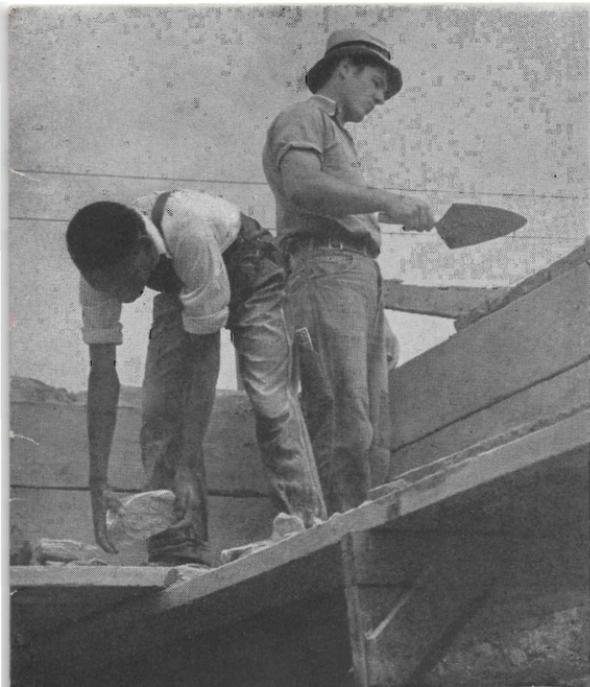


*1st file*



*Halbert*

*He hath made  
of one blood  
all nations of  
men.*

— Acts 17:26

# Interracial PRIMER

How You Can Help Relieve Tension  
Between Negroes and Whites

by

**BAYARD RUSTIN**

*Illustrations by William Huntington*

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FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

15 Cents

## The Negro in 1944

IN the past two years several encouraging developments have occurred in the American Negro-white scene. President Roosevelt has issued Executive Order 8802, clearly forbidding discrimination in war industries because of race, color, creed, or national origin. A new and more powerful Fair Employment Practices Committee has been set up. The major labor organizations have taken a fairly progressive stand, and encourage member unions to be diligent in applying their National Councils' resolutions on equity. And Americans generally have displayed increased concern about the undemocratic conditions against which Negroes must contend.



Nevertheless, in spite of these developments, Negro-white tension has increased steadily since the United States entered the war. Even in normal times changes in the social and economic patterns produce fear and frustration, which in turn lead to aggression; in time of war this psychological process is accelerated, and abnormal social conditions become fertile soil for the development of hate and fear. Direction of these emotions toward minority groups is very nearly automatic.

Thus, as the American Negro at last takes the offensive in his struggle for freedom, he is confronted by organized violence, and must overcome an increased separation from the white world, and consequently from political power and self-government. One hears of a hotel refusing admittance to Marion Anderson, of Georgia police beating up Roland Hayes, of a Mississippi mob lynching three Negroes. These are not mere incidents, but symptoms of the increasing breakdown of an ailing system.

*Denied jobs, housing, and education, thousands of Negroes literally are starving to death in a nation that at the same time*

*conscripts other black men and asks them to kill and to die for democracy.*

*Every day thousands of Negroes in eleven Southern states are forced to stand in line for hours before inadequate "jim-crow" ticket windows and then to wait until all whites are seated on buses before they can ride. Often this means a delay of hours or even days.*

*Negro soldiers have been shot for insisting on taking seats marked for whites on trolleys and buses.*

*In some Southern industrial areas Negroes and whites go armed to work.*

*Thousands of Southern white workers have migrated to Northern industrial areas, and have brought with them social customs and prejudices that have caused outbreaks of violence. In addition, of course, this mass migration has made worse an already critical housing problem.*

*Continuously large segments of Northern industry move into Southern areas, drawn by the opportunity to get cheap labor. These industrialists know that such labor will be available so long as no strong labor movement exists, and a real Southern labor movement will not develop while whites and blacks cannot sit in the same room. C.I.O. attempts to organize below the Mason and Dixon line are thwarted as this newly migrated industry exploits race hatred as a vital element of its divide-and-rule technique.*

*There is evident a general return to reaction, both North and South. Politically ambitious Talmadges, Dixons, Rankins, and Bilbos are encouraging "white supremacy" sentiment as a powerful political weapon, and their activities have frightened many ex-liberals into hiding. At the same time they place all the blame for racial tension on the Negro press and on "disgruntled, vicious, and unpatriotic" Negro leadership.*

These conditions and other continued humiliations have had a marked effect on great masses of Negroes, who are being told by a somewhat unwise but naturally developed Negro press that "equality of opportunity and social and political recognition will come now or never." I say "naturally developed" for we must see clearly that the present Negro press was born to speak for the Negro when few others would. The black press suffers all the shortcomings of the white press, but it will continue to function until the conditions and problems that gave it birth have been exorcised.

