

Minorities  
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HUMAN RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS  
OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

THE DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS  
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION  
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## HUMAN RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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The year 1948 has been made significant for the concerns of this Institute by the mounting crescendo of interest and emotion around the issue of Civil Rights. Essentially this has been the central theme of the Institute. The method of organization has been guided by the practical consideration of devising a sound approach to these problems involved in the fulfillment of the democratic postulate and promise of Civil Rights. This approach has been through the identification and systematic examination of the interplay of elements and forces in our American society. Such a procedure involved, not merely an examination of sound problems generally, but with the help of psychiatric consultants, an investigation of these psychological elements in the personality structure, and in group relations, which have a bearing upon group sentiments.

The Institute opened in the wake of political ferment of issues of national concern arranged by the Republican Convention. It closed simultaneously with the eruption in further and more heated political debate the Democratic Convention on the issue of Civil Rights.

What has seemed most clear and urgent at this time is, that:

- a. The issues underlying our democratic way of life must be explicit in action as well as in word;
- b. There must be national concord and the strength of unity in this new definition;
- c. the new relationship of this nation to the nations of the world is such that it must make its position on the issue of human rights explicit, positive and convincing;
- d. Our own internal national well-being, as well as our security and survival as a nation depend upon our course of action now; and
- e. The most obvious and indefensible breach in our unity, and the most vulnerable point in the organization and functioning of our American society is our failure to make application of our democratic principle to various racial, cultural, and religious minorities.

In fact, this weakness increasingly casts doubt upon our national integrity, lessens our chances for respect, and ultimately for that security which comes from the confidence of other nations.

The terrible acceleration of our American society, over the past few years and even months, and in fact, world society, has caused us to be concerned less with overt relations between racial and cultural groups, than with the realistic process of democracy itself.

It is no purely political accident that the issue of civil rights was highlighted this year. This issue, long and assiduously avoided by politicians, became acute in spite of the fact that this is a presidential election year. At least three factors seem to be responsible and none of these is essentially racial. They are:

- (a) Our new international responsibility;
- (b) the sudden new threat to our economic system;
- (c) our ideological conflict manned dramatically by our cold war with Russia and the attendant fears.

We are just becoming aware that the human rights embodied in our Constitution are negative rights -- intended to protect the individual against certain kinds of action. A more positive conception of human rights has grown in recent years, and this involves economic and social rights. The right to a job, to certain social benefits, to certain minimum standards of living are now regarded as being as important as the right to free assembly or freedom of the press.

Race has become far more than a domestic issue. It has become the scale on which democracy is being weighed in a world that is being relentlessly forced to choose between ideologies. As a very practical consideration, some genuine act of democratic conviction at home, such as the repeal of the poll-tax, enactment of FEPC legislation, or the banning of segregation in our Armed Forces it appears, would do more to strengthen our cause with other nations of the world than the mere threat of superior weapons.

There are two ways of making civil liberty in America more sure: through voluntary, private action in support of civil rights, and through compulsory regulation and statute. The first, which is the educational approach, is, in its larger aspects, non-controversial. All can agree without any argument that in the end man must be persuaded to understand in his mind and heart the importance of a free way of life, and see the folly of prejudice, bigotry, and intolerance. He can perhaps eventually be induced to respect his neighbors' rights if his own are to be secure. The legislative, or governmental

approach, on the other hand, is very controversial. Education, unfortunately, cannot produce results overnight. It cannot take care of some of the needs that are immediate. Government can meet some of these needs and meet them immediately. Indeed, in a democratic society such as our own, government has an obligation to take positive steps in support of civil liberty. This was recognized ten years ago by the Honorable Frank Murphy, now Supreme Court Justice, when, as Attorney General of the United States, he created, in the Department of Justice, a civil rights section. He pointed out at that time that in a democracy, an important function of the law enforcement branch of government is the aggressive protection of fundamental rights inherent to free people. The extension of civil rights today means not protection of the people against the government, but protection of the people by the government.

Many well-meaning liberal as well as conservative people have advanced the notion that civil rights offenses have their origins in prejudice and intolerance, and that, unfortunately, one cannot control prejudice and intolerance by law. While this has some merit, close examination shows that in the end it is something less than a half truth. It may be impossible to change human nature by law, but human conduct is subject to control by law. Law against murder may not have finally removed from all men murderous drives or murderous tendencies, but men are deterred from putting these drives or hatreds into practice, for fear of the punishment which may well follow under law. When our states or communities are either unable or unwilling to prevent their public officers from encroaching upon fundamental freedoms, the national government has the responsibility to take action. Indeed, the Constitution places an expressed duty upon the Federal Government to do this, in the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. This is largely a domestic consideration.

