accessible the editors of the *Pittsburgh Courier* wanted to make the Double V campaign.

In my interview, Dr. Patrick Wasburn cited pictures like this one of African American soldiers participating in the front lines of the Battle of Guadalcanal as pivotal aspects of international journalism in the black press. Images like these struck a chord with African American readers at home. For the first time, they could see that tangible progress was being made. Where once African Americans were forced to do the most menial jobs in the military barracks, they were now able to operate artillery and have their own victories over the Japanese.

This scan of a table in Alan Osur’s report on African Americans in the U.S. Army Air Forces demonstrates the degree to which a precipitous rise in enlistment correlated with the height of the Double V campaign. This correlation is especially apparent when contrasting the comparative increases of soldiers enlisting after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and after the height of the campaign.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Executive Orders:

This executive order, issued by President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941, established the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This can be viewed as a direct result of negotiations with activists including A. Philip Randolph, who had demanded this executive order in exchange for relenting on the March on Washington Movement. This executive order is hugely consequential because it is the first federal action to promote equal employment opportunity in United States government history.

This executive order enacted the creation of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. It represents arguably the most consequential achievement of the Double V campaign, even though it came after the end of World War II. This gives proof to the lasting effects of the campaign and sheds light on its ultimate success in reforming the military and furthering efforts to achieve equality for African Americans in the military.

This executive order amended Executive Order 8802, which established the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It reinforced President Roosevelt's stance that equal employment opportunity for African American workers was key to success in the war effort. The fact that President Roosevelt felt the need to reinforce his stance goes to show that his opinions on this issue were constantly changing due to different pressures, such as advocacy from African American activist groups.

Interviews:


This oral history of World War II provides a window into the lives of how African American soldiers were treated on the battlefront. William Holloman delves into the sense of family that all soldiers, regardless of their race, experienced. His experiences both abroad and back in the United States highlight the struggle many African American soldiers faced in their fight to gain equality and recognition for their service.

This recording of A. Philip Randolph speaking about his 1941 encounter with President Roosevelt purveys the demands each side of the negotiations brought to the table with regard to Randolph's proposed March on Washington. This source will be used when discussing the urgency with which President Roosevelt viewed the matter of canceling the march.

Letters:


This letter from Mayor LaGuardia of New York City to President Roosevelt conveys the urgency of maintaining a presence of federal troops in Detroit in order to quell the race riots and prevent them from spreading to New York City and other population centers. This letter is key to understanding the pressures President Roosevelt faced during the Detroit riots and how the riots influenced his policy-making.


This letter from A. Philip Randolph and the Negro March-on-Washington Committee to President Roosevelt highlights the importance and urgency placed in the decision of who the president would appoint to the Committee of Five on Fair Employment Practices. Even before the U.S. entrance into World War II, the establishment of such a committee was a monumental step in the right direction for the African American civil rights movement. This source will be used when discussing President Roosevelt's response to activists like A. Philip Randolph.


This piece of correspondence was between A. Philip Randolph and Walter White, two of the most influential African American activists and thought leaders of the World War II era. Randolph is trying to gain assurance that White will support his proposed March on Washington Movement. This letter is hugely consequential, as it points to a high degree of coordination in the upper echelon of the movement for more rights in the African American community.

In this letter, Eleanor Roosevelt acts as both a functionary of President Roosevelt's government and a scapegoat for African Americans who are exasperated with a lack of federal action on their demands for equality. She reasserts her belief in four fundamental rights for African Americans and addresses the anger that many African Americans are expressing towards her. This source will be used to discuss the various fronts of President Roosevelt's administration that were involved in crafting policy regarding African Americans during World War II.


This letter from President Roosevelt to his Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, demonstrates his resolve not to capitulate to the demands of African American workers participating in the Detroit riots of 1943. This source will be used when discussing how race relations affected President Roosevelt's governing style.


This letter from President Roosevelt to Joseph Curran, the president of the National Maritime Union, goes to show the degree to which President Roosevelt used his signing of Executive Order 8802 as a symbol of his commitment to the African American community. This appeasement may, however, have been in stark contrast to what he originally wanted for the war effort.

Memoranda:


This memorandum further demonstrates the influence that certain African American activist groups, including the NAACP, had on political affairs in Washington, D.C. With the foundation of a Washington bureau, the NAACP would be able to more closely influence the actions of President Roosevelt, who increasingly saw this organization and the African American community as a whole to be more potent players in the national war effort than he had originally planned for.

