

A
MONTHLY SUMMARY
OF
EVENTS AND TRENDS
IN
RACE RELATIONS

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SYMBOLS

CNI—CHECKED NEWS ITEM

GP—GENERAL PRESS

ANP—ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS

NP—NEGRO PRESS

OWI—OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

FR—FIELD REPORT

A MONTHLY SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND TRENDS IN RACE RELATIONS

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Since the last issue of the SUMMARY there have been world convulsions on a vast scale. With slowly mounting dismay and even alarm the people of the nation have been learning that they are in the opening phases of a new era and a new kind of world.

The swift series of events began with the ratification of the United Nations Charter, which the Louisville *Courier-Journal* called "only a first hopeful step toward a still cloudy future." This was followed suddenly by the first major social revolution of Europe in the defeat of Churchill by the Laborites which *Time* described as "the greatest electoral upset in British history." Europe began its swing to the left, sharply repudiating the "decayed systems of privilege," and offered, in particular, the promise of sweeping social reforms which included an enlightened colonial policy. The effect on America was as startling as the earlier death of President Roosevelt. Waves

of prompt American reaction appeared in governmental, industrial and labor circles, and they continue to mount.

In Germany the great powers sealed their conquest with a solemn document abolishing all racial discrimination in the defeated country, thus ideologically and morally vindicating their victory in Europe. Then came the unleashing of the atomic bomb, which with one unearthly explosion marked alike a revolution in science and in warfare. It left a startled world the choice of "one world or none." Little cliques of men, wistful for unconquerable sovereign power and domination, saw in the secret formula a new hope of peace. It was the peace of a world held at bay by terror. They were given little comfort by the scientists who had created this wrathful giant of destruction. For it had been created by men of all races and many nations; the secret of its creation could no more be kept within the laboratory of a single nation than could the knowledge of nuclear physics.

Russia declared war on Japan, damming up and reversing one dangerous current of speculation about a next war. Japan capitulated, thus ending a dream of domination of the Orient by Orientals.

Congress was on vacation when the new era was ushered in, and was unprepared for the now present problems of employment, reconversion and social readjustment generally. Of particular interest to this summary, it had taken no action to aid full employment, and had fouled all attempts to continue a Fair Employment Practice Committee. The Wagner-Ellender housing bill, which would aid both employment and housing, had been neglected. The bill to provide federal aid to education was still smothered in Committee. A still surviving but hamstrung FEPC cut its staff from 177 to 51, with 2600 cases pending, an increase of 20 percent over this time last year.

By a strange irony, the new moral leadership of the United States made it necessary for Secretary of State Byrnes of South Carolina, where Negroes are excluded from the white primaries, to protest against the "undemocratic character" of elections in Bulgaria.

In the States, Georgia made history by adopting a new constitution that virtually abolished the poll tax by not mentioning it, and its Governor Arnall, incidentally, came to national attention through an article in *Collier's* in which he denounced lazy southern government, the poll tax, political demagogues and race baiters. "Only the demagogue tries to make political capital of social equality and of racial intermarriage."

Prompt cut-backs following the cessation of hostilities threw 1,500,000 men out of work within the first week. The War Manpower Commission's figures indicated that 8,300,000 faced unemployment. From California came reports of a concerted movement on the part of peace-time industries to eliminate minority workers. The promise of the return of employment services to the states brought apprehension on the part of minority workers, who have had difficulty in many states in spite of the pressure of the Federal government for fair employment.

Against this tide the Chicago City Council passed an ordinance making industrial discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin a misdemeanor; Mayor Lapham of San Francisco supported the right of a Japanese-American to work for the Municipal Railway despite the threat of all machinists in the system to quit. The New England, Boston and New Jersey telegraph companies announced that they would hire Negro girls as operators for the first time; Wright Field in Dayton, Ohio,

revealed that it was employing 8,000 Negroes in branches of civilian employment, ranging from maintenance, semi-skilled and clerical workers to engineers and chemists; and in Memphis the refusal of a cleaning company to recognize its Negro workers as members union brought a strike of white workers, the first in fifty-eight years.

Housing continued an acute problem, but with some prospect of relief. The statement of the National Association of Real Estate Boards that better housing for Negroes is good business was so well supported in Chicago, Milwaukee and Detroit that they wanted to get ahead of the government in doing something about it. Building and Loan Associations which hold 23.4 per cent of the first mortgages on Negro homes showed higher average interest rates for Negro investments despite their lower earning power. Two recent Federal courts in California condemned restrictive covenants.

Most pronounced improvements appeared in the field of education. Sentiment increased in the North and South in support of Federal aid to education; another South Carolina city (York) voluntarily equalized its teachers' salaries; the Kentucky State Department of Education announced that it would no longer support differential pay on the grounds merely that the white teacher faced higher living costs; White Plains, New York, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and Portland, Oregon, put on their first Negro teachers; William Penn College in Iowa added a Negro biologist to its faculty; and the War Department sent orientation and educational documents to 175,000 education and information officers, which included criticism of fascistic tendencies at home, race superiority theories, anti-Semitism and race-baiting in the South. The American College of Surgeons lifted its bar on Negro doctors and sent applications to three of them.

On the political front, the Florida Supreme Court ruled that Negroes must be allowed to vote; Senator Eastland's slur on Negro soldiers and Senator Bilbo's insulting reference to Negroes, Jews and Italians were publicly condemned by 75 percent of the southern editors polled by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and by an organization of Southern Methodist Women.

In the armed forces, the Navy has abolished its official segregation at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station; the three Negro army officers court-martialled in the much-publicized Freeman Field discrimination and insubordination case, and the three Negro WACs arrested in Kentucky and allegedly beaten by civilian policemen for sitting in the "white" waiting room of a railway station, were acquitted by army court-martial. Minor rioting followed V-J Day celebrations in London.

A Federal Grand Jury in Sacramento, California, returned indictments against a group engaged in terrorizing returning Nisei in California.

The Governor of California appointed Walter Gordon, Negro attorney, to the chairmanship of the California Adult Authority Board, with authority over all male inmates of state prisons. The Governor of North Carolina announced the appointment of a Negro to the new State Recreation Commission; and Secretary of State Byrnes appointed Dr. Ralph Bunch of the Division of Strategic Services under the State Department, a member of the important three-men Caribbean Commission.

The concern of the nation has turned seriously toward the looming wide-scale unemployment of the reconversion period. This is no longer a vague expectation of the future but a present reality.

C.S.J.

THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT

THE COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE:

A Cursory Review of the Defense and War Years

On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued the now famous Executive Order 8802 which "reaffirmed" a national policy against racial discrimination in employment and authorized the establishment of a Committee on Fair Employment Practice charged with the reception and investigation of complaints and with the taking of "appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid." The issuance of this order culminated months of pressure brought by spokesmen for Negroes and other minorities against whom much of private industry and many government agencies discriminated in employment policies. The Committee was established as a preparedness (national defense) and continued as a war measure. It constituted a recognition by the national government of the need of seeing that "available and needed workers" were not barred from defense industries "solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin."

The original Committee consisted of publisher Mark Ethridge, chairman, Alderman Earl Dickerson, CIO President Philip Murray, AFL President William Green, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Vice President, Milton Webster, and RCA-Victor President David Sarnoff. (John Brophy and Boris Shishkin represented Messrs. Murray and Green respectively.) This Committee held hearings in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Washington, and Birmingham; and reviewed instances of discrimination involving industries and/or unions in aircraft, shipbuilding, automobile manufacturing, radio, plumbing and numerous other gainful pursuits. Under Executive Order 8802 the technique employed by the Committee was almost exclusively that of bringing recalcitrant employers and unions into line by focusing, in public hearings, the

light of public opinion upon discrimination.

The hearings of the Committee were often opposed by persons or firms accused of discrimination. The opposition took the form of bringing political pressure to bear to prevent the holding of hearings, and of refusal by firms cited for violation of the order, to appear at hearings. The Birmingham hearings were once postponed in the face of rumors and veiled threats that they would precipitate violence. When the hearings were finally held (June 18-20, 1942), by now under the chairmanship of Malcolm MacLean, Mr. Ethridge, on opening them, deemed it necessary to deny that the Committee had either the power or the desire to break down segregation. The Louisville publisher went so far as to express grave doubts that the combined armed might of the Allies and the Axis would be able to induce the South to give up segregation. When this respect had been paid to the South's "peculiar institutions" the sessions proceeded without untoward incident.

The acid test of the first Committee came the following winter when hearings were scheduled involving the country's railroads and major railroad unions. Here the Committee faced a combination of the nation's major railroads backed by vast financial resources, the Big Four Railway Brotherhoods (among America's strongest, most progressive and politically most powerful trade unions with a blind spot on race), and various governmental railway labor agencies which have apparently colluded in continued discrimination against Negroes.¹ FEPC had meantime been transferred to the War Manpower Commission under Paul McNutt, an act which had aroused much opposition. A few days be-

¹Cf. Herbert R. Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (1944), pages 48-99.

fore the railroad hearings were to begin, and without prior consultation with or notice to members of the Committee, Mr. McNutt announced that the hearings had been postponed indefinitely. No official explanation has ever been offered.²

As far as effectiveness went, this postponement marked the death knell of the FEPC as it operated under Executive Order 8802. Negroes, liberals, Committee members seemed to feel that President Roosevelt's fair employment policy had been sacrificed to political expediency. The result, however, was renewed political pressure on the Administration.

After limping along through the winter and spring, while resentment and pressure accumulated, the Committee's functions were redefined in Executive Order 9346, issued by President Roosevelt on May 22, 1943. The new Committee, again in the Executive Office of the President, was constituted with a full-time salaried chairman and an enlarged staff (The earlier staff had consisted of only thirteen officers and twenty-one clerical workers.) Monsignor Francis J. Haas, formerly Dean of the School of Social Sciences at Catholic University, now Bishop of Grand Rapids, was appointed chairman and director. To serve with him as unpaid members of the body Mr. Roosevelt appointed John Brophy (Director of Industrial Union Councils, CIO), Samuel Zemurray (president American Fruit Company), P. B. Young (Publisher, *Norfolk Journal and Guide*), Sara E. Southall (International Harvester Corporation), Boris Shishkin (Economist, AFL), and Milton P. Webster (Vice President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters). Mr. Young was later succeeded by Attorney Charles H. Houston, Monsignor Haas by Malcolm Ross, and Mr. Zemurray by Charles H. Horn of Federal Cartridge Corporation.

²An explanation was later proposed unofficially to the effect that such uncreditable evidence as Attorneys Houston and Epstein had collected on racial discrimination in a major American industry might prove embarrassing to Mr. Roosevelt who was conferring with Mr. Churchill at Casa Blanca at the time.

The staff was enlarged from thirty-four to 113 and reorganized into Legal, Administrative, Field Operations, and Review and Analysis Divisions. Twelve field offices were placed at strategic points throughout the country.

One of the first acts of the re-constituted FEPC was the re-scheduling of the Railroad hearings.³ The holding of the hearings helped to reestablish the prestige of FEPC and set the new regime off to a good start. Much of the effectiveness of the hearings, however, was lost. The unions which had been cited officially, ignored the sessions and refused to make any answer to the charges against them. The excellently prepared evidence of the Committee was largely lost to the public eye, inasmuch as none of the major news services covered the hearings fully, and only a few of the nation's newspapers—aside from the Negro press—gave more than passing attention to the proceedings. The case was finally certified to the President who appointed a committee under Cleveland's Mayor Lausche (now Governor of Ohio) to work out an equitable settlement. This committee's findings or progress thus far have not been made public.

In the case of the Philadelphia Transit Company (PTC) FEPC secured excellent cooperation from the War Manpower Commission and finally met with success, despite a costly hate strike fostered by leaders of a repudiated company union.⁴

Other publicized cases which FEPC has handled with great credit include the auxiliary unions of the Boilermakers, the transit systems of Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Syracuse, and several labor disputes involving the infringement of minority rights.

³For an account of the hearings and the Committee's findings, see MONTHLY SUMMARY, October, 1943, pages 3 and 4; December, 1943, pages 4 and 5; and January 1944, page 3.

⁴See MONTHLY SUMMARY, December 1943, page 4; findings, see MONTHLY SUMMARY, October, 1943, pages 3 and 4; December, 1943, pages 4 and 5; and January Friends Service Committee number 11, September 1944.

Perhaps of greatest significance has been the quiet negotiation of complaints which never came to public attention. The prime mandate of FEPC has been that of securing a maximum utilization of human resources in a time of national crisis.⁵ The effectiveness of the Committee's work in this regard can be best judged by the large number of cases handled and the manner of their disposition. During the eighteen-month period, July 1, 1943 to December 31, 1944, a total of 6,885 cases were docketed.⁶ Of this number, 4,801 cases were closed. The following table adapted from the Committee's *First Report* indicates by geographic areas the manner in which the closed cases were disposed:

CASES DOCKETED AND CLOSED BY TYPE OF DISPOSITION—JULY 1, 1945-DECEMBER 31, 1945*

Area	Cases Docketed	Total Cases Closed	DISMISSED					
			Satisfactory Adjustment	Withdrawn by Complainant	On Merits	Insufficient Evidence	No Jurisdiction	Other
Total	5,803	4,801	1,723	328	1,505	623	195	427
East	1,885	1,690	679	92	636	182	75	26
South	1,670	1,098	321	59	323	127	43	225
M'west	1,265	1,213	422	89	314	212	50	126
West	983	800	301	88	232	102	27	50

(a. Table 1-F, Appendix E, *First Report*, page 116.)

The variations and similarities in various areas should be noted.

When the fact is considered that FEPC has no enforcement powers of its own the proportion of cases satisfactorily handled or dismissed for valid reasons is amazingly high. When it is further considered that this volume of work was done by field

⁵Its jurisdiction includes (1) agencies of the Federal Government; (2) employers and the unions of employees in firms holding government contracts; and (3) employers and unions of employees in firms engaged in war production or in activities necessary for the maintenance of such production whether or not the firms are under government contract.

⁶The figures in this section are taken from *First Report*, Fair Employment Practice Committee (Washington, 1945), page 31 and ff. A complaint is docketed when it is found to possess the minimum characteristics of a valid case and thus placed on permanent record.

staff of thirty-six examiners—and the negotiations in one case may take weeks—the record is nothing short of phenomenal.

The effectiveness of the agency must also be judged in other terms. There is little doubt that the existence of FEPC served to expedite the integration of Negro workers into war industry. Its job was rendered less difficult by the existence of a tight labor market; but the fact remains that it took the additional fact of a governmental agency armed with a government policy to convince many employers that they should utilize the existing supply of Negro labor.

Another point at which the FEPC has served well is in making the nation fair employment conscious. This fact is reflected on the one hand by the fact that even those persons who disagree with the Committee's continuation as a peacetime agency with enforcement powers (aside from members of the Lunatic Fringe) are careful to explain that they believe in "the principle of the thing." This fair employment consciousness is further indicated by the plethora of state and national legislation offered for permanent agencies. New York now has a strong law administered by an operating full-time Commission. New Jersey has a less comprehensive law administered through the Department of Education. Indiana's law, though quite weak, places the Hoosiers on the "right side of the record".⁷ In Congress the Chavez Bill has been reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Mrs. Norton's version (H R 2232) has been reported out of the House Committee on Labor since February; but is being held in the Rules Committee by a tie vote on the issue of reporting it for debate. Efforts at getting it discharged by petition have thus far met with no success. President Truman has come out strongly for the measure in a letter to

⁷It is also significant that, where bills were defeated, the act was usually accomplished by parliamentary subterfuge; e.g., California, Massachusetts, Connecticut.

Chairman Sabbath of the Rules Committee. It was also urged in his recent Reconversion Message.

The status of the present Committee is far from clear. Whether or not the President can or will reconstitute it for the reconversion period is problematical. It is quite clear to students of the subject, however, that a permanent FEPC with power to subpoena witnesses and to enforce its directives as called for in the Norton and Chavez bills is needed. As Mr. Truman has pointed out, we have embarked upon a national policy based upon the right of every American to work without discrimination because of his race, creed, color, or national origin. It would be nothing short of tragic to abandon such a policy in so critical a period of world history as the present.

EMPLOYMENT

War Manpower Commission estimates place the probable peak number of unemployed workers during 1945 as 6.2 million.⁸ When it is realized that one of twelve warworkers is a Negro and that black workers are concentrated in the most vulnerable industries we may expect several hundred thousand of the unemployed to be non-white. Added to their concentration in vulnerable industries is the fact that Negro workers have, on the whole, less seniority than whites. Reports reaching the SUMMARY from all over the country indicate that workers are generally being laid off according to seniority and efficiency.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

During the week following V-J Day approximately 7,500 Negroes were among the 35,000 workers laid off in the Baltimore area. A survey by the Baltimore Urban League indicates that lay-offs have been impartial on the whole, with seniority and efficiency being the main determining factors. Several industries, including fertilizer, chemical, and sugar, are in immediate need of workers. Others, including textiles, food processing, lumber, furniture, rubber products, and railroad equipment, are expected to enter the field of civilian produc-

⁸*The Labor Market*, August 1945, page 2.

tion within the near future. The imminent closing of aircraft and shipbuilding plants in the Baltimore area is expected to affect several thousand colored workers. (FR)

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Recently the Chicago branch of the Congress of Racial Equality conducted a three-day poll among State Street shoppers as they emerged from various department stores. Persons were asked, "Would you be willing to be served by a qualified Negro sales clerk in this store?" Sixty-nine percent of the persons polled answered, "Yes"; 23 percent replied, "No", and eight percent were not certain. (GP) (FR, ANP)

Chicago became America's first city to pass a fair practices ordinance when a bill drafted by the Chicago Liberties Committee was adopted with only one dissenting vote. The measure forbids discrimination in employment based on race, creed, color, or national origin in all agencies of the City government and by persons operating under city contract. Persons, firms or corporations found guilty of such discrimination will be judged to have committed a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than \$200.00. (ANP)

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The steady trek of workers from the coal mines of southern West Virginia in the face of a fuel-short winter has given much concern to officials of the War Manpower Commission (WMC) and the Solid Fuels Administration. The migration of Negro workers from this area has been particularly heavy, for whereas the number of white miners has decreased by 8.4 percent, 38 percent of the Negro workers had migrated from a dozen mines in the area chosen at random.⁹

Mr. Victor Daly, Minority Groups Representative for Region IV of WMC has recently made a study of the conditions in the area which have led to this out-migration. Some of the highlights of his findings follow:

1. The Southern West Virginia Mines are located near the highly industrialized centers of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Akron, Detroit, and Dayton. Manpower had been greatly needed in these areas and many unskilled and semi-skilled jobs were available to Negroes. In addition to the fact that wages were generally higher and hazards negligible in these centers, there

⁹The number of white miners in these mines had dropped from 8,104 in 1940 to 7,437 in 1945; meanwhile, the number of Negro miners had decreased from 3,382 in 1940 to 2,094 in the twelve mines covered in the survey.

were employment opportunities for wives and older children of Negro workers.

2. Not even the slums and crowded quarters found in Detroit and Cleveland could match the wretched conditions of the rural and semi-rural slums of the coal mining areas.
3. Despite the fact that as many as 680 Negro miners per year have taken advantage of the Mining Extension Service courses offered for them at West Virginia State College, few of those finishing the course have been permitted to advance beyond the back-breaking job of coal load-

ing to better-paying jobs for which they have been trained. The United Mine Workers—traditionally noted for its liberal racial attitude—has been able to do little to implement its national policy in the mines in this area.

4. There is the usual American dream of a better existence for one's children than one has had himself. Many miners feel that life in Northern cities, however rugged, is preferable to the kind of dead-end existence that they have known in the mining communities of southern West Virginia. (FR)

THE SOCIAL FRONT

HOUSING

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

Three years ago Leroy Glenn White, a local Negro resident, filed suit seeking to enjoin the Hamtramck Housing Commission, the Hamtramck city authorities, and the FPHA from barring Negroes from the Colonel Hamtramck Homes, a war housing project of 300 units. A year ago Judge Guy A. Miller granted an injunction which stipulated that 22 units of the homes—a number approximating the proportion of Negroes in the population—be kept vacant, pending a decision in the case. In late July, Circuit Judge Thomas F. Maher ruled that the Commission was within its legal rights, saying that if the all-Negro housing project promised by the Commission were not built within "a reasonable time" the case could be re-opened. Mr. White had charged that the barring of Negroes on racial grounds was a violation of Michigan's civil rights statute and the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution. (FR)

MIAMI, FLORIDA

Recently Negro residents of the Brown Subdivision in Miami were awakened by the burning of a wooden cross—the symbol of the Ku Klux Klan. The cross had been soaked in oil and ignited following a meeting of the Northwest Property Owners League. The latter group objected to the fact that two Negro families had moved into an area which they claimed had been zoned by the city for white persons only. (Actually, the Supreme Court declared city zoning based on race unconstitutional more than a quarter of a century ago.) Earlier the sheriff's office of Dade County had jailed the two family heads on a charge of faulty garbage disposal. A local white

realtor secured their release on \$500 bail. This is the first public demonstration of the Klan in Miami since 1939 when members rode through the Negro sections of the city warning colored citizens who had registered not to vote. (FR, NP)

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Two incidents reported from Baltimore are illustrative of facets of the tension surrounding the housing problem for Negroes. Members of the housing committee of the Frontiers Club, an organization of Negro business, white collar and professional men, called upon the Real Estate Board to (1) formulate a plan for "the orderly expansion" of Negroes into areas contiguous to those already occupied by them and (2) develop vacant land sites for the use of persons of color seeking to purchase their own homes. The mildly-worded and polite prepared statement of the committee concluded:

We believe that the private enterprise system of providing homes must vindicate itself by providing modern housing for all who can afford to pay for it on a self-supporting, self-respecting basis and not complain when the victims of their neglect seek relief in paternalistic (sic) governmental projects.