There is also an international reason for federal action at the present time. Whether we like it or not, our civil rights record has international implications. We need to realize that irresponsible action by some of our people can do grave damage to all of us, and consequently this local action becomes a national responsibility. We cannot wait for our most backward states, or our slowest communities, to catch up and put their house in order. Too much is at stake internationally. It would be tragic and ironical for this nation at the same time that it takes the leadership in the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations in the development of an international Bill of Rights to be forced to take steps to see that fundamental freedoms are safeguarded everywhere in our own country.

The difficulties to the accomplishment of these ends are of varied character:

There is need not only of new laws but of stronger enforcement machinery; the regulations will be differently received and variously enforceable in different sections

of the country; basic psychological problems in human relations can determine the effectiveness or acceptability of the principles themselves.

An ideal situation presupposes that information is accessible to all people. One of the major difficulties of the present time is the relation between government acts and the public because general information is not easily accessible.

One factor in the problem of group relations is the confusion and lack of knowledge concerning race and race differences. Race may be regarded from the biological and the sociological point of view.

From the sociological point of view one is concerned not so much with the physical characteristics of races as with the way in which people think, feel, and act about real or assumed physical differences. When we speak of "race relations", "race prejudice" or "race problems" we refer to attitudes and relationships between people who regard themselves as belonging to different races, and who consider their real or supposed differences to be important.

Scientifically controlled tests have shown there is no connection between physical type and the mental or temperamental behavior of a person. We have no scientific evidence to prove that one race is superior or inferior to another in any way. "If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic, and emotionally stable third of mankind," said Dr. Franz Boas, "all races would be represented."

### Psychiatric Aspects of Race Relations

The psychiatrists in their discussion directed attention to personality traits and their foundations. Much of what is termed "race prejudice" they noted, is personal insecurity, which uses race prejudice as a mask, or an escape mechanism.

The field of psychiatry is the field of interpersonal relations, and is concerned with what goes on between people. A "person" does not grow up or exist in a vacuum. He develops and has his being in relationship to others. Conventional taboos of a particular culture are conveyed to the child so early in his development, that he conforms to the demand in order to avoid anxiety, long before he has developed enough discrimination for critical judgment. This appears frequently in those situations in which "race prejudice" is transmitted by the parents directly to the children. Acceptance of the taboos against another race occurs because the child is trained to accept the patterns of behavior conveyed by the parents, and experiences anxiety if the taboos are broken. The parent in such instances functions as an "irrational authority" since a taboo is accepted before critical judgment has been developed.

In a culture as authoritarian as ours, many persons develop feelings of worthlessness and insecurity. One important why in which insecure people strive to raise their self-esteem is by derogating others. Thus, in our culture, an insecure white Gentile male may derogate, among others, women, Jews, or Negroes. By derogating another person, he strives to raise himself. Derogation in his personality serves the function of maintaining his self-esteem. But it never works. He registers at some not too conscious level the underlying reason why he has to derogate -- i.e., his own insecurity. Thus he piles rationalizations one upon another, constantly insisting that he is a fair and open-minded person. Direct, logical explanations to such a person, or attempts to "educate" him to another point of view are largely futile. He actually requires the continuing process of derogation to maintain his shaky self-esteem. The method of coping with such a problem is to attempt to discover what function his attitudes, and behavior, have for the maintenance of his inner equilibrium, and to discover in what respect he is otherwise insecure.

All strongly prejudiced persons have strong anxieties, and are struggling with inner conflict. The resort to a "scapegoat" is a method of personal projection. The stereotype comes from within oneself. Jews, Negroes, Catholics are available for this projection. Just why these were picked is not certain. It might have been against red-heads or persons who wear eye glasses. The irrationality of anti-Semitism is suggested by the fact that it has not been decreased despite the fact that 7,000,000 Jews were killed during the war.