Eleanor Roosevelt's memorandum to President Roosevelt speaks volumes to how she was a major influence on President Roosevelt's reactions to the demands of African American campaigners for equality. Eleanor was generally in favor of ending discrimination in the military and was exasperated at the fact that A. Philip Randolph and Walter White were denied a meeting with her husband. This source will be used when discussing the various factors that influenced President Roosevelt's reaction to demands for an end to racist practices in the military.


Edwin M. Watson, President Roosevelt's secretary, informs the President of the advice of Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, who fears that his city will face unrest if Randolph's march is carried out unimpeded. This memorandum marks a turning point in the way that President Roosevelt behaved towards the March on Washington Committee. He no longer viewed Randolph, White, and others as a distant threat because the march was scheduled for seventeen days after this memorandum was made. This source will be used when discussing the interactions between the executive office of the White House and Randolph and the other organizers of the proposed March on Washington.

Newspapers:


This webpage contains a newspaper excerpt from October 1919 that demonstrates the degree to which racist whites misconstrued the facts surrounding the Elaine Race Massacre. This excerpt makes it seem like black residents were planning a rebellion, when the reality could not have been more contrary. This article will be used when contextualizing race relations in the pre-World War II era.

The Pittsburgh Courier. "All Americans Can Rally Around The Double 'V' Slogan." The Pittsburgh Courier (Pittsburgh, USA), March 21, 1942. pdf.

This excerpt from a page of The Pittsburgh Courier explains the meaning of the "Double V" slogan. The Editors themselves interpret the slogan as a symbol for all of "Negro America" in response to the ideals of President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms." This newspaper article will be used to explain what the Double V campaign meant to the people who started it and how it came to be such a dominant force within the African American community during the war effort.

This newspaper excerpt demonstrates the newfound success experienced by the Pittsburgh Courier's Double Victory campaign. It shows the tangible success that the campaign's organizers were surprised to see and reiterates the original goals of the program, which were to defeat fascism abroad and attain the four freedoms President Roosevelt wanted to guarantee every American. I will use this source when discussing the Pittsburgh Courier and its massive effect on black America's response to World War II.


This excerpt from the Pittsburgh Courier will be used to demonstrate how influential the Double V campaign was within the black community and the degree to which campaign materials dominated the newspaper's daily publications. This excerpt in specific displays information on many of the aspects of the campaign touched on in this paper, such as Double V clubs and advertisements of campaign materials.

The Pittsburgh Courier. "Victory At Home, Victory Abroad Sweeps Nation." The Pittsburgh Courier (Pittsburgh, USA), March 21, 1942. Accessed December 6, 2021. https://www.newspapers.com/image/?clipping_id=33243863&fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlLXZpZXc7bWFsZXRva2VuIjoiZmFsc2UiLCJfX3RvbWFuYWdlcl9pZCI6IjQwNDg0MTkzNzIsImV4cCI6MTY0MzQyMDczN30.tTP08BkEPaB9O01z5F5E884T7mUZBjxJ6D-S66KVl0E.

This digital newspaper article gives me insight into how the publishers of The Pittsburgh Courier viewed The Double V campaign, something that they created. This source provides photographs and anecdotes that describe how the Double V campaign was met with rapid success in promoting the war effort in the African American community. The source notes that people from all over the nation, both ordinary and of high political stature, contributed to the campaign's success and enlisted the war effort as a direct result of it.

Randolph, A. Philip. "Let's March on Capital 10,000 Strong, Urges Leader of Porters." The Pittsburgh Courier (Pittsburgh, PA), January 25, 1941. Accessed February 12, 2022. https://www.newspapers.com/image/?clipping_id=15095772&fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlLXZpZXc7bWFsZXRva2VuIjoiZmFsc2UiLCJfX3RvbWFuYWdlcl9pZCI6IjQwODU2Mzk5NjcsImV4cCI6MTY0NjQ3MjgyN30.Mn5Fk9Zw7Q14q0NSa6qF9F5f7zE-6Rt3f4CQvZ4KjB5gIyH4co2KHaF7y6GmtVzI30Eu5Xx33NcHs4DKM.
This article penned by A. Philip Randolph demonstrates the origins of his idea to march on Washington, D.C. Randolph knew it was important to express his ideas in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the most widely circulated black newspaper at the time. This source will be used when discussing the origins of the March on Washington Movement.