A week later approximately 800 white persons under the sponsorship of the Fulton Avenue Improvement Association descended upon the Baltimore City Hall demanding that Mayor McKeldin do something about Negro "block busting" in the Fulton Avenue area. William C. Lennert, a member of the Maryland House of Delegates, asked the Mayor if he would sign an ordinance prohibiting the further influx of Negroes into the area. The Mayor replied that he could not sign such an

¹"Block busting" is a term denoting the initial invasion of Negroes into a block previously occupied exclusively by whites. The "busting" usually gives rise to panic-selling by whites to speculators who, in turn, sell to house-starved Negroes at exorbitant prices.

ordinance inasmuch as it would be unconstitutional. The Lawmaker promised his disappointed constituents that, if the Mayor would do nothing about the situation, he would see that something is done at the next meeting of the legislature. (FR, NP)

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

As in many Southern towns, lines of residential segregation have not been rigidly drawn in Fayetteville in the past. In recent years, however, there has been a distinct trend toward exclusively separate neighborhoods. Recently, after a Negro had purchased a vacant lot in a "white" block, a delegation from the neighborhood came to the Board of Aldermen asking whether or not "there were methods of preventing a colored citizen, purchaser of a vacant lot in a white-occupied street, from building and occupying a residence on his lot." The Board could devise no statutory means of supplying relief to the delegation; however, the City Fathers apparently brought the prestige of their office to bear upon the Negro owner. According to the *Fayetteville Observer* (August 14, 1945), "Members of the Board and the petitioners reached an accommodation today with the purchaser, and he agreed to sell his lot for several hundred dollars below the original asking price." (Italics ours) (Cf. Baltimore item, above.) (FR, GP)

Twenty-five of seventy-five war-housing units recently allocated in Fayetteville are being earmarked for occupancy by Negroes. Fifteen of these are to be for sale or owner-occupancy and the remaining ten are to rent at a maximum of \$30.00 per month. These units are under the H-2 program of the National Housing Agency (NHA) and will not be restricted to the use of in-migrants as were those built under H-1. Housing needs in Fayetteville have continued acute throughout the preparedness and war period. (FR)

WELFARE

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Cheltenham, the state supported training school for colored boys, received a supplementary appropriation of \$51,065 in July to be used in the improvement of living quarters for the boys and staff members. The institution which has been an object of strong criticism for many years, is reported to be improving rapidly under the administration of Royal A. B. Crump, the first Negro superintendent. Under his administration, corporal punishment

and detention cells have been abandoned, sanitary facilities improved, and religious and recreational instruction organized. (FR)

HEALTH

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Three New York Negro surgeons who had previously asked for application blanks in order to apply for fellowship in the American College of Surgeons (ACS) have had blanks forwarded to them. According to the *New York Post* (August 21, 1945) this action represents a reversal of the ACS policy of not conferring fellowship on Negroes "at the present time" (See MONTHLY SUMMARY, June 1945, p. 320). (GP, NP)

ARMED FORCES

HAMLET, NORTH CAROLINA

A Negro WAC, charged with violating the North Carolina Jim Crow transportation laws, was arrested, held in jail for two days and reportedly beaten up in the course of her arrest. Corporal Marguerite Nicholson, of Philadelphia, after two years in the Army was riding on a Seaboard Airline train leaving Raleigh when she was requested by the conductor to move forward from where she was sitting to the coach reserved for colored. The corporal moved forward until she came to a coach in which another Negro woman was seated. Beginning with the porter, almost the entire train crew gathered about her urging her to move further forward. She refused to move. At Hamlet, special officers boarded the train and placed her under arrest for violating the segregation statutes. The special police later turned her over to regular civilian peace officers. The young woman soldier claims that an officer abused, cursed, and struck her before committing her to a cell. In court she was given a suspended sentence of thirty days in jail or a \$25 fine and assessed court costs of \$13.25. The provost marshal at Fort Jackson where Corporal Nicholson is stationed has reported that a subsequent investigation substantially confirmed the victim's account. (ANP)

FORT KNOX, KENTUCKY

Private-first-class Helen H. Smith, mother of a grown daughter, was returning from Memphis, Tennessee, to Fort Knox, Kentucky. At Elizabethtown, Kentucky, she decided to transfer from train to bus transportation. At the bus station she bought her ticket and looked about for a seat. Finding the colored section

crowded, she, according to her account, took a seat on the bench nearest to the Jim Crow portion of the station. Other Negro WACs joined Pfc. Smith on the bench. In a few minutes, a local peace officer appeared and, addressing the soldiers of the United States as "niggers" and "nigger wenches," demanded that they move. One young woman resented the words of abuse and protested. At this point the officer began beating the objecting woman with a blackjack. Mrs. Smith intervened to help, and was manhandled, kicked, and struck across the face with a black jack. On returning to the post, Pfc. Smith was charged with violating Kentucky's Jim Crow law and with disorderly conduct. The former charge was dropped when it was discovered that there is no law requiring separate waiting rooms in Kentucky. At this writing neither the results of the court-martial of the Negro WACs nor the response of the Army and Department of Justice to demands of action against the civilian policeman has been made public. (ANP)

LONDON, ENGLAND

Part of America's soldiers in London celebrated victory over Japan by engaging in an interracial brawl. An argument which grew out of the alleged argument between white soldiers and a British Negro civilian turned into a free-for-all. The lines of battle were racial rather than national in character—white American soldiers versus a British civilian and American soldiers of color. Four Caucasoid soldiers were stabbed in the melee; and it is reported that only the intervention of MP's saved the badly outnumbered Negroes from mob action. Arrests by MPs included twenty-three Negroes, two white soldiers and three white women. Two of the Negroes are charged with stabbing the white soldiers who were hospitalized. (ANP)

WILSON, NORTH CAROLINA

A Negro soldier whose breast was covered with overseas ribbons and battle stars boarded a Wilson to Fayetteville bus and took the only vacant seat—about midway in the vehicle. The operator immediately rushed back and said, "You can't sit here!" Two white soldiers rose to the defense of their comrade-in-arms and a white woman passenger asked, "Why can't he? He fights for me." The driver, obviously unprepared for this response, silently resumed his seat at the wheel and the bus moved on peaceably. (FR)

HOUSTON, TEXAS

While boarding a bus at the corner of Congress and Fannin, a busy bus-stop, a white man was seen deliberately to knock a Negro boy down. The operator of the vehicle immediately rose to his feet and demanded that the offending passenger leave the bus. When the passenger refused to do so, another driver was called, and the man was evicted forcibly. (FR, NP)

EDUCATION

TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

The Trenton Board of Education has announced that there will no longer be a segregated junior high school for Negroes in Trenton. The New Lincoln Junior High School has been re-named Junior High School Number 5. It is also announced that transfers of teachers to other schools are already taking place and full utilization is expected by September 1946. This action follows by two years the beginning of successful litigation by which the parents of two Negro children kept them from attending the Jim Crow school. (See MONTHLY SUMMARY, October 1943, page 7 and February 1944, page 8) It also brings Trenton into line with the New Jersey State law. (GP, NP)

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

The American Teachers Association (ATA), formerly the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, has rejected affiliation with the National Education Association (NEA) on the grounds proposed by the latter. Dr. Willard E. Givens, NEA executive secretary, had presented a proposal whereby the ATA would become a department of the NEA. The rejection was based upon the fact that the departmental relationship proposed was based exclusively on race. The Association voted, however, to continue conversations looking to closer co-operation with NEA. (FR, GP)

RECREATION

WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

In order to gain access to that section of Wilmington's Carolina Beach "reserved" for Negroes, one must pass the main or "white" section. Local custom forbids Negroes the use of the public highway through the beach and relegates them to the use of a dirt road by-passed. Recently a Negro USO director, following a chartered bus of servicemen and junior hostesses and traveling in a USO club car, was detained by a police officer and not even permitted to use that portion of the main road

leading to the dirt road. The director wrote to Mayor Peay of Wilmington and received a reply which seems to indicate by implication that the barring of Negro citizens from a public highway is part of public policy. The letter which promised that USO personnel should have no difficulties in the future contained the following sentence:

"Under the circumstances which you mention, the officer should have used better judgment in handling the case in question, especially if you had announced the reason for the trip as you have outlined in your letter." (Italics ours) (FR)

POLITICS

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

The Reverend W. B. Ball, Negro candidate for one of Richmond's seven seats in the Virginia legislature,² received a total of 2,651 votes and placed sixteenth in a field of seventeen candidates. (FR)

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

On June 29, the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance of Winston-Salem dispatched telegrams to Senators Bailey and Hoey of North Carolina and Bilbo of Mississippi respectfully urging their support of a permanent FEPC. Mr. Bilbo replied the following day, saying, in part: "I am sorry that so many preachers in one organization could be so ignorant of true democracy. Please let me suggest that you give more time to your Bibles and the proper interpretation of the scriptures and the teaching and training of your flocks and less to governmental questions, laws, legislation and policy of government. . . . May God have mercy on your poor ignorant souls." (FR)

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

The State Association of NAACP Branches in Louisiana has launched a drive to raise \$100,000 with which to secure the ballot for Negroes throughout Louisiana. A suit seeking \$5,000 damages and an injunction against further unjust deprivations of the right to vote has been filed against the registrar of voters in St. John the Baptist Parish on behalf of Mr. Edward Hall of Edgard, Louisiana. (FR)

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

According to the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* (August 24, 1945) the first local chapter of the Free White Americans, Inc., an organization dedicated to "freedom from religious propaganda and freedom from compulsory race-mixing", has been formed in Jellico, Ten-

²See MONTHLY SUMMARY, June 1945, p. 321.

nessee. The "religious propaganda" has reference to moving pictures such as "Going My Way" and "Fighting 69th" which show up Roman Catholic characters to advantage. C. E. Mills, Jellico insurance man and founder of the organization, explained to a *News-Sentinel* reporter that there are sections of the country where white people are "forced" to ride on trains and eat in restaurants beside Negroes, and indicated that he favors a National Jim Crow Law. Mr. Mills states explicitly that his organization is not "a group of hot-heads and emotional screwballs" and adds that it seeks to protect white people against all forms of "bigotry and isms". (GP)

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

The Birmingham NAACP and the Southern Negro Youth Congress are combining their efforts in a drive to secure the registration of 2,000 additional Negro voters in that city. Central in the drive is a registration clinic conducted by the NAACP. Here prospective registrants are instructed in the requirements and procedure for becoming a qualified voter in Alabama. The requirements are simple. One may register to vote if he possesses either of the two following qualifications: (1) read and write any portion of the Federal Constitution in the English language or (2) possess property valued in excess of \$300. The Legal Redress Committee of the NAACP says that many reports have been received of persons who are being required to "interpret" the Constitution—a matter on which not even the learned justices of our Supreme Court are in agreement. The Committee is investigating this and other methods of refusing Negro citizens the right to vote, and is planning to take legal action if it is deemed necessary. (FR)

* * * * *

The Boswell Amendment to the Alabama Constitution appears to be an unsubtle attempt to permit the disfranchisement of Negroes (or any one else). Under the provisions of this section on which the registered voters of Alabama are to vote in November the property ownership option would be eliminated. In addition to being able to read and write any section of the Federal Constitution, a prospective voter would be required "to understand and explain" it to the satisfaction of the registrars. (see above) He would also be required to demonstrate—again to the satisfaction of the arbiters of Alabama's courthouses—that he is a person of good character. (FR, NP, GP)

CIVIL RIGHTS

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

During July, City License Commissioner Paul Moss suspended the licenses of two Rock-away Beach bath-houses for five days each for "willfully and knowingly" discriminating against Negro citizens. This was the first action of its kind under the City and State Civil Rights statutes. A second offense will make the licensees liable to revocation of their permits to operate. (GP)

POLICE ADMINISTRATION

HAMPTON, VIRGINIA

An officer, off duty, riding the crowded Newport News-Hampton-Phoebe street car, noticed a vacant seat near him and what seemed to him to be a white woman sitting in the Jim-Crow section for Negroes at the back of the car. He asked her to move to the front of the car—and surprisingly, sharp words were his answer. Too late, the officer found out that the woman was a Negro—but by that time it had gone too far. He arrested her.

His reasoning: Negroes are always being asked to move from the section reserved for whites or move so that whites may be seated. This time he was going to show that the law worked both ways.

The case was dismissed without trial. (It is reported that he was dismissed.)

Neither the officer nor witnesses appeared against the woman. (FR)

ABBEYVILLE, ALABAMA

When Caroline Bellin, a young white woman who is executive secretary of the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor (see MONTHLY SUMMARY, November 1944, p. 100; December 1944, p. 128; March 1945, p. 222), attempted to visit Mrs. Taylor's home in Abbeyville, Alabama, the sheriff is reported to have taken the young woman to the railroad station and ordered her out of town. Miss Bellin claims that she was manhandled and warned to stay out of the Negro community. Mrs. Taylor, the rape victim, reports that her mail has been opened and that her safety has been threatened. Meanwhile, Governor Sparks has been requested to reconvene the Henry County Grand Jury which has twice refused to bring in an indictment against the accused men. (FR)

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Two Memphis uniformed police officers have been indicted by the Shelby County Grand

Jury in alleged criminal assaults on two Negro girls. According to the victims, the two girls—one seventeen and the other twenty—were waiting for a streetcar at 1:30 A.M., August 3 near Fred's Cafe (at which both girls worked) when two patrolmen drove up and accused them of loitering. The girls protested that they had just quit work and were waiting for the streetcar. They also showed the officers their health cards.² The officers persisted in their accusation and took the girls into custody. Instead of going to the police station, the car was driven to an uninhabited spot. One girl was allegedly taken out of the car and raped by one of the officers; the other girl reported that she was forced into "an unusual submission" by his comrade. Subsequently the girls were out of the patrol car at the home of one of them with the threat that they would be killed if the incident were reported.

One of the mothers called the girls' employer early the following morning and reported to him what had happened. "Mr. Fred" accompanied the women and their daughters to the police station where they told their story to Chief Carroll Seabrook. The victims were ordered locked up in jail on Saturday. Over the week-end, according to their story, they were questioned repeatedly and intimidated by police officials. One of the girls reported to the investigators that she had lost her health card during the struggle in the car. Her mother says that a policeman told her that the card was found in the car. On Monday the girls were removed from jail and taken into a room in which several police officers were lined up. According to one mother "Both girls walked up to the same two men, but they were not allowed to point out the officers. When I asked the Chief what was going to be done to the officers for treating my daughter that way, he told me that the girls were not certain in their identification and for me to take my daughter, go home with her and keep my mouth shut." (*Press-Scimitar*, August 14, 1945) The two men at whom the girls could not point are reported to have denied their guilt to superior officers; however, both of them resigned the following day.

The August 17 story in the *Press-Scimitar* was the first public report of the incident, al-

²Recently the Memphis police have been making wholesale arrests of unescorted women who do not carry cards certifying as to their freedom from venereal infection. Infected women are detained and treated. The measure has been taken as a means of "protecting" service men from VD. Aside from the efficiency of this type of venereal disease control—which is questioned by many public health authorities on the ground that it gives men a feeling of unwarranted security, the operation of the mass arrest technique resulted in the widespread intimidation of women and several alleged instances of abuse.

though rumors concerning it had spread in the community. The entire Negro community and many white people were stunned and frightened: stunned for obvious reasons and frightened because the record of the City and County administration did not give them much hope for redress. However, a few citizens, Negro and white, began action to assure justice. The local NAACP began raising funds to secure an investigation and prosecution. Several white neighbors of the girls in the Binghamton Subdivision visited their homes and offered them financial support.⁴ One Negro minister deplored it on a devotional program over a local radio station. A. Philip Randolph who had a personal encounter with Memphis civil liberties wrote to Attorney-General Tom Clark and asked for an investigation. The Attorney-General ordered the U. S. District Attorney in Memphis to investigate. A white waitress was taken into custody by police and examined for venereal infection and released a few hours later after she had been overheard by a patrolman to remark, "If those policemen did anything like that, I think it is terrible."

On August 23 the two men were arrested on orders from Shelby County Attorney-General Will Gerber. The County Grand Jury indicted the men during the first week of September. They are free on \$5,000 bail at this writing; and Mr. Gerber has announced that he will prosecute the case personally. (FR, GP, NP)

ASHLAND, KENTUCKY

Fourteen inmates of the Federal Correctional Institution at Ashland have been receiving punitive treatment for refusing to eat in the prison mess hall as long as Jim Crow arrangements are continued. The men, all conscientious objectors, maintain that segregation is a violation of the personalities of persons subjected to it and that they cannot in good conscience take part in it. For their stand three Negroes, ten Caucasians, and one person of Japanese descent were thrown into solitary confinement. Later, two of the Negroes were transferred to other prisons. The protests of the CO's have brought attention to the general policy of segregation practiced in Federal prisons, even outside the South. Soon after the institution of conscription, during the preparedness period, CO's at Danbury, Connecticut, objected to racial segregation and succeeded in gaining some relaxation in practices there. Six men who protested segregation are reported as still being in solitary confinement at Milan, Michigan's Federal Correc-

⁴Each of the girls is the eldest of eight children. Both mothers are widows in extremely poor circumstances.

⁵See MONTHLY SUMMARY, December 1943, p. 10; and May 1944, p. 6.

tional Institution. Edward R. Dudley, assistant special counsel for the NAACP has written Warden Hagerman of Ashland reminding him that the prototypes of racial dogma, the Nazis, did not segregate Negro and white prisoners of war. Ted LeBerthon, white columnist on the *Pittsburgh Courier*, stated that, although he could not agree with the conscientious objectors on their position with reference to the war, they are among the few people who have made him feel unashamed of being white. (FR, GP, NP)

GENERAL

HOUSTON, TEXAS

The following two incidents are reported as having occurred in Houston on August 14, 1945, the day that President Truman announced the Japanese decision to surrender:

One hour following the announcement a circular was distributed in white residential areas reading, in part, "War is over. High salaried Negroes in jobs must turn those jobs over to white people."

A shipyard bus driver, on being told that the war is over, immediately turned around and said, "All you niggers on this bus get back where you belong. The war is over and we are going to put all you niggers in your place."

Apparently Texas (white) had won the war! (ANP)

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Negroes have worked as members of the maintenance and service staffs of the Fort Wayne Hotel for many years. Many have habitually gone into the drug store operated by the hotel for lunch. Recently they have complained that they are often kept waiting long past their turn before being served. A short while ago two Negro employees were ignored for their entire thirty-minute lunch period. Two days later there appeared at the time clock a note signed by the manager of the hotel to the effect that Negro employees are not to go either to the coffee shop, the tea room, or the drug store to eat. (FR)

THE SUPERNATURAL

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

Even the occult must bow to segregation! Madam Bessie, who describes herself in the *Fayetteville Observer* as an "experienced palmist and life reader" who gives "never failing advice upon matters of life, such as love, courtship, marriage, divorce, business transactions of all kinds", is careful to let it be known that her trailer palace of divination contains a "Separate Room for Colored." (FR, GP)

NEGRO VETERANS RETURN*

One of the most important race relations jobs of the next ten years will be the full integration of minority group veterans into a post-war world. There are 900,000 Negroes serving today in the armed forces. By the end of the war well over a million will have been in uniform. Large scale demobilization is now taking place. Ultimately then, a million Negro GI's, each with three or four dependents or close family connections, will be discharged. This means that a third of the entire Negro group will be directly affected by the post-war opportunities available to Negro veterans and the use they can make of their rights and benefits.

What are the opportunities open to the Negro veteran, and what are his plans? Using the reports on the "Post-War Plans of the Soldier" compiled by the Army Service Forces and data as to the number of Negroes serving in the Army released by the Adjutant General's Office, it is possible to get a good picture of what Negro GI's are planning and to estimate the number of men falling into the various types of plans.

First of all, there will be a substantial amount of post-war migration, the pattern of which will correspond roughly to movements already made by the Negro worker during the war. The net effect of these movements will be a heavy out-migration from the agricultural regions of the South with a considerable increase in the Negro populations of the Northeast and Pacific Coast states. While it is difficult to estimate the numerical volume of such migration, it should total about 300,000 men. Most of the migration planned is from one region to another, involving long distances, and hence will tend to be permanent.

EDUCATION

Almost every Negro veteran will be entitled to at least one year's education at any type of school he chooses, on any aca-

demic level, and may take this schooling wherever he wishes throughout the United States. He may also attend approved schools in foreign countries. Among Negro enlisted men 43.5 percent, an aggregate of 522,000 men, have made some plans for returning to school after the war. This total includes men with a very wide range of plans for full-time schooling, 32,000 of whom will be returning to the South. These are the men who will wish to resume high school or college studies broken off by the war. While the majority of these men are young—eighty-eight percent are under twenty-five years of age, and eighty-five percent are single—nearly a third, 17,000 men, have had less than four years of high school education.

Although some Negro veterans will take advantage of specific vocational training rights, most men will receive their benefits under the general education clauses in the GI Bill of Rights. The Bill has two qualifications particularly important for Negroes. First, the veteran must be acceptable to the school and meet its academic standards. Second, the school he chooses must be on the approved list submitted by the state to the Veterans Administration. Let us see what these two qualifications mean for the Negro veteran.

Because of the formal segregation in education in the South, the Negro veteran will be subject to the differential in the quality and quantity of education available for Negroes and whites. The facts of this differential treatment have been told and retold for years. The 112 Negro colleges, having a present over-crowded enrollment of 50,000 students, will be expected to absorb, at the minimum, about 22,000 Negro veterans. The southern Negro veteran will probably not be told by his sources of information that he may go to any college, including unsegregated schools outside the South. Neither will the counselors at Negro colleges be likely to urge him to go elsewhere, as these col-

leges have a vested financial interest in his attendance.

The 10,000 men who plan to return to full-time school below the college level in the South, must find their education in the very few, inadequate, and already crowded high schools provided for Negroes.

Outside the South the Negro veteran will be confronted by a high informal barrier; although there is no formal segregation, the majority of schools either will not take Negro students or do it grudgingly and often on a quota basis.

Since many states are lax about their standards of approval, all veterans will be exposed to the danger of being exploited by opportunists who start new schools or use their control of existing institutions merely to make money from government tuition payments. The Negro veteran, because he is mainly excluded from attending old and well established institutions, is highly susceptible to the inducements offered by these "sheepskinners". This will be especially true in the South where approval standards are very low, particularly where Negro education is concerned.

BUSINESS

About twelve percent, 144,000 men, have some fairly well formulated plans for owning a business after the war. Contained in this group are 84,000 men with definite plans, 49,000 of whom will be returning to the South. The type of establishment that Negro GI's are predominantly planning is the small one-man retail or service business having a low capitalization met partly out of savings and partly by borrowing.

There are very stringent requirements that must be met before a veteran can get a government guaranteed loan. The veteran must satisfy the lending agency, governmental or private, that his ability and experience, and the conditions under which he proposes to pursue his business, are such that there is a reasonable likeli-

hood of success. Of the Negro GI's definitely planning business, only an eighth, 13 per cent, were self-employed before the war. However, half of the men with definite plans have had previous experience as employees in the type of business they wish to own. It is doubtful whether this previous experience is adequate, in many cases, to enable the men to obtain a loan, or to operate a business of their own effectively. In general, it may well be that the widespread myth of the Negro's inability to operate a successful business will bar him from obtaining loans.

While 84,000 Negro GI's are definitely planning to own a business, mainly in the retail and service fields, the number of establishments in these fields owned by Negroes before the war was only 29,827. Moreover, it is exactly in these types of establishments, regardless of the color of the owner's skin, where the rate of failure is high.

There is a paradox facing the prospective Negro businessman whose success is largely dependent upon Negro patronage. Outside the South credit is relatively easier to obtain but he must compete fiercely with white-owned business for customers; in the South, credit will be difficult to get, but his clientele will be far more assured.

AGRICULTURE

Almost all the ten percent of Negro GI's, 120,000 men, who have either definite or tentative plans for full-time farming will be returning to the South. Of the men with definite plans, a group of about 84,000, a very high proportion were full-time farmers before they went into the armed forces. Most of these men received their previous experience working on the family farm. Over half of the Negro GI's who plan to operate a farm intend to invest not more than \$1,000; less than ten percent intend to invest as much as \$4,000. This small investment indicates that most of the men will be operating

*Prepared by William A. Caudill

farms at the subsistence level.

In obtaining guaranteed loans for farms, Negro veterans are faced with much the same restrictions as confront them in getting business loans. The processing of farm loans is handled by the Department of Agriculture, and the Negro veteran interested in agriculture must go to the local office of the Department's county extension agent. The county agents in the plantation South often have an attitude on economic, social, and racial questions similar to that held by the large landowners. The question is, will the county agent and the local community in the South be more interested in a square deal for the returning Negro veteran than they have been in the past for Negro civilians?

A ray of hope for the Negro veteran desiring a loan is that the GI Bill of Rights also makes each veteran eligible for a loan under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to the same extent as if he were a tenant. This act is administered by the Farm Security Administration which has been the main federal agency helping Negro farmers in the South.

Southern agriculture has long been greatly overcrowded and during the war more crops than were grown in the pre-war years have been produced by fewer men, using larger farms, more machinery, and increased capitalization. With the close of the war, the trend toward increased mechanization of farming in the South will be accentuated. Only by mechanization and large scale farming can the South hope to compete with the price of cotton determined in the world market. These new large farms will be owned by wealthy white landowners. In cold fact this means that the Negro in agriculture is at the very bottom of the economic heap.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT

A surprisingly large group, twenty-one percent, constituting 252,000 Negro GI's,

have plans for public employment after the war. Of this group, 108,000 men have definite plans.

Because of the sweeping advantages granted veterans under the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, the Civil Service for many years to come will be made up largely of veterans. Government jobs hold particular attraction for Negro veterans owing to the relative lack of racial discrimination. Due to the impetus given to public employment of Negroes by the policies of the Roosevelt administration, it is not surprising to find that eighty percent of the Negro veterans want federal jobs rather than state or municipal. A large majority of the men planning federal employment have worked for the government before the war and a third of these men desire a job in a different occupational group than the one they were in before joining the armed forces.

While the Negro veteran's chances for a job are better in the Civil Service than at almost any point in the employment structure of our society, the number of jobs available in the post-war period will meet only a fraction of the demand. The total number of Negroes in public employment in April, 1944, was about 200,000, in contrast to fewer than 60,000 in the same month of 1940. It is obvious that with the contraction of public employment after the war, Negro veterans will experience considerable difficulty in carrying out their plans.

Of the 700,000 Negro veterans who plan to join the general labor force as workers after the war, 400,000 will be returning to the South. Almost all of these men were employees before they joined the armed forces. However, their re-employment rights will be of little benefit to them as only a fifth of the men have definite plans for returning to their old job and employer. Further, only a third are even planning to return to the same kind

of work they did before the war. Negroes have been trained in many skilled fields—as pilots, mechanics, radio technicians and operators—and will not be content in the menial unskilled employment of traditional Negro jobs.

The single basic issue confronting Negro veterans who plan to enter the labor market as workers is whether or not there will be a reasonably high level of employment in the reconversion and post-war periods. Between April, 1940, and April, 1944, the employment of Negroes in civilian jobs increased by almost a million, the occupational shift being mainly from the farm to the factory. But, looking to the post-war period, it must be noted that the Negro worker has made his greatest employment gains in occupations such as semi-skilled factory jobs, which will suffer the highest rate of lay-off once the war is ended. Further, the Negro's occupational gains have been in those industries—iron and steel, munitions, aircraft and ship building—which will experience the greatest decline and most radical reconversion adjustments.

For the 400,000 Negro veterans returning to the South as workers there may be no jobs of any kind. The South remains industrially under-developed despite the emergency aid of defense industry, and even during the war there was a surplus labor force. This surplus will be swelled now that the war has ended by the closing of defense plants and the coming home of millions of veterans looking for jobs.

The theory behind much of the administration, evolved to give the veteran adequate aid in reestablishing himself, is based on the belief that the local community can best handle the problems of its own veterans. The right to decide whether a veteran may enroll in a school rests with the local school he wishes to attend. Whether the veteran may make a loan for a business or farm rests with the local bank or other agency which will decide

whether he meets the requirements for a loan. The veteran's re-employment in his old job is handled by the re-employment committeeman of his local draft board. A new job will depend upon the policies of local industry and the local United States Employment Office.

