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Groups Working to Relieve Tension Between Minority and Dominant Groups

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GROUPS WORKING TO RELIEVE TENSION
BETWEEN MINORITY AND DOMINANT GROUPS

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The twentieth century has seen the development and growth of hundreds of organizations, which are working to promote the position of the American Negro and other minorities and to lessen tension between minority and dominant groups. Some of these groups are national; some are local; and some are more effective than other groups.

This paper will be primarily devoted to explaining the origin, functions, methods, and the accomplishments of the groups which have been most effective in bringing about changes for the betterment of minority and dominant group relations in the United States.

The work and methods of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be shown in contrast to the work of the second largest group, the National Urban League. Also, attitudes toward these two organizations by the public will be shown.

The new nonviolent resistance movement which appears to be gaining the following of the Negro masses will be dealt with by explaining the work of the Montgomery Improvement Association and the Congress of Racial Equality. These two organizations use similar techniques, and they, perhaps served as a stimulus to movements of nonviolent character seen in the South today.

There will be a brief discussion of the new type of leadership which is emerging in the South and reasons for acceptance of a different type of leadership.

Finally, a few suggestions will be made concerning improvement of effectiveness of group action against segregation and discrimination.

By the early part of the 20th century, the position of Negroes had been established by whites as inferior, and segregation was by that time enforced by law in the South. By 1905, young Negro intellectuals were questioning the compromising, appeasing attitudes of Booker T. Washington, the greatest Negro leader until this time. William DuBois, the leader of the young intellectuals, did not like the following ideas of Washington: minimization of higher education, subordination of all action to public opinion, and no emphasis on the importance of the right to vote. Also, DuBois was strongly against the "Tuskegee Machine" of Washington, which decried political activities among Negroes and on the other hand dictated Negro political objectives from Tuskegee. DuBois thought advancement of Negro civil rights called for organization and aggressive action, while Washington wanted no open agitation and explained Jim Crow laws by shortcomings of the Negro. Washington's influence was so great that he controlled most money donated by whites to the Negro cause; thus, he could control the Negro group actions and force conformity to his wishes.¹

¹W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, 1940, p.88.

DuBois was the leader of the Niagara Movement which was organized to fight discrimination by more aggressive means than means used by Washington. The Niagara Movement held several conferences and was involved in several civil rights cases. The Movement was composed of only Negro intellectuals.

A race riot in Springfield, Ill. in 1908 in which scores of Negroes were killed, wounded and driven out of the city, led William English Walling, a Southern journalist to write an article calling the nation to stop this brutality and revive the spirit of liberty and justice. He said that events in the United States were as bad as those he had seen in Russia during the revolution there.

Mary White Ovington, a social worker interested in treatment of the Negro, responded to his appeal and started corresponding with him. Through their efforts, a conference, including many prominent white liberals, met in 1909 and discussed the Negro situation. The following year the white liberals and the Negro leaders of the Niagara Movement met and joined in forming a group to fight segregation and discrimination. This group was given the name, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The long objective of the NAACP is to win full equality of the Negro as an American citizen. The following list of specific objectives should eventually lead to the final objective:

1. Abolish injustices in legal procedure based solely on race or color.
2. Banish lynching and mob violence.
3. Secure passage of liberal legislation.

4. Secure passage of a federal civil rights bill and civil rights legislation.
5. Secure the right of franchise for all American citizens.
6. Abolish discrimination and segregation in education.
7. Secure the right of North and dignity of Negro Members of the Armed Forces.
8. Secure freedom from insult and discrimination for a colonial peoples in other countries."¹

The NAACP works through a national office in New York City. This office determines policy and supervises local branches of the organization. There are local branches today in forty-four states and the District of Columbia. There are 1,200 the organization has over 312,000 paying members. The largest branch in Detroit has 19,291 members. There is a Washington bureau and three regional offices are located in Atlanta, Geo., Dallas, Texas, and San Francisco, California. Field workers from the national office are sent to the places where they are most needed. The annual National budget today is about \$800,000, exclusive of expenditures of state, local branches, and councils. The most important officer of the NAACP is the secretary. Probably, the most outstanding secretary was the late Walter White, who was secretary of the NAACP for about thirty years during which he was one of the main formulators of policy.²

¹Arnold Rose, The Negro in America, 1944, p.264.

²"Fifty years of the NAACP", Reprinted from The New Leader, June 29, 1959, p.1.

The NAACP has concentrated in the past on civil liberties, publicity of discrimination, and suffrage, but has not neglected other fields. The main method of attack on discrimination has been legal redress through the courts. It has almost made a fetish of careful preparation in order to prevent dismissal of cases because of defects in the record or argument. During the first thirty-five years of its existence, the NAACP lost only one case in the Supreme Court. The NAACP has stuck to the thesis that inequality for the Negro means inequality for other Americans and weakens the nation.

The first sustained work of the NAACP dealt with the lynching problem. In the early part of the 20th century, there was an average of 100 lynchings per year. Eighty per cent of these crimes had nothing to do with offenses by Negro men against white women. The NAACP did a study which is entitled "Thirty Years of Lynchings in the United States, 1889-1919." This study revealed the fact that there had been more than 5,000 lynchings between these dates. Much laborious work was done in the Senate and House Committees, but years went by with no legislation being passed because of Senate filibustering. Due primarily to the research and publicity of the NAACP, Americans have been aroused against lynching and it has been abolished in almost every state in recent years except Mississippi.

White and the NAACP tried to get Roosevelt to speak out against lynching which increased during the depression years.

Roosevelt said that he was afraid to take any action because he feared "Southern congressmen, who by reason of seniority rule are chairmen and control strategic places on most House and Senate Committees would vote down legislation vital to the United States security."¹

After failing to get the help of Roosevelt, White and other NAACP representatives, various writers, editors, and publishers formed the Writers' League Against Lynching, which sought to influence legislators and public opinion.

Finally in 1937, the NAACP got the one Negro Representative in Congress to introduce an anti-lynching bill which passed the House, but was filibustered to death in the Senate.

John Shillday, who was secretary of the NAACP before White, went to Texas in an attempt to get a charter for the NAACP in that state because of many lynchings and violence against Negroes there. On his way to keep an appointment with the governor, he was attacked by a mob led by a judge and a sheriff. He was beaten and died a few months later from injuries inflicted by the beating. This was important in awakening the nation to the situation in the South.

Wal

Caucasian, posed as an insurance agent in many towns when a lynching was committed. He had to flee many towns when he started asking too many questions. Fortunately, he always discovered emotions of people in various towns and left before he could be lynched.

Walter White, A Man Called White, 1948, p. 1699

The NAACP has been active in the promotion of action for betterment of Negro health. It urged the city of New York to abandon its unwritten law against admission of Negro doctors, nurses, and specialists to white hospitals. New York offered to build a \$2,000,000 hospital for Negroes if the NAACP would cease demands for integration of staff as well as patients, but the NAACP held out until a number of white hospitals became integrated.¹

A segregated hospital for Negro veterans was planned at Tuskegee Institute. The Ku Klux Klan threatened to kill President Morton of Tuskegee and to blow up the school buildings if he opposed this plan and advocated integrated hospital for staff and patients. General Hines of the Veterans' Administration was told that local whites would run the hospital as they wished with no interference by the federal government. Angrily aroused by this news, General Hines promptly ordered staffing of the hospital with Negroes and whites.

There is action by NAACP, as well as the Urban League for desegregation in housing for Negroes. A dramatic early case occurred in 1926 in Detroit. Dr. Henry Sweet and his brother bought a house in a white neighborhood. In an attempt to defend himself, Sweet fired into the mob which had gathered and were approaching the house, and one of the attackers was killed. The NAACP hired Clarence Darrow for defense of

¹White, op. cit., p.64

Sweet. Sweet was acquitted and the NAACP paid the costs of thirty thousand dollars.

During the 1930's, Roy Wilkins, an official of the NAACP, was investigations for the Association. He had discovered facts concerning discrimination in wages paid by the federal government in federal projects. During this period, evidence was, also, presented concerning inequalities in Red Cross distribution. Negroes sometimes were forced to pay the Red Cross for relief.¹

Since its beginning, the NAACP has fought for equal schools for Negro pupils and equal salaries for Negro teachers. A branch of the NAACP was formed in Atlanta because of educational problems. In 1916, Atlanta whites decided to eliminate the 7th grade in Negro schools in order to have money to build a new white high school. Negroes paid the same taxes as whites, but had triple sessions and were forced to pay tuition to institutions like Atlanta University to receive high school training. A petition presented to the Board of Education was ignored. A branch of the NAACP was then formed with Walter White as secretary.