One explanation has been advanced to explain prejudice against Jews, Negroes and Catholics: The Jews are very successful in America, the Negroes are least successful, and the Catholics come closest to the authoritarian or totalitarian pattern. Therefore, these groups are always available for utilization by the prejudiced person. While there is an element of truth in these concepts, prejudice is not based on truth. Prejudices are formed in early childhood as all aspects of character structures are formed. Prejudice is never normal. Where it exists, the person has an inner conflict and struggle.

This caution should be heeded: that psychiatry, as a technique applicable to group activity and therapy, is still in its infancy. No thorough-going technique has yet been worked out for this. There are certain resemblances between individual and group behavior, but the same diagnostic and therapeutic techniques cannot be used.

Apart from the foregoing psychological and psychiatric interpretations of inter-personal and inter-group relations, at least three other basic considerations were employed as a basis for understanding the present racial situation in America. They were:

- (a) Economic factors;
- (b) Institutional factors; basic community processes, and
- (c) Legal foundations and strategies.

### Economic Factors in Race Relations

Race prejudice and the problem of race relations in the South, it was thought, could be dealt with more adequately through wide-scale, planned industrialization.

The end of economic prejudice and of fears based upon economic insecurity, at least, can be dissolved through such a program. These problems are products of local and international imperialism which are responsible for the wide spread of racial and religious prejudice and discrimination throughout various parts of the world. Race relations are the result of the expansion of Europe and capitalism. Racial ideologies have been invented and used to rationalize the inequalities of imperialism with the conscience of democracy, and to justify the exclusion of racial minorities from full social participation and opportunity.

The ideas of "the white man's burden" and "white supremacy" have been basically used to justify both external and internal imperialisms, and the development of these ideas has required some type of pseudo-scientific support. The extreme type of these scientific justifications may be seen in the case of Nazi Germany. However, the important fact of the present day is that science has largely negated the idea of "white supremacy" among informed persons and in practically all respectable quarters.

The present is a period of great flux and change in race relations. There is not only change but accelerated change, visible even during such a short space of time as the last six months; and this is even more important because it indicated the existence of conditions favorable to accelerated change.

One of the most important factors in the new context of race relations is the approaching end of European imperialism. This means a significant change in balance of world power and in the character of the government of Europe and the future status of minorities throughout the world will be affected by these developments.

No social problem today can be considered in local isolation. Problems everywhere are now under world scrutiny. The rapidity of news and communication, the growing awareness of one world, and the atomic age have given a sense of great urgency to the solution of problems of race relations.

### Institutional Factors in Race Relations

The second concept advanced to explain group relations involving prejudices relates to the community. The concept of a community is that of a community of interests, where people are in competition with one another in the larger economy. What we have is an organic social unit in which different people have different social interests. Such a concept helps to make race relations the whole process of adjustment and change more meaningful.

No longer should we limit our thinking about race relation distinctions between North and South. The frontier of human relations is in our cities throughout the country, where people of widely different backgrounds are massed under conditions that make for individual frustrations and group scape-goating. It is a mistake to think of traditional attitudes and practices. These are constantly fluctuating. The primary factors in determining what will happen in specific racial situations are the strategy and tactics of organized groups, rather than folkways and prejudices. The most bigoted Southerner in a Detroit factory, once he is convinced of the importance of labor solidarity will accept Negroes in the union on a basis of equality. Similarly, the most democratically minded Northerner who believes all men are equal, can be induced to act like a racial bigot if he believes, for example, that his property interests are threatened by population movements.

### Legal Foundations and Strategies

With respect to the effectiveness of legal strategies, the legal consultants noted that there is always a time when one must estimate his chances of winning and decide whether to give up or pursue his goal through legal means. Just now it is evident that a time has come to shift strategy in the struggle for civil rights.

A ten-year perspective on the fight for political and educational opportunity shows that we have been moving remarkably fast toward the achievement of equal rights. In the legal fight before the Supreme Court the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has moved all of the way from an indirect to a direct attack on segregation before the Court within the short space of a decade. The three most significant gains made during the present year noted by one speaker were:

- (a) The decision of the Supreme Court making restrictive covenants unenforceable by the courts;
- (b) The fight against segregation in the armed forces by A. Philip Randolph, and
- (c) The election of Attorney Oliver Hill, a Negro, to the City Council in Richmond, Virginia.

These gains have not been made out of special self-pleading by the Negro, but on the broad basis of the Negro's contributing to the common good along with all other people. Most of the official oppression of the Negro comes from local officials of government, and when Negroes themselves begin to get elected to these offices or hold the controlling vote, some relief can be expected.