For the white veteran the theory of allowing each local community to take care of its own has a certain validity. It is true that with federal and state aid providing the channels through which local decisions are implemented, the community can give individualized special service to its own veterans. And the Negro veteran will receive individualized and special treatment in an ironical sense; it is at the level of the local community where he has always suffered the most discrimination.

At three points the Negro veteran will have difficulty not encountered by the white veteran. First, he will have less access to places in which he may obtain information about his benefits and where he should apply for them. In the South he will have to utilize "jim-crow" veterans' information centers, or no information centers at all. Second, once he has obtained information, he will be subject to careless treatment and possible discrimination in the offices where his rights are administered. Lastly, he has the very special problem, particularly in the South, that, even if he were to obtain sufficient information, if he were to meet absolutely no differential treatment in the offices of administering agencies, he would still not have the wide choice of schools, loan institutions, or jobs open to the white veteran.

Therefore, at many points of contact with society where veterans must act to change their plans into reality, the white GI will be considered first a veteran, secondly and incidentally a white man; the Negro GI will often be considered first a Negro, secondly and incidentally a veteran.

RECONVERSION—A CHALLENGE TO RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES*

INSECURITY AND RACE RELATIONS

V-J Day was the signal for national rejoicing. It was also the occasion for realistic stock-taking of plans for reconversion and for coping with interracial tensions.

Failure to act on effective reorganization of governmental agencies, lack of legislation aimed at providing security and an orderly plan for reconversion, and the resultant last-minute scuffle for action at the national level indicate that the government, the economists, and the social planners were as unprepared for peace as they were for war.

The race relations field is equally derelict and just as lacking in realistic planning and programming for the post-war period. Had the government developed more effective plans to cushion the shock of reconversion—which would provide a national feeling of security and eliminate uncontrolled competition for jobs, housing, and commodities—the race relations question would undoubtedly be a much easier one to solve.

As it is, we are confronted at this time with rapidly increasing unemployment, with the return of GI's who, understandably, refuse to be exploited, with a great dearth of adequate facilities for living. All of these factors are bound to markedly increase the intergroup tensions which were already apparent during the period when jobs were plentiful and economic insecurity did not loom as an immediate threat.

The next year will prove the extent to which now-existent national and local organizations in the field of race relations and civic unity are adequate to handle the job which confronts them. Certainly tactics and approaches now in use at both the national and local levels must be drastically streamlined and accelerated if

those persons believing in the importance of the relationship of sound intergroup relations to an effective democracy are to successfully cope with the rabble-rousers, the neo-Fascists, and the various "shirt" organizations throughout the country which oppose a harmonious solution to America's race problem.

The maintenance of national and civic unity among all groups in this country has become America's number one issue. To maintain this unity, however, we must immediately solve our economic and unemployment problems at the national level. We must underwrite a governmental policy of non-discrimination and we must give concrete proof of the fact that, here in America, we can provide security and equality for all who live within our democratic framework. Unless we do, intergroup conflicts are bound to arise and more people in this country will understandably ask why we cannot solve our problems as well as other countries are solving theirs.

VARIETY OF PROGRAMS NEEDED

To meet the impending crisis in race relations, a variety of programs will be required.

First, a greatly accelerated, dramatic, and dynamic popular program of public education must be undertaken. Such a program—which would tax the facilities and resources of all national race relations agencies—should be directed at making effective intergroup relations synonymous with good Americanism. Such a program must make it so unpopular for persons to profess racist ideas that the large majority of Americans who have no set ideas on the subject will approach the matter in a democratic light.

Secondly, in order to buttress this program, an effective framework of national, state, and local legislation must be pro-

*Prepared by A. A. Liveright.

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vided. In addition to ensuring security through planning for full employment, adequate social security, extension of housing, and underwriting of a living wage, legislation eliminating discrimination in all forms must be provided. Since Fascist governments underwrite discrimination in their basic policy and legislation, a democratic government has the same responsibility to develop legislation providing for non-discrimination in these areas.

But legislation and public education will not be enough. The problem of intergroup relations must, at the same time, be aggressively attacked at the local level and immediate causes of conflict—such as inadequate housing, discrimination in employment, inequality in rendering public services, and a disregard for civil rights—must be eliminated. This can only be done through unified and immediate local action. Whether present local civic unity and race relations committees are geared to meet this challenge can best be proved by results in the next year. Based upon present achievements, the large majority of these groups must be drastically reorganized and greatly strengthened if they are to overcome the dangers ahead.

Finally, in addition to immediate action in regard to public education, legislative and local action, a long-range program of education aimed at preventing prejudice in the growing generation must be undertaken.

Simple panaceas for curing intergroup relations must be studiously avoided. Undoubtedly hundreds of such idealistic cure-alls will be presented during the years to come and one of the greatest dangers to an effective over-all program will be the natural human desire to seek a simple way out of the race relations dilemma. Cure-alls will not and cannot work, and therefore both local and national committees should, more than ever, be on their guard against giving in to the temptation of accepting an over-simplified answer to intergroup problems.

COORDINATION OF EFFORT IMPORTANT

National race relations agencies, as well as local groups, must review their present programs in the light of the urgent need for action.

Acting separately and in an uncoordinated manner, the hundreds of national agencies concerning themselves directly or indirectly with race relations can only cause increased confusion and conflict. United on a common program of action and pooling resources in certain areas of action, these organizations have an opportunity to become a really potent factor in improving the over-all race relations picture here in America.

A pooling of effort on the part of national agencies is immediately required, especially as they concern: unified action on national legislation, development of a coordinated public education program, and agreement on special points of concentration in order that limited funds and staff can be directed toward solution of the most immediate problems without conflict or duplication.

Although this proposed pooling of energy by organizations may well sound utopian, the seriousness of impending problems and the tenseness of the present situation should warrant the immediate development of a unified national program.

CLARIFICATION OF LOCAL OBJECTIVES

As far as local race relations organizations are concerned, the first problem to be met is a clearer understanding of the objectives for which such committees were established, and of the specific action which must be taken to meet these objectives on an equitable basis.

No matter how the objectives may be worded, there should be general agreement that race relations committees should all aim at the provision of equal rights and equal opportunities for all groups at the local level.

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These groups must also understand that to achieve equal rights and equal opportunities, serious attention must be given the problems of local employment, housing, civil rights, public services, and public education. Such programs cannot be put into effect on an unplanned, day-to-day basis, but must be woven into a realistic plan of action.

Nor can such a plan be carried out on a volunteer, haphazard basis. It must be based upon the organization of an effective committee with adequate finances and intelligent personnel.

The time for pious sentimentality has passed. Unless a local committee can develop an effective plan of action and secure the finances and personnel necessary to put the program into effect, it should be disbanded and an effective organization established. An inadequate committee which is not geared to action can do more harm by way of repressing an effective program than the little good that might accrue from the feeling that a committee has been formed and from the occasional pious public utterances which might emanate from such a group.

NEED FOR CONVINCING THE UNCONVINCED

At both the local and national levels, persons interested in race relations must forsake the coziness of discussing problems with each other without consulting the people they wish to help. It is true that there has been an enormous increase of interest in race relations during the past few years; also, there is a large audience to talk to now. However, the large majority of race relations organizations are still unwilling to take their program to those in the nation and community who are not convinced that America is faced with an interracial problem.

Fortunately, this increasing interest in race relations reaches persons in every station of life. The labor unions are certainly, more than ever before, aware of

the importance of sound race relations and realize the practical dangers to unionism inherent in racial conflicts. An increasing number of employers are beginning to understand that both their community and industrial problems will be simplified by effective intergroup relations. Church groups are increasingly admitting the degree to which their consciences are worrying them. Government officials, likewise, are more cognizant of the political dangers stemming from racial outbursts. Service clubs, parent-teacher groups, chambers of commerce, are also becoming more concerned with these problems. It is essential that this developing interest be nurtured and that an increasing number of new groups be brought into the picture.

Insofar as possible, all of these groups must be tied into local programs of action. No program can be effective unless broad community support can be mobilized and unless groups not primarily or ordinarily concerned with race relations can be made to participate on certain aspects of the program.

AN AGENDA FOR ACTION

So that local groups may have some criteria against which their present programs of action can be compared, the following agenda for action is suggested:

1. *Pressure for national legislation*

Local race relations and civic unity groups must combine with other organizations, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, for example, in working for over-all legislation such as the Murray Full Employment Bill, the Wagner-Ellender Housing Bill, the Murray-Dingle-Wagner Bill for Extension of Social Security, the Pepper Bill for Minimum Wage Rates, the Administration's suggestion for revision of governmental agencies, and other legislation aimed at full employment and adequate security for all.

In addition, local committees must take major responsibility in their communities

for spearheading action for special federal legislation such as a permanent FEPC, abolition of the poll tax, and the anti-lynching bill.

Local groups should also join with other organizations in pressing for a clearly stated policy of non-discrimination by the federal government and by the various federal agencies.

Technique for securing national legislation should be in terms of direct pressure on local legislators; public education with respect to the significance of various bills; mass meetings to secure support for such legislation; delegations and visits to local legislators, both in the community and in Washington; and support for national organizations which are coordinating action on such legislation.

2. *Pressure for state legislation*

To provide the necessary state implementation for national legislation, the following action should be on the agenda of local committees:

a. With respect to over-all legislation aimed at human rights and security, local committees should participate in supporting state legislation such as the establishment of effective state planning agencies, state legislation enabling slum clearance and public construction projects, state adaptation of national legislation (such as social security, unemployment compensation, housing, etc.), constitutional conventions in states where present constitutions are outdated.

b. In regard to specific legislation dealing with race relations, local committees should support state FEPC legislation, an effective state civil rights act, state laws eliminating restrictive covenants, and, in the South, legislation aimed at eliminating the poll tax and providing for open primaries.

3. *Local government action*

Local committees should press for the following types of action:

a. An official ordinance establishing a municipal commission for civic unity or

community relations (similar to the ordinance passed in Cleveland and contemplated for Los Angeles and Akron, Ohio).

b. An ordinance providing that land condemned by the city and earmarked for private construction cannot be encumbered by racial or religious covenants.

c. An ordinance preventing the distribution of subversive or divisive literature.

d. An ordinance forbidding discrimination in city employment or on contracts let by the city for public construction (such as the City FEPC Ordinance recently passed in Chicago).

e. The elimination of discrimination by city departments with respect to facilities or services provided by the city to the various communities.

f. Promotion of a constructive program of intercultural education in the public schools—implemented by sound materials, classroom techniques, and student participation—and the elimination of segregation in the school system.

g. Development of effective in-service training programs for city employees in order that they may realize the importance of equal service and facilities for all groups in the community. (In this connection, special attention should be paid to the police department.)

h. Planning realistic and intelligent action by the city government to meet any open conflicts or riots which might develop, intelligent devices for anticipating conflicts and for dealing with them before they grow to major proportions.

4. *Over-all community action*

Local civic unity or race relations committees should include the following items for over-all action on their agenda:

a. *Public education program:* An aggressive public education program utilizing the daily press, neighborhood, labor and minority group newspapers, radio, motion picture theatres, speakers at churches and service clubs, mass meetings, etc. Such a program should be de-

veloped at the local level in conjunction with the best possible advice and assistance from technical experts in the various communications fields, and should be aimed not so much at liberals as at those in the community who are not yet sure where they stand on the question of race relations. The public education program must be closely woven into all other aspects of the local program, and all segments of the project not backed by legislative sanction must lean heavily on effective public education for their success in the community.

b. Elimination of discrimination in employment: In addition to working for national and state legislation for fair employment practices, local groups should undertake a special educational program aimed at local employers and trade unions. Factual information about the success of minority groups in industry should be codified and widely distributed. Plans for the development of union contracts outlawing discrimination should be evolved. Local employer organizations and trade unions should be urged to adopt workable policies outlawing discrimination. Areas of employment now closed to members of minority groups should be opened up by the local committee.

c. Opening of new areas for housing: One of the major activities by local committees should deal with housing. In this area, the following action should be taken:

(1) A definite program for combating restrictive covenants and for opening-up new avenues for occupancy. Development of neighborhood agreements emphasizing occupancy standards rather than racial or religious barriers should be recommended.

(2) Promotion of active support for public housing projects: full support of the committee should be placed behind already-existing organizations working for public housing. In this connection, the committee should ensure the development

of interracial housing and should work for the elimination of segregation in existing public projects.

(3) Stimulation of adequate private construction: An attempt should be made to develop interracial projects and to open new areas for occupancy by minority groups.

(4) Slum clearance projects, urban redevelopment programs, and the like: These projects should be carefully reviewed by the local committee, the effect on minority groups studied, and recommendations for any modifications or action on such programs made.

d. Protection of civil rights: Local committees should develop a workable mechanism whereby any situations infringing upon civil rights may be immediately reported and dealt with. A special attempt should be made to eliminate discrimination or segregation in transportation systems, eating places, hotels, and public amusement places. Where necessary, litigation under existing municipal, state or national statutes should be undertaken.

e. Public services: In addition to pressing for sound policies with respect to public services, local committees should take immediate action on any situations arising in which instances of discrimination in these services—such as in schools, transportation, welfare agencies, recreation facilities, and police authority—are reported.

f. Court action: A special activity of the local committee should be aimed at the provision of legal advice and assistance to persons who are discriminated against in the local community or whose civil rights are infringed upon.

g. Stimulation of and cooperation with neighborhood organizations: It is essential that local committees work with local and neighborhood groups as well as with top leadership in the community. Where effective neighborhood groups have already been established, the local

committee should work through them on specific race relations problems. Where no such committees have been organized, the local committee should take the responsibility for developing effective neighborhood organization.

* * * * *

IMMEDIATE ACTION NEEDED, OR ELSE—

Extensive and complicated as the program outlined above may be, it still is not completely inclusive. It should be apparent, however, that to carry out this type of program intelligent local organization, adequate financing, and well-trained personnel will be required.

In adopting such a program, careful thought should be given to the possibility of allocating various phases of the program to organizations already existing in the community. For example, the Urban League may well assume major responsibility for the employment and welfare aspects of the program (but must broaden its scope to cover all minorities), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and local civil liberties committees may be designated to handle the legislative and legal angles, and exist-

ing groups in the housing field can in some instances be delegated the responsibility for action with respect to housing.

However, no matter how many groups are working on specific segments of the program, there will still be a need for an over-all organization to map out the continuing plan of action, to follow up on the plan, and to integrate various aspects of the program into the community in order that confusion and duplication may be eliminated.

The complexity of the job to be done and the organizational difficulties involved in securing the necessary coordination may seem insurmountable. The fact, however, that an extremely varied and diverse group of scientists coordinated their efforts to develop the most effective form of destruction—the atomic bomb—indicates that such coordination and dynamic planning is possible.

Unless organizations and individuals in the fields of social science and race relations are able to achieve equal unity of purpose and courageous action, the country may well be blown apart without recourse to any atomic bomb.

FIRST CITY FAIR EMPLOYMENT ORDINANCE*

"Section 1. Whereas, it is the policy of the United States government in furtherance of the successful winning of the peace to insure the maximum participation of all available workers in production, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders, the city of Chicago, to cooperate with the United States government, by eliminating discrimination in public and private employment, enacts this ordinance to be known as the Fair Employment Practices ordinance.

"Section 2. It shall be unlawful for any department of the City of Chicago; or any city official, his agent or employee, for or on behalf of the city of Chicago; or any private employer performing work within the city of Chicago; involving any public works of the city of Chicago to refuse to employ or to discharge any person otherwise qualified on account of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry; to discriminate for the same reasons in regard to tenure, terms or conditions of employment; to deny promotion or increase in compensation solely for these reasons; to publish offer of employment based on such discrimination; to adopt or enforce any rule or employment policy which discriminates between employees on account of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry; to seek such information as to any employee as a condition of employment; to penalize any employee or discriminate in the selection of personnel for training, solely on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

"Section 3. All contracting agencies of the city of Chicago, or any department thereof, shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color or national origin and shall require him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

"Section 4. It shall be unlawful for any person to discriminate against any other person by reason of race, creed, color or national origin, with respect to the hiring, application for employment, tenure, terms or conditions of employment or union membership.

"Section 5. Any person, firm, or corporation who shall violate or fail to comply with any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, shall be punished by a fine in any sum not exceeding \$200.

"Section 6. If any part of this ordinance shall be declared invalid the balance shall remain in full force and effect." (ANP, August 29, 1945)

*Chicago, Illinois. (See also MONTHLY SUMMARY, this issue, page 2.)

SURVEY OF THE JEWISH SCENE

WAR CRIMES

Mr. Justice Jackson's report to the President of the United States, in his capacity as Chief Counsel for the United States in the prosecution of war criminals, has been formally approved by the President. Jewish public opinion has been profoundly gratified to learn that trials before military tribunals are proposed in this report against those who are responsible for the Nazi master-plan of aggression and barbarity. (*Jewish Frontier*, July, 1945) This includes explicitly the atrocities and persecutions on racial and religious grounds committed since 1933, that is to say, the crimes against the Jews of Europe, no matter what their nationality—and coincides largely with the formula that was proposed by the American Jewish Congress several months ago.

THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

The Department of State Publication Number 2353 provides an opportunity to actually acquaint oneself with "Trusteeship" and the "International Bill of Rights", instead of merely reading about them. The status of Non-Self-Governing Territories, the International Trusteeship System, and the Trusteeship Council are dealt with in Articles 73 to 91 with such amazing vagueness as to make the old League of Nations look radically progressive in comparison. The Trusteeship Council is merely to consider reports, to accept and examine petitions and to provide for periodic visits and "other actions" in conformity with the terms of the Trusteeship agreements (Article 87). No responsibility of colonial administrations before an international authority is established. To the contrary, what was formerly considered a mandate is now recognized as a possession of the mandatory power. This is likely to strengthen the British hand in Palestine. Moreover, since the vicinity of Haifa Bay and the Dead Sea Concession may be regarded as strategic areas, the

approval, the alteration, and the amendment of trusteeship agreements, in the case of Palestine, may be entirely or partially taken away from the Trusteeship Council and be exercised by the Security Council (Article 83). Complete uncertainty casts, therefore, its shadow over the colonial, and especially the Palestinian, scene. Against such uncertainty, on the other hand, Article 80 provides some amount of protection inasmuch as it is provided that nothing "shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any measure the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties." The wording is significant in several respects. First, peoples are mentioned along with states. This is of considerable importance for the Jewish people who have no state. Second, peoples are spoken of as a plurality. If "people" had been put into the singular, the Arabs of Palestine may have claimed to constitute the Palestinian "people". Third, the term "international instruments" has replaced the previously suggested and narrower term "instruments". This excludes from consideration the discriminatory British White Paper of 1939, which has failed to find the approval of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, while it includes the internationally confirmed Balfour Declaration which established a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. However, the protection is frail and temporary in character because the provisions of article 80 can be abrogated at any time by individual trusteeship agreements.

All this ambiguity is out-done by the vagueness of the so-called Human Rights Provisions in the United Nations Charter. (See articles 1, 13, 55-60, 62, 68, 71.) Throughout the Jewish press, the determined publicity effort and the skillful di-

plomacy of the American Jewish Committees and their Gentile friends (who were largely responsible for the provisions), is being acknowledged, but scepticism is expressed with regard to the actual achievement (*Life and Letters*, July, 1945). Indeed, one is entitled to ask what the promotion by the United Nations, of "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without discrimination for race, sex, languages, or religion" may actually mean. (*Committee Reporter*, July 1945.) Since instruments for enforcement are conspicuous by their absence, the Human Rights provisions, as they stand now, rank with innumerable other resolutions against discrimination almost all of which are excessively in the breach. Nevertheless, even so severe a critic as Maurice L. Perlzweig (*Jewish Review*, August 23, 1945) maintains that "the constitution of the American Union, when it was first adopted, did not contain a Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights had to be added subsequently and often in the teeth of strong opposition."

LIBERATION IN EUROPE

The jubilation, in some circles, about the merely promising achievements of San Francisco must be contrasted with the actual news from Europe. Nazism has been wiped off, but anti-Semitism has not been eradicated. In such a situation legal prescriptions, not to speak of moral declarations, are powerless to change reality. The storm-center is in Poland and in the Balkans. Recently, Polish Jews liberated from German concentration camps and repatriated to their home towns in Poland returned to the camp stating that they prefer to be there under military supervision rather than to remain in Poland where a wave of anti-Semitic terror is raging. (*Jewish Post*, August 24, 1945). Some of the returnees reported that huge posters "We want Poland for the Poles; Go back, Jews!" greeted them at the railroad station; that those without living relatives were compelled to sleep on

benches in the parks; and that massacres have occurred in small towns and villages. Similar outbreaks are reported from Slovakia and from Hungary. Several Jews were killed by a mob in an anti-Semitic street demonstration in Presov, Slovakia; the police arrived on the scene only after the mob had done its work. (*Jewish Post*, August 17, 1945) In Hungary, underground anti-Semitic propaganda has influenced the man in the street to the point where he blames the Jew rather than the defeated fascist regime for economic insecurity and social dislocation. This trend in thought is also apparent in Western Europe especially in anti-Semitic street demonstrations in France. (*Life and Letters*, July 1945). Public opinion opposes with particular vigor the extradition of Gentile occupants of Jewish property upon return of the former owners. (*Jewish Post*, August 17, 1945)

Discrimination exists right in liberated Germany and under the eyes of Allied occupation authorities. Sometimes, what appears to be equal treatment in fact is discrimination—as for instance, in the case of the German Jews who are treated on an equal footing with the general German population. They receive punitively low food rations because they are considered plain Germans but, having subsisted on a starvation diet before, they succumb sooner than the Gentiles to such "non-discriminatory" treatment. Isabella Blum, socialist member of the Belgian parliament, reported that Jews in concentration camps receive less food now than they did under the Nazis because of the general economic breakdown in the country. A recent report from the correspondent of the independent press service in Paris asserts that 11,000 Jewish inmates of Bergen-Belzen, among them 7,000 women and 1,500 children, sent a heart-rending message to UNRRA Director Herbert Lehman, to be rescued from the camp which they described as hellish. They are still policed by German guards and the municipality

of Belsen is responsible for the food supply. (*Jewish Frontier*, August 1945) Only now, many weeks after the German surrender, have representatives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency for Palestine been allowed to enter the camps. Remarkably, Joseph Schwarz, J.D.C. representative, reports that the majority of liberated Jews generally, and almost all the Jews from Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, want to proceed to Palestine or to the Americas. (*New York Times*, June 18, 1945) Mr. Schwarz has meanwhile again left for Europe, in his new capacity as associate to the State Department. He is to inquire into the problem and needs of stateless and non-repatriable refugees. (*The Observer*, July 20, 1945)

ZIONISM

The first World Zionist Conference, after Hitler, has convened in London. Three Americans have been given the status of members of the World Zionist Executive Board, namely, Rabbi's Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver, and Mr. Louis Lipsky. They have been added to Dr. Nahum Goldman, resident member of the Jewish agency in the United States, who had been appointed by the last pre-war Zionist Congress. (*The Sentinel*, August 23, 1945) World Zionism as such has been greatly affected by the spectacular victory of the Labour Party in the recent elections to the British Parliament. The Labour Party has a platform most strongly in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine—that is to say a Jewish State—of all the known party platforms in English-speaking countries. Already, one hears rumours about the practical abolition of the discriminatory provisions of the White Paper of 1939 through the issuance of a new immigration schedule of 75,000 certificates for the coming year. This would certainly ease the situation in Europe considerably. On the other hand, the new foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, in his first deliverance before the House of

Commons, made no mention of Palestine at all. This indicates that the Labour Cabinet, like their Tory predecessors, is mindful of imperial needs and intends to proceed with caution. Talks of partition are again in the air.

On the other side of the ocean, President Truman told a recent Press Conference in Washington that the United States Government at the Potsdam Conference of the Big Three took a position in favor of a Jewish State in Palestine, if it could be established and maintained peacefully. (*The Jewish Post*, August 24, 1945) He added that he did not wish to contemplate the dispatch of 500,000 American soldiers to maintain such a state. This latter statement has met with considerable amazement in some Jewish circles.

IMMIGRATION

It seems probable that the refugees now detained at Fort Ontario (Oswego, New York) will soon be released and permitted to reside in any part of the United States, perhaps under a quota system. The Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has already acted on these cases, but the decision has not yet been published. (*The Observer*, July 20, 1945)

As to normal immigration procedure, pre-war conditions have been restored. Sole responsibility for the issuance of immigration visas to the United States rests again with the American Consuls abroad. An innovation is, however, that the aspirant has to procure documents which show that he has the permission of his home government to leave the country. Considering the attitude of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet-influenced countries in Eastern Europe which do not want their citizens to emigrate, this means that applications from inhabitants of those countries where most European Jews live are practically excluded from consideration. New restrictions on Jewish emigration have recently been reported from the Carpatho-Ukraine.

ACADEMIC ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE U.S.A.

President Hopkins of Dartmouth Col-

lege in a recent statement to New York newspapers admitted that Jewish students who apply for admission to Dartmouth are denied entrance as soon as the arbitrary Jewish quota of Dartmouth College is filled. Dartmouth, according to Mr. Hopkins, is "a Christian College" and would lose its attraction even for Jews if it were to become "predominantly Jewish".