The Board of Education decided to abandon the plan of curtailing Negro education through elimination of the Negro 7th grades. It decided to float a bond issue instead to improve white schools. Since passage of the bond issue required approval of two-thirds of the registered voters, the

¹Ibid, p. 292

NAACP got many Negroes to register, who had not previously registered. When white opponents woke up to what was happening, it was too late to register enough whites to override the Negro votes.

After defeat of the bond issue by Negroes, there was a bitter campaign of vilification by Atlanta papers. A new weapon, the Negro boycott, was used. Almost all Negroes cancelled their subscriptions to Atlanta papers published by whites. Negroes even returned papers which were given freely and delivered.

City officials then asked Negro representatives what minimum concessions they would except for support or at least non-opposition to another bond issue. The next bond issue passed and a new Negro high school was built. Also, the Negro grade schools were patched up in return for Negro support.

As a first step, the NAACP usually asked school officials for equalization of opportunities and salaries. When this approach fails, publicity and legal steps are usually taken.

In the 1930's, exposure of the complete failure of most southern states to provide graduate and professional training shocked many white Americans, though Negroes, of course knew the facts since they were directly concerned. Through the NAACP's efforts, several universities were forced to admit Negro students to the schools of journalism and law. Higher courts forced the establishment of a law school of journalism at a Negro school, Lincoln University, at Jefferson City, Mo.

In a similar case, the University of Maryland refused to admit Negroes or build a separate school for them. Public sentiment developed against unnecessary expenditure of money to establish a separate school of law. The NAACP won the case in the Court of Appeals and the University of Maryland then admitted him. There was no trouble as a result of admittance of Negroes in a town where there had been a lynching only a short time before.

In almost all universities, students have been in favor of admitting Negro students have picketed, and taken a stand for their admission; this was true at the University of Missouri where the state built separate schools. All Southern and border states have fought relentlessly against admitting Negroes with one exception, West Virginia.¹

The fight was next carried to elementary and high schools; and on this level, the NAACP won the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court in 1954.

Today, there are over 2,000 Negro students in Southern colleges. There are still only a few hundred integrated elementary and high school pupils in white schools; although, the Supreme Court decision was made six years ago.

At the request of the Maryland State Colored Teachers' Association. In the early 1930's, the NAACP gave legal aid to William Gibbs, an elementary school principal who sought to wipe out the difference between his salary and salaries paid to white principals with the same qualifications and

¹Ibid., p.163

work. During the trial, it was established that in the county the difference between Negro and white salaries exceeded \$30,000 annually and that white janitors averaged \$339. more than the Negro elementary teacher and \$101. more than the Negro high school teacher. The court ruled in favor of Gibbs and ordered equalization to be brought about in a two year period. The judge ruled that non-equal salaries was an inhibition of the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th amendment.¹

Since 1935, successful termination of many legal actions for equalization of teachers' salaries has resulted in wiping out approximately \$3,000,000. of the annual racial difference of \$25,000,000. This was a 1948 figure.

The NAACP seeks close cooperation and friendship of political leaders as ways of advancement of its causes. It does not directly endorse political candidates, but it does make information about candidates available to Negroes.

Work with Hoover and Al Smith was not very optimistic. They cooperated very little with the NAACP. The first direct political action in 1930 was successful though. Hoover wanted to appoint Judge Parker, who was anti-Negro to the Supreme Court. Through NAACP activity, the Senate voted against acceptance of Parker.

There was much political activity after this, especially when Negro rights were endangered. By 1934, both parties

¹Ibid., p. 163

recognized that the Negro vote was no longer as gullible, purchasable or complacent as in previous years. By this time many more Negroes could vote because the NAACP had taken a test case concerning the "Grandfather Clause" to the Supreme Court. The clause, excluding right to vote to persons whose parents or grandparents had been ineligible to vote before the Civil War, was declared unconstitutional in 1915. Another victory was won by the NAACP in 1944, when the white primary system was declared unconstitutional. Until this time, Negroes were excluded from state primaries by law or rules of the Democratic party.

Before the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in 1944, twenty-five organizations of Negroes drafted an open letter stating that Negroes would vote for candidates and parties working to give the Negro full class citizenship and equal rights.

Pivotal Negro votes in some states were probably responsible for Brynes withdrawal as vice-presidential candidate. He had before this time opposed every measure sought by Negroes in Congress.

"Since then, Negroes in the South have been voting in increasing numbers; today, some 1.5 million are registered voters."¹ Although, the percentage of Negroes, who vote is increasing year by year there are still a great deal of violence directed at keeping Negroes away from the polls, particularly in backward rural areas and in Mississippi. "In 1955, two NAACP branch presidents in that exceptional

¹"Fifty Years of the NAACP," op.cit.,

state, the Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni and Lamar Smith in Brookhaven, were shot and killed because they refused to withdraw their names from the voting lists on the demand of local white leaders. Though Smith was killed in broad daylight on the courthouse steps, no one has to this day been indicted for the crime."¹

In 1955, the NAACP reported during a 12 month period the r from 22,000 to only 8,000 registered Negro voters. In Humphrey County, Miss., the all time high registered Negro vote, 400 out of 16,000, dropped in one year to only one registered Negro voter. This man was shot, but not killed.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 enables the Justice Department to intervene when it seems that properly qualified Negroes are being denied the right to vote. The Department of Justice can obtain a court order which requires local officials to register voters. If they fail to comply they may be jailed for civil contempt until they obey the court order. The recent civil rights legislation requires that the justice department be given access to state voting records. If government asks for voting records and finds evidence of discrimination it can bring suit. If discrimination is proved, courts are authorized to appoint referees, who will issue voting certificates binding on state officials under penalty of contempt of court. Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP thinks it will take 2 or more years before federal action can be effective.

¹Ibid.

In the past few years, the porportion of Negroes living in the North and West has increased significantly. In these two regions there are no peculiar restrictions on Negro voting as seen in the South. There were four Negro Senators and about sixty Representatives in June 1959.

White was a sincere, close friend of another politician, Wendell Wilkie. The two met with many producers and actors, writers, and directors in Hollywood in an attempt to get them to stop presenting the harmful sterotype of the comical, Negro with below average intelligence. Wilkie had a great deal of influence, and his earnestness and sincerity influenced his audience to a great extent. As long as Wilkie lived there was a noticable diminishing of objectionable Negro roles and a few favorable innovations in films by Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, and Metro-Goldwyn Mayer. Unfortunately, there was a successful pressure to change in many instances back to old stereotypes because of censorship boards of the south which refused to show any movies with Negroes cast in favorable roles.

Prejudiced Southerners try to force the Negro backward in any ways which present the least opportunity as seen in the movement against the Negro press. During the early part of World War II, FDR called White to say that pressure was being brought to bear on him and the Department of Justice to indict editors of the more flamboyant Negro newspapers for "sedition and interference with the war effort." White suggested action to abolish segregation in the armed forces

and discrimination in government financed war industries would probably transform critics of the war effort into enthusiastic war supporters. He, also, suggested investigation of records of government officials demanding suppression of the Negro press. In a short time, the President ordered abandonment of the proposal of disloyalty charges against Negro editors.

Southerners thought of a new device, denial of newsprint to Negro newspapers which exposed or attacked discrimination. White gathered the facts about this and presented them to Roosevelt, who stopped this effort.

The NAACP called a conference in New York in 1943 and invited editors of the twenty-four largest Negro Newspapers. "The NAACP offered to check without cost any story or statement originating in the capital."¹ Cooperative use of facilities of various newspapers was arranged, which resulted in formation of the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association. A code of journalistic ethics was planned, and more rigid methods of checking details of stories before publication were perfected. All the preceding gives less ground for oppressive efforts by the prejudiced. Sensationalism was curbed. Though there was little loss of militancy in attack by the Negro press on discrimination, racial hypersensitivity was lessened by giving more attention to constructive acts by whites against discrimination. Objectionable, questionable, features of advertising almost disappeared.