Segregation has already begun to crumble in inter-state commerce since the Irene Morgan Vs the Commonwealth of Virginia case before the U. S. Supreme Court. The Court's decision made state



segregation laws inapplicable to inter-state carriers. The fight now is to prevent the railway and bus companies from taking action which is now forbidden to states.

The important and significant thing about these developments, and particularly in the recent covenants decision, is that there has been no wave of hysteria on the part of the white public in reaction to these developments. This indicates the development of a favorable climate of opinion toward equal rights.

### Social Problems Basic to Race Relations

The difference between the minorities and other members of the population with respect to social problems and advantages is one of limitation, by virtue of their relatively helpless status in the nation. Social inadequacies can accentuate differences to the point of their appearing to be racial or cultural differences. Racial problems tend to disappear when people have the same kind of jobs, houses, education, and public facilities for the preservation of their health and general welfare.

Basic to the social problems of the urban industrial centers is the great mass migration of Negroes and whites from the rural South. This is essentially an industrial phenomenon, but it registers extraordinary social results.

There are basic changes taking place in the system of agriculture in the South. The shift from cotton production to dairying, for example, requires a different kind of labor supply and a smaller one.

Long range migration has been taking place. From 1915 to 1940 the migration of Negroes to the North was slower than for whites. Between 1942 and 1947 the migration rate was exactly the same for Negroes and whites. About one out of five persons changed residence between 1942 and 1947. The greatest total Negro movement has been to the West, particularly to California.

Mexicans have been imported on agreement between the State Department and the Mexican government. Similarly, West Indians have been imported to fill labor needs. The Mexican government, however, has recently refused to send the Mexicans to any state where their laborers have been improperly treated with regard to wages.

In the next two or three years we shall probably reach the highest peak in employment due to the Marshall Plan and the expansion of industry. All labor is likely to be scarce. Job opportunities will improve. Communities will be required to improve their employment practices with regard to minorities. This, in turn will tend to accelerate the movement of Negroes out of the South. Southern Chambers of Commerce may try to prevent this from happening. All of this points to the need for national planning for the full utilization of manpower.

The migration of Negroes will tend to relieve some tensions in the South, but increase tensions in the North. There is concern in the large northern cities over the increasing numbers of Negroes. As they improve housing and health conditions, they make it more attractive and invite more newcomers. Most labor unions, however, are accepting the idea of common interests which wholesomely affect human relations.

Many of these problems hinge on the matter of full-employment, and full employment depends on our re-armament program and the European Recovery Program. Another depression would doubtless result in serious internal struggles within the American society. Differences of standard of living in various parts of the world are also having their impact on our economy, and our economy impinges on the rest of the world. We live in an interdependent world.

### Educational Inequalities and Segregation

In the field of education there have been long standing racial inequalities. This is notably true on the elementary and secondary levels, but it is also true on the college and graduate levels. The graduate level is made important at this time by recent Supreme Court decisions which require that separate school states either provide equal facilities, which would prove prohibitive in costs, or let down the racial exclusion bars and admit Negroes to existing schools.

In the seventeen southern states and the District of Columbia the higher education of Negroes is carried on, by law and by custom, in racially separate institutions. The result has been the development of an encysted bloc of 118 public and private institutions for Negroes (including four located in northern states) which are responsible for serving the bulk of the higher education needs of the ten million Negro citizens living in the southern states. These institutions serve a population which suffers the disabilities of inferior social and economic status in American society. The institutions themselves inevitably share these disabilities. Thus, many of the problems faced by the Negro colleges are so greatly accentuated as to make them appear almost different in kind from those of American colleges generally. The chief issue in the problem of equalizing educational opportunity for Negroes and whites now is whether or not segregation itself is constitutional.

No southern state as yet has even approximated the establishment of equal educational services for Negroes. Legal action through the courts, or the threat of such action, has largely been responsible for the gains made during the last fifteen years. As an indication of the extent of discrepancy of expenditures for higher education between Negroes and whites, in 1943, the per capita expenditure for whites was \$2.53 and for Negroes \$.56. During this year by reliable estimates, it would cost \$16,000,000 to equalize opportunities in education for the two groups.

The proposed "regional plan" for higher education, seems a logical and reasonable approach to the educational aspect of the present school inadequacy. However, the establishment of a regional school for Negroes, primarily to avoid the issue of segregation, was regarded as a violation of the democratic principle and should be opposed for that reason.