POLITICAL ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE U.S.A.

Political anti-Semitism is working effectively underground. The Nationalist Party of former U. S. Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina is seeking to weld the different fascist groups in this country into an organization which prepares to make a bid for congressional seats in the election of 1946. Reynold's representative J. Victor Malone and the alleged secessionist Joe McWilliams are soliciting industrial contributions. (*Memphis Press-Scimitar*, July 18, 1945). A campaign has been started with the goal of infiltrating groups who have a real or fancied grievance against the administration. A special nationalist's Committee of the Nationalist Party is being organized on the unit basis. The unit is to consist of ten people as a nucleus. Operating in the straight Nazi manner is the Gentile Cooperative League which is headed by Eugene Flitcraft in Chicago and organizes boycotts against Jewish business and professional men. Another activity is pursued by the Committee of Veterans of World War II under the leadership of Frederick Kister. Here the attempt is being made to use the political pressure power of the returning veterans for the purpose of breaking up the labor

unions. Youth groups are in the process of being formed in several states, especially in the Middle West. Finally, Homer Maertz of Chicago is reported to be traveling about the country in order to organize followers into action groups. Maertz cooperates with Gerald L. K. Smith and with the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan is again sprouting in various parts of the South.

There have recently appeared sheets which maintain that the Southern Negro is not really interested in the proposed permanent FEPC and that he is merely misled "by another racial minority". In Baltimore, the resentment of 150,000 Negro workers in defense industries who live in badly crowded areas, has been turned against Jewish renters and storekeepers by ex-Bundist and Fascist propagandists. (*The Jewish Post*, August 3, 1945) On the other hand, the newspaper men's delivery strike in New York could have easily grown into a race riot if it had lasted a few days longer. The newspapers were hiring young Negroes as strikebreakers and the resentment of the strikers, most of whom were Jews, could have easily turned against them. This is the opinion of Albert Deutsch, writer for *PM*, as told in a recent meeting of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. He urged that Jewish groups take the offensive against anti-Semitism and not wait until newly appointed research commissions complete their five-year studies on the causes of anti-Semitism. Fortunately, Negro and Jewish leaders have become increasingly aware of the danger which is inherent in the attempt to divert anti-capitalistic feelings into convenient anti-Semitic channels.

CORRECTION:

In the May issue of the MONTHLY SUMMARY (Volume II, no. 10, p. 292) reference was made to a pamphlet on anti-Semitism prepared by the Reverend Arthur J. Riley, Ph.D., and published under the imprimature of Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston, as being "a vicious anti-Semitic pamphlet". Since the publication of this issue, Father Riley's pamphlet has been more carefully studied by specialists acquainted with currents of Jewish thought and, while critical of some of the material in the pamphlet, they are convinced that Father Riley's intentions in preparing this document were beyond criticism and that characterization of the pamphlet as anti-Semitic is unjustifiable.

JAPANESE-AMERICANS

PROBLEMS OF JAPANESE RESETTLEMENT

Conceived broadly, human resettlement is an aspect of the wider problem of human migration—the movement of people from one area to another in search of more adequate sustenance of life and greater personal security. The destination of an individual in search of a proper place within a competitive economy is determined by the differential in the two opposing forces—push and pull—operating within a given community. For example, the movement out of a community at any time may well be considered as a numerical expression of a competitive struggle among human beings and the presence of disequilibrium between the push and pull forces. When defined in this manner, the problem of human resettlement is not too difficult to understand. Like animals, human beings go where they can best survive and not where they would like to live. Where they can best survive depends first and foremost upon their competitive capacities—age, sex, occupation, health, and so forth.

However, human resettlement is indeed a social problem. Man, unlike animals, inevitably enters into and shares the attitudes, sentiments, aspirations and even anxieties of others. In this way, what was once a personal problem becomes social and, inescapably, the concern of the wider public. Something needs to be done about it and a course of action ensues. Moreover, in his effort to seek a satisfactory solution for pressing problems, man finds it necessary to resort to organized effort. In the final analysis, only through an adequate manipulation of the existing social institutions, is he capable of accomplishing this end. But the institutions, by means of which he must of necessity find his way out, are intricately intertwined and are deeply rooted in the tradition of society. Because of this fact, any policy with reference to Japanese resettlement

that any one institution proposes, is probably in conflict with the specific aims and purposes of other institutions and encounters opposition of vested interests in society. Debates, quarrels, threats, and violences are to be expected. They may retard the process of resettlement by slowing down the successful execution of a proposed plan. Moreover, this conflict situation has its subjective effect on the individual evacuees—particularly on those persons in a state of indecision. They become more conscious of the precariousness of the world beyond their immediate experience. But by far the most significant outcome of any conflict is the fact that out of debate and discussion a more adequate and workable policy is generally formulated and more satisfactory cooperation is achieved. Perhaps it is within such a framework as this that the present problem of the resettlement of the Japanese in the United States needs to be examined and its future trends predicted.

Centrifugal forces have always been present in the War Relocation Centers. For one thing these Centers have been set up as transient abodes for a group of people who by the accident of World War II became temporarily nondescript "citizens" and aliens. From the point of view of a sound economic, political, cultural and moral life, the conditions within these Centers have not been favorable—this abnormal situation in turn has influenced some segment of the evacuees toward their exodus. Moreover, the policy of the WRA has been to disperse the evacuees throughout the United States as rapidly as communities could absorb them. Mr. Dillion S. Meyer, the national director of the WRA, has elaborated upon its policy and incidentally expressed the underlying philosophy of the Japanese resettlement program. He says in part:

As you all know, WRA is primarily a service organization. Its main job is to help the peo-

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ple in Relocation Centers become established again in private life. During the past three years, in helping over 45,000 people to relocate, we have encountered almost every conceivable type of resettlement problem. . . .

Never once have we found an individual or family relocation problem which we considered unsolvable. . . . It is highly important that we continue rendering this individualized type of assistance in relocation until the very end of the program. In order to do this effectively, however, we must have a comparatively even flow of movement out of the Centers over the next several months. . . .

Those who advise the residents of the Centers to hang back or tell them that their problems are unsolvable, therefore are doing a disservice. They are not only ignoring WRA's past record of relocation assistance but are actually working against the welfare of the people whom they pretend to help.

We have considered the problems of rendering adequate assistance on an individual basis to every eligible family and every person still residing in Relocation Centers.

In order to assure an even, orderly movement from the Centers and a well-planned program of assistance, it is essential that all residents should decide where they wish to relocate by September 1, at the latest.

Our advice and assistance to you cannot be made effective until you have made that basic decision. I am greatly pleased with the high degree of success achieved by the more than 45,000 evacuees who have already left Relocation Centers. The WRA is prepared to assist every one of you to make a similar successful adjustment.

As I have indicated on various occasions at the Centers, there is no such word as "can't" either in the vocabulary of Center residents or in the vocabulary of WRA. (*Heart Mountain Sentinel*, July 14, 1945)

Added to these external pushing forces are the subtle personal factors that operate in producing somewhat the same result. Personal pride, the wish for new experience, and for response—these personal motives led some of the evacuees to seek their lives outside the Centers. To be sure in any concrete individual instance of the resettlement none of the foregoing forces operated in isolation.

Whatever the factors and conditions which may account for the movement of the evacuees away from the Centers, to

date it is estimated that approximately forty-six thousand persons have been relocated. This leaves over seventy thousand persons still remaining in the Centers. Of this total, about ten out of eighteen thousand now in Tule Lake, California, may not be eligible for relocation. This leaves about sixty thousand persons to be relocated before the closing date. This is a serious problem in view of the short time in which this dispersion is to be effected.

One thing is clearly evident from the above figures and, that is, the process of dispersion has been very slow. A partial explanation for this slow exodus may be found in the peculiar age and sex composition of the Japanese left in the Centers. The aged and the young children are still in the Centers. Up to date the predominant number of persons who had resettled were the youth. The individual floating alone or in a small number can be absorbed far more readily into a normal community life than the family units with old and young. He is no problem to the community to which he moves. However, the aged parents with young dependent children encounter innumerable problems of housing, recreation, occupations, and education in the new community. Thus, in the Centers were left the old and the young children and the acuteness of the problem is therefore far more serious than the mere number indicates.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Oriental immigrants on the Pacific Coast has been the family solidarity. A sound and workable plan for the resettlement of the Japanese either into the old communities along the West Coast or into new communities in other parts of the United States, must reckon with this basic institution of the group. Any plan that goes counter to the well being of the family and other basic mores of the Japanese people may be foredoomed. Herein lies the complexity of the problem of Japanese resettlement—it is the family as a unit

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which must be transplanted. It is far easier to find a proper place for young people in a new community than to find a place for families. The transplantation of families requires a careful weighing of the numerous inherent economic and social factors and conditions of the community into which the families seek their entry. Any large movement of families runs smack into the community resistance. Such sudden inflow of families makes the community as a whole conscious of the problems of housing, recreation, education, religion, and morality. It upsets the traditional equilibrium of the community. The oppositions that have been voiced recurrently from people in the various regions of the United States prior to and during the War have their roots in this subtle fact. In whatever form the opposition has expressed itself, it has had a single effect upon the minds of the Japanese people within the Centers. It resulted in an ever increasing sense of insecurity and confusion as to their life goals. Indecision has been the by-product of this state of mind. The WRA, by announcing the closing dates of the eight centers, has forced the issue upon those thousands of Japanese who still remain in the Centers. The schedule of the closing dates of these Centers are: for Units 2 and 3 or Poston and Canal Camp of Gila River, Arizona, on or before October 1; for Granada, Colorado, on or before October 15; for Topaz, Utah, and Minidoka, Idaho, on or before November 1; for Heart Mountain, Wyoming, and Butte Camp of Gila River, Arizona, on or before December 1; and for Rohwer, Arkansas, on or before December 15. No plans were announced as to Tule Lake, California, where about 18,000 have been segregated. However, from past statements, it seems fairly certain that the Department of Justice or some other federal agency will take over to enable the WRA to go out of existence. Every Center being closed is to be given three months' advance notice.

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Keeping within the confines of the War Relocation Centers a large aggregate of Japanese has proved beyond doubt to be economically and morally unsound. To keep the Japanese in idleness by depriving them of their productive capacity or by encouraging production at minimum compensation has had a single effect in lowering group morale as well as personal moral value. In a society, such as ours, which prides itself in the value of the common man, any effort to prevent or prohibit a group of men who desire to contribute to the welfare of the total society may well be regarded as pathological. In time of emergency an organized effort to segregate any body of people whose freedom is deemed a threat to national security may be justly upheld if the threat can be objectively proved. But the difficulty is well-nigh overwhelming.

With the end of hostilities between the United States and Japan, the very reason for the exclusion of the Nisei and Issei from the West Coast has crumbled down, and racial baiters and vested interest groups have lost their reasonably tenable ground for objecting to the return of the Japanese evacuees. It should be remembered that the first blow, however, came with the rescinding by the War Department of the orders excluding all persons of Japanese ancestry on December 17, 1944, and thus the end of hostilities and the final formal declaration of war which is to come in the near future will give the Japanese greater freedom to move about in search of more favorable existence.

The resistance from the Pacific Coast will not likely be relinquished easily nor immediately. Opposition will continue to exist and in all likelihood will be blanketed in different terms. The reason may come out more clearly in economic threats. The reason for the exclusion of the Japanese has not been basically patriotic, for it is more patriotic to allow the Japanese to contribute their labor in the production of sorely needed commodities.

But the economic motive, to make a maximum profit in time of war, has been paramount. The magnitude of profit made by some of the white farmers on the Pacific Coast at the expense of the exigencies of war may be seen from isolated instances that have come to our attention.

In Hood River, it is reported that one Nisei had rented his orchard for \$1,000 a year. It grossed in these years around \$50,000 annually. Another had rented a forty-acre orchard for \$250 a year. The tenant grossed \$25,000 a year during the years of evacuation.

In California comes the report that there are countless numbers of cases where nurseries were rented for practically nothing and the tenants were reaping enormous profits. Growers and shippers monopolized certain farm products through the control of Japanese-owned lands.

Perhaps herein lies the secret of the success of so many instances of violence that have remained undetected or unpunished. So many avowed anti-Japanese organizations emerge and succeed in spite of the ideological contradictions. This brute economic competition is expected to heighten in the period of economic transition—transition from war economy to normal national economy. The laying-off by the thousands because of the cancellation of war contracts already in progress will in all probability accentuate the competitive economic struggle. If race conflicts stem from brute economic competition, it is not difficult to foresee the conflicts to follow. In the face of growing conflict, waves of legal barriers will be attempted; some legal experts will seek to find loopholes in the already existing laws—especially in the Anti-Alien Land Law of California. All these are evidences of the fear of the impending economic competition of the Japanese evacuees.

The Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West and the California Joint Immigration Committee were in the vanguard in advocating exclusion of all Orientals from this country. They continued their activities even after the evacuation although they have not been boisterous in

recent months. Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos have been the targets of persecution. Even today, the Chinese are not entirely free. The latest incident pertained to a Chinese American veteran who wanted to buy a laundry in San Francisco, California, and was prevented from doing so through pressure brought upon the seller. The regional office of the Japanese American Citizens League and the local chapter joined in the protest against the discriminatory action (*Pacific Citizen*, August 4, 1945)

The California Preservation Association is actively trying to form units in the rural districts of Northern California. Starting in Auburn, California, a meeting was held in Marysville recently and a new unit organized. Prior to V-J Day, the organization was opposed to the return of persons of Japanese ancestry to the West Coast for their own security. At the Marysville meeting, Mrs. Earl Lukens of Auburn announced the principal aim of the association will be to enforce four laws dealing with persons of Japanese ancestry in California: (1) those covering illegal entry; (2) entry of persons on temporary permits and as students; (3) on guardianship; and (4) Alien Land Law. (*Pacific Citizen*, August 4 and 11, 1945)

The most important development of the past months undoubtedly pertains to the unconditional surrender of Japan. With this came the inevitable cutbacks and reconversion—billions of dollars in contracts have been cancelled and millions of people will be unemployed. Mr. John Snyder, director of reconversion, has predicted that there would be five million unemployed by November and possibly eight million by next spring. As long as there was the shortage of manpower, the Japanese were tolerated. If unemployment figures should reach the millions as predicted, there is a strong possibility of trouble arising from economic competition. This will undoubtedly complicate the problems of resettlement.

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One of the serious problems which the evacuee farmers will face this fall is the threat of boycott. On July 14, the new Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton Anderson, dispatched a telegram to the Northwestern Produce Dealers' Association at Seattle pronouncing the boycotting of produce grown by returned evacuees as unjustifiable. He stated that he had received numerous complaints that produce firms in Seattle had refused to handle products grown by Japanese-Americans in that area.

It was understood that the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice was studying the situation for evidences of violation of federal anti-trust statutes.

The War Department officials also were reported interested in the situation—particularly in any waste through spoilage of produce grown by returned farmers of Japanese ancestry which West Coast produce houses refuse to handle. (*Pacific Citizen*, July 21, 1945)

The nurserymen and produce men of the Los Angeles area are now seeking Federal legislation permitting local communities to vote against the return of Japanese-Americans from Relocation Centers. These leaders are expected to attend the August meeting of the Ivanhoe Citizens League. One thousand names are supposed to have been signed and petitions presented in the Ivanhoe area to Representative B. W. Gearhart of Fresno and Representative A. J. Elliot of Tulare asking Federal action against the unrestricted return of the evacuees to their former homes in the State of California. (*Pacific Citizen*, July 21, 1945)

Mr. Dillon S. Myer predicted in Fresno, California, on June 22, that there will be no question about acceptance of Japanese Americans by soldiers of either the European or Pacific wars. He pointed out that most of the terroristic outbreaks against the returned evacuees have occurred in rural communities, 75% of them in the

Fresno district. He noted that farmlands left behind when persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated have been "making money" and temporary operators are reluctant to give them up. He stated further that since January 2, 1945, and up to around June 23, thirty-three attacks against returned evacuees of Japanese ancestry have occurred in California. Twenty of the attacks were shootings; one a dynamiting; three were arson cases; in nine instances, returned evacuees were threatened and warned to stay away from a given area. (*Pacific Citizen*, June 30, 1945)

The prevailing "myths" about persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States in all probability will be capitalized by the few to counter the return of the Japanese. Some of the myths floating in the country are: that all American-born Japanese children owe allegiance to the emperor; that Japanese language schools indoctrinated their pupils with Nipponese national ideals; that Japanese on the West Coast congregated in military areas; that Japanese Americans knew all about the impending Pearl Harbor attack but warned no one; and, that a person "once a Jap, is always a Jap." But these myths in the face of increasing knowledge about the Japanese growing out of the wider contacts and associations lose their power. The Nisei-GI's and the Nisei in other parts of the United States have successfully destroyed once widely-held myths.

The press of the nation has been thoroughly aroused over the mistreatment of the persons of Japanese parentage. The Hood River American Legion Post, the terroristic acts on the West Coast, the Spokane Post 51 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and numerous other incidents have been given nation-wide publicity. Also the feats of the Japanese American soldiers have drawn favorable publicity and comment. This dispersal of the evacuees throughout the country has helped matters too. Many national leaders in all

walks of life have come in contact with persons of Japanese ancestry, especially the Nisei. Some have them in their homes as servants; others in their offices or factories; on their farms; or as co-workers in government agencies or in civic affairs.

The percentage of successful resettlement is higher than failures. Evidence of this fact may be gleaned from the column of Dilworth Lupton in the *Cleveland Press*, July 20, 1945, addressed to the Nisei:

Reports of your work in defense plants and in other employment have won you the overwhelming approval of your employers. We Clevelanders have grown to feel that you are a part of our life—in industry, in our churches, our Y.M.C.A. and our schools.

To you Nisei, our Mayor Burke entrusts with me this personal message: 'Many of you will return to friends and families on the Coast. But to those who wish to stay and become fellow Clevelanders, we give you our heartiest welcome.'

By your fine behavior you have dispelled the poisoning myth, 'Once a Jap, always a Jap.' And you have proved conclusively what scientists have known for years—that the way people act doesn't depend on their blood stream or on the color of their skins, but upon their education and environment, and their own initiative. . . ."

Prospects of the Japanese resettlement in other areas outside of the West Coast seem less gloomy. An examination of the Japanese vernacular newspapers, two in Denver, Colorado, and one in Salt Lake City, Utah, reveals a growing number of dentists, physicians and optometrists opening offices in new localities. The number of dentists has been most noticeable, and all of them are reported to be busy with non-Japanese patients. Even on the West Coast, most dentists had a large following besides members of their own race. Japanese dentists had built a reputation of being proficient with their hands. All professional men seem to feel that there is no color line drawn in the Middle West and the East. This may mean a new field for Japanese-American professional men.

Physicians who are alien Japanese are the ones who are returning to the West

Coast. They have found that most states will not permit aliens to have licenses to practice. Consequently, in order to continue their profession, they are being forced to return to the state where they were licensed prior to the evacuation.

A development which may produce interesting resettlement was the article about the Wilson Plantation, located at Wilson, Arkansas, 40 miles northwest of Memphis, Tennessee. The WRA relocation officer from Arkansas had gone to the Poston, Arizona, relocation center to explain about the possibilities of this project. It was stated that there were 57,000 acres under cultivation out of over 63,000 acres. This farm has been growing mainly cotton but it wants to undergo a change into a large truck farming land. Three plans have been offered. They are:

Plan No. 1—For family or bachelor with little or no money—on Share Crop or 50-50 to 65-35 basis. A minimum of 2 acres of cotton to each acre of vegetables to be grown the first year. The company will furnish all farming equipment, fertilizer, plants, seeds, housing and insecticides. The evacuee needs to provide the labor. Advances of as much as \$2 per acre a month will be made if needed.

Plan No. 2—Rent land for \$12 to \$18 per acre, the evacuee providing the equipment and finance. Cotton producing is not required in this plan.

Plan No. 3—Same as Plan No. 2, but if the evacuee desires to grow cotton, he may rent additional land for half of the cotton crop.

The Seabrook Farms of Bridgeton, New Jersey, were the first to solicit evacuee labor on a large scale. Unconfirmed reports indicate that there are about 1,250 now working. And more are being welcomed.

The movement out of the relocation centers is progressing at a faster pace. Special cars are going out every week. And now special trains are being chartered. From January to July of this year, 15,907 persons left the Centers; 64 per cent going eastward; 11 per cent to Southern California; and the rest to the West Coast and Intermountain area. (*Colorado Times*, August 2, 1945)

THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND HIS CITIZENSHIP: A YEAR'S REVIEW*

The Indian's position in the American family has changed little during the current year. He remains the un-wanted child, pushed outside the warm family circle. Although all Indians in the United States are citizens, fully one-fourth of the Indian population is disfranchised. As wards of the federal government Indian control over their own affairs can be, and often is, curtailed. The long and bitter road our nation set their feet upon when we conquered them two hundred years ago still stretches ahead into an uncharted future. It is a road we have pitted with bottomless quagmires of poverty and imperiled with yawning crevasses of discrimination. Impotence in their own community and personal affairs renders their journey more galling and hazardous. While America takes time out to scold Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for flouting democracy in those distant lands our national Congress continues to pass laws vital to Indian welfare without Indian consent; federal officials still make plans for Indian communities without Indian participation; and Indian boys still are drafted to defend a country which denies them the right to vote for the laws that govern them.

Events of the past year have kept before Indians their uncertain status in American life. Arizona recently denied Indians the right to Social Security benefits of the state and nation on the ground that they are federal wards. Within the year the state legislature of New Mexico voted down a repeal of its present law prohibiting Indians from voting in state and national elections. A bill now before the Senate (S 1179) would force the application of state criminal laws on all Indian reservations regardless of the readiness of

the people. Another bill (S 978) would repeal the Reorganization Act of 1934 promising greater self-government and a more secure economic base to Indians living on reservations. A decision of the United States Supreme Court (Northwestern Shoshone case) handed down only a few months ago, places in grave jeopardy the titles of all tribes holding claims against the United States and reverses the century-old policy acknowledging the rights of Indian tribes to recover for past injustices inflicted on their members.

The Protestant Church of the United States devoted a portion of the last year to a study of the Indian situation. One of the foremost topics of discussion by these groups and by the press has been the Indians' political status. Increasing public demand for some change in Indian wardship, and for the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs resulted in an investigation of the total Indian problem by a select committee of the House of Representatives. This committee of six Congressmen spent four weeks visiting Indian jurisdictions in ten states and Alaska, returning to submit its report to the House December 23, 1944. The report begins with the assertion that the rightful goal of the Indian is 'to take his place in the white man's community, on the white man's level, and with the white man's opportunity and security status.' The Committee found that Indian progress toward this objective is hampered by (1) inadequate economic opportunities; (2) inadequate educational opportunities at high enough level; (3) inadequate adult guidance; (4) failure to settle Indian claims and Indian heirship problems; (5) failure to provide a procedure whereby Indians may, of their own volition, become full-

fledged citizens without the restrictions of federal guardianship. The committee further reported that Indians as a group are not ready yet to be "turned loose", and that the federal government had not yet discharged its obligations to Indians to the point where the Bureau of Indian Affairs can be abolished and federal services to Indians be discontinued.

Indian attitudes toward these questions of such burning importance to themselves was clearly revealed at the hearings (February 20 to March 1, 1945) before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on the appointment of a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs to succeed John Collier, who had resigned. Indian delegates representing widely separate sections of the country spoke with one voice their insistence that an Indian be named to this position holding such tremendous power over all Indian well-being. (They did not get him.) "An Indian will better understand us and our needs," they said. None felt that the time had come when the Bureau of Indian Affairs could safely be abolished but one delegate after another emphasized that Indians wanted more voice in their own affairs. Congressman Stigler, himself an Indian, speaking before the House April 26th, urged that Indians be allowed more control over their own property and their own lives. If the work of the Indian Bureau is to become more effective it must become more a bureau of service to Indians by Indians and less a bureau to regiment and control Indian lives by dictatorship of an alien race. A group of younger Indian leadership meeting informally in Chicago expressed the belief that Indians still need the Bureau of Indian Affairs but that it must be purged of those employees, of whom there are many, who look down on Indians as inferior; who believe Indians to be irresponsible children needing protection from the consequences of their own actions; who have no confidence in Indian future. Until such changes are made, this group felt,

Indian self-government will remain largely in the realm of double talk where so much of Indian Service holds it now. Until these changes are made, federal guardianship can never become, as it ought to become, a creative and dynamic force in Indian development, but will remain instead the thing it is in so many areas today—a dead hand holding Indians victim to an enforced and carefully nurtured dependency.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

One development of the year which may be of utmost importance to Indians is the organization of the National Congress of American Indians. In November, 1944, eighty delegates representing forty-five tribes from every section of Indian country met in Denver, Colorado, to create this all-Indian organization. The delegates were illustrative of the wide diversity found in Indian life today. Some were professional men, trained in the country's greatest universities, and completely and successfully assimilated to white ways. Other delegates spoke only their tribal language and knew little experience outside the pattern of their own tribal culture. In between were delegates representing all possible gradations of assimilation. It was not easy for such a varied group to reach a common mind, but the fact that they did while maintaining an atmosphere of good feeling and mutual trust marks a new trend in Indian development. It demonstrates a growing sense of racial unity. Until recent years Indian interests and loyalties were tribal rather than racial. But the critical need for common action, growing out of the desperate plight of so many Indian groups, has helped develop a feeling of racial solidarity that is constantly growing stronger. Today many of the younger, educated Indians think of themselves first as Indian

*Prepared by Ruth Bronson.

and only second as Cherokee or Piate.