This press reminds the masses of Negroes that economic and political democracy were supposed to have followed the last war. Instead, it points out, the Negro found himself the scapegoat, "last hired and first fired" in a period of economic and social maladjustment that has lasted until the present time. "This time," the Negro is told, "there can be no delay. What achievement there will be, must come now."

An increasingly militant group has in mind to demand now, with violence if necessary, the rights it has long been denied. "If we must die abroad for democracy we can't have," I heard a friend of mine say, "then we might as well die right here fighting for our rights."

This is a tragic statement. It is tragic also how isolated the Negro feels in his struggle. The average Negro largely has lost faith in middle-class whites. He believes that his insistence on liberty has drawn a clear line between black and white. He believes that the vanguard of the old order would rather see fascism come to America than liberty to the Negro. It is not Japanese propaganda that creates this feeling, but the very nature of our economic, social, and political life. In his hour of need the Negro seeks not talk but dynamic action. He looks upon the middle-class idea of long-term educational and cultural changes with fear and mistrust when they are not accompanied by action.

The average Negro is interested primarily in how he can get jobs, decent housing, and education for his children. He describes with disgust the efforts on his behalf by most middle-class Negro and white intellectuals as "pink tea methods—sometimes well-meanin' but gettin' us nowhere." For this reason some Negroes have tended to black



nationalism. The black nationalist says, "These are the Negro's problems and nobody but the Negro is really anxious to solve them. So let's organize black." One of the newer and most militant Negro organizations voted last fall to reject white people in both constituency and leadership.

Already such irritating conditions have led to tragic and shameful race riots, and more may be expected. They will occur in Northern industrial cities and in rural and urban sections of the South, if not during the war, then after. For Negroes no longer will continue to accept second-class citizenship.

Those of us who believe in the principles of brotherhood have before us a terrible responsibility to do all in our power to stop this trend to violence and to create interracial good will by giving of our time, energy, and money to remove from our local communities the conditions that maintain injustice and exploitation and that lead to bitterness and aggression.

I believe that you, like most Americans, are aware of the corrosive effect of race hatred in the world today. You may be saying, "It is such a big problem! I want to help, but I don't know what to do! Where can I begin?"

This pamphlet tries to answer your question. It has been prepared in the hope that you can find in it some suggestions for action that you, your clubs, or your church, can make a reality—thus helping to remove the ever-increasing racial tension that threatens the principle of brotherhood on which our democracy rests.

B. R.

# What to Do About It

## I. Know the Facts

1. Subscribe to periodicals published by or concerning the Negro.

a. Examine these Negro newspapers:

The *Pittsburgh Courier*, 2628 Center Ave.,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The *Chicago Defender*, 3435 S. Indiana Ave.,  
Chicago, Ill.

The *People's Voice*, 210 West 125th St.,  
New York, N. Y.



b. Read these Negro monthlies:

*The Crisis*, NAACP, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

*The Negro Digest*, 3507 S. Parkway, Chicago, Ill.

*Opportunity*, National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

c. *P.M.*, New York daily, devotes much space to the Negro-white problem.

d. *Common Sense*, *The New Republic*, and *The Nation*, clarify the political and economic factors underlying the American racial scene.

e. *Fellowship*, published monthly by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, frequently includes material on the Negro and non-violent direct action.

f. *Common Ground*, 222 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y., is a monthly devoted to national and international racial problems.

g. *Together*, a vigorous new monthly published by the Race Relations Department of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. 50¢ per year.

2. Survey your local community to discover how much discrimination exists in jobs, housing, theaters, restaurants, educational institutions, and on vehicles of public transportation.

3. Study the psychological factors involved in the changing of attitudes. Be prepared to utilize such knowledge in conflict situations. Read:

*Get Together, Americans*, by Rachel Davis-DuBois. Harpers, 1943. \$1.75.

*New World A'Coming*, by Roi Ottley. Houghton-Mifflin, 1943. \$3.00.

*Brothers Under the Skin*, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown, 1943. \$3.00.

*Social Psychology*, by Otto Klineberg, Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y.

4. Form an interracial group to study the Gandhian method of gaining economic and political freedom. (Notice that on December 30, 1942, the March on Washington Movement called on Negroes to use non-violent resistance.)