It was the opinion of one speaker that the regional plan was not proposed by the southern governors to avoid meeting the segregation issue, but as a means of avoiding unnecessary duplication of graduate and professional schools by the several states, and of using the limited resources of the South more efficiently. The solution to the problem of medical, scientific, and professional education in the South was in this view through "cooperation between the states." The basic issue here, however, is the question of state versus inter-state policy, and the court at present has committed itself as being against segregation where the inter-state principle is involved. There are some indications that the Southern states, notably those in the upper tiers and border areas are already resolving the dilemma by admitting Negroes. The Kentucky legislature has given the Board of Trustees of any educational institution of that state the right to formulate policies and to accept Negroes if they so desire. Now that the law has been changed, it is up to the colleges themselves to take the next steps. In Arkansas one Negro student has been admitted to the University under the provision that he be given separate instruction.

Church controlled institutions in southern border states are beginning to find that they must admit Negroes on Christian principle. Negroes will probably be accepted for graduate work at the University of Maryland in the near future. There are already several Negroes in the Law School. It seems necessary to maintain legal pressure to widen these higher opportunities. The Catholics are taking significant leadership in the opening up of these schools.

Supreme Court decisions are more apt to affect the public than the private schools. Private institutions actually should be more amenable to change, but legal action is at present more effective against public institutions. As for the private schools of religion, it is incongruous for schools to be training persons to take the gospel to Africa when they refuse admittance to Negroes.

Washington University in St. Louis has begun the admission of Negroes to medical school, the school of social work and the graduate departments.

### Industrial Relations

In the industrial area we are experiencing an all-time high rate of employment. This is important in relaxing racial tensions. Although there is still a considerable resistance to employment and

upgrading, some notable advances have been made in opening up of new fields of employment for Negroes in skilled and white collar positions. The F. E. P. C. in New York has been responsible for much of the current trend toward integration of minority group workers into the general employment stream. No case among the 1045 handled since 1945 has required resort to the sanction of law. Some employers in other states have integrated minority workers as a matter of routine business policy, and without adverse effect on profits or personnel relations. Usually it requires careful selection of workers for new types of work, and skillful social interpretation to employers, for successful expansion of these industrial opportunities for Negro workers.

The most critical need at present is some provision for technical training for Negro and other minority workers who have not been widely exposed to industrial occupations.

Labor organizations have made considerable progress in the incorporation of minority group workers. This process has been so essential to the success of labor itself the movement has been proceeding in most areas with accelerated pace and with diminishing racial self-consciousness.

#### Racial Tension Situations

Most of the recent racial tensions have been in urban areas where there are concentrations of heterogeneous populations. There is a wide geographic distribution of these urban areas where racial tensions have been experienced.

When significant numbers of representatives of a new group are suddenly brought into contact with another group of longer residence threats may emerge and tensions develop. With industrialization and the movement of peoples, large populations are brought from one part of the nation to another.

Since the first World War, race relations have entered a new dramatic period. The problems have moved to factories, to transportation, to housing and to other economic aspects, and fall within the confines of urban communities. Police order or police have become the authorities rather than the army or navy as formerly.

#### Police and Tension Situations

The police personnel of cities have been quite unprepared, as a rule, to cope with this new responsibility intelligently. In the new community relationships there are heightened tensions due to differences in values, customs and understandings. Since the racial and nationality frontiers are now within our continent, we need to create understanding by artificial means and establish order and justice among groups. This is a much greater task than we have ordinarily relegated to the public officials, and it is beyond the education and training of most of the police themselves.

It is not the business of the police to solve the race problem. They cannot bring about such a transformation. We can, however, expect the police to help society to remain cohesive and orderly long enough for the community to solve its problem. The training of the police must include education and insight and understanding of the various groups in an objective way. The social situations involving collective violence are predictable and social scientists can help in correctly dealing with such a situation.

A police department, even in Georgia, if living up to the laws of the state would live up to a higher code than that upon which they now act. Policemen are relatively unfamiliar with the laws of the states in which they function. Only those laws are enforced which the accepted opinion of the community wants enforced.

### Anti-Semitism in the United States

Anti-Semitism appears to be increasing in spite of large-scale efforts to combat this prejudice. It is frequently of a more subtle character than anti-Negro Prejudice. New efforts to combat this prejudice have led to more exacting methods of study and analysis of situations and corrective methods.