The new organization illustrates, too, that Indians everywhere, even among the full-blood groups most wedded to ancient tribal ways, are increasingly willing to use white methods in their struggle with the white man for security. The old suspicion and scorn Indians once visited upon the Indian leader who tried to "ape" white ways by taking on the white man's education and his procedures is completely dead. Indians at long last know they must meet the white man on his own ground and with his own tools. Moreover, the struggle of other American minorities, notably the Negro, to achieve an assured place in American life has been to Indians a heartening example, inspiring them to action.

There has never been an Indian press to mirror and crystalize Indian opinion, and to present Indian problems in an unbiased manner. The N.C.A.I. proposes to establish a newsletter for this purpose. The first issues have already gone into the Indian country. It begins as an extremely limited service, but as financial support comes in it will be expanded. Plans of the organization also include establishment of: (1) a legal-aid bureau for Indian tribes or individuals in need of legal advice; (2) an in-service training program within their own Service; (3) scholarships for post-graduate professional training of Indians; (4) a poll of Indian opinion on current Indian problems.

The first legislation sponsored by N.C.A.I. is a bill to settle speedily and finally all prevailing Indian claims through creation of a special Indian Claims Commission. Two such bills have been introduced before the House, but neither have yet been reported out of Committee. This legislation was placed at the top of the *MUST* list by N.C.A.I. because the organization believes the present mass of unsettled Indian claims, some justifiable, some not, is confusing to Indians and retards Indian

progress by keeping alive among some Indian groups an unhealthy spirit of bitterness and resentment; by making some Indians reluctant to break with reservation ties for fear of losing their share of whatever recovery is made; by making it possible for unscrupulous lawyers to prey on unsophisticated Indian groups with promises of fabulous riches to be recovered; and by discouraging Indian effort toward self-improvement through dreams of great wealth just ahead in a nebulous future.

Two items placed before Congress within the year reveal the public attitude toward Indians at two extreme ends of our national boundary, and dispel the rosy theory that aggression of Indian land belongs to a bygone era. The first, a joint memorial of the legislature of the state of Arizona (placed in the *Congressional Record* March 20, 1945, by Senator McFarland, Arizona) proposes that certain lands (of great potential productivity because of newly developed irrigation facilities) belonging to the Colorado River Indians be given by the United States to returning war veterans. No Indian consent is implied. The other, a resolution introduced by the Delegate from Alaska, Hon. E. L. Bartlett, (*Congressional Record*, April 17, 1945) deserves to be quoted in part:

"Resolved by the Alaska Territorial Chamber of Commerce: That the Congress of the United States be promptly petitioned to immediately enact legislation definitely and forever extinguishing any and all aborigine rights, if any, that the Alaska Indians ever held or possessed and all claims now, heretofore, and hereafter asserted to such, if any, aborigine rights, and authorize Alaska Indians to sue the United States of America in the United States Court of Claims, or other appropriate court, for the recovery of the value of such, if any, aborigine rights now or ever held or possessed by them, and provide that in the event of such, if any, recovery, the United States of America shall pay said Indians in money therefor.

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"Passed and approved unanimously March 23, 1945, Alaska Territorial Chamber of Commerce

by Homer Garvin, President."

ALASKA

This past year has found Alaska Indians in the middle of a desperate struggle to keep their land holdings and fishing rights claimed by right of original occupancy. The Department of the Interior has taken the position that the surest way to safeguard Indian title and to protect against trespass is to set up "reservations" under federal protection. A Congressional Act of 1936 gives the Department this authority. Toward this end Secretary Ickes sent Judge Richard R. Hanna into Alaska to hold hearings on the possessory claims of Indian villages of Hyda-berg, Kake, and Klawock. Non-Indian Alaskans are bitterly opposing the reservations. The Alaska Chamber of Commerce asserts that uncertainty over Indian claims is retarding economic development of Alaska. Delegate Bartlett told the Alaska Native Brotherhood that establishment of reservations will only widen the already great distance between Indians and whites and create even greater racial difficulties. The commercial fishing companies, which, according to Indian claims have unlawfully usurped ancient Indian fishing rights, have been bitter in their fight against federal protection. Judge Hanna completed his hearings some weeks ago and only recently Secretary Ickes handed down the Department's decision based on Judge Hanna's findings. The Indians were allowed only about one-eighth of the territory they have claimed. They have appealed and an attorney has been assigned by the Department to assist them in establishing whatever additional proof they can for the territorial claims they wish to press.

While this fight over land and fishing rights is still at its hottest, Alaska Territory has moved ahead on her own volition

to accord Indians greater social justice. Discrimination against Indians has been greater in Alaska, perhaps, than it has ever been in any part of the United States. "No Natives Permitted" is a familiar sign in Alaskan hotels, stores, restaurants, theatres, and other public businesses. Few Indians are welcome in Territorial schools. United States soldiers stationed in Alaska were forbidden to associate with Indians. But within the past year Alaska has enacted legislation making it illegal to display signs indicating discrimination on racial grounds and providing that "all citizens of Alaska shall be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of accommodations, advantages, and facilities of any public place." Furthermore, within recent weeks the old Territorial Mother's Allowance Law, which excluded Indian children, has been replaced by a new law granting aid to dependent children in which needy Indian children are given the right to share on the same basis as children of white parents.

EMPLOYMENT

The employment situation for Indians generally worsened during the year. Even before V-J Day appreciable numbers of Indians were beginning to return to their reservation homes because of unemployment. This is reflected in the lengthening reservation relief rolls at a time when the rest of the country was showing lighter relief loads. Like other marginal groups Indians are among the first to lose their jobs as work slackens. No program has yet been initiated, either by Indian groups or by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to help those who want to stay in industrial work keep the foothold they have gained there or to extend those gains. Many who prefer to stay in the cities to work are being forced back into their segregated rural areas. Often they must return to communities socially impoverished; to wretched, over-crowded homes; to inadequate school opportunities for their children; to locali-

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ties where there is not the slightest chance for a decent livelihood because of depleted soil or too scanty farming land. The hope in this dark picture comes from the profound changes the war years have made in Indian experience. The annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs states that greater numbers than ever before in history have left the Indian reservations in search of work. Sometimes as many as fifty percent of a reservation have been away at work during a given period. More than 100,000 Indian men, women, and children were employed during the past year in the beet fields, the orchards, and other agricultural activities of the nation. Some 30,000 Indian boys and girls have served in the armed forces. As all these people return home, and large numbers of them will, their new experiences will help them face their reservation problems. They will have seen, some for the first time, how other races do things. They will have a new confidence, growing out of successful competition, if only for a short while, with people of other ways of life. They will compare, and they will understand how things can be made better at home.

Indian employment within the federal Indian Service remains much at the same point as it was a year ago. The official policy of giving preference to Indians for jobs in their own service is still operating—but still largely at the lower salary levels. Within the year a new personnel director for the Indian Service was appointed, but he was not an Indian. An Assistant Commissioner was recently chosen, but the post did not go to an Indian. Vacancies in the Reservation Superintendency position have rarely been filled with Indians, although qualified Indians are available for all these jobs.

VETERANS

The G. I. Bill of Rights offers many Indian veterans their first chance to share in a program with their fellow-Americans free of racial handicaps. True, even here some will run into the local banker who is sure no Indian is a good credit risk, or there may be an occasional Veteran's Administration Counsellor who believes all Indians too lazy to help themselves, but this sort of bias need not preclude justice to the energetic, for he can appeal his case to the Washington Office of the Veteran's Administration and be reasonably sure of a fair hearing as any veteran of any race. The personnel of the field offices of the Veteran's Administration, in those states where Indian populations are proportionately high, are being asked by the Central Office to make a special study of the needs of Indian veterans and to work out procedures that will insure Indian veterans are fully informed of the services available to them under the Serviceman's Readjustment Act.

This does not mean that the Indian veteran will not meet with discrimination on occasion, for of course he will. He may meet it when he goes away to school; when he goes to buy a home outside the reservation; when he seeks a job; even when he goes shopping in the city. Race prejudice expresses itself against Indians in the same areas and much the same manner as it does against other minorities whose ways and looks differ from the majority. The old clichés of racial bias used to beat down other undesired peoples are hurled at Indians, too. "Indians won't work"; "Indians can't be trusted"; "It is so hard to make Indians understand anything"; "Indians are diseased, or they are dirty." So long as these derogatory notions are universally applied to Indians they are handicapped in their struggle for a secure place in the American family.

STORM OVER TIGER BAY

A PROTEST MOVEMENT AGAINST SEGREGATION ON THE BRITISH ISLES

For the first time in Great Britain the cry of segregation has been raised in opposition to a measure designed to establish a precedent for what at least one national newspaper and a United Committee of five coloured organizations fear would be the creation of "ghettoes" for coloured people in the British Isles.

The zone of discontent lies adjacent to the Cardiff docks area and is known, derisively, as "Tiger Bay", the coloured seamen's quarter. It covers an area of one square mile of the dreary, smoke-laden surroundings of Bute Town. Here elements of all the dark seafaring races owing allegiance to the British Crown—Arabs, Maltese, "Lascars", Somalis, Orientals, Negroes from all over Africa and the Caribbean—form a floating population of about 4,500. The social fabric of the quarter is woven—the pattern is similar to that of the "Manassas" societies of the Middle and Far West of a generation or so ago—on the basis of relationships between dark-skinned men and women of Welsh and English stock.

In May, 1938, one of Britain's biggest landowners, the Marquis of Bute, who, according to "Who's Who" currently owns 117,000 acres, set up an all-time record for the size of a real estate transaction. He sold half of the City of Cardiff for a sum estimated at 20,000,000 sterling. Under the terms of the sale "ground rents secured on 20,000 houses, 1,000 shops, 250 public-houses (saloons), several theatres and cinemas, and a large part of Cardiff docks passed over to a syndicate formed

¹Iron and steel mills, coal, the timber trade and shipping all play a big part in the industrial and economic life of Cardiff; but the city—straddling the Rivers Taff and Ely where they enter the Bristol Channel—is pre-eminent as a Port. It is, owing to its proximity to the South Wales coal mines, the largest coal-exporting port in the world. Population (1938): 228,000.

by two insurance companies and Shop Investments, Ltd., a company already owning properties worth more than 1,000,000."

An endless desolation of a street along the waterfront figured in the sale.² This street—named after the builder of Cardiff docks, an ancestor of the Marquis, who is descended from one of the ancient kings of Scotland, Robert II—lies on the fringe of "Tiger Bay". It is only a tuppenny bus ride from the "Civic Centre" in Cathay's Park—perhaps the finest example of town-planning in the British Isles—but it serves to provide a sizzling contrast, under a set-up in which capitalism and the remnants of feudalism are closely linked, between the polarization of wealth and beauty at one end and poverty and ugliness at the other.⁴

In World War I, which gave a stimulus to the growth and expansion of the "Tiger

²THE MEN WHO OWN THIS LAND OF OURS by Gordon Schaffer, *Reynold's News*, February 13, 1944.

³"As well as providing a notorious so-called 'red light' quarter of Cardiff, Bute Street is the district par excellence for cafes and lodging houses. In a distance of little over half a mile from West Bute Street to the canal bridge there are over 20 cafes and at least half a dozen boarding houses, including one or two sailors' homes, e.g., Salvation Army and Greek. There are also some half-dozen public houses, a rather large number of clothiers, who sell a great variety of garments from seafaring equipment, such as firemen's suits, naval uniforms, sea boots, wire belts, etc., to smart lounge suits and soft hats; three jewelers; a number of general stores and tobacconists."—"Loudoun Square: A Community Survey—I," by K. L. Little, *The Sociological Review*, Vol XXXIV Nos. 1 and 2, January-April, 1943.

⁴"The long dreary expanse of Bute Street is another blot on the City; we believe that the new ground landlords have projects in mind for improvement as the old leases fall in. The whole task of transforming the Docklands into something that is more in accord with Cardiff's good standards elsewhere is one that calls for enterprise and imagination. We want to see it made into one of our show places in the best sense, a 'front door' to the City, not a 'back door' in which the Community takes little pride."—"The Planning of Our City," a lecture given at Cardiff Technical College in 1942, by T. Alwyn Lloyd, Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, J. P. and Past President of the Town-Planning Institute.

⁵Next to the "Civic Centre" and "Tiger Bay" the chief point of interest to U. S. Negro troops in Cardiff has been a time-stained relic of the Roman Occupation of Britain—Cardiff Castle, the hereditary residence of the Marquis of Bute.

Bay" quarter," the contribution of coloured seamen from Cardiff to the Allied cause was considerable. Two things had combined to give the men their chance: (1) the shortage of manpower, owing to the enormous casualties in France and the demands of industry, especially the coal mines and munition factories, and (2) the fact that on coal-burning vessels it was found that coloured men engaged as stokers and firemen seemed to be able to withstand the heat better than white men.

On the outbreak of war in 1939, "Tiger Bay"—still a borderline 'case', still a refuge for the poor, the underprivileged and the outcast but unmistakably showing signs of stability and tenacity (had it not survived all the horrors of a melting pot within a distressed area; had it not known what it was to stomach cuts in unemployment relief and the degradation of the Means Test?)—did not flinch from the challenge. Coloured seamen were in the front-line from the beginning.

When, on September 6th, 1939, the "Royal Sceptre" was sunk without warning by a U-boat, thirty-two of the crew lost their lives; ten were coloured men from "Tiger Bay"—the donkeyman, four firemen and five able seamen.

Two days later the big cargo steamer "Manaar" (7,242 tons) was attacked and sunk by four German submarines 400 miles off the coast of Portugal. Eighty-six of the crew of 105 were lost, including a number of coloured men from "Tiger

⁵... Before the last war Loudoun Square (the centre of gravity of "Tiger Bay") itself appears to have been the residence of a well-to-do class of sea-captains, lawyers, and the bourgeoisie, which its well-built three-storeyed houses accommodated until the influx of further alien (?) immigrants to the district. This last stream, which has been more or less continuous in years since, seems to have consisted in the main of men of African origin, whose arrival is probably attributable directly to the circumstances of the last war. During that period a large number of ships, which normally operated on the West African and other routes in which these nationalities (?) were employed, was requisitioned by the Government, and the seamen were left behind in this country. About the same time coloured labour battalions were formed and were also demobilised over here. In addition a number of coloured men were brought over to Manchester and other cities to work in munition and chemical factories. It seems likely that the situation was similar at most large British ports... and that the increased influx of Africans and West Indians in Cardiff may also be explained by the more profitable terms of payment obtainable there as compared to Liverpool." (Little, op. cit.)

Bay".

On September 11th the steamer "Magdapur" was torpedoed by a U-boat and sunk; on the 18th the Furness liner "Aviemere" (4,600 tons) was also sunk. Among the survivors from both of these vessels were men from "Tiger Bay"—Somali and West Indian firemen.

As was not the case in 1914-1918, the losses which the people of "Tiger Bay" have suffered in the cause of Allied victory, the sacrifices which they have had to make in World War II have been not only at sea but on land as well.

During 1941 and 1942, the tramp shipping in the harbour, the coal barges in the Glamorgan Canal, the timber and rail yards, the flour mills and the iron and steel mills, the collieries and the adjacent coal mines all attracted the attention of the Luftwaffe. Bomb damage in "Tiger Bay" was heavy. Along Bute Street the walls of buildings gutted in fire-bomb raids are still precariously standing. Huge craters, open spaces where tenements once stood, windows without panes, the shored-up sides of buildings still in tenancy—all testify to the ordeal through which "Tiger Bay" has passed.

The blitz doubtless has done much to aggravate the housing problem in "Tiger Bay", but even before the war it was always rather acute.

"Sanitary and housing conditions of the 'Bay' are in many cases appalling, and the death rate from tuberculosis in this ward is double that obtaining elsewhere. Houses that have been condemned as long ago as twenty years are still standing and contain large families. Along Peel Street... once a dangerous, now only a deeply-depressed quarter, many of the rooms in houses have windows smashed and unrepaired, walls and ceilings are falling in, and the floor is broken through. Yet people live in these conditions and pay considerable rents."

To remedy the housing situation in "Tiger Bay" the Cardiff City Council some years back put forward a plan for the construction of a block of flats for col-

⁶"The City of Cardiff," *Picture Post*, London, March 18, 1939.

oured people only. Whether the plan was intended to cloak a policy of segregation or not is wide open to speculation. However, to the white women of "Tiger Bay"—almost all of whom belong to the Women's Branch of the Labour Party—it had within it all the germs of segregation. They put their feet down on it, and the plan was dropped.

In December 1944, the Cardiff City Council again met to discuss the housing problem in "Tiger Bay". According to a report in the *South Wales Echo*, the Council was acting, not alone, but with the backing of the Colonial Office in London:

"Approval was given at Thursday's meeting of the Cardiff Corporation Estates Committee to the erection of thirty-six houses on the site of the Old West Yard, Bute Street, for coloured people. Lay-out will harmonise with the proposed 5,000 youth centre building, to be put up at the request of the Colonial Office, for children of Colonial people in the district. This building will also go up on the West Yard site. It is also intended to build a nursery school on another part of the site."

"Tiger Bay's" recoil from the Council's decision was swift and unequivocal. It was summarized the following morning by the *London Daily Worker* in a dispatch from Brinley Evans, its South Wales correspondent:

"A decision by Cardiff Corporation's Estates Committee to erect thirty-six houses in the docks area for the exclusive use of coloured people has met with strong protests from their official representatives.

"A protest meeting is to be held by the Cardiff United Committee of Coloured Peoples and colonial organizations against any such move to segregate the coloured population of Cardiff.

"The erection of these houses, with the stipulation that they are for the exclusive use of coloured people, would be the starting point in the creation of a coloured 'ghetto' in Cardiff with official sanction," a member of the committee told me today.

"He emphasized that Cardiff's coloured population would welcome any move made by Cardiff Corporation to improve the deplorable housing conditions in the docks area.

"But it should be a general scheme," he added, "with no provisions to differentiate be-

⁷*South Wales Echo*, December 15, 1944.
⁸*Daily Worker*, London, December 16, 1944.

tween white and coloured British citizens."

On the evening that the Council's decision was made known—the *South Wales Echo* is an afternoon paper—a hurriedly got-up bill poster began to appear on the walls of "Tiger Bay".

NOTICE

SEGREGATION THREATENED

A DENIAL OF FREEDOM WE MUST PROTECT

The poster was issued by the United Committee, a central executive body made up of representatives of "Tiger Bay"'s "Big Five"—the Moslem League, the Colonial Defence Association, the Youth League, the Sons of Africa and the Islamic Society. Every shade of political opinion, half a dozen creeds and a multi-hued melange of races are represented on the Committee; but in spite of subtle attempts to split it into fragments, the Committee has stood firm and unswerving in the task before it.⁹

The protest statement issued by the Committee follows:

"Knowing full well that any social separation of a people gives rise to discrimination and perpetuates certain social ills, this Committee deplores any move suggestive of imposed segregation and, in particular, desires to express publicly its grave concern at:

- "a. A Coloured Youth centre to be built in Bute Town, Cardiff, by the Colonial Office.
- "b. The erection of 36 houses for coloured people on the Old West Yard, Cardiff, approved by the Estates Committee of the Cardiff City Council, to 'harmonise' with

⁹"Various organizations exist to draw in the coloured people. The Sons of Africa, the Kroo Men Association, the Islamic Society, the Salvation Army and the Wesleyan Church. But only the Colonial Defence Association appeals to all colonial people irrespective of race, colour or creed, and sets up as its objective the defence of the social rights presumably granted to any British subject. Fiery and able Tom Llewellyn, Cardiff Labour Councillor, is President of the Colonial Defence Association." "The City of Cardiff," op. cit.

¹⁰This is due in large measure to the personality and character of the Chairman, Aaron Mossell, and the wide respect and esteem in which he is held by all classes not only in the docks area but outside it.

Aaron Mossell is now in his 81st year, although his lean figure, clear eyes and razor-keen intellect all seem to belie it. He was born in Canada in 1863, whither his father, a free U. S. Negro, had fled seven years before the Dred Scott decision. He is not a seaman, but a collier with a Board of Trade certificate, and he has lived in Cardiff for forty years.

¹¹"Declaration" by the United Committee of Coloured and Colonial Peoples' Organizations, Chairman: A. E. Mossell, 9 Loudoun Square, Cardiff.

the proposed Coloured Youth Centre, Nursery School, etc.

"Our reasons for concern are:

"1. That the children and young people of the district being British born and citizens of Cardiff, should not receive special treatment on account of their colour, especially from the Colonial Office.

"2. That a definite coloured colony will be established by the building of houses for coloured people around a Coloured Youth Centre, and segregation will become recognized. Social amenities should be provided for all citizens according to need, without colour or racial distinction. Furthermore, although houses are greatly needed to replace the prevailing bad housing conditions, the site chosen is considered to be neither pleasant nor healthy.

"3. That in view of the present world conflict and the high ideals of justice, freedom, democracy and anti-racialism for which the Allies are fighting and in which same conflict coloured people are fighting side by side and shedding their blood in the British Army, the Air Force and the Merchant Navy, as well as contributing large portions of the financial

agricultural, mineral and other resources, such a plan of segregation in the very heart of the British Empire is untimely, unjust, unnecessary, unwise and an absolute negation of the ideals for which we are all fighting and risking our all. Moreover the reaction that such a plan might cause among the 460,000,000 coloured members of the British Empire cannot be overlooked."

It is significant that of all the public bodies whose adherence to the protest has been solicited, only one—the Conservative Party Organization in Cardiff—has been reluctant to commit itself, one way or the other. All the others,—the Labour Party, the Commonwealth Party, the Liberals under Sir Archibald Sinclair (Air Minister in the Coalition Government), the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Council of Civil Liberties—have warmly expressed a willingness to stand solidly behind the people of "Tiger Bay" in their courageous fight.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF BATTLE

From YANK—September 14, 1945:

"Dear Yank:

I received a copy of your magazine and read that the AMG is letting the Germans go back to school. After that I read in MAIL CALL about the Jim Crow treatment of colored American soldiers.

Now I am from Mississippi. Until I came into the Army I hated Negroes. It wasn't anything they did to me; I just didn't like them. Since I have been in the ETO I have fought from D-Day to V-E Day with Negro soldiers. I was wounded twice in one foxhole and a Negro saved my life by using his first aid kit on me. Then he carried me to where a doctor could work on me. This was under heavy fire. Later he died. He was from New York and he knew I was from the South where he had no freedom.

Many Negro soldiers have died on the front for American soldiers who thought Jim Crow was right. So if Germans can have freedom after they have caused so much suffering and destruction, why not let the Negro race have what they fought for? I feel that they should, and a lot of Southern GIs feel the same way.

Germany

T/Sgt. Willie Jones"

"Dear Yank:

The other night we had a jam session with some colored boys from a Quartermaster trucking outfit quartered near us. This morning we were read an order which prohibits us to associate with the colored troops 'except on business.'

A colored tank outfit fought side by side with this regiment clear to Steyr, Austria, and we were never ordered not to fight alongside of American troops of the colored race, so why should we be forbidden to associate with other American soldiers because of color?

Germany

Pvt. David Icheson"

DEMOCRACY AND THE LAWMAKERS

(A Review of Congressional Opinion on the Rights of Minorities in the United States, February to July, 1945)

THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE BILL

T. Millet Hand of New Jersey:

"Mr. Speaker, the very nature of Americanism is the protection of the vital rights of minorities both with respect to their political freedom, and their rights as individuals to live self-respecting lives. Among those important minorities are 13,000,000 Americans who are Negroes. Seven hundred thousand of them now serve in the armed forces, and millions are producing in our war plants. The future of these Americans depends largely on the wisdom with which we now act.

"I, for one, will welcome the opportunity to support the bill. I hope that history may record that the Seventy-ninth Congress was responsible for this great social advance in America." (February 23, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Rankin of Mississippi:

"Mr. Speaker, on yesterday Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, 'using 22 pens', signed the so-called fair employment practice law, passed by the legislature of that State, which will go down in history as the greatest betrayal of the white Americans of New York that State has ever known.

"... As I said on this floor some time ago, the white Gentiles of this country still have some rights left, and should be protected from the persecutions that they are now compelled to endure. If this drive continues unabated they will be driven entirely from the business world and from the professions, as well as from public life.

"... This FEPC is a super-government, with more power for evil than any other agency that has ever been created in this country. If Congress should ratify it and make it the law of the land, then we will have sacrificed or destroyed that sacred freedom for which our brave men are now fighting and dying on every battlefield in the world.

