U.S. Military Activities and Civil Rights

Part 2: The Military Response to the March on Washington, 1963



Primary Source Media



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Guide Compiled by Alissa De Rosa

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Cover photograph: Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C., Leaders marching from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, August 28, 1963. Courtesy of the National Archives, ARC #542010

In the front row, from left are: Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League; Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, American Federation of Labor (AFL), and a former vice president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO); Walter P. Reuther, President, United Auto Workers Union; and Arnold Aronson, Secretary of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

"...It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges..." Martin Luther King, Jr.

On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 demonstrators descended upon the nation's capital to participate in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Not only was it the largest demonstration for human rights in U.S. history, but it also occasioned a rare display of unity among the various civil rights organizations. Most people learned about the march through their local civil rights and church groups. Vehicles known as "freedom buses" and "freedom trains" brought people from all regions of America to this demonstration. Over 30 special trains and 2,000 chartered buses were used. About 250,000 people came, with over 60,000 of them being white. The event began with a rally at the Washington Monument featuring several celebrities and musicians.

Participants then marched the mile-long National Mall to the Lincoln Memorial. The three-hour long program at the Lincoln Memorial included speeches from prominent civil rights and religious leaders.

The program was opened by A. Philip Randolph saying, in front of the Lincoln Memorial, "Fellow Americans, we are gathered here in the largest demonstration in the history of this nation. Let the nation and the world know the meaning of our numbers. We are not a pressure group, we are not an organization or a group of organizations, we are not a mob. We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom."

As the March continued, so did the crowd's size. Officials developed a deep fear for a violent attack if anything stirred the large mass of people. Fortunately, there was no violence, and more importantly, few people bothered to go to the nearby, well protected, White House.

Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech that was televised across the nation. It was a speech of hope and determination, epitomizing the day's message of racial harmony, love, and a belief that blacks and whites could live together in peace.

The event was a resounding success, extensively covered by the media. There were no major disturbances. The 1,000 soldiers shadowing the march were in no way necessary.

The records comprising Primary Source Media's new microfilm publication, *Part 2: The Military Response to the March on Washington*, *1963*, reveal details of the Federal Government's plans to militarily intervene in the March on Washington (codenamed Operation "Steep Hill") in the event the march became disorderly. Army staff communications and memos tracked the plans of the march organizers throughout the summer, and the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations prepared contingency plans for cooperation with District of Columbia police for controlling the march.

The records also include intelligence reports and estimates, congressional correspondence, press articles, and maps planning the route of the march and facilities needed. These records give an insight into the personalities and events at the March on Washington. In addition, there is small quantity of records relating to the plans to intervene in Alabama in 1963 over the issue of school integration.

SOURCE & EDITORIAL NOTE

The documents reproduced in this publication are Records of the Department of the Army, in the custody of the National Archives of the United States. This publication consists of documents comprising RG 319: Records of the Army Staff, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, Domestic Disturbance Files: Records of the March on Washington, or Operation "Steep Hill," MLR Entry 114. All documents have been filmed in their entirety.

REEL INDEX

The following is a listing of the folders comprising the microfilm publication entitled *U.S. Military Activities and Civil Rights, Part 2:The Military Response to the March on Washington, 1963.* The Reel Index lists the folder number, folder title, as well as a listing of the major subjects for each folder.

REEL 1

Folder#

[1] March on Washington September-October, 1963.

Major subjects: Congress, U.S.; Employment equality; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Legislation and bills; Non-violence; Rustin, Bayard.

[2] March on Washington August, 1963 (cont.) [1 of 2].

Major subjects: Affirmative action; American Nazi Party; Bombings; Congress, U.S.; Demonstrations; Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt; Education equality; Illinois; Kennedy, John F.; Legislation and bills; New York City; Religious organization; Texas.

[3] March on Washington August, 1963 [2 of 2].

Major subjects: Congress, U.S.; National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union (NCACLU); Religious organization.

[4] March on Washington June-July, 1963.

Major subjects: Affirmative action; Demonstrations; Maryland.

[5] March on Washington, 1963 (Operation Washington) (or Steep Hill) OPS/OD/CD 1-3-2 MDW Charts.

Major subjects: Metropolitan Police; Military personnel.

[6] OPS/OD/CD 1-3-3 MDW Memos.

Major subjects: Conferences; Directives; Kennedy, Robert F.; Logistics; March on Washington; Medical facilities; Metropolitan Police.

[7] OPS/OD/CD 1-3-4 MDW Messages.

Major subjects: Finances; Intelligence; Logistics; March on Washington; NAACP.

[8] OPS/OD/CD 1-3-6 Memos for the Record.

Major subjects: Capitol grounds; Capitol Police, U.S.; Logistics; March on Washington; Military, U.S.; National Guard; Propaganda.