¹White, op. cit., p. 208

The NAACP works to improve employment opportunities for the Negro, but the Urban is more active in this field. An outstanding example of work with the union secured in Detroit in 1941. The leaders of the UAW-CIO called upon the NAACP because a strike at the Ford Motor Plant was threatened with failure. Union officials had been afraid to recruit Negroes into the union before because of many white southerners in the union, and now the Negroes were going to work and breaking the strike. Union officials were afraid there would be rioting and the governor would be forced to call out troops to break the strike. NAACP officials and union officials decided to advertise in the papers that under a UAW-CIO contract, Negro Ford workers would receive the same pay as whites, lose no privileges, but would gain greater security and gain promotion on the basis of seniority.

The local branch of the NAACP hired sound trucks to announce union pledges and to point out that the best interests of neither Ford or the Negroes would be served by their remaining in the plant and causing a riot. In a few hours, one Negro broke past guards into the line of strikers and announced his intention of joining the union. Other Negroes followed his example. The NLRB election shortly afterward showed that a majority of workers wished to be represented by the UAW-CIO. Since that time there have been amicable relations between the union and the Ford Company. The union has attempted to live up to its pledges and has continuously fought discrimination within the union and in American life

in general. It is to be noted that in the race riots in 1943 in Detroit there was peace in only two places, in plants organized by UAW-CIO and in non-segregated residential areas.

Progress in job opportunities for Negroes received an impetus during World War II, but the Negroes found themselves excluded from most defense jobs. When all means of improving the situation seemed to have failed, Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, organized and directed a march on Washington to protest exclusion of Negroes from defense jobs and to demand defense jobs. It sought "the complete integration of the Negro workers into the organized labor movement" to eliminate the vicious circle of being the last hired and the first fired. By being a member of organized labor, the employer could no longer refuse to hire because he did not have a union card, and the union could not use the excuse of not hiring because the Negro did not have a union. The march on Washington used principles of non-violent action, which closely resembled principles used in the sit-in movement which will be discussed later. This was an all Negro mass movement; it had the belief that mass action would exert influence because it would be seen and heard by the public. It planned to use the following techniques of action:

1. Negotiation
2. Inter-racial, inter-faith pressures
3. Mass marches

¹What the Negro Wants, Edited by, Roy Ford W. Logan, 19 , ,
p.143

4. Picketing
5. Boycott
6. Seeking and developing trade union cooperation.
7. Public relations
8. Membership in trade unions, the natural of the Negro."

The NAACP co-operated with the movement, but did not attempt to control or take over the movement.

When Roosevelt heard about the plan to march on Washington of 100,000 Negroes to demand jobs, "he urged them to call off demonstrations assuring them that they had friends in Washington." In an answer, they declared they might have friends in Washington, but they did not have jobs--and jobs were what they wanted." The President met with the representatives of the March-on-Washington Movement and was persuaded to issue Executive Order 8802, which forbade discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The President appointed a Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee to see that the order was enforced. After this the movement lost its momentum because of its limited aims.

After the war ended, Presidential powers contracted again and Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans defeated the proposal for continuance of the measure FEPC. A postwar executive order "requires that all government contracts, which are led by the executive branch, include a clause forbidding employment discrimination. The same order created a Government Committee on Contract Compliance head by the Vice President, which attempts to secure voluntary compliance from industries under the terms of their government contracts. To date, this Committee, with no legal force at its disposal, has enjoyed only limited success."¹

"Fifty Years of the NAACP," op.cit.

After the war ended, the NAACP added a Labor Department to the Association's activities because of down grading in jobs. Again, inferior jobs requiring low skills were about the only jobs available to the Negro because of the discontinuance of the FEPC and the effect of the end of the war on employment.

After World War II ended, many Southern towns and a few towns in the North and Middle West invested huge sums in machine guns, tear gas, grenades, armored trucks, and other equipment to put down any trouble caused by Negroes of organized labor. As soon as any "trouble" was started by either of these groups, the police, highway patrol, national guardsmen, etc, moved in with the above mentioned equipment.

In a riot in Tenn., 106 Negroes were arrested, and two were killed after whites went into the Negro district with a mob. Most Negro stores and business were looted and damaged. Walter White was notified and immediately hired a white lawyer. The NAACP appealed to the Governor, who would give no help. Public opinion, the police, and the press were against the Negroes, who were being held. Next, the NAACP, organized a meeting of civic, religious, labor, and press groups to form the National Committee for Justice in Tenn. Co-chairmen were Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt and Channing Tobias of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. This committee obtained impartial press coverage and raised funds for the defense of the 104 Negroes. Eventually, all of the defendants were released. Later, the Justice Department investigated an attempt to lynch some of the defendant lawyers.

The fight against segregation in the armed services was not successful for many years. Bitterness against the Japanese found expression in the South through aggressive act against Negro soldiers. The NAACP and White learned that as long as Frank Knox was Secretary of the Navy, Negroes would be permitted to serve only in the messman's division. White spoke to thousands of students at the University of California; and many students, including Southerners volunteered to serve in mixed divisions. The War Department, despite the efforts of Patterson, Under Secretary of War, was not moved to create mixed divisions. Protests of the NAACP and hundreds of Northern soldiers against harsh treatment of Negro men and women in service were ignored and hushed-up.

In 1943, many distinguished persons in the radio and theatre world met with the NAACP to form the Emergency Committee of the Entertainment Industry. CBS donated time to this body and officially sponsored the show which spoke for American minorities and which won the Peabody Award of the University of Georgia. The group was forced to disband because of lack of staff and money.

Perhaps, a persecution complex caused partly by treatment of Negroes in service caused a riot to spread in Harlem in 1943, when a policeman shot a Negro serviceman. The NAACP got its members and prominent Negro citizens to ride in cars through Harlem and with the use of loudspeakers to announce that the soldier was only slightly wounded and urged them to go home. Actually, no white persons were attacked, and the

mobs were broken up. Most of the stores which had been looted and damaged belonged to persons, who were formerly unfair to Negroes.

In spite of efforts of many individuals and groups, Negroes were placed in non-segregated units only in the emergency before V.E. Day. Washington was astounded and ordered the plan abandoned, but was persuaded to compromise to use ~~all~~ of of ~~all~~ Negro platoons in white regiments. After V.E. Day, Negro combat divisions were ordered out of combat divisions and were again assigned to menial tasks of service units.

Some forced in the army wanted Negroes to have no glory no matter how well they fought. Many false charges of cowardliness and other dishonorable conduct were brought against the Negro. Because of the deluge of appeals from Negro soldiers and sailors, most of the new Veterans' Bureau of the NAACP in Washington was devoted to examination of records and appealing those found meritorious to the proper courts.

Although there was almost no integration of the armed forces during World War II, Roosevelt did open up the Air Force Marine Corps and all branches of the Navy to Negro enlistment as a result of incessant urging of the NAACP.

Segregation was maintained until 1947 in all the Armed Forces. In that year, President Truman, who had been meeting with NAACP leaders, created the President's Commission on Civil Rights by executive order and paid for it out of the President's Contingent Fund to avoid the House Rules Committee. This committee composed of businessmen, educational, labor, and law leaders of both the Negro and white races,

and, also, the general public, studied hate organizations and all conditions of minority groups. This group's great specific and courageous report, "To Secure Their Rights", "recommended elimination of segregation and discrimination of all forms." As a first step, Truman issued an order as Commander-in-Chief abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces. The Air Force and Navy immediately followed this order. The Army acted more slowly, but it speeded integration after seeing how much better Negro morale and fighting was in integrated divisions in the Korean Conflict.

President Eisenhower issued orders ending segregation among civilian employees of the Armed Forces and schools on Army posts in the South are even integrated.

The NAACP has always co-operated with religious organizations and churches and has received voluntary assistance from many churches. In 1959, the NAACP began a "Churches for Freedom" project. "The purpose of this project is to rally church social action, spiritual mobilization, and material investment in the civil rights struggle."¹

Churches can participate in "Churches for Freedom" project in a number of ways. Churches could hold special services during a time of racial crisis or when civil rights bills are being debated in Congress. Churches can help make communities more democratic through organization of voter registration committees and through emphasis of the citizens

¹The NAACP and Organized Religion, Published by Church Department of NAACP, 1959, p.4

responsibility to vote and to get others to vote. Churches could give more money to help finance the NAACP. Finally, churches could establish good racial relations by integration in churches and by closer communication with churches having people of another race.