5. Explode racial misconceptions. Be fortified with facts such as:
  - a. Scientifically, there is no difference between Negro and white blood plasma.
  - b. Anthropologists have found no basis for the pseudo-scientific notion that one race is innately superior to another.
  - c. Black men and women have made substantial scientific and cultural contributions to mankind from earliest time.
  - d. Intelligence tests show that Negro boys and girls rate with and sometimes surpass white boys and girls in native intelligence when they have developed in the same cultural and health conditions.

Set in motion some method of getting these facts to the community through forum, school, and press. The following books by scientists and historians will be helpful:

*Race Differences*, by Otto Klineberg. Henry Holt & Co., 1941.  
*Mind of Primitive Man*, by Franz Boas. Rev. Ed., Macmillan Co., 1938.  
*Coming of Age in Samoa*, by Margaret Mead. Morrow & Co., 1928.  
*The Negro in American History*, by Carter Woodson. Associated Publishers, 1927.  
*Race, Science, and Politics*, by Ruth Benedict. Modern Age., 1940.  
*Race*, by Jacques Barzun. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937.

(If not available in your public library, request that they be purchased.)

## II. Add Faces to Facts

1. Acquaint yourself first-hand with the problems Negroes face.
  - a. Attend the Negro church in your community frequently; invite members of the Negro church to your church. Service or fellowship groups of the churches are a good basis on which to start. Such groups may work together on common projects not related to the exclusive interest of either.
  - b. Know the organizations working for social, economic, and political justice for the Negro:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.—works to eliminate segregation and discrimination by an educational program and through legal action.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y.—attempts to remove some economic injustices by bettering general employment and housing conditions.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT, 2084 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.—a mass political pressure group.

WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE (WDL), 112 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.—protects the rights of workers and provides legal assistance to sharecroppers, etc.

Receive regularly the published news bulletins and reports of these organizations. If they exist in your community work with them and contribute to them. If they do not exist and your local racial situation is tense, help set up the NAACP chapter first. If housing and jobs are the most acute and immediate problem, help organize a local Urban League.

- c. Encourage interracial friendships. This is not easy where economic conditions keep Negroes and whites apart and where the social system punishes anyone who really acts on convictions of brotherhood. Where such conditions do not permit a normal development of such friendships, some artificial method may be necessary. Although previous psychological hurt at the hands of white people has developed fears and defense patterns in Negroes, by and large they make friends easily. You will find Negroes anxious to work with you on common problems in such situations as:



- Negro church fellowships.
- Social departments of Negro and white schools and colleges.
- Youth departments of Sunday schools and national Negro organizations.
- Labor unions.
- Political discussion groups for youth.

2. Form an interracial group to study some common problems other than racial issues.

3. Organize a community standing committee composed of all economic and social segments of the community to face the increasing threats to racial unity and to remove the causes of racial injustice. Recently in Oregon a local newspaper began to circulate false stories of Negro men attacking white women. If it had not been for the quick thinking and action of such a standing committee, widespread violence might have occurred.

4. Organize an interracial church fellowship. Rev. Ralph Rowse, 564 W. 160th Street, New York 32, N. Y., has had experience in this kind of project and will gladly furnish advice and suggestions.



5. Form an interracial choir in your church. For information, write Marjorie Penney, 1431 Brown St., Philadelphia, Pa.

### III. Try Several Methods

1. Study a small pamphlet, *Informal Conferences* by James Myers (.05), which outlines a method of solving community conflict situations.

2. Explore the *Festival Method*, by which festivals and parties are built around seasonal customs, folk lore, folk songs, and folk dances, for the purpose of having fun, reducing prejudice, and building a richer American culture. Write or see Rachel Davis-Dubois, Intercultural Workshop, 204 E. 18th St., New York, N. Y., for further information on this method.

3. Plan non-violent, direct action in the local community to win freedom in jobs, housing, etc. (*Together*, published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, carries reports of such campaigns in many parts of the United States. Subscription, .50 per year). This method has proved quite successful in Chicago where CORE (Committee of Racial Equality), has been successful in breaking down discrimination in restaurants and in challenging in a concrete way the real estate dealers' restrictive covenants that have made it impossible for Negroes to secure housing facilities in 87 per cent of the city's residential area. For a complete history of this Committee's activity, write CORE, 6458 Evans Ave., Chicago, Ill.



4. Help set up a conference, sponsored by the young people's departments of the Negro and white churches in your community, to explore conditions locally for Negroes and to experiment interracially in combating local injustices.

### IV. Work with Negroes in Preparing for Jobs

1. Work to secure equal chances in workers' training for all. If your state has separate schools for Negroes, work for adequate courses and equipment to allow the training of an equitable proportion of Negro workers for industries. If your state does not have separate schools, try to see that a proportionate number of Negroes from the rolls of the state and U. S. Employment Service are sent to the schools. Find some young Negroes who will invest

in training, even where work opportunities seem next to impossible. This and other exploration will stop the vicious cycle in which management says, "We cannot use you; you are not trained," and in which the training center says, "We cannot train you; you will not be hired."