REEL 2

[9]	OPS/OD/CD 1-3-7 MDW Memos and Letters. Major subjects: African American students; Application of force; Desegregation of schools; Finances; Logistics; March on Washington; Metropolitan Police; Military, U.S.; National Guard; Propaganda.
[10]	OPS/OD/CD 1-3-8 MDW miscellaneous. Major subjects: Defense Department, U.S.; Defense Department, U.S.; Directives; Finances; Logistics; March on Washington; Military personnel.
[11]	OPS/OD/CD 1-3-9 MDW Congressional Inquiries. Major subjects: Army Policy Council; Directives; Finances; Kennedy, John F.; March on Washington; Military personnel.
[12]	OPS/OD/CD 1-3-10 MDW Daily intelligence summaries.
[13]	[Title unknown]. Major subjects: Army Department, U.S.; Civil disturbances planning; Directives; Logistics; Medical facilities; Metropolitan Police; Military District of Washington (MDW).
[14]	Operations Steep Hill/Washington Journal.
[15]	Operation Washington Journal.
[16]	Steep Hill Operations by Number - A list useful for arranging Steep Hill RCD.
[17]	Civil Disturbances Planning Files. Major subject: Directives.
[18]	Task Force Operations Charts, 8 August, 1963, Operation Steep Hill.
[19]	[Title unknown]. Major subjects: Civil disturbances planning; Logistics.
[20]	OP Washington TF Inside March on Washington, 1963, Copy after action report, TFI, Related planning files.
[21]	Volume 1 Cables OPN Alabama. Major subjects: African American students; Civil disturbances planning; Demonstrations; Logistics.

REEL 3

[22] Volume 1 Cables OPN Alabama.

Major subjects: Army Department, U.S.; Boycott; Civil disturbances planning; Demonstrations; Desegregation of schools; Directives; Integration of schools; Logistics; Louisiana; Maryland; Students.

[23] [Title unknown].

Major subject: Washington, D.C.

[24] Alabama (includes Auburn, 1964).

Major subjects: Civil disturbances planning; Demonstrations; Desegregation of schools; Logistics; National Guard.

[25] [Title unknown].

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Louisiana.

[26] Situation Reports, Operation Steep Hill II (17 September - 3 October 1963).

Major subjects: Alabama; Arson; Bombings; Demonstrations; Desegregation of schools.

[27] Georgia.

Major subjects: Alabama; Desegregation of schools; Logistics; National Guard.

[28] Journal Alabama Operations.

Major subjects: Alabama; Desegregation of schools.

[29] Louisiana.

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Louisiana; National Guard.

[30] South Carolina.

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; National Guard.

[31] [Title unknown].

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; National Guard.

REEL 4

[32] [24 December 1963 - 6 June 1964] [1 of 5].

Major subjects: Alabama; *Auburn Journal;* Auburn University; Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Maryland; National Guard.

[33] [30 September - 17 October 1963] [2 of 5].

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Maryland; National Guard.

[34] [29 September 1963] [3 of 5].

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Maryland; National Guard.

[35] [27 September - 29 September 1963] [4 of 5].

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Maryland; National Guard.

[36] [30 August - 31 August 1963] [5 of 5].

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; National Guard.

[37] Volume 1 Cable Operation Cambridge.

Major subjects: Desegregation of schools; Logistics; Maryland; National Guard; Steep

Hill VI Journal.

REEL 5

[38] Unarranged Steep Hill Files, etc.

Major subjects: Alabama; Auburn University; Boycott; Civil disturbances planning; Desegregation of schools; Georgia; Integration of schools; Logistics; Maryland; Students.

[39] [Racial Demonstrations Messages by Armies, May-June-July 1963].

Major subjects: Blake, Harry; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Desegregation of public areas; Employment equality; Hayling, Robert; Housing equality; Logistics; March on Washington; Military personnel; Student Non-Violence Coordination Committee (SNCC).

[40] [Racial Demonstrations Messages by Armies].

Major subjects: Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Congress, U.S.; Desegregation of schools; Employment equality; Legislation and bills; NAACP; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

[41] [Racial Disturbance Messages November 1963].

Major subjects: Boycott; Congress, U.S.; Desegregation of schools; Legislation and bills; NAACP; New York City.

[42] Racial Tensions and Demonstrations (Second Army).

Major subjects: Maryland; National Guard.

[43] Racial Tensions and Demonstrations (Third Army).

Major subjects: National Guard; North Carolina.

[44] Racial Tensions and Demonstrations (Fourth Army).

Major subjects: Arkansas; National Guard.

[45] Racial Tensions and Demonstrations (Various Armies).

[46] Planning for Civil Disturbances Basic and Future Planning Directives.

SUBJECT INDEX

The first number after each entry refers to the reel, while the number following the colon refers to a folder number on that reel. Hence 1:4 directs the researcher to folder 4 on reel 1. Each folder is located on the reel in numerical order and introduced with a folder tab. These subjects will not necessarily be found at the beginning of the designated folder, but will be located within it. This Subject Index is best used in conjunction with the Reel index, which lists not only folder numbers, but folder titles as well.

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Part 3: The Integration of Alabama Schools and the Use of Military Forces, 1963

Part 4: The Little Rock Integration Crisis, 1957-1958