The NAACP is facing more opposition than any other organization in the South today. Since the struggle for integration in public schools began, whether a man is black or white has become more important than before 1954. At least, this seems to be true because of greater opposition and outward attacks on the NAACP.

After the war, a Negro lawyer was elected to a city council in a Southern city by white and black votes, but today only Negroes would vote for him; "His firm does business with the NAACP, which has led the campaign to secure, and then implement, the Supreme Court's ruling that segregation in tax-supported schools is unconstitutional."

"The NAACP has become the South's Whipping-boy."¹ If a Southern politician is in a close race, he often insinuates that his opponent is friendly to the NAACP, and that the NAACP is friendly to communists.

The rumor that the NAACP is completely false. It is only propaganda used by white supremacist and segregationists in an attempt to discredit the NAACP. The Communists tried to set up a rival organization to replace the NAACP. This effort reached its height in the 1940's and early 1950's.

¹"Negroes Under Pressure," The Economist, Dec. 20, 1958, p.1080

The NAACP then undertook an educational campaign which led to adoption of a resolution in 1950 at the NAACP National Convention, denying membership to Communists. National and branch leaders have carried out this policy, and have not co-operated with Communist-dominated labor unions. J. Edgar Hoover has commended the NAACP for its work and its fight against Communism. In 1947, Truman spoke at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington at the closing session of the 31st annual conference, and 11 major networks and most independent stations, and shortwave radios carried his brave attack against all inequalities of the cast system. National leaders would not be continually praising a Communist dominated organization.

Segregationists have turned to political weapons employed by the state legislatures the executive branches and sometimes the judiciary. Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee, and Virginia have adopted statutes which redefine and tighten offenses of barratry, champerty, and maintenance. "Barratry is the habitual stirring up of quarrels and suits. Champerty describes a situation where a person with no real interest in a particular piece of litigation assists one of the actual parties by money or service in return for the expected proceeds of the case. Maintenance is a more general term which encompasses officious intermeddling in a suit which in no way belongs to one, by maintaining or assisting either party, with money or otherwise, to prosecute or defend it."¹

¹The Western Political Quarterly," June 1959, V.12, No.2, p.374

Some states have imposed outrageous licensing fees and taxes and restrictions upon soliciting membership upon the NAACP. In Wilcox County, in Alabama, the organization must pay a \$100 licensing fee and \$5.00 per member to the county.

Mississippi teachers must sign affidavits listing organizations they have belonged to for the last five years. Membership in the NAACP would cost the teacher his job because the NAACP is listed as a subversive organization in Mississippi. In La., any teacher or school employee "advocating or in any manner performing an act toward bringing about integration of races within the public school system"¹ is liable to grounds for dismissal. In Georgia, "any teacher who supports, condones, or agrees to teach mixed classes shall have his or her license revoked forever. Here the state has withdrawn support of such oaths and enforcement of these regulations is left to local authorities.

There is a great deal of strain of Southern Negroes belonging to the NAACP. They have feelings of apprehension and fear because of white attitudes toward the organization and contrasting feelings of elation because they are members of a vigorous, national organization which has won major legal victories for them in the Supreme Court.

There is an outstanding contrast between the position of Southern Negro members and members from other areas outside the South where the school question is not too important.

¹Ibid, p.385

The school integration problem appears to be causing more antagonism than any other single factor. Most segregation in the North relates to housing and employment, and here the Negro has powers to vote and holds the balance of political power in many cities. Therefore, Politicians cater to Negroes in various ways. "Negroes outside the South need not fear open political injustice or retaliation. It is not only the man in the South who feels his problems are different from those of the rest of the country."¹

Negro leaders in the South, "in order to retain their influence in the NAACP, must cooperate with leaders from other areas in pursuing active policies, and ones productive of tangible results."² If they did not do this, enthusiasm of the members would be lost. This militancy of the NAACP creates problems for other organizations, such as the Urban League. During the past few years as attitudes have hardened a large number of charitable funds in Southern cities have dropped the Urban League from a group of organizations which share the proceeds of united giving because directors of the funds felt local resistance to supporting Negro projects might endanger success of the drive. Feelings of antagonism toward the NAACP have been applied to other groups against which there was little antagonism a few years ago.

¹"Negroes Under Pressure", The Economist, V. CLXXXIX, (December 20, 1958), 1080

²Ibid.

The "Southern School News" published news of a recent victory of the NAACP. The United States Supreme Court has thrown out convictions of two NAACP officials in Arkansas, who refused to submit lists of members and contributors under municipal ordinances in Little Rock and North Little Rock. There was a recent amendment of city ordinances in an attempt to force the NAACP to submit previously mentioned lists. The amendment to the occupational license tax stated that any organization operating within city limits must supply to the city clerk at his request answers to various questions, including names, officers, and members paying dues. Bates and Williams, the NAACP officials, refused to comply with the request. They knew many members would not renew their membership if this ordinance was obeyed because the known NAACP members are frequently threatened with bodily harm and subjected to harassment. Also, disclosure of names would discourage new members. The Supreme Court ruled that the ordinance was in violation to the 14th amendment which says "freedom of association for the purpose of advancing ideas and airing grievances is protected from invasion by the state."¹ Since the city had not required it to have an organization requiring a license, the city had no right to interfere.

The NAACP is going to continue its work for the Negro despite opposition until its goals are reached. The target for 1963 is the "complete elimination of all vestiges of

¹Southern School News, V.6, No.11, May 1960, Nashville, p.8

second class citizenship under which Negro Americans still suffer."¹ This date was chosen because it is the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. There will be emphasis on the fight against Senate Rule 22 which allows the minority to filibuster, and talk to death all civil rights measures. The NAACP considers this the greatest hinderance to Negro progress today. There will, also, be special emphasis on the role of voluntary associations, especially, the church, in fighting discrimination.

The Urban League originated from the National League on Urban Conditions which was started by Mrs. William H. Baldwin, wife of the man, who was then president of the Long Island Railroad. In 1911, three groups interested in improving economic conditions of the Negro united and formed the National Urban League which took over the former movement. Professional people, social workers, and philanthropists, who made up the nucleus of the group said that "the Negro needed not alms, but opportunity to work at the job for which the Negro was best fitted, with equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity for advancement."²

At its beginning, the Urban League did not know exactly where it was heading or what its ultimate function would be. It began with the problem of Negro migrants, who were drawn to the city by economic and social forces "which they did

¹Target for 1963 "Goals of the Fight for Freedom," p.3

²Rose, op. cit., p.267

not comprehend and experienced adjustment which neither they themselves or outside witnesses could understand."¹

In 1910, migration from the South was only 2,000-3,000 a year, but these few constituted problems. No work was open to them except the most menial of jobs, and there were no groups to help them make adjustments to a new way of life. This was seen in New York, where 50,000 of the 57,000 Negroes in the state were doing menial labor. They could find industrial jobs only when serving as strikebreakers. Employment agencies exploited women and frequently placed them in houses of prostitution.

The Urban League has faced no fewer problems as time passes, but the greatest exodus of Negroes has already taken place. Migration to the city is now more gradual. Between 1910 and 1920, Negro population grew from 91-152,000 in New York City. From 1921-1924, Negro population in Northern cities increased by 500,000 people. This great wave ceased until World War II when approximately 1,260,000 non-whites migrated across county lines.

The Urban League thinks that "migration on such a large scale is a cultural crisis, a social phenomena, associated with growth and internal adjustment of the nation itself."² The League sees the preceding more as a population problem than as a racial phenomena.

In this crisis, the League was distinctly different from other social work agencies. It was, and still is, primarily

¹"Urban L. Responsibility to Future", Charles S. Johnson, 1950, N.Y., P.8

²Ibid, P.8

interested in reorientation rather than rehabilitation. "The Urban League is less interested in poverty and personal disorganization than cultural status and cultural orientation."¹ The Urban League is very necessary because the "laissez-faire" philosophy of the United States has left to chance the cultural and economic reorientation which the migrant must have if he is going to be integrated into the larger urban society. The adjustment behavior of the Negro migrant, usually noticable for several years, is seldom understood in terms of the complete reorganization of personality and relationships which he has to undergo. He no longer has a "nicely" patterned place in society as he had in the South where everything was perscribed for him by Southern mores.