Instead of the nation-wide poll for example, there is now the community survey. From various studies new insights have been developed.

One generalization that can be made from a recent study is that there is a relation between prejudice and the amount of schooling which persons have had. In the area of anti-Semitism, those who scored highest in social distance had not completed the eighth grade. The group which finished high school, or those who had had some college education, had the lowest prejudice index. Next to education, this study revealed, the income of the head of the household was important as an index to prejudice.

To desire to keep Jews out of Christian neighborhoods is more pronounced in high than in low income groups. Women are more anti-Semitic than men.

No differences were found between Catholics and Protestants with respect to anti-Semitism, and the amount of church going had no relation to anti-Semitic attitudes.

### The American Indian

The history of the Indian in the United States has been a tragic story of exploitation. In 1931, Major General Hugh L. Scott wrote that the economic situation was "the most important question concerning Indians for governmental consideration. No advance in any other direction -- religious, educational, sanitary, -- can be expected when there is nothing to eat," he said.

Most Indians who leave the reservations become itinerant seasonal agricultural laborers or railroad workers. They furnish a source of cheap labor. Many Indians desire to join the approximately 125,000 Indians now living off the reservations, often, unfortunately, in slums. If they lose their jobs, they are frequently denied relief by local authorities and bundled off to the reservation on the specious ground that the Federal Government owes them a living as wards.

Today many Americans believe that the Indian is a dying race, physically unable to utilize the white man's civilization and therefore an obstacle in the road of natural progress. They believe that the Indian belongs to an inferior race and that we must expropriate his lands in Alaska and elsewhere in order to permit their proper development.

A century ago, there were more lynchings of Indians in California than there were lynchings of Negroes in the United States. Discriminations against one group are soon applied to another group. The migration of Indians is affected by experiences of other groups. They are afraid to go to urban areas because of the treatment of other minority groups in our cities. Indians will need to migrate out of Alaska to reservations. We did not buy Alaska from the Indians, but rather bought it from Russia. The United States has never recognized the rights of the Indians in Alaska. They own no land except the houses they live in and the land where they are built. The Indians do not have enough capital to develop the resources, and, therefore, have no rights.

Our greatest asset in world affairs would be the assurance to the non-Caucasian peoples who comprise three-fourths of the world population and include 30,000,000 Indians in Pan-America, that this nation will strive to end its inequalities toward the darker skinned races, beginning with our own minorities.

### Racial Perspective in Related World Situations

#### India

Dr. E. B. DuBois is quoted as saying after reading the autobiography of Nehru, "One rises from the reading of this book with a feeling that the so-called race problems of the modern world are essentially one: primarily they are matters of economic exploitation, of racial arrogance, and the utter failure to recognize in people of different color, appearance and ways of life, the essential humanity of all mankind."

The nature of the struggle of Indians for independence is important in that it reveals this similarity: both Indians and Negroes have been struggling for civil rights. The Indian struggle is divided into three phases:

- (a) Previous to the Mutiny in 1807 there was a fear of organized conflict -- the Indian Mutiny was a revolt on a large scale.
- (b) The period of accommodation began in 1858 with the Queen's promise of liberty and equality to all Indians. This period ended in 1905. It saw the whole economic system of India transformed under the influence of the Administration and the entry of British capital. It saw the beginnings of a political movement for obtaining self-government in the Indian National Congress which started in 1885.
- (c) The third period began in 1905. Influenced by the example of Japan, there was a rapid and violent development of Indian nationalism. After 1905 one saw a more determined and definite conflict against Britain. From 1905 to 1920 this national struggle against the British was still a loose one -- it demanded not nationalism but equal rights.

There was a period of periodic terrorism against the British; but even in 1920 and up to 1930 there was no question of turning the British out of India. Indians wanted better jobs in the Civil Service, and things of that type.

It was only after 1930 that the Indian movement turned to an outright demand for independence, and it became one of definite civil disobedience against the British. One lesson to be pointed out is that whenever there is imperialism or exploitation or oppression of the people a reaction eventually occurs against that oppression.

### Brazil

Race attitudes in Brazil have been shaped by Portuguese influence. The Moors idealized the darker skinned African women and this fact led to miscegenation. The Portuguese intermarried with the Moors and the latter accepted Christian doctrines. Among 40,000,000 Brazilians, the whites are a minority. Brazilians say "We are a people of coffee with milk."