"We have no right to pass such a drastic, revolutionary measure that literally changes our way of life, if not our form of government, while these boys are away from home in uniform, fighting to sustain American institutions.

"As I said before, we are going to carry this battle against un-American activities into every congressional district in the United States next year, in the primary, so that no one can

crawl behind the party cloak and claim immunity at the hands of any segment of our people.

"This is a battle for the survival of free government, for the survival of the American way of life, for the survival of free enterprise, for the survival of American liberty itself.

"It is a battle to save America for Americans." (March 13, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Charles M. LaFollette of Indiana:

"... The proposed Federal legislation in the House (H.R.—2232) and in the other body (S.—101) to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission is designed, in my opinion, to extend the ethics upon which this country is established and in which we profess to believe, into the field of economic life and to thereby extend once more the idea that there must be full and equal opportunity in a democracy not only to vote, not only to participate in political life, and political activities, but to participate fully and without being subject to discrimination, which our Supreme Court has defined as "irrelevant and invidious" in reaching the fullest economic attainments which we offer to any citizen.

"I do not think that it is open to debate that we have not obtained this goal up to now in America.

"May I point out primarily that we are not attempting with this legislation to eliminate prejudice. Prejudice is something which sits in the inside of people. We are attempting to eliminate the outward effect to prejudice, which is discrimination.

"... As a matter of fact, I am of the opinion, as many others are, that there is educational value inherent in the enforcement provisions of this legislation, that people will come closer together when they know there is behind a Federal agency, a power eventually to enforce action, to prohibit discrimination.

"... It is not sufficient that legislation should be based upon sound moral or ethical grounds. In a democracy we cannot enforce ethical principles unless we find that they are legal or constitutional under our form of government. It is my opinion that this legislation very definitely is constitutional, because discrimination because of race, certainly, has heretofore been held by our Supreme Court to be an irrelevant and an invidious discrimina-

tion which the Court will not uphold." (April 23, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Brooks Hays of Arkansas:

"... While the Negro is acquiring and demonstrating fitness for more attractive types of employment he should recognize that it is not necessarily discrimination to regard him as unequal to the white workers in certain pursuits. He should also recall that he is regarded as excellent in certain trades even though most of them are humble ones." (April 23, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Mary Norton of New Jersey:

"... In simple language the bill prohibits discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry. With the opening of the San Francisco Conference yesterday, we have the greatest opportunity to prove our sincerity to the world by adopting this bill. If we in America do not believe in this doctrine, our position at the San Francisco Conference would be impossible to explain. . . ." (April 27, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Joe W. Ervin of North Carolina:

"... It is my purpose to discuss the FEPC and to demonstrate that it would do more to Hitlerize and communize America than any other proposal now pending in Congress. . . .

"... If the FEPC should force employers to accept Negro men for work in manufacturing plants where white women are now employed, it would have the effect of forcing the white women out of those manufacturing plants or of requiring them to work with fellow employees with whom they have not been accustomed to work. In this connection, it must be remembered that white women are employed in manufacturing plants in every state in the Union, and the white women working with Negro men would not be a sectional question.

"The Negro was brought to America from the darkest regions of Africa, where he had lived in savagery. He was brought to live among the best people of the world.

"The Negro's early stay in America gave him Christianity, and he is privileged to worship the one and only God in numerous churches which his white friends helped to build. Christianity gave him freedom. He not only enjoys personal freedom, but he has freedom in every other respect.

"I am speaking today for the alien who intends to seek American citizenship and also for the naturalized Americans who came here

from their native lands to seek freedom and opportunity and who want us to preserve for them the American way of life; I am speaking today for the little Jewish boy or the little Jewish girl in the Southland who wish to grow up in that fine feeling of cooperation which now exists between southerners of all races, colors, and creeds. I am speaking for that Negro boy and that little Negro girl in the Southland who wish to grow up in that fine feeling of cooperation which now exists between southerners of all races, colors, and creeds. I am speaking for the dairymen of Wisconsin, who sell their milk and cheese in interstate commerce and are too busy milking cows and attending to their barnyard duties to be regimented by the FEPC. I am speaking for the cornhusker of Nebraska and Iowa. A man who cuts tops and pulls fodder and shucks corn has no time to be regimented by an FEPC examiner. (May 4, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Robert F. Rich of Pennsylvania:

"... I do not think we can enforce righteousness upon the American people by legislation. I do not think we are going to help the colored people by legislation. I do not think we are going to help them as many of you would have us believe this bill is intended to do if you put FEPC on to it. I think it is only an illusion by some people to still further the interest of Communism in this country of ours. I do not want any of it. I think the Congress ought to be wide awake as to what they are doing here today." (July 5, 1945—In the Senate)

George E. Outland of California:

"... Democracy is not simply a political creed; it is a way of life that encompasses all that we do and are and think. It is social, educational, and economic as well as political. Democracy means respect for the rights of the individual; it says that each person, regardless of his sex, his color, his religion, or his national background has certain inalienable rights which cannot be taken away from him by any human power. Moreover, it contemplates that there should be equality of opportunity to develop those abilities, talents, and capacities with which he has been endowed by the Almighty Creator. . . . It means exactly what I said, namely, equality of opportunity, without any barriers. Such barriers may be racial; they may be economic, such as cartels or monopolies; or they may take other form. Such barriers which stand

in the way of the individual realizing his abilities are undemocratic, and it is the responsibility of the people's representatives in a democratic state to see that these barriers are minimized or eliminated altogether." (July 5, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi:

"So far as the Jews are concerned, we have Jews in my State, and some of my best friends are Jews. I am a great admirer of the Jewish race. Jesus Christ was a Jew. But there is a certain class of "kike" Jews in New York, organized with the CIO and the Negroes in a drive to cram this piece of legislation down the throats of the American people. That is the point about it. That is the class to which I refer. What I am talking about is their perniciousness and officiousness in trying to drive through this kind of fanatical legislation. There were forty or fifty of them down here from New York yesterday. To show that there is a dead cat on the line and a "nigger in the woodpile", while they were down here trying to get the Congress to pass this law, which would affect forty-eight States in the Union, New York had enacted a strong FEPC law. It went into effect July 1. If they like it, let them keep it. That is no concern of mine. But they have no right to try to cram it down the throats of the people of my state, or any other state. . . .

"Let me say this, and I will conclude. There are only about 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States, and 5,000,000 Jews. That makes the total of 18,000,000. There are 138,000,000 people in the United States, and 18,000,000 of them are trying to cram this damnable thing down the throats of 120,000,000 American people. I am speaking for 120,000,000 Americans." (July 6, 1945—In the Senate)

Ellis E. Patterson of California:

"Mr. Speaker, here in this Congress there are those who, in effect, would deny the right of any but white Protestants of American birth to live, to eat, to dwell in decent sanitary homes, to clothe themselves adequately. If ever any philosophy were un-American, this is it. This Nation's historic tradition, won in blood and reaffirmed in blood, is that it is a land for the many, not for the few. I regret that there are those in Congress who would deny this tradition.

"By opposing the Fair Employment Practice Committee, these men, under false guise of protecting the right of the employer to hire whom he wishes, or of preventing enforced social equality are in effect subverting a proud

American tradition.

"These verbal guises mask the issue. The issue is that of equality of economic opportunity. The issue is that of a man's right to find employment commensurate with his ability, and without discrimination because of the color of his skin, his racial ancestry, the country his parents were born in or the manner of their worship. The issue is that of fairness to the American people—fairness, justice in permitting every man the right to earn a living.

"We do not want a caste system in America. Our American tradition glorifies the right of every human being to stand or fall on his own ability. To limit that right is to limit democracy, to limit Americanism and America. (July 12, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

William Dawson of Illinois:

"The right to work is the right to live. Take from me my right to work, take from me a job if I am capable and fitted for it, and you take from me the ability to raise a family, to buy a home, to educate my children, and to rear them according to American standards.

"There are those who cry out against changes. They want the old order to obtain. But every law that we pass brings about a change. Every law that we pass causes people to do something or not to do something. The right to a job is as dear to one as the right to property.

"We, the Negroes, are citizens of these United States and under our laws we are entitled to every right of citizenship. The right we are here talking about is the right of an American citizen to a job. There are those who talk about continuing to do things in the old way, and want to leave us as we were. But if you think that the Negro in the South—disfranchised, discriminated against—is satisfied, then you do not know the Negro citizens of America. We want the right to work out our salvation like every other American. That is all we are asking for ourselves—the same thing that every American citizen has the right to ask for. Certainly every American citizen is entitled to a job in this country of ours. This amendment should be passed and the funds for the continuance of the Fair Employment Practices Committee be provided." (July 12, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Leonard A. Allen of Louisiana:

"Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the FEPC in any form or in any amount. I am not willing to compromise or to give it one cent. It is

communistic to the core, it is rotten, and I want to bury it immediately." (July 12, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

Ned R. Healy of California:

"... We have fought a bitter war to put an end to fascism not just in Europe, not just in Japan, but to the end in the whole world. Certainly we have lost that war if we are to refuse to accept the principle that some Americans do not have equal rights with others. If the color of a man's skin or his religious beliefs are to be a bar to his equality of opportunity in seeking and holding a job then surely the lives of hundreds of thousands of Americans have been lost in vain. . . ." (July 12, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

John M. Vorys of Ohio:

"Sooner or later Congress is going to have to deal with the central economic problem the FEPC is trying to solve. What about Negroes who cannot get jobs for which they are properly qualified, solely because of discrimination against their color? The overwhelming volume of cases that come before FEPC involve Negroes. That test, "properly qualified", is in the Norton bill. Shall those Negroes go on relief? All of us talk glibly about a "right to work". If that does not involve somewhere along the line a "duty to hire", it is a very hollow right. If a Negro has a right to work and no employer has an obligation to hire him for work which he is properly qualified, then does the Government have the duty to provide such work? Or does the Negro have a duty to go on relief? This is the problem involved in FEPC." (July 12, 1945—In the House of Representatives)

ON THE HEALTH OF AMERICAN NEGROES

Harold H. Burton of Ohio:

"... I want, however, to address myself particularly to the health problem of Negroes in the United States. For the overwhelming majority of the colored race in this country, clinical and hospital care is, for all practical purposes non-existent. The few examples where good care can be had, found chiefly in the Northern urban centers, merely balance off the situation in the Southern rural communities where for the most part there is a total absence of medical facilities of any kind. For example, the Negro population of Mississippi is 1,074,578, yet in 1938 there were only 0.7 beds per thousand for Negroes. In this connection, after a careful study of hospital facilities for Negro patients for the years 1940-42,

a responsible organization concluded that '... in some areas where the population is heavily Negro, there are as few as 75 beds set aside for over a million Negroes.'

"A great number of private hospitals completely exclude Negro patients. This is true even in many northern urban communities. Such private and public medical institutions that admit Negroes place heavy restrictions on the number of beds for Negro use. Moreover, they are invariably placed in segregated quarters inferior to those obtaining elsewhere in the same facility. With this overview, I advert to the situation obtaining in Mississippi. According to Harold F. Dorn, the beds per 1,000 whites were 2.1 as compared with 0.7 for Negroes. Although the number of beds required will vary with the type and prevalence of the disease, modern medical authorities set four beds per thousand as the minimum requirement for a well-cared-for community.

"The Negro not only suffers with the general population from the lack of a broad and adequate Federal health program but, as has been indicated, he is further victimized by practices of segregation and discrimination. How does this reflect itself in the general health of the Negro? By and large, it can be safely said that he suffers more from all sorts of diseases than white citizens. Current figures show that infant mortality for Negroes is 69 percent higher than for whites; that a Negro child born alive has an average life expectancy of 53 years as compared with a white child who may, in the normal course of things, expect to reach the age of 65.

"I am satisfied, from a medical standpoint, that these differentials in no wise reflect any innate susceptibility of the Negro to disease, but rather show the combined impact of discrimination in obtaining medical assistance. As one authority has put it, 'a white person who is ill, under existing racial provisions, has 14 times better a chance of recovering than a Negro.'

"In any discussion of the health of the Negro, it would be remiss not to touch on the status of the Negro physician, technician, and nurse. In 1944 there were 3,500 physicians in private practice, and 7,500 nurses and technicians. The net result is that in many southern hospitals, I regret to say, the attitude of white physicians toward Negro patients is one of indifference bordering on criminal neglect. A qualified Negro physician is denied staff and in-patient privileges in practically every non-Negro hospital in the United States. The limitation applies equally to Negro nurses and technicians. Moreover, the denial of staff priv-

ileges to the Negro medical profession considerably lowers opportunities for training and specialization." (July 12, 1945—In the Senate)

NEGRO TROOPS IN COMBAT

Robert F. Wagner of New York:

"Mr. President, two weeks ago, on the floor of the Senate, a most unwarranted attack was made on the patriotism of our Negro soldiers, who compose one-twelfth of our Army, and who have served ably and heroically on every battlefield. In the course of his speech in opposition to the FEPC, the junior Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Eastland) asserted that the Negro soldiers were no good and that they had 'no initiative, no sense of responsibility, very low intelligence, and were a failure'. No evidence was offered in support of this astounding charge, but the Senator from Mississippi implied that his charges were based on information received from American generals, whom he did not name.

"Now, if there were any factual basis to these charges, certainly the War Department and the commanding generals of the Army would know about it. What are the facts? Let us see what those who are in the best position to know the facts have said about the performance of Negro soldiers.

(Quotes Under-Secretary of War Robert Patterson):

"No, if any high-ranking general has made such a statement, I have no knowledge of it. You have already heard views of our leading commanders—General Eisenhower, General MacArthur, General Eaker, and others—which do not support any such conclusion.

"The War Department is proud of its troops and that includes Negroes as well as all other groups. . . ."

(Quotes General Eisenhower):

"I have many reports on their work where they have rendered very valuable contributions and some of them with the greatest enthusiasm.

"In November, when we were getting short of reinforcements, replacements, some 2,600 Negro soldiers volunteered for frontline service and they did good work. All my commanders reported that those volunteers did excellent work. . . ."

(Quotes Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, Chief of Staff of the Army Air Forces):

"The Ninety-ninth Fighter Squadron and other squadrons of the Three Hundred and Thirty-second Fighter Group have done well. They have carried out the missions assigned to them and they have destroyed enemy aircraft both in the air and on the ground. By

their efforts and performance they have won a place on the great Air Forces team. They came on the hard way."

"It is unfortunate that the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Eastland) did not consult the War Department of General Eisenhower or Lieutenant General Eaker before attempting to indict 13,000,000 American citizens." (July 12, 1945—In the Senate)

James M. Mead of New York:

"Mr. President, morale is a great factor in the winning of battles and in the waging of victorious warfare. I know no better way to enhance the morale factor than to give credit to the rank and file when credit is due. I know of perhaps nothing more destructive than to have a United States Senator rise on the floor of the Senate and speak in highly derogatory terms of the men who are baring their breasts and making the supreme sacrifice in the war in which this country is now engaged.

"Mr. President, while our colored troops are poised in the islands of the Pacific waiting to strike the death blow at our common enemy, it is untimely and inappropriate, and in my judgment very distasteful, for any Senator to make remarks on the floor of the Senate such as those made by the junior Senator from Mississippi, which were derogatory to the high standards and morale of those great troops.

(Quotes General Patton):

"The Negro tank battalion attached to my command fought bravely in the critical Battle of Bastogne. . . . The Negro soldiers were damn good soldiers, of which the Nation could be mighty proud."

(Quotes General Simpson):

"Colored soldiers were magnificent in the historic crossing of the Rhine and the devastation of the Ruhr Valley. The Thirty-fifth Infantry division and the 784th Tank Battalion were elements of the Ninth Army, and the teamwork of Negro and white personnel of the units comprised an unbeatable combination."

(Quotes Gen. Mark Clark, commander of the United States forces in Italy):

"The Ninety-second jumped into La Spezia, and with other Fifth Army units took Bologna. Then they moved into Genoa and took it, much to the surprise of the enemy headquarters. I needed the Ninety-second, and if anyone had tried to take it from me I would have protested loudly. . . . They were glorious."

"Mr. President . . . it was my privilege to visit various battlefronts throughout the world and to learn first-hand from the men who went into battle with Negro troops of the heroic way in which they carried out their mission. . . . that as a result of my own personal observation and as a result of the official records of the War Department, I feel that I have in a very humble way only discharged my obligation to this heroic segment of our great Army." (July 12, 1945—In the Senate)

THE NON-PROVINCIAL SOUTHERN PRESS

(Views of Southern Editors on Racial Issues which take account of local, national and world trends.)

"People of Virginia might just as well realize, with citizens of other states, that an effort is being made to abolish the segregation laws which for generations have kept the races separate on public transportation vehicles and at public meetings. . . .

"Pending now before the Virginia court of appeals are several cases which seek to challenge the constitutionality of the race separation law. . . . There are rumblings of similar efforts in other Southern states. Racial segregation is gradually crumbling away. Colored people sit with the white people in concert halls, colored people are in the dining cars of trains, there are 'incidents' on buses and the thin edge of the wedge of the removal of the discrimination as practiced since the days of the readjusters is being driven into the flank of the South. . . .

"The South will not like the elimination of a policy, if it is ordered and even if the South makes its objection known to the lifting of the barriers it is doubtful if it will be of any service because the South has had to surrender principles on strictly constitutional grounds ever since the New Deal cultivated the new freedoms.

"At the same time, it would be manifestly useless to be blind to the progressions which are taking place all around us and it would be stupid not to recognize the tendencies now abroad in the country." (Danville, Va., *Bee*, March 13, 1945)¹

"'Negroes are all right in their place,' we hear so often. 'We want Negroes to have a chance but we don't want any intermingling with white people,' is heard quite as frequently.

"How then, is equal opportunity to be advanced to the Negro? How can we give lip service to freedom for all races, all religions and all peoples whilst resisting actual equality of opportunity for any minority group?

"There need be no dead herrings dragged across the pathway by shouting, 'Admission of Negroes to our institutions of higher learning means social equality, inter-marriage,' and a lot of other tommy-rot. That's bunk. We are either going to provide equal opportunity for Negroes in education and employment or we're not, and doing this doesn't even imply social equality or inter-marriage.

¹See *Monthly Summary*, April, p. 257.

"... There's much to overcome in making the United States the democracy each of us, as citizens, claims she is; but the greatest obstacle is our own hypocrisy; our own discriminatory attitude; our own revulsion to democracy that encompasses people of all races; our own unwillingness to accept Negroes as human beings rather than 'just Negroes' to whom we can dole out only as much equality as our smug, restricted souls desire." (Waynesboro, Va., *News-Virginian*, May 29, 1945)

"One might say on first thought that the FEPC has accomplished its purpose mainly because, since its creation, there has been more than enough employment for all who needed it or would take it. And there may be some truth in that, yet in the last two years the agency has received more than 8,000 complaints of discrimination and has disposed of all but 2,500. About 85 percent of the cases involved complaints of discrimination against Negroes and about 5 percent charged discrimination against Jews.

"Such complaints, or the incidents which cause them, are likely to increase as conditions move back toward normal. There will be gradual curtailment of war production and not so many jobs will be available for the working millions. In the growing competition for available jobs, pressure may be exerted upon many employers to practice discrimination against some classes of workers on account of race or color or religion.

"Such discrimination caused creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It is out of place in this great Democracy where all men are supposed to have equality of opportunity, and the FEPC has done much toward its elimination. But that agency will expire the last of this month unless Congress gives it a new lease on life. Indications that it may be permitted to die hardly can be welcome to those who sincerely believe this should be a land where there is equality of opportunity for all, regardless of color or class, race or religion. Congress should save the FEPC." (Bristol, Va., *Herald-Courier*, June 6, 1942)²

"... Must we assume that in the average community where Negroes are given what are

²See *Monthly Summary*, May, p. 283; June, p. 316; July, p. 350.

termed 'white men's jobs', we Americans are to have the same sort of violence? If so, God help us, because we shall demonstrate that we have not sense enough to help ourselves. Victims of Negrophobia will froth, of course, at the assertion, but America cannot afford, on any basis, to keep the Negro as an unskilled laborer. In common decency and elementary justice, he must be given the opportunity of bettering himself economically. Can anyone justly challenge the principle of equal work and equal skill? If that does not imply equal opportunity, it means nothing." (Richmond, Va., *News-Leader*, August 3, 1944)³

"We wish to give our entire approval to the decision of Judge Almond in a fatal shooting case in which racial tensions were involved. . . .

"For many years racial tensions have been increased when Negro families have moved into borderline areas or blocks hitherto inhabited only by white families. This is not the first instance of disorders growing out of such resentments. The community has done little or nothing to open new areas where Negro citizens could erect homes, or to cooperate in movements for providing adequate housing. . . .

"Where two races live side by side, and are in some inevitable economic competition, tension and disorder can best be avoided by wise leadership, by impartial justice, by tolerance and by a sincere effort to understand and if possible to remedy the underlying causes of friction." (Roanoke, Va., *World-News*, September 16, 1944)⁴

"Ways and means of providing enough jobs to go around in the post-war economy are a matter of vital concern today. Many people are watching with interest the progress of a bill now before Congress to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. For, as A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the national council for a permanent FEPC, said recently:

"The question of securing full employment is the most important one before us, but full employment is not necessarily fair employment. . . ."

"He is particularly concerned that all racial groups shall be given the right to use their best skills. Before the establishment of the FEPC, it was difficult for many, and particularly the Negro, to do so. He was obliged to take the job which no one else would do, regardless of his individual training and ability.

"There is much in what Mr. Randolph says.

³Op. Cit.; August-September (1945), p. 6.

⁴Op. Cit., November (1944), p. 94.

For, unless the Negro, the Indian, and other racial groups in similar position, are able to live on an equitable economic basis with so-called 'native white Americans', their resentment will cause continued and increasing unrest. A period of labor and racial strife here could undo the best-laid plans for peace and prosperity in the United States and in the world." (Raleigh, N. C., *Times*, March 14, 1945)

"A nation founded on democratic consent and now at war for democracy ought to have no difficulty in providing for 'the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin.' Nevertheless the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is having some trouble in persuading labor unions and employers to live up to this reasonable ideal. In theory the Committee can force compliance under the war powers of the President. In practice it cannot. . . .

"No question of the social mingling of races is involved. The question is solely one of equal opportunity. We may hope that both employers and white workers will realize this simple truth, and that they will also realize that if opportunity can be denied to any group, for reasons of color, religion or national origin, no minority group's rights are safe. The principle of equal opportunity is not divisible. It ceases to exist if all do not have it." (Salisbury, N. C., *Post*, August 5, 1944)

"No section or region need be proud of bigotry, hatred or intolerance. But no section or region can pretend that it is entirely free of these animosities. If the pretense is abandoned, Americans together can postulate some workable theory or program. For prejudice, being blind, is blind in every direction. One prejudice cannot counteract another." (Asheville, N. C., *Citizen*, April 7, 1945)

"Most of the present Southern comment on the racial question misses the mark, we think, in assuming that the problem is solely one of segregation of the races. . . .

"In our opinion, this is at least an oversimplification of the problem. We don't believe in the first place that most Southerners fear a 'breakdown of segregation.' If any of them do, the fear is without justification. Segregation or social equality has very little to do with the racial question in the South at the present time. The terms have become a sort of shibboleth, and, as is usual with shibboleths,

their use as such now is mainly as a substitute for thinking.

"The reason that segregation has little if anything to do with the racial question in the South at this time is that Negroes do not pine for a breakdown of segregation any more than white people yearn for social equality. Both races would agree, we think, that there ought not to be any breakdown of segregation in the South.

"But the Negro does want some other things that he is entitled to have. One of these is his right to the privileges of citizenship, which we deny him. Specifically, he is entitled to participate in his government by voting. The Constitution, as construed by the Supreme Court, gives him that right in unambiguous terms. So long as we deny it, directly or by devious subterfuge, we are treating him unjustly, and we know it. And social equality has nothing whatever to do with it.

"Another right the Negro is entitled to and wants is the right of opportunity for education. And that, too, we deny him. The facilities we afford the Negro for education are disgracefully inadequate and inequitable.

"We owe the Negro also an equitable apportionment of facilities for health and decent living. And we deny him that. Negro residence sections for the most part are notorious slums. Public services for the Negro population—water, sewers, hospitals, recreational facilities, and the like—in most places are virtually nonexistent.

"Frequently, also, we deny the Negro impartial justice in the courts. The theoretical presumption of innocence too often becomes an actual presumption of guilt if the defendant's skin happens to be black.

"And there is no such thing as equality of economic opportunity for the Negro. Condemned for the most part to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, because we deny him opportunity to develop his higher capacities, he gets less than a white man even for manual labor, merely because of the color of his cuticle.

"In our opinion, we repeat, the Negro, at least in the South, cares nothing for social equality, would not break down the barriers of segregation even if he could. But he does want to be treated as a human being and as a citizen. And such treatment is the least we can decently accord him. It is time for us to give him that and quit hiding behind a fancied fear of a breakdown of social segregation." (Macon, Ga., *News*, October 3, 1944)

"... Separation as provided by law is for the best interests of both races, but ... such separation was never meant to mean, as it too often means, discrimination against, and exploitation of, the Negro citizen.