The occupational revolution, the first great crisis, provides the first challenge to the Urban League. "The League acts as the intermediary in the process of American industrialization, which is related structurely to the growth of the American city."² This is a process requiring transmutation of human resources into a new usefulness for a new kind of civilization which must be faced. The League serves American economic life by meeting new demands of selective competition, by preparation for new skills, and by a kind of intellectual screening of possibilities that only an organization intimately concerned and properly equipped can give.

Available training, guidance, and direction is not enough. There must be conditioning of industry to Negro workers and

¹Ibid, P.8

²Ibid, P.7

unblocking of other obstacles. "Working with industry, with all kinds of employers, with labor, and with the community as a whole becomes at least as important as vocational guidance and training, if not more so."¹

The second vital contribution by the League is help in preserving the family which changes from matriarchal to patriarchal; from stable, simple fold standards to complex, half understood values of urban life; from folk conceptions of disease to formal scientific control; shift of respect from the family to the gang; and from illiteracy to a world where it is almost impossible to get along without literacy. The League tries to meet the urgent demand for re-education.

The League points to the need for changes in environment which will give Negro migrants a better chance of passing successfully through the process of rebirth. The League has made itself responsible for enlistment of community action to overcome intolerable living conditions, inadequate public services, and job discrimination.

The larger overall task of the League is helping to build a society which is really democratic. Most interpretations of what the League is doing stress what it is doing for Negroes as if it were a race movement of some sort. The important thing to the League is not just the advancement to the Negro race. The League considers its contributions to the democratic system of America first in importance. One source of strength in this respect is that its work has from the first

¹Ibid, p.10

been inter-racial, Americans working together for realization of American ideals.

The central office of the Urban League is in New York City. In order to expand its work into Southern communities, it has set up a Southern Field Branch Office in Atlanta, Ga. The other regional office is in Hollywood, California. "There are local Urban Leagues in 63 cities in 31 states. It has over 25,000 members and a staff of 450 people. The National organization is run by an interracial Board of Trustees made up of men and women from all walks of life. This Board is elected annually by the membership. The local Leagues have their own Boards, which apply National policy to local conditions".¹ The Board sets the policy which is carried out by the staff. The annual budget exceeds two million dollars.

Sometimes, the local Leagues have other committees, such as a committee on industrial relations. Some locals are members of city-wide community chests. Much of the League's work is done by volunteers, ministers, teachers, doctors, etc., but there are always trained secretaries and specialized social workers in each local office.

The League uses a multitude of activities to meet broad goals; day nurseries and child placement agencies, and occasionally schools for pregnant Negro girls; clubs for boys, girls, mothers, whole neighborhoods; training schools for janitors and domestics; parent-teacher associations; study groups in trade unionism; health weeks, and many other activities. The

¹"Expanding Opportunity", National Urban League, 1957, p.5

League cooperates with law enforcing agencies and furnishes supplementary parole supervision, safeguards girls in court and finds homes for them. It fights against commercial prostitution in the vicinity of Negro schools, homes, and churches.

No local Leagues can be active in all these fields. Each has as its primary task the finding of more and better jobs. They all function as employment agencies, impressing on employers that Negro workers are efficient and on unions that Negroes are faithful workers. Possibilities for vocational training have to be kept open to young Negroes, who have to be encouraged to be ambitious.

In the vocational field, the League usually uses the policy of going to the top of industrial pyramids for decisions of the broadest possible effect. The League is using the same approach with 15 top international officers of unions.

The newest vocational program undertaken is in the field of education, Tomorrow's Scientists' and Technicians' Program. Students of exceptional ability are referred to special committees of League affiliates by teachers, ministers, etc. These students join together in clubs, visit plants, factories, colleges, and are shown through the preceding ways the advantages of higher education. The League gives scholarships through this program.

There is no belligerence in methods; the League has always had the guiding principle that "persuasion is more important than duress...and inspiration is more effective than coercion." Because the Urban League believes that one cannot arrive at a goal unless the goal is clearly defined and routes carefully laid out, all the League's activities start

with research. There must be an understanding of all facts which help or hinder arrival at the established goal.

The League's careful planning can be seen by looking at some of the questions it asks. The following questions are asked in housing;

How many Negroes are there in the area?
 What per centage is this number of the total?
 What is the size of the family and age of its members?
 What are the earnings per person and per family?
 How many dwelling units are required to house these families:
 What is the density per square mile and per square block?
 What is the effect of overcrowding, segregation, and discrimination on the health of the individual, the community, and city as a whole?
 How does overcrowding and segregation affect juvenile delinquency, crime, and attitudes toward law, order, and religion?

The National Research Department of the Urban League finds out precisely what is required for how many people. Research is of major importance in all the four major avenues in which the League works, industrial relations, vocational services, community services, and housing.

Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Director of the League, describes the tools as "common sense and intelligent self-interest; of cool-headed discussion around the conference table, of indisputable facts backed with persuasive arguments; and the leverage applied by the Urban League became that of specific conscience and the basic desire of the average citizen to be regarded as a good citizen."¹

¹Teamwork- U.L. Answer to the Race Problem-Lester B. Granger, P.8, New York Times (Advertisement), January 17, 1960

During World War I, the Urban League helped place thousands of Negroes in industry after screening them, and after the next war did more to place Negroes in industry than the New Deal did. After the war, the League helped Negroes in retention of jobs.

After World War I, the Negroes in industry had proven themselves and were demanding greater opportunities for training defense industries. The CIO had established a new favorable policy toward Negroes. New unions were absorbing the Negro workers. Without entrance into unions, the Negro would have little chance for employment; thus, the League came out in favor of the unions in spite of the fact that it received much financial assistance from Rockefeller, Rosenwald, and other wealthy supporters. Until this time it had been evasive about its attitude toward the union because of dependence on white philanthropy.

"A National Commerce and Industry Council composed of ranking officers of three dozen of the nation's most important corporations serves the movement as critic, coach, and interpreter in advancing the use of trained Negro workers throughout American industry."¹ Because of this Council's influence, there is widespread employment of Negro engineers, chemists, and other highly skilled and trained Negroes.

The Trade Union Advisory Council of the League is closely connected with the labor unions. It works to uncover discriminatory action which can be corrected by the government or unions. In 1959, the Council made stronger and closer working connections with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee

¹Lester B. Granger, "Teamwork-The Urban League Answer to the Race Problem," New York Times Magazine; Advertisement, January 17, 1960, p.9

and a number of international unions in an effort to eliminate discrimination which had previously been discovered.

The League has a working relationship with 50 multi-plant corporations, who employ more than 4,000,000 workers. There are dozens of liaisons of business and local League affiliates. The following is a list of some of the co-operating businesses. The League helped get people employed by Western Electric, General Electric, P. Lorillard Co., R.H. Mary, A.T.&T., Price Waterhouse, Campbell Soup, Allied Stores, J.C. Penny, R.C.A., American Cyanamid, Sears Roebuck, Safeway, and Woolworth.

In the vocational field, many institutes have been held, pamphlets are distributed, and there are nation wide guidance activities for Negroes. The central theme has been preparing youth for better jobs.

In New Orleans, the Urban League succeeded in accomplishing racial integration in a 1,000 small homes community. Integration was, also, achieved in Bucks County, Pa. in 160 family developments. Many spots in Westchester County, New York, opened for Negro occupancy because of a League survey. Of course, these are only a few examples.

The League's role in the health and welfare services has mainly been interpretive and advisory. Its research motivates other agencies to act. The League does try to improve health and safety standards and tries to see that health laws are enforced.

The major program of community services of the League has been concerned with foster and adoption homes for Negro

and non-white children. There are 36 specific programs of this type among local Leagues. The League offers consultive services to child welfare agencies. It, also, organized adopt a child projects.

Another example of community service was seen in a renewal project in Washington, D.C., in 1955. The League organized a community-wide program involving forty agencies to tackle the problem of relocation of Negroes from the slums.

Many theatres have ended the practice of segregated seating.

An outstanding example of community work by the League through which individuals and groups have gained a sense of personal responsibility is seen in St. Louis, Mo. Through block-by-block or organization of neighbors into block units, neighborhood councils and a city-wide federation of block units, neighborhood councils and a city-wide federation of block units. The League has been in contact with tens of thousands of white and colored families and acquainted with their responsibilities toward one another as fellow humans has led discussion of public issues, and cooperation for the benefit of the community.

In 1958, a new community service called "purpose" was undertaken with the purpose of broadening cooperative effort between the League, and churches, and church related groups. The first year was spent in acquainting religious groups with the League's program. Working relations were established between local League affiliates and various federations of churches and synagogues in major cities. An advisory board of prominent church and religious leaders has been formed by this time.