This newspaper article demonstrates the fervor with which African Americans sought equal freedoms and respect under the law during the World War II era. Thompson describes his devotion to aiding the United States in its quest of defeating fascism overseas while also targeting the injustices of the Jim Crow South. To Thompson and other African Americans who wanted to fight for the United States, it was simply imperative to become a full American as opposed to a "Half-American." Thompson explains that any sacrifice he makes for his country should be reciprocated with the comparatively small concessions of equal rights and respect. This speaks volumes to the purposes of the Double V campaign.

Pamphlets:


This is the program for the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, an event known to many as the climax of the 1960s Civil Rights movement. It features speakers such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, and A. Philip Randolph, the man who set the idea for a march on the nation's capital over two decades before it finally came to fruition. This source will be used when discussing the legacy of the Double V campaign and how activism in the 1940s led to gains in the 1960s.


This pamphlet shows the degree to which the United States's enemies capitalized on the racist treatment of African American soldiers. Despite their discriminatory state ideology, Nazis were eager to hypocritically emphasize the challenges that American society posed African American soldiers. The goal of this pamphlet was not necessarily to make African American soldiers join the Nazis, but to encourage them to surrender or spark conflict within their ranks. This source shows how pervasive the effects of segregation and racism were in the war effort on all fronts.

Photos:

This webpage contained an image used to delve into the different purposes international journalism fulfilled for African Americans during World War II. When black correspondents abroad sent images like these to the newspapers back home, readers were able to experience the battlefront while being cognizant of the fact that African American soldiers were being allowed to take charge of highly consequential posts on the battlefield for the first time in U.S. military history, at least in this moment.


This photo captures the fervor with which African American soldiers were willing to fight World War II. Despite all of the odds and the racist policies which made it harder for African Americans to serve, the soldiers in this photo are visibly content with defeating Hitler's fascism on behalf of their country.


The Tuskegee Airmen depicted in this photo are among the first African American pilots the nation had ever seen. This photograph shows the Tuskegee Airmen in their prime and is symbolic of their contributions to the effort to win World War II. It will be used when discussing the experiences African Americans soldiers had in the military compared to those of white soldiers, and how these soldiers surmounted numerous challenges to serve their nation.


Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, The New York Public Library. "African American Charity Adams, First Officer in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, standing in uniform and pointing to a poster that reads, "Women! Answer America's Call, Serve in the W.A.A.C."

This photo demonstrates that women were encouraged to serve in the military with some of the same tactics used to encourage men, such as patriotic posters and initialisms for certain programs. The fact that Charity Adams, the First Officer of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, figures prominently in the photo demonstrates that the military valued her contributions to the war effort so much that they were willing to publicize black women in the military over white women.


This photograph shows how the Pittsburgh Courier sent journalists to war-stricken areas in person so that they could cover the War's major happenings. It is important to note that the one of the most influential predominantly African American newspapers of the time interviewed African American soldiers to gather details about their experiences in specific. This was a rarity among most American newspapers during the War. This goes to show that the Pittsburgh Courier was not only instrumental in inspiring the Double V campaign but also in maintaining its force of action by supplying information directly from the warfront.

Posters:


This poster demonstrates the degree of urgency with which the African American community viewed the issue of decreasing discrimination in their lives. This poster was published before the United States entered World War II, which suggests that the War did not have a causal relationship with the rising demands for civil rights. It is interesting to note the imagery that is associated with the poster's various symbols, such as a cannon and a factory.

Speeches:


This transcript of A. Philip Randolph's famous "Call to Negro America to March on Washington" demonstrates the exact level of urgency with which Randolph felt that he needed to address the lack of civil rights and equality that black Americans experienced during World War II. This source will be used when discussing Randolph's viewpoints and how they shaped the outlook that the entire black community held with regards to World War II.
Secondary Sources:

Books:


This source discusses the role of African American WACs during World War II. These brave servicewomen beat all the odds that were stacked against them, including racism and sexism, to be some of the hardest-working but least-recognized servicemen the war effort ever saw. This source will be used when discussing prevailing employment discrimination and the conditions that led many African Americans to enlist in the army during World War II.