"The law provides that segregation means equal facilities. Now comes the Urban League ... with a report for the Atlanta Board of Education.

"It is factual, statistical. ... It merely calls attention to one of our basic problems and reveals that we have not lived up to the duty imposed on us by segregation.

... In short, in almost every phase of educational opportunity the Negro child has not been treated fairly, nor has the requirement of the law been met.

"The cost would be great, but Atlanta searching its heart and conscience, cannot longer hide the fact of this discrimination and cannot further support it. A beginning should be made toward solving this, one of our great problems of justice and right, looking toward the improvement of our whole community." (Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution*, December 18, 1944)⁵

"The issue of free and equal opportunity in America has reached a proper forum. In their appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States for protection in their jobs, two Negro firemen on railroads in the South have challenged racial discrimination before a tribunal whose function is the enunciation of principle, serene and clear. ...

"... The rules of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, which are made the basis of its agreement with the railroads, define Negro firemen as 'non-promotable' workers, and by the dodge of writing into contracts with employers a restriction of employment of 'non-promotables' seek to eliminate Negroes from 'brotherhood' and from an economic chance which has been theirs by long tradition, and which should be sustained no less by American principle.

"The plain fact, then, is that the rules are intended to force Negro workers out of railway employment. This is a fact of discrimination. It is a fact of rivalry for jobs in which a majority seeks to win by sheer force of numbers over a helpless minority.

"A valuable contribution to the material of judgment comes from the Department of Justice, which suggests that the principle of majority rule in the Railway Labor Act ought to

⁵Op. cit., January (1945), p. 157.

imply that the majority is obliged to represent also the interests of the minority, and to admit the latter into advantages which it has gained. Here is a point of solid ground on which the citadel of trade unionism must be built; if it is to stand against storms of protest that it is a structure in which cynicism, intolerance and force are dwellers." (Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal*, November 16, 1944)⁶

"The state penal institution at Pikeville, which bears the misleading name Tennessee Agricultural and Training School for Negro Boys, has not been a school in any constructive, educational sense of the word. ...

"Actually it has been a sort of Devil's Island, to which young Negroes, convicted on a wide variety of counts from petty to serious offenses, could be sent and forgot. With the institution and its inmates isolated in a thinly populated section of the Cumberland Plateau, it was a case out of sight, out of mind. Only in its negative aspects, such as the absence of segregation of ages and classes of offenders, the lack of formal schooling and vocational training, and the failure to provide recreational facilities and direction, could the institution be considered a school—a school of crime.

"... The citizens who pay the taxes for the maintenance of our institutions cannot but wonder why this festering sore should have continued so long untreated before action was impelled by two murders and a lynching.

"... The new facilities under construction or in the planning stage and the reform of management ought to go a long way toward making the school in reality what its name implies, a character reform institution through education." (Nashville, Tenn., *Tennessean*, June 3, 1945)⁷

"Elsewhere in today's paper is an account of the start of an organization called Free White Americans, Inc., up at Jellico, Tenn. Its officials say that among its objectives are 'freedom from the forced mixing of the white race with other races,' and 'freedom' in the motion picture business from biased presentation of religious faiths.

"We do not challenge the sincerity of those behind this movement. But we do question their objectives, which are anti-democratic and restrictive.

"Like so many other groups which clamor

⁶Op. cit., December (1944), p. 124; January (1945), p. 152.
⁷Op. cit., November (1944), p. 100; December (1944), p. 131; May (1945), p. 301.

for 'freedom' of one sort or another, what they seek is special privilege, not real freedom for everybody.

"The Jellico group, for instance, wants to classify humanity according to color. That's contrary to our conception of freedom. ...

"After World War I this country was beset by many highly emotional organizations with warped ideas about liberty. ...

"We hope the country isn't going to be exposed all over again to such misguided crusades." (Knoxville, Tenn., *News-Sentinel*, August 24, 1945)

"Fort Smith papers and radio carried lengthy reports last week of the arrest and conviction of a colored citizen who was fined for refusing to move back in a city bus when asked to do so by the driver.

"It seems that the culprit seated himself in front of the bus while seats were vacant in the rear, and that two white ladies were standing. Ordered to the rear by the driver the colored man 'used profanity' and refused to budge, according to the news stories.

"When the bus reached town the obstinate passenger was arrested, bilboed into court, and fined the maximum amount under Arkansas' Jim Crow law.

"Now we are not going into the 'merits' of the segregation laws in effect in all Southern states—not that we are timid but because this is just not the day we have set aside for butting our head against stone walls; we just want to make an observation and ask a question:

"We have ridden on many public conveyances on which white people sat in the rear seats and let colored people stand—AND we have seen this when seats to the front were vacant.

"Now the question: is there any record of a white person having been arrested for violation of the Jim Crow law? (As we have read the law, it applies equally to both colors when they intrude upon the section reserved for the other.)" (Fort Smith, Ark., *The Labor-CIO-Journal*)

FROM THE STUDENT PRESS OF THE SOUTH

'WHITE SUPREMACY' CAN'T EXIST IN
DEMOCRACY

"When peace comes, the United States' calling card at the peace conference will be democracy. We will be one of the Big Powers at the peace table because we will have defeated the Germans and their Nordic supremacy, because Americans, white and black, yellow and brown, have made America a powerful nation.

"Yet what is the difference between 'Nordic supremacy' in Germany and 'white supremacy' in the South? In crumbling Germany we see the fate of 'Nordic supremacy'; southerners aboard the 'white supremacy' bandwagon are riding for a fall, simply because such an idea cannot live side by side with democracy. . . .

. . . The South cannot hope to wield its full share of political power so long as its spokesmen cling to antebellum ideas of 'white supremacy.'

"Political leaders often express certain views because they believe them favorable to the people who put them in office. But whether 'white supremacy' advocates speak from selfish motives or because they are so steeped in out-moded prejudices that they cannot see any other view, we blush to think that 'democratic' leaders representing a 'democratic' people, do not uphold and enforce the national constitution which is truly democratic.

"The idea of equal voting rights is not to lower voting standards to the level of illiterate Negroes, but to bring the less advanced Negroes up to meet the same requirements with which white voters must comply. This can be accomplished by a standard literacy test—not the sort of sham administered discriminatorily by politicians, but an impartial test given by competent officials (educators, for example), which examines a person's ability to vote, not the color of his skin. Thus the really good citizens of the Negro race would have a voice in the government, while the illiterates would have an incentive to come up to the literacy standards and prove their worth.

"Similarly, the South cannot have high educational standards so long as it keeps its Negro population poorly educated. Better and equal pay for teachers of both races—thus better teachers—is the first step. Compulsory education for white children is poorly enforced, and for Negroes it is practically nonexistent.

"These are the most elementary forms of simple justice and are largely legislative measures. But removal of fear and prejudice must come from the whole mass of people behind those who make the laws. Helping a race brought here through no wish of its own to adjust to our modern culture can be accomplished only by southerners, who know and understand the South.

"Whether the mass of southerners really knows the South as it is today is questionable. The war has changed the whole economic and political picture. The relationship with minority races cannot rock along as it has in the past. It will flare up into something terrible . . . unless southerners toss aside old preju-

dices and discriminations—fascistic ideas of 'white supremacy'—and guide it to a sane and just conclusion. The Negro is giving his life in battle, and he wants and deserves his just share in the democracy he is helping to defend." (Baton Rouge, La., Louisiana State University, *The Summer Reveille*, August 29, 1944)

LINCOLN'S JOB HALF-DONE

"When Lincoln freed the slaves, he undoubtedly hoped the Negroes would some day be accepted as equals, by the other colors of people in this country. Today we find the Negroes released from formal bondage, but not equalized.

"We believe and know that Negroes differ from other peoples only in surface characteristics; inherently all are the same. The Negroes should be recognized as equals in our minds and hearts. For us, this means that Nemade a lower score than whites on intelligence groes should attend William and Mary; they should go to our classes, participate in College functions, join the same clubs, be our roommates, pin the same classmates, and marry among us.

"However, this cannot and should not be done today, or tomorrow,—but perhaps the next day. Neither they nor we are ready for it yet. Only chaos such as the Southern states experienced during the Reconstruction would result if such a plan were initiated before both Negroes and others were educated for it. . . .

"... Tests show that Negroes in this country made a lower score than whites on intelligence tests; they also show that Northerners, *black and white*, had higher scores than Southerners, *black and white*, and that Northern Negroes had higher scores than Southern whites. *The differences did not occur because people were from the North or the South, or because they were white or black, but because of differences in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities.* Equal opportunities must therefore be offered to all peoples in all sections of the country.

"The most important work, however, must be done in educating ourselves away from the idea of White Supremacy, for this belief is as groundless as Hitler's Nordic Supremacy nonsense. We are injuring our personalities with arrogance; we are blocking our own emotional growth. Not until we eliminate Nazi race tactics in our own every-day life can we hope for a victory which will bring peace for the universal Human Race of the One World.

"Do you really want peace? Is your conscience clear?" (Williamsburg, Va., *The Flat Hat*, February 7, 1945) (*PM*, May 13, 1945)

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THE FRONT PAGE

The war ended this month, but one could not determine that fact from the streamer headlines of the major Negro weeklies. Only one of the leading papers headlined that surrender in its national edition. The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* spread "War Ends as Japanese Surrender". Perhaps the event was ill-timed for the Negro weekly's deadline. It is a more rational conclusion, however, that the Negro press was being consistent in its new policy. It found in the problems of races, to paraphrase Shakespeare's King Henry VII, "More pangs and fears than wars or women have." The news reported gave significance to the policy. In racial living, there was the usual drab side, some encouraging developments, and, as always, resolute expression of that which was desirable. The news and editorials of the month may be grouped in special categories—war news, full social participation, full employment, and the one-world-view.

The combat services of Negro troops in the Asiatic theatre provided good copy, which also included their capturing a high Japanese officer, the decoration of several heroes, and the transfer of Negro troops from the E.T.O. Chief war news copy concerned the atomic bomb, but not the devastation it wreaked. The Negro press featured in text and picture stories of the 179,000 Negroes who worked in the plants where this weapon was being manufactured. The number included scientists as well as laborers. Approximately 7,000 Negroes were said to have been employed at the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, plant where they had a church but no school (*Afro-American*). Scientists of color worked at Chicago and Columbia Universities and at other locations where the death-dealing Manhattan Project was being developed.

As the war ended a new type of war news made the front pages—alleged discrimination in discharge procedures, post-

ponement of passages for Negro troops now overseas, withdrawal of Negro troops from combat units en route to the Pacific, the War Department's discontinuance of its racial attitude survey, and race riots in the famous 92nd Infantry. Most timely was the report that 52% of the Negro service men plan to leave the South when their war service is over. Significant meaning may be attached to these reports of the last days of the shooting war when they are read along with a featured headline in all the papers "Race Discrimination Ends—in Germany, Not America."

The home front news, directed as usual toward presenting both limits of the social participation pattern, was not altogether a pleasant one. Chief among the disturbing features was the Eastland-Bilbo criticism of the Negro soldier. The *Afro-American* featured stories of discrimination in the resort centers of the New Jersey coast. The reporter's experience was described as a Negro's guide on "How to Get Along in America". The drive to eliminate Jim Crow from organized baseball continued. The University of Illinois, providing no dormitory space for its Negro girl students, permits twenty of its Negro girls to live in six bedrooms of a "rundown sorority house." Two teenage Negro girls were raped by white policemen in Memphis. Negroes are discriminated against in the Washington, D. C., airport. Finally, in Alexandria, Virginia, a white woman was fined \$100 for sitting in the Jim Crow section of a local bus.

However, there was favorable news, too. Florida got rid of its white primary. Negro teachers were appointed in Portland, Oregon, and are transferred from Negro schools to white schools in Trenton, New Jersey. The American College of Surgeons and the Institute of Mathematical Statistics lowered their racial bars and admit Negro members. A Canadian court ordered a Montreal hotel to end its

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Jim Crow practices. A Negro band leader won the legal right to live in a home he purchased in Los Angeles. And, in Philadelphia, two Episcopal congregations, one white, the other colored, merged under the pastorate of a colored rector. The *Journal and Guide* summarized the significance of these events, both favorable and unfavorable, in the story entitled "Our Troops Fought Hard for Victory". The *Defender* entitled one of its summary stories "War Sacrifices in Vain Without Equality-Leaders".

The chief news of the month concerned the employment prospects of Negro workers. In this problem the Negro press found no "ease after war". The *Courier* made a survey of re-employment possibilities in mid-western centers and found them not too reassuring. "Critical" situations were found in St. Louis and California, "dark" ones in Pittsburgh, and good ones in Dayton, Cleveland, Youngstown and Detroit. As an over-all view the *Courier* believed that a "Job Famine May Sweep Nation." The *Defender* feared that 400,000 Negroes would be fired during the period of expected cutbacks. The Negro publishers continued to push for a permanent FEPC while their papers reported the presence of 40,000 colored West Indian workers in the United States, the forthcoming discharge of Negro workers in Southern shipyards, the shortage of 75,000 railroad workers, allegedly because of the discriminating hiring practices of the carriers, and, the fact that 1,300 Negro miners have left the West Virginia coal fields in the last two years. The Negro press is not too pleased over the employment prospects of Negro workers during the reconversion period.

The one-world of the Negro press is the world of color. As has been previously expressed in these columns, the war has tremendously increased the foreign news coverage of the Negro weekly. During the month there were special stories on the workers strike in Nigeria; the Simla Conference; an interview with M. Gandhi; the

British colonies' faith in the Empire's Labour government; Mme. Eboue's decision to run for the office of Deputy from Gadeloupe, where her late husband earned his basic reputation; Ethiopia's request to take part in the Italian peace parley; a border dispute between Ethiopia and Somaliland, and the flare-up between Senegalese troops and the French garrison at St. Raphael, Riviera. The American Negro press remains the chief conduit of world-color-news.

Apart from reporting the news, the Negro press saw fit to editorialize upon news and events of wider moment. The *Afro* had two front page editorials. One asked "Are We Prepared for Peace?" and indicated the futility of physical war. The other, "Who's Criminal, Anyhow?", suggested that Senator Eastland may be no less criminal in his castigation of Negro troops than is the army which fostered the Jim Crow arrangement. Editorially this paper maintained that the Japs were "Not as Dumb as We Think", that "Grounds for Desertion" may be found in President Truman's taking so many Southerners into the Nation's Executive Department, and queried on the rumor that Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, was to be nominated for the U. S. Supreme Court—"Can Leopards Change Spots?"

The *Chicago Defender*, most politically militant of the Negro weeklies, carried significant editorials on "Now the Battle for Jobs", and, "Splitting the Atom of Race Hate." In other editorials the paper gave its blessing to New York's Councilman Ben Davis, who held and then lost the Tammany endorsement for re-election despite and because of his official Communist Party connections; told "The Truth About Haiti" with respect to the attempted assassination of President Lescot; and, discussed the British election and its aftermath in two editorials, "British Election Results a Lesson for U.S.", and "Churchill's Lament for the Wicked." The *Defender* has been a consistent and forth-

right editorial critic of Britain's war-time government's imperialistic policies.

The *Journal and Guide* carried three significant editorials on the employment situation: "The Peace and Jobs", "The Post-War Period and the Employment Situation", and "An Alarming Hindrance to our War Effort", which was a discussion of mining conditions in West Virginia. The editors attacked the *Boston Globe* for its "Nefarious Abuse of the Freedom of the Press" in the way it reported news about Negroes. The *Journal and Guide* also suggested "Let's Keep Our Powder Dry a While Longer"—"until we've really won this war . . . and be ready to use a few atomic bomb convickers to cool off the warned-about Samurai hot-heads."

"Let Bilbo Stay" said the *Courier*, in an editorial comment upon the reaction of the nation to his undemocratic remarks. As the Mississippi Senator widens the social range of his rantings he incurs

other enemies than Negroes—which is all to the good. This paper's editorials also discussed the wider social issues. They gave flowers to OPA, urged the building of 10,000,000 homes, called employment "America's No. 1 Task", opposed the *Defender's* defense of New York Councilman Ben Davis in "A Communist Plan", and commented upon a "Better Negro Press Service". It also discussed Britain's labor revolution, Churchill's defeat, and discrimination against Japanese Americans.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war"—if they are fought for—might be called the Negro press' theme of the month. The *Defender* epitomized the theme with a poem by Langston Hughes, "Give Us Our Peace", the second stanza of which is:

"Give us a peace accepting every challenge—
The challenge of the poor, the black, of all
denied,

The challenge of the vast colonial world
That long has had so little justice by its side."

ITEMS

Armed Services: The 969th Field Artillery battalion entered America's military hall of fame when they became the first Negro military group to be awarded the Presidential Distinguished Unit citation in honor of their heroic defense of Bastogne. (GP)

Jacksonville, Fla.: The second of a chain of Negro drug stores has been opened by William J. Smith. They are the only Negro chain drug stores in the city. (ANP, August 15, 1945)

Chicago, Ill.: Dr. U. G. Dailey, nationally known surgeon, has been notified of his election to active fellowship in the International College of Surgery, United States chapter. (ANP, August 20, 1945) . . . A teaching fellowship at New York University has been granted to Miss Jewel I. Plummer, brilliant 21-year-old daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Frank V. Plummer. Miss Plummer has been in the graduate school of the University preparing for her M.S. degree. (ANP, August 1, 1945) . . . Gwendolyn Brooks, Chicago poet, has received praise from two of America's foremost authors, Richard Wright and William Rose Benet, for her individuality and technique in handling the race problem in her newly-published book, *A Street*

in Bronzeville. (ANP, August 8, 1945) . . .

College Park, Md.: The University of Maryland extension service began a survey to determine economic and social status of Maryland's rural Negro families on August 15. The study will be completed by the end of 1946. (ANP, August 15, 1945)

Morristown, N. J.: Qualified Negro girls will be hired as switchboard operators by the Morristown Bell Telephone Company, William T. Ruffin, coordinator of the Morristown Service Council, a National Urban League cooperating agency, has announced. (ANP, August 15, 1945)

York, S. C.: Effective this school year, all teachers in York will be paid salaries in accordance with ratings attained under the state's new recertification plan, and not in accordance with race, Stanley N. Reeves, city superintendent of education, has announced. (ANP, August 29, 1945)

New York, N. Y.: Radio Station WNEW will launch a 13-week series of broadcasts sponsored by the New American Negro Theatre September 9. (ANP, August 22, 1945) . . .

OTHER PEOPLE'S MAIL

HOW TO MAKE A SOLDIER

(Portrait of a Commanding Officer Who Knows How to Handle Negro Troops)

FROM A NEGRO SOLDIER IN GERMANY:

"... I am longing for the time when I can write one letter during my tenure in the service when I do not have any occasion for mentioning the fact that race cleavage is in evidence. Surely, that time has not yet come. In fact, instances are multiplying which show that the old South is definitely abroad. My mind is full of local instances today.

"This officer after making literally countless attempts to prove that all Negroes would rape, finally succeeded in building up an airtight case. He promised to give up a trip home if he could make the culprits hang. He told them that he had them and that he would personally see that they paid the penalty for violating a white woman. He intimidated witnesses, disregarded exonerating testimony—stopped at nothing to make his dream come true. Then, just when it seemed that all was well, something happened from without. He was removed as investigating officer, transferred from the unit and sent to another Negro unit where his invaluable experience in handling Negro troops could be utilized. He was there exactly two days and had so declared himself that he was transferred again. Meanwhile, his charges whom he had so well incriminated came up to trial for their lives. He made a special trip to be there to see the job well done—to lend any assistance necessary. When called upon to testify, he showed such marked prejudicial leanings that his testimony was thrown out. This led to the questioning of the methods that had been used in gathering the information that had incriminated the accused men. This was so damaging to his case that it seemed to fall through of its own weight in bias. But this officer was shrewd. He knew the weaknesses of whites where Negroes are concerned. As his *ace in the hole*, he exhibited the tattered underwear of the victim, and was in the process of making an emotional appeal guaranteed to bring results, but he was stopped. The defense attorney objected and was upheld. This officer and his exhibit were both put out of the room—excluded from the case. That man was one of our leaders for the duration of our term of combat in this theater, and was chosen for us because 'he knew how to handle Negroes'. ... Yes, he came from Georgia, and has said more than once that the facts of science notwithstanding

nobody could make him think that the Negro was his equal. P.S. The men were freed.

* * * * *

"This man delights in saying to his charges that 'You know that you have two strikes on you'—'Why don't you accept what comes your way and stop all of this howling about discrimination?' He likes to remind us how good a friend the white man is of us if we will just not press the issue, and try to go with white women. ... This man told the German mayor to tell the German women not to have anything to do with Negro soldiers—that they were diseased, perverted and incorrigible sex fiends. This man took his troops out into the field where they could be together—easier to handle. He says that Negroes are not capable of having responsibility—that they just fail to meet the bill when it comes to being officers. Oh, yes, he is an authority on Negroes—'well qualified to handle Negro troops in a supervisory capacity'.

* * * * *

"This officer told Negroes who reported to him for special duty that they could wash their mess gear anywhere they chose other than the place where the whites washed theirs. They were not to sleep in the same building where the whites slept. They were not to bathe in the same place as the whites. He was sorry that this was the case, but there was nothing he could do about it. (He was the commanding officer and he made the rule.)

* * * * *

"The Rest Center Director in this area told some Negro prospective restees to go back to their units because no provisions had been made for Negro troops. Perhaps we are not supposed to tire.

* * * * *

"... (A friend) and I were the recipients of some of the more subtle aspects of the *Policy* in connection with our applications for direct commissions. We were interviewed (at least I was) after the Highest headquarters over here had said that we met the qualifications. ... (They kept) asking questions until there is something that you have not had. Then, that deficiency becomes the determinant of whether you are fit for appointment. I had not had prolonged experience in *eliciting materials from psychiatric subjects*. Consequently, it was not deemed advisable to appoint me directly."

[56]

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS

(The following are some reactions to an article appraising the present state of race relations in the United States:)

From a former member of the Illinois senate, now in the Philippines:

"... I am an enlisted man in the Marine Corps by choice and have had the opportunity to observe the reactions of the cross-section of American youth in all the fighting forces, and I'm of the opinion that unless the able minds of those men and women of fine character who are concerned with the social problems and some of the remedies suggested to remedy them are given more support by those in power much for which we are fighting will be lost. ...

From "A Southerner" who does not sign his name:

"... The trouble with you and your Northern friends is you have discarded the Bible and are trying to reverse God's plans. The Creator placed the black man in Africa and gave him a thick skull in order to be able to brook that equatorial climate. Our forefathers (some of them) made the mistake of bringing them to American soil. It should be corrected by returning them to their God-given home. There will never be peace between the white and black man, when or so long as they attempt to live side by side. His thick lips, flat nose, easy tendency to lie and steal makes him repulsive to a decent white man, that is, when the black man is asking for social equality. ...

From a Southerner (a lieutenant overseas) who signs his name:

"... I am a Texan-Southern-raised in the midst of all the labor on race relations. I have always rebelled at the thought of status-quo for black, brown or red peoples. Your article, from its unbiased standpoint, will do more to add recruits to the sensible study of racial relations than anything else. ...

This one is signed, on a letter head displaying the stars and stripes, and the American eagle:

"... No doubt you are perfectly sincere, but you don't know them (the Negroes). They are biological freaks. They are the sons of liars and thieves and hate the white race. ... I am putting it very mildly when I say they are liars and thieves. They have no redeeming features whatsoever. They came from the jungle only 100 years ago and their background and men-

tality are inherited from their jungle ancestors who lived there thousands of years. ...

From a lady in Michigan:

"... The balance is more favorable than I had realized. I am particularly glad that Detroit has to some extent redeemed its reputation through not only the action of churches and other groups but in city-wide traffic, etc. I spent some weeks there last October and found Negroes as motor-men and conductors handling the situation competently. Furthermore the passengers appeared to be nearly one-third Negroes, and all that I saw made a good impression as to appearance, dress, manners. They were neither aggressive nor timid. ... If they were recently from the South (as many must have been, within two or three years) they have certainly made progress as citizens. ...

From St. Louis:

"... I was very much impressed by the good in the article and appalled by the following paragraphs: "Other Americans fighting for the status quo are determined that the Negro shall 'stay in his place'"; "A Negro in Mississippi was tortured and murdered because he refused to sell his farm to a white man". ... I would say that news of this nature may cause the ignorant Negro (sic) to get up in arms and make him hate the white man instead of uplifting him as you seem to think. I believe news of this sort shouldn't be published for the ignorant class to read or hear about. It may cause him to get a chip on his shoulder and dare some white man to knock it off.

From a Kentuckian, a Pfc., stationed in North Carolina:

"... The question of raising the Negro (sic) race can never be accomplished by writers, lecturers and race baiters, it is something that the Negro will have to do himself. White man never attained the heights to which he has risen through societies and trouble makers. ... There is no doubt in my mind that some if not all the things in your article are true but like all Southerners I see no need for people to get excited over such things since those kind of things are practiced openly by labor unions among whites on whites. ...