In 1959, the League's work advanced significantly. The League sought conferences with two major corporations building in Atlanta and was asked to submit briefs on current racial practices. A large tobacco company in North Carolina, the St. Louis Electric Co., and an oil industry in Southern California hired Negroes for the first time. Eleven Negro musicians were hired by orchestras as a result of the Greater New York League's report on exclusion of Negroes in the music industry. A report of discrimination on the New York waterfront resulted in a promise of remedial action by the AFL-CIO. Facial classifications on 221 relocation housing developments were dropped, but this is still one of the major problems faced by the League. California and Ohio passed fair employment practices laws. Colorado, Connecticut, Mass., and Oregon passed fair housing laws. Washington state made it illegal to ask for race or religion on credit applications. A Women's Committee was organized to bring into focus spiritual motivation of the League's program. A special consultant on community organization is now employed because of increased pressure against the League in the South. More money was made available for scholarships for the National Youth Incentive Program. In Baltimore, a family life program sponsored jointly by the League and the United Steelworkers of America was initiated to help with "hows" and "whys" of strengthening family life. In Washington, a three year cooperation job development project sponsored by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association which represents more than 350 firms in the district area has begun. This project will educate employer to merit hiring and will chart a course for future action along this line.

The League considers the Annual Conference the most important single activity. Last year, over 800 delegates and visitors, including leaders in industry, labor, education, government, social welfare, and civic life, met in Washington and mapped out plans to halt rising racial tensions and inequalities growing out of the remendous population growth in key metropolitan areas. People represented 63 industrial centers from 32 states.

E. Franklin Frazier, a well known sociologist, criticizes the Urban League because he thinks it should work more close with labor unions. This opinion varies with that of Gunnar Myrdal, who thinks many people with middle class values criticize the League for its pro union policies. Frazier says that in some cities, local Leagues instead of supporting the labor unions urges Negroes to break strikes and discouraged the attempts of Negroes to organize. He, also, says that support of the movement to unionize Negro labor has advanced only as white supporters have allowed it to advance.

Frazier says the League does not have support of the Negro masses and is composed of Negro progressional and white collar workers depending upon white philanthropy.

"Even when the League organized the so-called "Workers' Councils" during the 1930's, when Negroes were making increased demands for organization, they selected for membership in the councils middle class Negroes, who had little knowledge of Negro workers or sympathy."¹

One would come to the conclusion that Frazier's opinion of the NAACP is more favorable. He said the NAACP had

¹Franklin, E. Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie. 1957, p.100

presented concrete proposals to end discrimination in unions, and liberal members are in favor of unions which are non discriminatory.

Frazier mentioned many more victories of the NAACP than of the Urban League. Among those mentioned are victories the struggle for equal citizenship are the right to vote in the Democratic primary elections, equal pay for Negro teachers, the right to buy property and live anywhere in cities, and the right to the same education as whites in public schools. The Urban League has done more in the field of employment than the NAACP because this is one of its main areas of concentration.

Public opinion concerning the NAACP and the Urban League varies. The NAACP is more widely known and there is greater division of public opinion over the value of its work. The following chart shows differences of opinion.

" NAACP	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Helps	67%	19%	94%	93%
No difference	6	5	2	2
Hurts	10	54	1	2
No opinion	8	15	3	3
Never heard of it	9	7		1 1/2%

Southerners say the NAACP hurts the solution of the minority problem; solution in Northern white terms represents not a solution to the Southerner, but a worsening of the present situation. Southerners opposed to publicizing the Negro-white problem often say "the fact is a lot of Negroes would rather not have an organization antagonizing people and stirring thing up for them", but the survey just quoted shows that Negroes

¹"Have Organizations Helped?" Reprint.- Catholic Digest, August, 1957, p.2
²Ibid, p.2

give the NAACP an overwhelming vote of confidence.

In the field of race relations it has been remarked that the NAACP is similar to the War Department, and the Urban League is like the State Department because of the skillful form of civic diplomacy it carries on.

The following chart shows that most whites have never heard of the League, but a majority of Negroes think it is helping solve the race problem.

Urban League	Whites		Negroes	
	North	South	North	South
Helps	14%	3%	75%	65%
No difference	3	2	3	2
Hurts	5	11	1	2
No opinion	15	17	9	7
Never heard of	63	67	12	24

Twenty-two per cent of Northern whites living in mixed neighborhoods say it helps the solution none of the whites in mixed neighborhoods say it hinders the solution."

The work of the Urban League is less likely to keep it in the headlines; thus, it does not capture attention of the public and present the challenge the NAACP presents.

Doctor Charles Johnson, former Director of Research and Investigation of the Urban League and now president of Fisk University, predicts that the next period of work by the League will be "concerned even more with the much maligned, but invaluable studies of change and background as they affect behavior: more with selective skills and training for newer and higher occupational usefulness than with mere job-getting; more with educational values and discipline of labor organization than with a tenuous security on the basis of cheapness; more with internal and personal aspects of this change of

cultural levels than with demonstrations for rights that are¹ neither understood or appreciated; more with guidance than relief; more with education and encouragement of young men than with policing of adults; more with constructive guidance in using tools of urban life-the ballot, the clinic, school, the machinery of the government and law." It will be a guidance center and resource for people and about people, which will be invaluable to the community and nation.

Since the final objective is solution of community problems, the League will cooperate to a greater extent than in previous years with other organizations and community-wide programs. It plans to draw more leader of industry, labor, and government into its policy making body.²

The next organization discussed, the Southern Regional Council, works only in Southern states. The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of thirty-five years. It was formed by leading churchmen and women of the South after World War I when new techniques were needed to bring harmony between the Negro and white races. It has a board of some 80 Southerners, representing major religious faiths of both races and 13 states of the region. It is a non-profit, non-political, non-denominational, non-lobbying organization.

"The council's present functions may be summarized as follows:

¹Johnson, Op. cit. p.14

²Ibid, p.15

(1) Clearin-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) Research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) Educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (5) Promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations."¹

The program of the Southern Regional Council, which is primarily educational, has been concerned with the following

areas: "Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities. Newspaper handling of racial news. Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions. Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest-religion, health, housing, education, etc. Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, qualified persons without respect to race. The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation. Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South. Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school desegregation unconstitutional."²

Education is not be aggressive means, but by dissemination of facts and ideas and through cooperation with the nation's mass media. One of its main accomplishments has been its acceptance by the press as a reliable store house of information. The question of how much knowledge of the facts not backed by other action can do to lessen discrimination will be discussed later.

Negroes and whites in the South do at least meet together and discuss problems and possible solutions and make

¹Congressional Record: "The Southern Regional Council-Origins and Aims, Report on Negro Votes" Sen. Paul Douglas, 1957 p.2

²Ibid p.2

their opinions available to the public. As a result, other more aggressive groups may act on the Council's findings.

The Montgomery Improvement Association is a local group in action, but is national in influence. The background of this group goes back to 1955, when Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to move to the back of a bus, where she would have to stand, when a white man wanted her seat.

The next night, December 1, a meeting of all Negro civic and religious leaders, as well as the public, as held. E.D. Nixon, head of the Progressive Democrats in Montgomery suggested a boycott. News of boycott was announced in church and by circulars. Monday, only a handful rode buses.

At the next city-wide, mass meeting on Dec. 5, a new organization to direct the boycott, the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed, and Martin Luther King, Jr. was elected president. The Association adopted a resolution not to resume riding buses until Negroes were granted the following: (1) courteous treatment by bus operators was guaranteed; (2) passengers were seated on first-come, first-served basis- Negroes seated from back of the bus toward the front while whites were seated from front toward the back; (3) Negro bus operators were employed on predominantly Negro routes."¹

The first problem to be met was that of transportation substitutes for the buses. Negro taxis offer services for the same fee charges by the buses; pick-up and dispatch stations were organized; and several hundred people volunteered to

drive their cars; and station wagons were bought by more than a dozen churches.

The Association was sponsored by volunteer contributions. The NAACP sent letters to local branches, which generously responded.

King said that the biggest job was getting a philosophy which would win and hold allegiance of the people. The guiding principle was nonviolent resistance, noncooperation, or passive resistance. None of these expressions were heard at first by MIA participants. Instead, 'Christian love' was a favorite phrase. "The Sermon on the Mount rather than a doctrine of passive resistance...initially inspired the Negroes of Montgomery to dignified social action." King said that Christ furnished the spirit and motivation, while Gandhi furnished the method.