This book is a compilation of anecdotes that demonstrates the collective African American experience during World War II. Through a series of interwoven stories spanning domestic service and battles in both the Pacific and European theaters of the War, this book paints an intricate picture of how African American men and women answered their nation's call to service despite the monumental systemic challenges that faced them on a daily basis. I will use this source as a general guide for examining the vast and varied contributions made by African Americans during World War II and how they overcame the odds to serve their country.


This source is also a collection of anecdotes centering around the African American experience in the United States during World War II. I will use it to gain a general sense of the racism that black soldiers, servicemen, and citizens faced on the homefront as they aided the war effort. This source will also be used to gain a more complete view of the various roles African Americans had in the United States's successful war outcome along with individual stories that support the main ideas.


This book provides context for the development of the Double V campaign and other black newspaper campaigns during World War II, especially with regards to African Americans on the home front. It will be used to discuss the effect the war efforts had on the calls for equality at home during certain key moments of the War.
Interviews:


I interviewed Cheryl Mullenbach after reading her book *Double Victory*. She expanded on some of the key anecdotes she wrote about in her book, especially that of Mary McLeod Bethune, who played a key role in advising President Roosevelt during the War. This interview will be used when discussing the effects of mass action within the African American community, especially in the home front, on societal change.


I interviewed Professor Washburn after reading his paper in *American Journalism*. He helped me understand the motives behind the Double V campaign and what exactly contributed to its rapid downfall less than a year after its start. This source will be used when discussing the impact the campaign had on the African American community's perception of the War and the federal government's response to the demands of the campaign.

Journal Articles:


This journal article focuses on the Double Victory campaign specifically in Hawaii, a place that held special significance during World War II due to the role of the attack on Pearl Harbor on the United States's entrance to the War. It will be used when discussing the reaction of the federal government to the Double Victory campaign.


This journal article provides context for the actions of President Roosevelt with regard to the creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and the committee's subsequent languishing after progressive budget cuts. It will be used when discussing the efficacy of Executive Order 8802, which President Roosevelt issued in response to A. Philip Randolph's threat for a March on Washington.

This journal article provides an in-depth analysis of both the degree to which African American newspapers represented the movers and shakers within the thought-propagation process of the African American community during World War II as well as the challenges faced by African American reporters abroad. This source also analyzes the happenings in the reporting careers of twenty-seven different African American reporters who worked abroad. This source is vital to the discussion of international journalism and its effects on the African American community's perception of war events.

Papers:


This paper establishes the relationship between the *Pittsburgh Courier* and its reporting on black workers in particular. It emphasizes the fact that reporting on black workers, who represent the majority of readers of the newspaper, had a tremendous effect on the outcome of the Double Victory campaign. This paper also provides statistics on African American employment that reinforce conclusions made about how the African American community perceived the Fair Employment Practices Committee and other aspects of the employment zeitgeist of World War II.


This secondary source provides descriptions of the tactics the *Pittsburgh Courier* used to frame the Double V campaign as a sweeping national phenomenon. It describes the campaign's appeal in the midst of a debate that was so integral to the African American community's experience of World War II. It also has various graphs that better allow one to visualize the effects of the Double V campaign on the collective psyche of African Americans involved in the debate.

Reports:


This report by the Equal Justice Initiative breaks down lynching and its prevalence between Reconstruction and the 1950s. Understanding such a heinous crime is key to understanding the status quo for African Americans immediately before World War II. This source will be used to gain background information on lynching and its reverberations in the African American community in the 20th century.

This manuscript provides an in-depth analysis of the changes in African American enlistment in the U.S. Army Air Forces during World War II. It will be used to connect its data to certain key moments during the Double V campaign in an effort to derive meaning from the historical trends present during the War.

Videos:


This video delves into the broad historical context surrounding the creation of the Double V campaign, starting with the numerous disappointments with which the African American community was faced following World War I. It also describes the fervor with which the campaign came to fruition, especially when Thompson's letter was published. This source will be used when portraying the general context of the Double V campaign and its repercussions on the African American community's outlook on World War II.


This video demonstrates the ways in which the Tuskegee Airmen achieved the first "V" in the Double Victory campaign: victory abroad. Once this was achieved, these soldiers and others paved the way for all African Americans to advance the fight for their civil rights.


This interview with Dr. Patrick Washburn provides details on the degree to which federal government agencies monitored the black press during World War II. Of special importance is the perceived threat that these agencies assigned to the Double V campaign. This source will be used when discussing the effects of the most widely circulated black newspapers during this time period.