From another Kentuckian stationed overseas: May I say this, not as a Negro sailor, but as a Negro.

[57]

... We have seen the country and the world. Coming back from such sights, we will never again fit into serfdom or second-class status. I'm just a service man, to be exact an Electrician's Mate 2d class. ... I'd sure like to meet you in person. ... Keep up the good work. ..."

THE NEW FACE OF THE KKK

From an Agent of an Agricultural Organization:

"For quite some time I have heard reports about the organization, in certain sections of the South, of what is commonly called the home guard. Week before last I made it a point to visit Lake Providence, La., where I had been told there was a strong organization. The report is true, for I watched them march on the court house lawn and through the streets of the town, dressed in khaki uniform, with rifles. When they passed me I had the same feeling I had when I was quite a youngster and watched the Ku Klux Klan march by our door one evening. I sought in vain to find out what the purpose of the organization could be, even asking one of the town officials. Nobody seems to know, or if they do, they won't divulge. Negroes say it is to keep them in their places after the war."

BUS TRAVEL AND THE RACIAL ETIQUETTE

From a Government Worker stationed in the Southwest:

"Believe it or not, but do you know it has almost gotten to the place in the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi that Negroes are not taken on busses? For a long time only that long back seat was reserved for Negroes, but now, and especially in the smaller places, if a white passenger happens to get on that seat first that means that no Negroes are taken but told to wait for the next bus. In many instances I have talked with Negroes who had been trying to get a bus for two days. ... I do wish this information could get in the hands of the officials of these bus companies. I guess you ask why I don't do it. Well, to tell you the truth ... right now my hands are tied. Our agency has grown to be strictly conservative in every aspect, and were it known that I interceded in any way in helping to bring about better opportunities for Negroes (it) would mean death for me in this job. That may be hard to believe, but it is true. We are really fighting the odds now, and almost everything you do and say is questioned."

THE MAN FROM MARS IS STUMPED

The Man from Mars dropped in to see me today. He was disturbed. ...

"I don't understand this Negro business. While I was waiting for the bus, I saw a fellow reading the *ASTROPHYSICAL JOURNAL*. He had a Phi Beta Kappa key. I scraped an acquaintance. He said he was a Harvard Sc. D. I invited him into the drug store for a drink. He said the only way he could get a drink there was in a paper cup to take out. I don't see the difference between standing beside a Negro in an elevator and in a theatre. If a Negro in a restaurant has a hat in his hand, it is wrong; but it's all right if he has a tray. He can't live in a room next to you in a hotel; but the black cook can live in the back room in your house. If he paints your front porch the police stop him; but if he sweeps it, no one objects. A Negro woman can hold your baby, wash it and even wet-nurse it, but your baby and hers can't play together in the yard. If the AME minister and a Negro doctor confer around a table with the mayor and city manager on politics, that is good citizenship. But if they talk about Spinoza, that leads to race riots. Living across the street from a Negro violates traditions, unless the boundary line of the Negro section runs down the middle of the street. To call a Negro 'mister' is tearing down society, but it helps good feeling to call him 'doctor' or 'professor'. If you write to a man and call him 'dear sir' and later learn that he is a Negro, all you can do is hang yourself."

"We Southerners have to preserve white supremacy," I said. "We are opposed to anything which will tend to promote race equality."

He nodded. "That makes it clearer," he said, "but where do the mulattoes come from?" (Miami, Fla., *First Unitarian News Letter*)

THE NEGRO DAILY

(Based upon an analysis of twenty-three issues of the ATLANTA DAILY WORLD during the period July 4 to August 5, 1945)

There are approximately 1800 daily newspapers published in the United States but only one of these is a Negro paper—the *Atlanta Daily World*, a paper of six or eight pages. Strictly speaking, the *World* is not a daily, for it is "published every morning except Monday." However, if the term daily can be applied to *PM* and the *New York Post*, each having similar one day recesses, the *World* may well use the term, especially so since the war induced this curtailment.

Despite repeated attempts to launch Negro dailies, with the exception of the *World*, they have regularly failed. The *Atlanta Daily World* is the parent paper of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate, which represents an affiliation of two semi-weeklies, the *Memphis World* and the *Birmingham World*, and twelve weeklies. The *World* has a circulation daily and weekly of approximately 25,000 copies. The combined circulation of all of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate papers is approximately 75,000, according to the General Manager and Editor, C. A. Scott.

The *Atlanta World* was founded as a weekly in August, 1928. Two years later it became a semi-weekly. Early in 1931, the Southern Newspaper Syndicate was formed as an outgrowth of the paper's widening circulation. Semi-weeklies were established in Birmingham, Columbus, (Georgia), and Chattanooga. During that year these papers became tri-weeklies, publishing a full page of comics by Negro artists and later issuing the first and only rotogravure section to appear in a Negro paper.

The *Atlanta World* became the *Atlanta Daily World* some thirteen years ago, publishing five weekly editions and one Sun-

day edition weekly for six weeks when it became a seven-day daily, the only Negro newspaper so published anywhere in the world. On February 1, 1934, it was admitted to membership in the Audit Bureau of Circulation. Meanwhile, several additional Negro weeklies were added to the Syndicate, which then became known as the Scott Newspaper Syndicate.

The *World*, as it is locally known, publishes "News while it is news", according to its masthead. Like the Negro weekly it is a special pleader for human rights, and does not protest too much on local issues and news, but on general issues, politics and news from distant points. Banner headlines feature most of its issues. During the period under observation only five issues did not carry these across-the-paper streamers. The eighteen headlines so featured were:

SOLDIERS WIN FREEDOM IN COURT-MARTIAL CASE

40 HEROES OF TANK BATTLES GET DECORATIONS

WAR UNDERSECRETARY PATTERSON REFUTES SENATOR EASTLAND

SERVICE GI JOBS CAN'T WAIT, SOMERVELL (SIC) SAYS

AMERICAN VETERANS PROTEST EASTLAND SLUR

VOTE 250,000 TO EXTEND LIFE OF FEPC 1 YEAR

FACTIONALISM SEALS DOOM OF SIMLA MEETING

SOLDIERS MAKE TRUCKS ONE OF ARMY'S BEST WEAPONS

VICTORY OVER JAPAN EYED AS "BIG THREE" MEET

N.A.A.C.P. HOLDS UP APPROVAL OF PAN-AFRICAN MEETING

FEPC PLANS CURTAILED OPERATIONS

FEPC PERSONNEL SLASHED FROM 117 TO 51

CITIZENS HIT BIAS AT SAN DIEGO NAVAL BASE

FLORIDA NEGROES WIN RIGHT TO VOTE IN PRIMARY

"NO PROFIT IN DISCRIMINATION," NEWSMEN TOLD

SIX "INTREPID" GUNNERS GET BRONZE STAR

N.A.A.C.P. STUDIES MICHIGAN HOUSING DECISION

IMMEDIATE IMPEACHMENT OF SENATOR BILBO URGED

Though the City Edition of this paper was the one analyzed, not one local issue was regarded as worthy of a featured headline. All of them dealt with problems peculiar to minority people's adjustment.

Front page news in the one Negro daily is usually composed of news stories accredited either to the Associated Negro Press or the Scott Newspaper Syndicate. Each issue carries approximately twelve front page stories. In three of the issues analyzed there were no local news stories on the front page. Five issues had one story; eight issues carried two, four issues carried three, and three issues carried four local stories on the front page. Except for local news hereinafter mentioned the remainder of the news does not differ from that found in the Negro weekly.

It need not to be concluded, however, that the *Atlanta Daily World* shies away from local news. To the contrary it is in open competition with two dailies, the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Journal* which report enough news of city-wide or cultural importance to appease the average resident. Beyond this point the Negro daily must and does go. First of all, the *World* has achieved some journalistic eminence because of its crusade against intra-racial and inter-racial homicides. By August 5, the number of such killings for 1945 had reached thirty-seven. The number is boxed in each story on the subject. The major problem, of course, is that of intra-racial homicides. This problem, the paper has suggested, should be met with strict justice and less leniency by the local courts, and with the employment of Negro policemen.

In the second place, the editorial policy of the *World* is one of political-mindedness. It has been a strong advocate of political rights programs and has taken a steady stand upon and plodding approach to securing full citizenship rights for Negroes in Georgia. It carried several stories on Georgia's new constitution in the issues studied and published a front-page editorial urging its endorsement and adoption at the August election. Furthermore, the *World* champions many of the steps being taken to secure these aforementioned rights and takes mild issue with local and state-wide political officeholders who do not recognize this differential in Georgia democracy.

The paper's editorial policy is partly reflected in the nature of its editorials. The issues studied carried thirty-two editorials in addition to the squibs known as "Sentence Thoughts". The most aggressive one was reprinted from the *Lighthouse and Informer* of Columbia, South Carolina, a member paper of SNS, whose editors organized South Carolina's Progressive Democratic Party, and challenged the White Democratic Primary in that state. This editorial commented upon Senator Eastland's vituperative remarks on Negro soldiers. It was entitled "Wicked, Warped, Adder-Tongued." The *World* commented upon articles and editorials appearing in the *American* and *Colliers* magazines, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Christian Herald*, the *New Republic* and the *Negro Digest*. It belabored the Georgia Board of Regents because it gave so little money for Negro education in one editorial and complimented the Board on its scholarship fund providing aid for out-of-state study for Negroes in another. In other editorials the paper discussed Mrs. Roosevelt, the coal industry, public vs. private utilities, liquor licenses in Alabama, the FEPC, the Navy's program of racial integration, inflation, war travel,

Negro health, southern politics and Negro migration. Saturday's editorials were usually columns of intelligent comments by a local minister entitled "From My Study Window." Three times during the month appeared signed and syndicated jejune editorials on such subjects as "The Music of Democracy," "The Mountains of the Heart," and, "Rights Imply Responsibilities."

Five types of news, carried by the *Atlanta World*, feed the interests of the Atlanta Negro community—"Personals," "Among the Clubs", "Social Swirl", and church and sport news. The Negro community is a very personal and intimate one at its various class levels. The community daily, the "white press", carries personal items on Negroes only when they are dead and these in paid advertisements of the undertakers. The Negro daily tells when the "West Side Rose Bud Club", the "Habersham Social Club", the "Rhythm Stepping Social and Saving Club", the "Ten Jiving Victorettes", "The Domestic Circle" and some score of other clubs will meet. It also carries intimate squibs on personalities in the community in a column "What Sam of Auburn Avenue Says." For the middle-class, "society"-minded there is the semi-weekly column, "Social Swirl", in which weddings, bridge parties, receptions, benefits, luncheons, and dinners, all involving from three to three-hundred or more guests are described in detail, sometimes *ad nauseum*. The society column is in reality the most revealing section of the Negro newspaper. The *World's* is no exception. The column is written in several styles. Sometimes the "It is" and "It was" lead of the syndicated gossip columnist is employed. At various times the comments remind one of a Walter Winchell or a Louella Parsons or a Cholly Knickerbocker. Socially—in the broadest sense—too, it is important. Where else could one report the Negro communities "gay round of bridge all day

long" or "Belated Stork News."

The Negro service man is not mentioned in the regular Atlanta dailies save in some special dispatch of unusual military importance. The *World*, however, carries news and pictures of Atlanta's Negro service men in each issue, telling where they are, what services they have performed, their promotions, and who are their "loved ones" at home. Many of these pictures and notices appear on or about the time of the warrior's birthday or wedding anniversary. His relatives or friends extend greetings through the *Atlanta Daily World*.

News of the Negro's church is a regular part of the Negro daily's news. Not only are there columns by ministers—"From My Study Window", "Common Sense Religion", but news of the several churches and their pastors is carried with a regularity that indicates the tremendous social importance of the church in the Negro community.

Negro Atlanta has three college football and basket-ball teams, a golf club, a professional baseball team, and several sports aggregations, including high school teams. The *World* regularly reports the competitive events of these teams, events which may or may not be reported in the larger dailies.

Features in the Negro community's one daily newspaper are varied. There are such nationally syndicated columns as "Uncovering Washington", "Plain Talk" and "Between the Lines", and others by local commentators which include an intelligent think-piece by a *World* staff member, William A. Fowlkes, entitled "Seeing and Saying". In addition there are puzzles, syndicated stories of the romantic type, comics, and cartoons. The issues analyzed carried fifty-seven pictures on their front pages, thirty of which were official releases of the war agencies and the American Red Cross. There is a car-

toon character "Joshua Jones" who gives a daily saying such as "Brother Bell says while an old man tries romance, a young honey eyes finance." The caricature of Joshua Jones would provoke strong racial protests if it appeared in a white daily. He is a dressed-up version of the too-well-known "Hambone" who "meditates".

Advertisements in the *World* are varied and interesting. There are, of course, the usual ads typical of the Negro press which promote the sale of drape model slacks, bust cream, love drops, diamonds for \$10.90 plus tax, love powder, palmistry, occult readings, and cures for "any pain". In addition to these there are display advertisements by several national concerns including Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola. Negro schools advertise in the paper's columns as do some of the local merchants who may carry from one-half to full-page display advertising. The local utilities, the telephone company, publishers, movie distributors, grocers, all carry regular and special advertisements, some of which use Negro subjects. Negro advertisers, featuring special events and entertaining of various sorts, purchase an ordinate amount of space. One interesting advertisement of a Negro druggist read "Our store will be closed for vacation for all employees beginning Monday, August 6th through Sunday, August 12th."

The *World* provides interesting material for speculation on local labor market problems. When the War Manpower Commission and FEPC ruled that advertisements for labor which specified race, color or religion were viewed as evidence of discriminatory hiring practices, the existence of a Negro daily provided a way out—the employer and the United States Employment Service advertised in the *Atlanta Daily World* and achieved their ends. Meanwhile the paper's "Classified Advertisements" indicated what had happened in the employment of Negro workers. Household employees were offered \$15.00

and more a week, day cleaners \$4.00 a day, shipping clerks \$30.00 weekly. Other advertisements called for bakers, painters, teachers, all of whom were offered wages and conditions of employment far above the usual ones prevailing in this region.

Gunnar Myrdal in his *An American Dilemma* concluded that "What happens to Negroes will continue to have a relatively low 'news value' to white people, and even the most well-meaning editor will have to stop far short of what Negroes demand if he wants to satisfy his white public." So long as this is so, and so long as the local racial "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" find a Negro daily an appropriate vehicle for widening and binding their worlds, just that long will there be a *World*.

Meanwhile, it would be hoped that the one Negro daily could become as significant a group paper as New York's *Jewish Daily Forward*, a paper, which according to Oswald Garrison Villard in *The Disappearing Daily* has made profits totalling \$3,000,000 in the last twenty years. The *Forward* was established in 1897 in New York; the *World* in 1932 in Georgia. The *Forward* is a non-profit-making daily; the *World* is profit-making. The *Forward* has hundreds of employees; the *World* has forty-five. The *Forward* has a minimum potential market of 4,500,000; the *World*, 13,000,000. "The men who write the *Forward*," says Villard, "are members of no Rotary Club and no Chamber of Commerce, and they belong to no social organization on Fifth Avenue. But whatever their faults, and however changed their points of view, they are Americans to the core; they have taught great masses of our working men how to stay organized and how to lift themselves up and thereby to lift up the whole standard of American living. To multitudes they have brought hope and inspiration and courage in times that are the worst possible for men and women of their faith."

SOUTHERN CONTROVERSY

"The *Jackson Advocate*, a Negro newspaper published on Farish Street with Percy Greene as editor, is quite indignant over President Truman's appointment of Tom Clark. . . .

" . . . His editorial on the subject has this paragraph:

"The outspoken refusal of the states of the South to abide by the decision of the highest court of the land, the United States Supreme Court, outlawing the White Primary and giving to the qualified Negro citizen the right to vote; the failure of the states of the South to provide equal educational opportunities for Negro citizens in accordance with provisions of their own state constitutions reaffirmed by the decision in the *Gaines* case rendered by the highest court of the land; the impossibility to obtain appropriate action in certain areas of crime and human relations in state and Federal courts in the South; the ineffectiveness of certain Federal directives and laws in their operating in the South, are only a few instances and conditions retarding the general outlook and progress, as well as Negro progress in the South, as a result of its tradition of illegality."

"That's the sort of stuff that is being spewed out to the Negroes of Jackson by Percy Greene.

"If we ever have a racial trouble in Jackson—and here's hoping we never will—Percy Greene is going to be in the middle of it, and what happens to Percy won't contribute much to his health or well-being." (Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*, June 17, 1945)

"To Major Frederick Sullens, Editor, Jackson (Miss.) *Daily News*: (From a Negro citizens group)

We, as law-abiding, peace-loving citizens of Jackson, Miss., wish to make a statement in the form of an open letter to you with reference to your editorial . . . in which you severely criticized Editor Percy Greene . . . for exercising his constitutional rights as a free man, in a free country—the rights of speech and freedom of the press.

As we understand it, we live in a country where the most humble citizen is privileged to criticize the official acts of any public officer, from the President down, when in his opinion, such acts may be against the best interest of the people.

. . . We want to ask you, Mr. Sullens, do you believe that the colored people of Jackson are so stupid as to be unable to recognize the unfair, discriminatory practices of the South against us when we meet them, and would, therefore, remain grossly ignorant of the facts, if they are not 'spewed out' to us by Percy Greene? If you do entertain such a thought, it will serve as sufficient evidence that you need to become acquainted with the colored people, not only in Jackson, but, throughout the state.

Every intelligent, self-respecting colored citizen resents such an implication. . . .

We remember your bitter editorial on the meeting held at Jackson College a few months ago by newspaper men and outstanding educators representing thirteen southern states for the purpose of discussing steps to be taken for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision handed down in the *Lloyd Gaines* case. This meeting got its authority from the bill of rights—the right to peaceably assemble to discuss questions of public interest. Would you attempt to annul this right?

We remember numerous other editorials dropped from the point of your pen, which were equally as bitter. But, you were exercising the right of freedom of the press. What kind of law is that which would guarantee freedom to one part of the press while withholding it from the other? Are we being called upon to sacrifice our time, our energy, our monies, and our sons upon the altar of foreign battlefields for a freedom so one-sided as this? God forbid!

We cannot close this letter without making a brief comment on the last paragraph of your scorching editorial . . . of June 17. . . .

. . . (It) is a dangerous utterance. It makes us seriously doubt the sincerity of your hoping that there will be no racial trouble in Jackson, when this hoping is immediately followed by what appears to be a direct invitation to mob violence. . . ."

"Editor's Note: The *Daily News* has never, at any time, written a bitter editorial on the race question. Quite to the contrary, our editorial policy on this subject for more than fifty years has had the one purpose of maintaining friendly relations between the races and giving to the Negro a helping hand whenever it was proper to do so.

As for the above 'testimonial' in behalf of Percy Greene, the *Daily News* frankly regards him as a strife breeder and reiterates, with all possible emphasis, this admonition in our editorial of June 17th: 'If we ever have a racial trouble in Jackson—and here's hoping we never will—Percy Greene is going to be in the middle of it and what happens to Percy won't contribute much to his health or well-being.'

That also goes for the politically-minded Negroes who rushed to Percy Greene's defense by signing the above communication." (Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*, July 15, 1945)

BOOKS BY AND ABOUT NEGROES—1944-1945*

AFRICA

- AFRICAN JOURNEY. *By Eslanda Goode Robeson.* New York, John Day, 1945. \$3.50.
- CONGO. *By John LaTouche.* Photographed by Andre Cauvin. New York, Willow, White and Company, 1945. \$3.75.
- WITHOUT BITTERNESS. *By A. A. Nwafor Orizu.* New York, Creative Age Press, 1944.

BIOGRAPHY

- BLACK BOY. *By Richard Wright.* New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945. \$2.50.
- CITIZEN TOUSSAINT. *By Ralph Korngold.* Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1944. \$3.00.
- CURRENT BIOGRAPHY, 1944. **Published by the H. W. Wilson Company.
- MEN OF POPULAR MUSIC. *By David Ewen.* Chicago, Ziff-Davis Publishing House, 1945.
- NEGRO CATHOLIC WRITERS. *By Sister Mary Anthony Scally.* Detroit, Walter Romig and Company, 1945.

EDUCATION

- BUILD TOGETHER AMERICANS. *By Rachel Davis DuBois.* New York, Hinds, Hayden and Eldridge, 1945. \$2.00.
- THE STORY OF THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN.*** *By Clarence I. Chatton and Alice L. Halligan.* New York, Barnes and Noble, 1945. \$2.75.
- YOUR SCHOOLS: YOUR CHILDREN. *By Marie Syrk.* New York, L. B. Fischer, 1944. \$2.50.

FICTION

- THE WINDS OF FEAR. *By Hodding Carter.* New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944. \$2.50.
- SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE SOLDIERS. *By Margaret Halsey.* New York, Simon and Schuster, 1944. \$2.50.
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- CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY. *By Eric Williams.* Chapel Hill, the University of North Carolina Press, 1944. \$3.00.
- THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES. *By Seymour J. Schoenfeld.* Washington, D. C., the Associated Publishers, 1945. \$1.00.
- NEGRO MAKERS OF HISTORY. *By Carter G. Woodson.* (Revised edition) Washington, D. C., the Associated Publishers, 1945. \$2.15.

MUSIC

- UNSUNG AMERICANS SUNG. *Edited by W. C. Handy.* New York, Handy Brothers Music Company, 1944. \$3.50.

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- A STREET IN BRONZEVILLE. *By Gwendolyn Brooks.* New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945.

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- THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE. *Edited by John Becker.* New York, Julian Messner, Inc., 1944. \$1.00.
- THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN. *By Alexander Alland and James Waterman Wise.* New York, The Viking Press, 1945. \$2.50.
- WERE YOU THERE WHEN THEY CRUCIFIED MY LORD? *By Allen Rohan Crite.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944. \$3.00.

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- ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE NEGRO—(preparatory volume). *By W. E. B. DuBois and Guy B. Johnson.* New York, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1945. \$2.75.
- THE NEGRO HANDBOOK, 1944. *Compiled and edited by Florence Murray.* New York, Current Reference Publications, 1944. \$3.50.

SOCIOLOGY

- ALL BRAVE SAILORS: THE STORY OF THE S.S. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. *By John Beecher.* New York, L. B. Fischer, 1945. \$2.50.
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- JOURNEY THROUGH CHAOS. *By Agnes E. Meyer.* New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. \$3.00.

- ONE AMERICA: OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. *Edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek.* New York, Prentice Hall, 1945. \$5.00.

- PRIMER FOR WHITE FOLKS. *Edited by Bucklin Moon.* New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945. \$3.50.

- RELIGION AND OUR RACIAL TENSIONS. *By Clyde Kluckhohn, Everett R. Clinchy, Edwin R. Embree, Margaret Mead and Bradford S. Abernethy.* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945. \$1.50.

- RIOTS AND RUINS. *By A. Clayton Powell, Sr.* New York, Richard Smith, 1945. \$2.00.

- A RISING WIND. *By Walter White.* New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945. \$2.00.

- THEY SEEK A CITY. *By Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy.* New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945. \$2.75.

- WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS. *Edited by Rayford W. Logan.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945. \$3.50.

- MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: THE FALLACY OF RACE. *By M. F. Ashley Montagu.* (Revised edition) New York, Columbia University Press, 1945. \$3.25.

NOTE:

*This listing is as complete as possible for the period August 1944-1945.

**Contains biographies of eleven Negroes.

***See BOOK NOTES, October issue.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA*

WE HAVE LOST FAITH . . .

in the Dade County Commissioners with their apathetic attitude toward solving the present controversy in our community, their complete lack of any co-operation with the people of this community and, in our opinion, have shamefully failed us in our hour of need. Further, by permitting the expansion of the Brownsville Negro area into territory zoned for, and occupied by, the white race—and their failure to take any action whatsoever to halt the operations of powerful white real estate interests who are using unscrupulous methods to force the Negro on the residents of this community.

WE HAVE LOST FAITH . . .

in the County Solicitor's Office for its failure to even make an effort to prosecute the parties responsible for the flouting and breaking of our zoning laws, which have been in existence for years and have here-to-fore been enforced.

WE HAVE LOST FAITH . . .

in the Inter-Racial Committee, which was originally formed for the purpose of preventing such a condition as exists today in our community, likewise by its utter lack of wisdom in dealing with the present problems of the various Negro districts, which has created more unrest and dissatisfaction than ever existed before among the white residents residing adjacent to those districts.

THEREFORE, in order to prevent and forestall any violence, which could reach disastrous proportions WE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC PRESS of Dade County "FOR AID" in our fight to expose the sinister motives of the proponents of this movement, in order that we may preserve our most cherished possession—our homes, which we have spent years acquiring and improving.

WE HAVE NOT LOST FAITH . . .

in the Almighty God and in humanity, and we feel the people of Dade County will back us in our fight—that RIGHT WILL TRIUMPH!

By Order of the Executive Board of
THE NORTHWEST PROPERTY OWNERS LEAGUE

*See MONTHLY SUMMARY, this issue, page 8.

The INDEX to Volume II will be available on November 15, 1945. Request should be made to the Social Science Institute immediately.

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