Meetings of the MIA were held twice weekly until the fall of 1956 after which the MIA began to meet only once each week. In these mass meetings, philosophy of nonviolent resistance was disseminated. King derived his ideas on nonviolent resistance from various philosophers, such as Thoreau, Rauschenbush, Aristotle, Bentham, and Lock. To King, "True pacifism is not unrealistic submission to evil power...It is rather a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love, in the faith that it is better to be the recipient of violence than the inflicter of it, since the latter, only multiplies the existence of violence and bitterness in the universe¹while

the former may develop a sense of shame in the opponent, and thereby bring a transformation and change of heart."

Nonviolent resistance is not used by 'do nothing' people. It should not be called passive resistance because this is a false connotation. It is passive only in the sense that it is not physically aggressive. The nonviolent resister is constantly using his mind to persuade the opponent that he is wrong.

Second, the nonviolent resister does not try to defeat or humiliate, but to win friendship and understanding. He expresses his protest through non cooperation and boycotts as a means of awakening moral shame in his opponent. "The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolent resistance is creation of a beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness."¹

The third characteristic of nonviolent resistance is that the attack is directed against evil, not the persons doing the evil. King says that basic tension is not between races, but between justice and injustice.

Fourth, the nonviolent resister suffers without retaliation because "unearned suffering is redemptive."² King says that suffering is a powerful weapon and has tremendous educational and transforming possibilities.

"The fifth point concerning nonviolent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence, but, also,

internal violence of the spirit." Because love is the central principle of nonviolence, and because retaliation would only lead to intensification of hate, the oppressed must reject bitterness and hate and instead project love.

Sixth, the nonviolent resister believes that justice will eventually prevail. He does not resort to violence or retaliation because of this faith in the future.

The bus company was willing to meet the terms of the MIA, but all efforts to persuade the city commission to accept MIA terms failed.

Soon the city commission began attacking the MIA. It spread false rumors about the integrity of MIA leaders, especially the young non-compromising, radical leaders and their use of MIA funds. When this failed, they announced a settlement of the boycott had occurred and published this false news in the papers in an attempt to get Negroes back on the buses. King and MIA leaders spent all night getting news of this false article to Negroes before they could see the newspapers the next day. Next, a series of mass arrests for imaginary traffic violations took place. Negroes remained calm physically though some houses and churches were bombed, and the Ku Klux Klan marched.

After more than eleven months of the bus boycott during which "75% of Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes stayed off buses",¹ the United States Supreme Court declared Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional.

Mass meetings were then held for the purpose of stressing a victory for democracy, not a victory over whites. Through the meetings, leaders of MIA taught people nonviolent techniques. Chairs were lined up to resemble a bus, and people took turns playing the roles of the driver, and courteous and hostile people of both races. In this way, Negroes would be better prepared to act nonviolently in scenes of insult or violence.

Also, MIA leaders went to the schools and urges students to adhere to nonviolence. A mimeographed list "Suggestions for Integrating Buses," was distributed throughout the city. MIA tried without success to get white ministers and the white community to take responsibility for educating whites.

For a short time buses were fired upon and evening runs were discontinued because of actual and threatened violence. A few weeks after the Supreme Court Decision, buses were back on normal schedules because, even though the majority of whites favored segregation, they ~~were~~ oppose to use of violence to preserve it. In limiting white aggression after the Court decision, King considers the non boastin attitude of the Negro the most important limiting factor.

Since 1956, MIA has reduced its budget and staff, but has extended its focus to include large areas of civic improvement. It continues to hire a full time legal counsel, hold weekly meetins, voting clinics, and discussion of current issues of interest. Also, it has begun an adult education program.

The Congress of Racial Equality is a national organization working with ten affiliated groups to erase the color

line through nonviolent means similar to means used by the Montgomery Improvement Association. Its preceedures are modeled on those developed by Gandhi "CORE seeks human brotherhood through practice of brotherhood here and now."¹

CORE believes that racial discrimination affects all minorities adversely, and everyone, not just minorities, should work to slove the problem. It strives to be interracial; therefore, it draws officers, support, staff, and its National Advisory Committee from all groups. All Americans are invited to join CORE except Communists.

CORE velieves in directed action in opposition to some specific discriminatory practice after a period of careful planning. The steps in its program are:

- "1. Investigation to learn all facts
2. Discussion of greviances with those responsible for the practice in an effort to bring about a change of policy
3. Appeal to the wider public for support in action
4. Publication of the unjust racial practice through picketin, leaflets, and press releases."
5. If all the preceding steps fail to end discrimination, CORE uses direct challenge, such as sit-ins, standing lines or boycotts.

CORE is governed by a National council and by an Annual Convention. Plans are carried out by the National Action Committee. The National CORE has the following functions: stimulation of organization of new local CORE groups and encouragement of locals, publication of literature for its own groups and for the public, correlation of action projects

which it sponsors, and service as a clearing house for meeting together of local groups.

CORE believes in cooperation with other groups. In 1957, Leroy Carter, a CORE field secretary, acted in advisory capacity to the ministers in Atlanta during a bus boycott.

CORE works to increase the number of Negro voters, but does not endorse candidates or engage in partisan politics. In South Carolina in 1958, CORE established in each county a committee which instructed people how to fill out application blanks, accompanied them to registration offices, and remained with them until they received their certificates for voting. Applicants, who failed because of an error on the registration form were taken back to reapply. Counties with CORE committees have far more registered voters than counties with no CORE committees. For the first time in history during primary run offs, white candidates in these counties invited Negroes to meet with them and discuss community problems.

CORE has succeeded in opening lunch counters in several chain stores in large cities to Negroes. It has persuaded a number of businesses and industries to employ Negroes. In Boston, New York, and the state of Mass., its action was pertinent in passage of fair housing legislation. CORE is now actively cooperating with the wide-spread boycotts and sit-in movements in the South.

Protest demonstrations against segregation at lunch counters swept the South during February, 1959, are still continuing and have become more widespread. The first sit-down occurred at Greensboro, N. C. on Feb. 1, when four Negro college students

sat down for an hour at a lunch counter and then the store closed at the usual time without serving them. The following day, students returned in large numbers to sit at the lunch counters. This action spread quickly through the South and touched off sympathy demonstrations in the North. The sit-downs, usually occurring at variety, chain, and department stores, were first met with silent refusal to serve the Negroes and closing of the counters. Later, counters were closed and the police began to make arrests for trespassing and loitering.

Martin Luther King, Jr. has endorsed the movement away from the legal process toward direct action by the Negro masses. He favors this more direct approach which promises some degree of immediate success based upon the concrete act of the Negro. King says that the sit-ins represent much more than a demand for service; they represent a demand for respect. It is absurd to think this movement was initiated by Communists or some other outside group. The sit-downs are the result of accumulated indignities. Negroes are recognizing the fact that some creation of discord is necessary to alter old established community patterns.¹

Students are achieving dignity in the direct struggle for liberation. It is significant that Negro students have found many white allies to join in their actions, and that students and adults in the North and elsewhere have organized supporting actions, many of which are still in early stages.²

¹"The Burning Truth About the South," The Progressive, April , 1960, p. 90

²Ibid., p.10

At the request of Negro students, top labor chieftains, including AFL-CIO President George Meany and United Auto Workers President, Walter Reuther, signed cards pledging themselves to boycott of chain stores that refuse to serve Negroes at lunch counters. Students from Harvard, MIT, and several other New England colleges met in April to map a program for supporting the sit-in movement.

Without any help from whites, one-hundred forty-two sit-in leaders from eleven southern states and the District of Columbia met in Raleigh, N. C., and voted to set up a Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. The delegates pledged to accept jail before bail if arrested. Rev. Martin L. King, head of the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference predicted that the sit-ins would awaken the conscience of the white man. The president of First University said that the sit-ins had cemented the Negro community as nothing before has. He said that he could see no end in the foreseeable future of the movement.¹

This paragraph will give some examples of Southern reaction to the sit-ins. In Texas and Nashville, Tenn., Boycotters were drenched with fire hoses. In all the Southern states there have been hundreds of arrests for trespassing. Several legislatures have passed new trespassing laws. The Ku Klux Klan has marched in Atlanta, Birmingham, and Tuscaloosa and other cities. The Southern Regional says that the Klan

"A Universal Effort," Time, May 2, 1960, p.16

is a serious factor only in Alabama. Many students have been fined. Arkansas and South Carolina have started campaigns to attempt to increase buying by whites. Hundreds of students have been expelled from universities for participation in sit-ins. In some cities, Negro adults have joined the students in boycotting of stores. The governors of Florida and South Carolina have declared the sit-ins and boycotts dangerous and illegal and say they will lead to breakdown of the law and violence. They seem to have forgotten that the law does not exist for the protection and safety of all citizens and is administered with corruptness in the South.