2. Work for the location of rural shops for defense training. The U. S. Office of Education has taken the responsibility for insuring sufficient shops providing this training for Negroes.

3. With the help of a Negro church or educational institution, sponsor publicity to make clear to members of the Negro group the need to acquire training for industrial work today. This affords a real opportunity to work *with* Negroes on a problem vital to them. No one can call this type of cooperation "tea drinking."

## ***V. Work with Negroes to Become Intelligent Consumers***

1. Work to extend to low-income consumers such federal programs as:

School lunch program.  
Hospitalization plans.

Farm Security.  
Social Security.

2. Sponsor educational and publicity propaganda to introduce Negro people to important consumer protection:

Cooperative buying.  
Cooperative budgets.  
Cooperative home management and planning.  
Credit Unions.

Encourage acquaintance with government literature and services in this field. (Consumer Division of National Defense, Washington, D. C., has a fine bibliography.)

3. Form a Consumers' Cooperative Store or Credit Union that is interracial.

4. Form a committee to see that pure food laws, ceiling prices, and weights and measures ordinances are enforced in the section of your community where Negroes live.



## ***VI. Work on the Labor Front***

1. Acquaint trainees for jobs in industry with methods, objectives, and practices of labor organizations. As part of the "divide and rule" technique Negroes often have been used as "scabs." Real workers' education is badly needed. Consider workers' education as a vocation.

2. Form a committee to study job classification and job referral by your state and community employment agencies as they affect Negroes. Try to correct unsound practices that bar their referral and employment. (See *How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries*, free from New York State War Council, Albany, New York.)

3. Study the policy governing occupancy by these groups of defense and general housing projects. Lack of housing often is used as the excuse for not hiring Negroes.

4. Set up visiting committees to have interviews and conferences through which to inform industrial employers regarding the availability, capability, and need of skilled and unskilled Negro labor. (See *We Can Run Your Machines, Too*, published by the National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, Room 826, N. Y. C.)

5. A worker who belongs to some labor union can see to it that Negroes are admitted to membership and given equal rights to employment and promotion. Both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have gone on record nationally against discrimination. Organize all the local sentiment you can for equality, and appeal to national labor leaders to apply pressure on the particular union or local that is discriminating.

## ***VII. Work on the Educational Front***

1. Encourage local public schools to include accounts of valiant and heroic Negroes in the primary and secondary school history courses. The Chicago public school system has made the teaching of Negro history compulsory. Write the Superintendent for details.

2. Work to see that your church schools do not exclude Negroes. Be vigilant to select directors and trustees who are concerned to act on principle at this point. Swarthmore College, in Swarthmore, Pa., recently accepted Negroes as students following pressure by students and alumni.

3. Form a committee to visit your school board to consider the hiring of Negro teachers in the school system.

4. Present to your local public school pictures of some outstanding American Negroes. See that such pictures are hung in the corridors or in classrooms along with other contributors to American culture.



5. Offer to set up exhibitions in your local school, church, and public library on the contributions of Negroes to America. A statistical display analyzing conditions for Negroes locally will be of great value. The greatest problem in the field of race relations is the apathy that often results from ignorance of local conditions. *Opportunity* magazine will be happy to send you pictures and exhibition materials.

6. Work for the passage of legislation providing federal aid to education. Passage of this legislation would do much to remove this situation from eleven Southern states:

	Average spent annually for education	
	<i>Nationally</i>	<i>In 11 Southern States</i>
Per child . . . . .	\$99.00	Per white child. \$44.31 Per Negro child. 12.57

The National Educational Association is sponsoring a bill to correct this situation soon to be presented to Congress. Keep in touch with this group so that you can urge your congressman to back the proposed bills.

7. See that your Parent-Teachers' Association not only is willing to admit Negroes as members, but will encourage Negro parents to join. Disciplinary problems almost invariably are reduced when a strong PTA comes on the scene. Often Negro boys and girls are "problems" because their parents are not in touch with their teachers.

8. Form a committee to investigate recreational facilities for Negro boys and girls in your community. If space and personnel are inadequate, set in motion machinery to provide more. Roll up your sleeves if you are capable and start an interracial boys' or girls' club.

9. Study, and present to your public schools, the pamphlet *We Build Together*, published by the National Council of the Teachers of English, 211 W. 68th Street, Chicago, Ill.