Web Articles:


This article gives an overview of Jim Crow South and provides numerous statistics that highlight the human cost of such a destructive era. It will be used when discussing the
uphill battle many African Americans in the South faced in terms of gaining more civil rights before, during, and after World War II.


This news article contains a summary of the experiences of Alexander Jefferson, a Tuskegee airman who experienced the worst of the Nazi regime firsthand after he was shot down while flying. It will be used when discussing the events that led up to the creation of the Tuskegee Airmen and the impact this regiment had on both the war effort and the African American community's perception of the war effort.

Webpages:


This webpage summarizes efforts made by A. Philip Randolph and his affiliates in the NAACP with regard to his proposed march. It will be used when discussing Randolph's actions in propagating his ideas prior to his long sought-after meeting with President Roosevelt.


This source dives deeper into President Roosevelt's official policy of Four Freedoms, and how this policy shaped his attitude towards our nation's official entrance in late 1941. It is interesting to note how drastically President Roosevelt's sense of urgency and general air changed when the United States entered the War, and this source will be used when discussing this shift.


This webpage will be used when discussing the meeting between President Roosevelt and A. Philip Randolph. This consequential meeting before the United States entered the War set the tone for the African American community's viewpoint on the War and resulted in the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It will be used when discussing the impacts African American thought leaders had on the fight for less discrimination.

This website gives an overview of the Jim Crow Era of the South. It will be used to discuss the pre-World War II societal status quo that African Americans faced, along with some activism that was already present during this time period. I will aim to find both continuities and differences across these time periods in order to investigate to what degree World War II advanced the fight for increased civil rights.


This virtual exhibit from the Library of Congress gives a summary of discriminatory practices against African Americans during the first four decades of the 20th century. It will be used when discussing the historical context of the Double V campaign and the events that led up to A. Philip Randolph's activism for employment equality.


This webpage gives details on the prevailing practices of racial discrimination that were commonplace in the military during World War II. Of interest in this source are the discussion of segregation and various war efforts to which African American servicemen contributed in spite of racial discrimination, such as the Red Ball Express.


This webpage gives the broad historical context of the Double Victory campaign and goes into specific detail on how African American workers were treated on the domestic front in factories and in HBCUs. This source also emphasizes the degree to which African American workers, who often sacrificed a great deal of their lives to help the United States win in World War II, were often marginalized and downtrodden by racist employers. I will use it to learn more about the campaign's repercussions on the daily lives of African Americans who were treated negatively in the United States war effort World War II.


This webpage offers details on the Red Ball Express, a well-known example of how African Americans proved themselves to be an integral part of the war effort in the face of all odds against them. African American soldiers who worked on this transportation route kept alive the flow of resources to soldiers on the front lines after the Allied
invasion of Normandy. This source will be used to portray the military successes that arose as a result of African American soldiers' service.


This reference article provides a historical overview of the Double V campaign and its repercussions within the African American community. It delves into how the Pittsburgh Courier was able to capture the attention of its readers by publishing anecdotes and essays that most African Americans could relate to. In a way, the newspaper helped democratize the African American World War II experience. This secondary source will be used to paint a better picture of the historical context of the Double V campaign and the Pittsburgh Courier's role in spreading the campaign's messages to the masses.


This source gives specific details on the Tuskegee Airmen, 92nd Infantry Division, and other groups of African American soldiers who bravely fought during World War II. It can be used to cite specific statistics on African American military service during this period as well as the contributions made by African Americans on the homefront.


This entry in the Global Nonviolent Action Database gives context to the relationship between A. Philip Randolph and the NAACP and its leaders, specifically Walter White. The alliance between these two groups was a major step in the right direction for the development of Randolph's proposed march on the nation's capital, but it only came as a result of hard work from both parties involved.


This webpage provides further context for Phyllis Mae Dailey, the first African American Navy nurse, who was sworn in on March 8th, 1945. The webpage also provides information as to the development of WAVES and other women's military regiments which were encouraged by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt during the war effort.
This virtual exhibit displays original campaign materials used by the *Pittsburgh Courier* in promulgating its Double V rhetoric. This source also explains how other newspapers were involved in the campaign, especially after it had died out in the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

This source gives me a general overview of African American service during World War I. Gaining insight in this area is essential in understanding what changed in the ways African Americans participated in the war effort between World Wars I and II.