In the past there was a fairly uniform pattern which was not based on color. Later, the pattern ceased to be uniform with regard to attitudes toward Negroes. Restrictions have been imposed creating a color line. The small minority of upper class whites shows the greatest racial opposition. The government considers all people as equals; however, actually, no dark skinned person has been sent to America as a diplomat. Prejudice has been stimulated by propaganda, but has not had a large influence except on the upper class minority.

Brazil suspects American goodwill, but most of the Brazilians do not know of the extent of racial prejudice in America. Those who know of it are surprised.

In Brazil racial intermarriage is common and, on the whole, the cleavages appear more a matter of class and culture than of race.

### Missions

Missionaries have not, as a rule, questioned the equality of the people to whom they have gone to do missionary work. No difference of race is significant in the development of a Christian program. This contrasts strangely with the policy developed by the Church for a program at home. It has been easier to support a liberal racial policy abroad than to do so at home. However, within the last fifteen years the missionary policy abroad has influenced racial policy here at home.

Many parts of the world have been moving away from extreme nationalism. There is no real race problem in China.

Some persons in the world seem to be alarmed by the "rising tide of color." Protestant missionary enterprise has been developed by white people who have gone to India, China, and other countries. Somehow the notion developed that white missionaries as white men were trying to put something over on the natives. Unfortunately, the missionaries to China aligned themselves with the exploiting governing group. It will take a long time to live down this conviction.

### The Judaeo-Christian Ethic as a Social Force

One of the most urgent traditions in our American society is the Judaeo-Christian philosophy. This philosophy is basic to the American democratic assumptions as summarized by Dr. Charles E. Merriam:

1. Essential dignity of man. He should be protected and cultivated.
2. Confidence in a constant drive in the perfectability of mankind.
3. The assumption that the gains of the commonwealth should be diffused as promptly as possible thruout the community--the gains of the commonwealth should belong to the mass of the community.
4. Popular decisions rather than executive fiat.
5. Confidence in the possibility of social change, accomplished in the process of consent rather than by the method of violence.



This is the basic difference between democracy and communism as it is practiced at the moment.

The basic corresponding assumptions of Christian philosophy is:

... Idea of one God as the creator of the universe, the Father of all men, he is the ultimate personification of justice, goodness, truth, love, the center of an orderly universe.

### Programs of Action

The purpose of the Institute is not merely to promote knowledge and understanding of the problems of inter-group relations, but to assemble and assess experiences and methods of dealing effectively with these problems. The implication of the entire program is that pathological personal behavior and hostile group behavior can be changed or corrected.

It should be kept in mind that there are powerful forces in operation in our society affecting race relations over which neither individuals nor organized groups have any control. Many of the situations described as racial are incidental to the sweep of larger historical, economic, and cultural forces. One example of change based upon these larger forces is that from personal to public relations, resulting in greater objectivity and dispassion in dealing with racial incidents.

Again, there are basic elements in the national character which, while not in themselves racially conditioned, create a climate in which race situations can be nurtured.

It should be recognized also, that racial situations can be exaggerated to divert attention from other activities which are publicly indefensible. An example is one phase of the emphasis on States Rights presumably to permit Southern States to maintain local race relations in the traditional pattern of segregation, but in reality, and in the intent of certain commercial interests, to keep Tideland's oil out of Federal and thus unmanageable public control.

The methods of dealing with minority racial situations are of three general types:

- (a) Legal and governmental
- (b) Through organized programs of action
- (c) Through personal relations

### Legal and governmental methods

The Department of Justice, through the Civil Rights Section, presently has authority to proceed by criminal action in the following

fields, among others:

- (a) Police brutality and other forms of misconduct by public officials
- (b) Denial of the right to vote
- (c) Peonage and involuntary servitude

Further, the Attorney General has authority in all so-called civil rights cases, whatever the particular type, to file briefs amicus curiae in the state and federal courts.

The power of the Department of Justice to act in cases involving safety and security of the person is contained in Sections 51 and 52 of the Federal Criminal Code. Section 51 generally protects against conspiracy to prevent a citizen from exercising or enjoying a right protected by the Constitution and the laws of the United States. Section 52 is directed at action, taken under color of law, wilfully to deprive one of a federally-secured right.