## VIII. Ask Your Local Paper to Help

1. Form a committee and visit your local editors. Ask them to capitalize the word "Negro," as they do with such words as "Jew," "Italian," etc. Many Negroes are offended by the small letter; such conditions often lead to bitterness. Our job is to create good will.

2. Wage a campaign against inserting the word "Negro" after the names of all colored people accused or convicted of criminal activity. It is not customary to give the racial origin of others alleged to be or proved criminal.

3. Write and submit to your local papers accounts of local and national Negro activities that are worthy.

4. Urge local papers not to accept job or vacation resort advertisements specifying "white" or "Christian," etc.

## IX. As an Individual

1. Congratulate theater and restaurant managers who do democratically serve Negroes. Remember that prejudiced persons lodge many complaints. We must act to tip the balance in a creative direction.

2. Try not to patronize those theaters, restaurants, colleges, and other institutions that discriminate. However, first get the facts, then negotiate. If negotiations fail, then *use economic boycott*.

3. Consider employing Negroes in other than menial capacities. Correctly selected, like those of other groups, Negroes are talented and honest. If you do employ Negro maids, cooks, housemen, etc., hire them at fair, standard wages.

4. Be aware of commonplace expressions and acts that humiliate and aggravate the sensitiveness of Negroes. Expressions and acts to be avoided as a plague include:

- a. Use of such words as *darkey, nigger, crow, spade* or *eight ball*.
- b. References to *southern mammy, African golf, chicken stealing, razor duels, stabbings, etc.*
- c. Rubbing a Negro's head for good luck; opening windows as Negro enters.
- d. Use of the word *pickanniny*. No Negro mother ever calls her child this.

5. Be diligent to treat Negroes with respect and kindness. Use "Mr." and "Mrs." when addressing Negro men and women. Never use the term "boy" when speaking to a Negro man. Stand in the presence of Negro women.



6. Do not avoid sitting or standing next to Negroes in public conveyances.

7. Avoid "funny" and offensive stories concerning Negroes, particularly those of the "mammy" and "nigger" varieties.

## ***X. Don't Forget the Lawmakers***

1. Investigate any reports of police brutality in your community. Police often mistreat Negroes where no strong interracial group keeps vigilance.

2. Continue to participate actively in efforts to abolish the poll tax entirely or as a qualification for voting. In the first five days of the 78th Congress, four bills to abolish the poll tax were introduced, including HR 7. This bill was passed by the House in May, 1943 by an overwhelming vote of 265 to 110. It is now before the Senate.

Begin today to write your Representative and Senator. Encourage your friends to do the same.

3. Urge your congressman to consider all and vote for one of the seven anti-lynching bills presented to the new Congress before January 8, 1943. These are:

- H.R. 41 by Joseph A. Gavagan of New York.
- H.R. 321 by Hamilton Fish of New York.
- H.R. 351 by U. S. Guyer of Kansas.
- H.R. 469 by Thomas F. Ford of California.
- H.R. 657 by Louis Ludlow of Indiana.
- H.R. 820 by Emanuel Celler of New York.
- H.R. 861 by Charles R. Clason of Massachusetts.

A few months ago, three Negroes were lynched in Mississippi. Remember that 175 Negroes and 16 whites have been lynched in the United States since 1929.

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## XI. *Your Church Can Help*

1. Publish in your church bulletin and then paste on your church bulletin board President Roosevelt's Executive Orders 8802 and 9347. Point out their basic consistency with the Christian ethic.

2. Seek to abolish the segregation of Negro blood by the Red Cross, since there is no scientific ground for such discrimination. Many city hospitals accept the blood of all on the same basis for the use of humanity. If you can't get the Red Cross to change its policy, contribute your blood to such hospitals.

3. After studying James Myers' *Informal Conferences* organize the church community to help secure Negro representation on such community agencies as school boards, juries, community chest committees, and hospital staffs.

4. Work to abolish racial discrimination and segregation in *your* church. It is often more difficult for Negroes to become members of Christian churches than it is to eat in the restaurants of those church communities. In those sections of the United States where there is the largest church-going population, race relations are most tense. Recall the story of Johnny, the Negro who for several months had been trying unsuccessfully to become a member of a famous white church. One night in a vision the Lord appeared to Johnny and said, "Don't worry, Johnny, I've been trying to get into that church for twenty years myself."

# THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a group of people, numbering many thousands and located in many countries of the earth, who are united in their opposition to the use of violence to settle disputes between individuals and nations. While they do not subscribe to any specific pledge, in general—

they refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;

they strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

they advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrong-doer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

they endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities, and races;

they seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

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**FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**

2929 Broadway, New York 25, New York