It is difficult to defend the policy of selling goods to the Negro over one counter and arresting of the Negro at the next counter if he wants to buy. If the sit-ins and boycotts continue many of the chain stores, who depend upon Negro customers for at least half their sales are going to lose a great deal of money or will have to open lunch counters to Negroes to regain sales. "In at least fourteen large cities, no consumer product can hit the top spot in sales without Negro support."¹

The first sit-ins were spontaneous, and students denied any organization movement of a state wide basis. Now, there is a Central Coordinating Agency and the Congress of Racial Equality is holding training sessions for those, who participate in the demonstrations. The NAACP supports and endorses sit-ins, but has not yet directed them.

"Negro Groups Put the Pressure On," Business Week, February 27, 1960, p.28

Segregationists now face difficult alternatives. If they continue to maintain segregated facilities, they must live with the discord now aroused or try to destroy the discord and Negro efforts by violence.

If Southerners close lunch counters, the movement will spread to libraries, public parks, and schools. If these institutions and facilities close, both races will be deprived. It seems logical that the final solution will be equality and maintenance of the test **possible level** for both races.¹

At the end of March, still no stores had desegregated their lunch counters, but since that time several have become desegregated or the store has adopted the policy of removing seats and making both races stand at the lunch counters. During the first week in April, six stores were quietly and peacefully desegregated. Here, Negro leaders and students had been negotiating for a month. By prearrangement, Negroes sat at counters in small groups during slack periods of business. By the end of the first week of desegregation, large groups of Negroes were eating during rush hours. Negroes think the major contributing factor to a positive settlement was the use of boycotting.

There will be more desegregation of stores if the boycott continues, but until now desegregation has occurred in border states. It will require a long time for the boycotts and sit-ins to have any effect in the deep South.

"The Burning Truth About the South," op.cit., p.10

The church is a large influential group which has neglected its Christian duty for hundreds of years in the matter of inter-racial justice. Although heads of most great churches have been strong in statements and resolutions favoring interracial justice, but church leaders do not seem to put these precepts into practice. In the South, most pastors yield to demands by their congregations for conformity and compromise. Some of the strongest segregationist leaders are found among poorly educated ministers of fundamentalist churches. The Church should set a Christian example of brotherly love even though this action will not have immediate effect. The Churches' influence is weakened by the fact that it has not acted years ago when it should have acted.

Leadership of Negroes in the South has changed tremendously since 1900, but the most radical change has taken place only in very recent years. Now, old compromising leaders cannot get support of Negroes, no matter how acceptable they are to whites. New leaders are making demands backed by threats of legal action, political reprisal or economic boycott. These seem to be the only ways to get attention of whites.

Old leaders, who refuse to take positive action are not trusted any more. There seems to be no danger of their gaining leadership control again. New leaders have the advantage of being backed by the NAACP. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and other similar groups. New leaders are becoming permanent leaders because they adhere to a militant form of leadership which is becoming the trend for Negroes in the United States. The new leader should remember not to

overstate his case before whites and should not forget that some Southern whites are his friends and want to help him.

The Congress of Racial Equality appears today to be offering the most concrete program against segregation and discrimination. It is a group which is gaining the following of the Negro masses because it allows them to take a direct part in the struggle for equality through the sit-ins and boycotts. The NAACP and the Urban League have not fostered a program of action in which the majority of Negroes, the lower classes, may take an active steps in elimination of discrimination. Through participation in boycotts and sit-ins the Negro's feelings of resentment are channeled into disciplined, well-planned action aimed at the discriminatory practices, not at the discriminatory group. Resentment is released in a positive way and does not take the form of violence by the minority group. Many whites have endorsed this action and are joining in the sit-ins and donating funds. The NAACP is, also, in favor of this type of action and has raised money to help pay fines of students arrested.

The Urban League offers invaluable service to Negroes in housing and employment. A non-violence group would not be as effective in these two fields. The Urban League is needed for the education of both Negroes and whites. Negroes have to be educated as to the responsibilities involved in owning property and living. Whites need to be educated to the fact that neighborhoods do not deteriorate because of Negro residence. In employment, direct contact with employers by the League's educated men, who have all the facts and years

of experience cannot be replaced by a mass movement of Negroes, who do not have specific facts which justify their demands. It would be difficult for the masses to come into contact with the employers, who must be approached if there is to be a elimination of discriminatory employment practices.

In some instances, there will never be change if people are not forced to change by law. Legal action has been the major field of activity for the NAACP. From its beginning, the NAACP has fought for equality in education, employment, the military services, housing, suffrage, and even the right to live. The NAACP agitation has been a decisive factor in the passage of laws in all these preceding fields, as seen in the passage of the first civil rights law, the Fair Trade Practices Committee, desegregation in the armed forces, the first anti-lynching bill, and the Supreme Court decision of 1954. If whites discriminate against Negroes in various ways and no action is brought against them, it is not likely that they will stop these practices which they consider favorable to themselves. The NAACP is needed by the Negro because CORE or the Urban League have not been active in the legal field.

While all the organizations discussed use some of the same methods and fight discrimination in some of the same fields, each group is specialized in at least one approach which differs from that of other groups. Also, each group fights against one particular discriminatory practice. The Urban League uses education and persuasion in fighting desegregation in housing. The NAACP uses legal procedures to further equality in education. CORE favors nonviolent resistance of which the main

method has been sit-ins at lunch counters. The Southern Regional Council's primary work is educational. It gathers data on race relations which is available to any person or group interested in the race problem.

Groups working to relieve intergroup tensions often place too much reliance on weak guiding premises in planning strategy. One such premise is that giving people the facts will cause prejudice to disappear; people will accept the truth and act according to it. Contact does not automatically bring friendliness either. There is, also, the question of whether it is wise to focus attention on intergroup relation. Most contact between the races is superficial and there is no real understanding between the races. Persons inexperienced in intergroup relations frequently alienate members of the minority group by language which is unintentionally prejudiced.

All groups working to relieve intergroup tensions must be well educated to the problem. Without a well planned strategy such groups are likely to cause as much harm as improvement.

Robert MacIver, a well known sociologist has written on what he considers good strategy. First," the primary attack on discrimination should rally to the cause of national welfare and national unity. It should not uphold the banner of particular groups."¹

Second, there is no one direction of attack on discrimination ~~that~~ should be given over-all priority. All fronts are

¹The More Perfect Union. 1948, p.244, Robert MacIver.

important, and attack on several at once is more effective than attack on just one front.

"Whenever the direct attack is feasible, that is, the attack on discrimination itself, it is far more promising than the indirect attack, that is, the attack on prejudice itself. It is more effective to challenge conditions than to challenge attitudes or feelings."¹ Direct, concrete changes, such as the right to vote and removal of economic barriers are advisable. Institutional changes once accepted are more difficult to revoke than are changes in ideas.

"Discrimination is likely to be diminished by any changes making for well-being of society or that provide more constructive outlets for aggressive tendencies of its groups."²

The primary business of strategy is to explore and attack weak points in the position of discriminatory forces and the lines of least resistance. There is frequently a lack of assessment of opportunities, and obstacles, and consideration of the results of earlier programs.

It is of primary importance to evoke appropriate leadership. One should always remember that the opposing forces are organized. Leadership has not been very impressive in the past.

Strategy should be organized in a way that will arouse as little antagonism as possible. It should be adopted to the prevailing mores and change as mores change. This point is questionable to some people.

¹MacIver. op.cit., p.244

²Ibid., p.247

"There is in America a vast amount of good will and responsiveness for the cause of elimination discrimination,...but this good will makes little impact on the situation."¹ The greatest task facing groups working to relieve tensions between minority and dominant groups is the putting of cohesion and action behind these feelings of good will.

¹ Ibid., p.82.

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