The gist of each of these statutes is contained in the clause "secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States." Only the violation of such rights as are secured or protected by the Constitution, or laws enacted thereunder, will bring the statutes into play. The provisions of the Constitution which provide protection for the individual citizen from arbitrary action by private persons or public officials other than representatives of the Federal Government itself are contained in the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. The constitutional provisions protect against mob action led or connived in by police officials; against the beating of prisoners to extort confessions; but they do not, under the decisions of our Supreme Court, inhibit those strictly private actions which so often make life insecure for members of minority groups.

In the Department of Justice it is proposed to amend the Civil Rights law to include:

- (1) The right to be immune from punishment for crime except after a fair trial and upon conviction and sentence pursuant to due process of law.
- (2) The right to be immune from physical violence applied to exact testimony or to compel confession of crime.
- (3) The right to be free of illegal restraint of the person by officers of the law.
- (4) The right to protection of person and property without discrimination by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin.
- (5) The right to vote

The recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights included the following:

- (1) Raise the Civil Rights section of the Department of Justice to the status of a division.
- (2) Create in the executive office of the President a Civil Rights Commission.
- (3) Joint Senate-House Civil Rights Committee

Legislation insuring the following:

- (1) The right to safety and security of the person.
- (2) The right to citizenship and its privileges.
- (3) The right to freedom of conscience and expression.
- (4) The right to equality of opportunity.

Under the first, a Federal Anti-lynching law was recommended; also a new Federal law with provisions against police brutality. The Committee recommended elimination of all segregation in the armed services and a buttressing of existing civil rights statutes, section 51 and 52 of Criminal Code adopted in 1860.

Under the right of equality of opportunity, the Committee recommended under head of employment, enactment of a Fair Employment Practice law; abolition of segregation in interstate transportation. The Morgan decision involved only that form of segregation that is based on law, and did not affect segregation by individuals based on custom.

With respect to these proposals, three widely different areas have to be considered in planning any effective implementation:

- (1) In most of the States where there are few Negroes no formidable problems will be encountered.
- (2) Where there are minorities with political power and where there are already Civil Rights laws which can be implemented, as in New Jersey and Minnesota, the problem can be dealt with directly through the courts.
- (3) Where there are large Negro population concentrations, as in the deep South, some of the proposals will probably not get immediate implementation. There can be secured legislation against the poll tax, and lynching. Discussion is clearing the way for a great acceptance of idea. Abolition of segregation in interstate transportation seems possible now.

### Political Action as a Strategy

The vote is one of the most important instruments in a democracy for bringing about social change. It is not enough or even wise for a single minority to attempt a bloc. Common ground should be found with other minorities and with labor in seeking social reforms that will benefit the common man.

A potential Negro electorate of 4,000,000 represents the greatest political power the Negro has ever had. In addition to increased numbers and greater diffusion of political strength the Negro has "re-emerged as a political factor in the South."

Negro voters will number three million in the North, and by November there will be at least one million qualified to vote in the South. This new expansion of the Negro voting potential has given "new political orientation" to the South, and thus may mean the emancipation of the southern white voter and the end of the one party system.

Ultimately, such an eventuality would stimulate the re-emergence of the South as a positive factor in the body politic of the Nation. Increased voting by both Negroes and poor whites will in the long run result in the election of legislators more responsive to the basic needs of the southern masses of both races.

It is folly to concentrate on the Presidency, particularly in 1948. The way out of this dilemma is through mobilizing full voting strength at the Congressional level, in an effort to elect candidates who will repudiate the failure of the 80th Congress.

### The Attack on Segregation in the Nation's Capital as a Symbol

The reason Washington was chosen for a demonstration is clear. It was a planned city. Except for being the nation's Capitol, Washington has no need for existing. Slavery was abolished in Washington in 1850 by an Act of Congress; and the South agreed to its abolition. There is this historical significance and more recent evidence that Washington is the center of attention of the nations of the democratic world. Except for what happened in 1850, little has been done to close the gap between our ideals and practices.

Washington is the only capitol in the world where it is necessary to chaperone certain representatives of a world conference to keep them from humiliations because they are persons of color.

Paraphrasing one of our contemporary critics: A wise nation should be aware that it cannot permanently maintain its "peculiar" racial institutions in an epoch where there is growing proof that historical forces no longer make them compatible with the emerging future.

The tragedy is likely to be that some sections of our country will lack both the knowledge and the imagination to recognize for their own sake how urgent it is to be wise in time.