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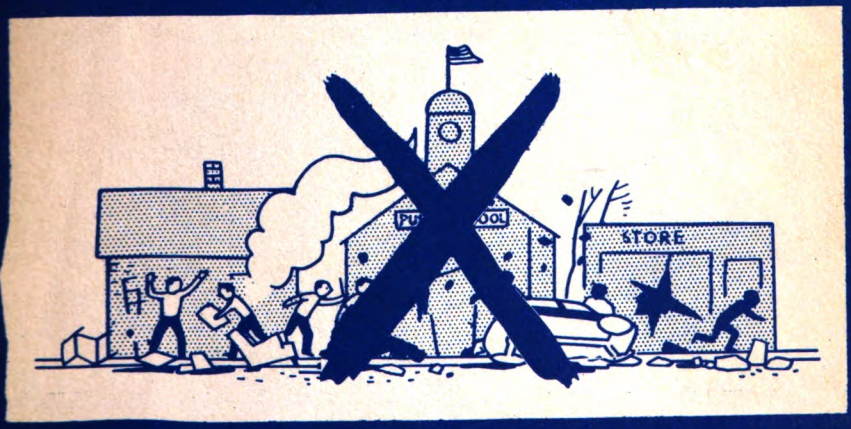
RACE RIOTS AREN'T NECESSARY

By Alfred McClung Lee

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS



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More than thirty-five national organizations representing labor, management, service groups, women's organizations, and youth groups were consulted in the preparation of this pamphlet. Their original suggestions and their comments on the first draft of the manuscript are included in the following text.

The American Council is especially indebted to a large number of persons associated with the following organizations for their suggestions and ideas: American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Board of Directors of the American Council on Race Relations, Boy Scouts of America, Bureau for Intercultural Education, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Denver Council on Civic Unity, Detroit Inter-racial Commission, League of Women Voters, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations of Chicago, Mayor's Committee on Unity of New York City, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Association of Broadcasters, National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, National Urban League, Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association, and the War Activities Committee, Motion Picture Industry. Many other organizations not mentioned have also cooperated in the preparation of this pamphlet.

In issuing this pamphlet in conjunction with the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., the American Council on Race Relations again wishes to reiterate its objective which it feels is essential to any long-term solution of the underlying problems which cause race riots. This is *"full participation of all citizens in all aspects of American life; equal rights and equal opportunities."*

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RACE RIOTS AREN'T NECESSARY

By ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

In cooperation with the
American Council on Race Relations

What Is a Race Riot?

Everyone knows what a race riot is! It is a dreadful clash in a slum area between gangs of most terrible people.

This description satisfies many "nice" people. It even makes them feel smug. But it does not describe what a race riot is. It leaves out of the picture the chief participants in a race riot. It leaves out the "nice" people, the people who make riots possible.

A race riot is like a child's headache, and it is also like an Atlantic iceberg.

When little Marilyn says, "Mommie, my head hurts awful," Mother is worried. She wants to do something about it. But she doesn't turn to some "old household remedy." She may ease the pain temporarily with a cold towel or a simple sedative, but she

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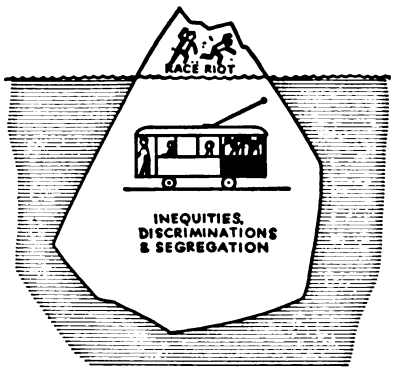
knows that a persisting headache requires the knowledge and skill of a physician. An aching head may be caused by problems in other parts of the body. It may mean a cold, something Marilyn ate, a symptom of a mild or a dread childhood disease, or the result of a bump on the head or of eyestrain.



A race riot, similarly, is part of something much bigger. It is like the small part of an iceberg that juts above the water line. Some eight-ninths of the block floats beneath the ocean surface and offers a much greater hazard to shipping than the part that can be seen.

The breaking of heads and store fronts, the beating and terrorizing of streetcar and bus passengers, the shooting of defenseless and inoffensive women and men, the burning of automobiles —the riot events themselves, whatever they might be—are merely symptoms. They are the head pains that are symptomatic of a dread disease. They are not the disease itself. They are what shocks you as you see them above the surface, but the worst part lies underneath.

What we see on the surface is bad enough—a race riot, a lynching, a tense interracial incident in a plant, a store, or a streetcar, an agreement to deprive Negroes or Catholics or other minority groups of ordinary economic or political privileges. But the real evil is that perverse inhumanity of man to man known as racial intolerance or "scapegoatism." "Scapegoatism" consists of blaming part or all of the ills of life upon some group, chiefly because its members have different customs or racial characteristics. It is born of an alliance of insecurity and ignorance. It formed the core of the diseases called Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. It gave the United States the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War and after World War I, and in 1943 it produced the Detroit race riot.

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Only the minor costs of race friction are to be seen in the dead, the wounded, the wasted manpower, and the damage to property in riots such as occurred in Detroit and Los Angeles. The greater part of the costs cannot be assessed in any statistical sense. They are to be found in heightened dread and insecurity and in the results of increasing fear and distrust between the various racial and cultural minorities.

The disease of "scapegoatism" gives us a kind of creeping moral paralysis. This makes it all the more difficult—even impossible—for whites to appreciate the humanity of Negroes, or for Negroes to appreciate that of whites. It cuts off the growth of mutual understanding among Americans of Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Slavic, Mexican, Japanese, or Negro origin. It undermines democracy as a symbol of hope and of human worth, and weakens democratic processes through the intensification of group hatreds.

Good Planning Prevents Race Riots

There is no substitute for a constructive long-term program of planning and working for better intergroup and interracial relations in every American community that has minorities. That means in *all* American communities, because, as it has so often been said, we are all members of minorities. In our contracting world, white folk are beginning to realize more and more that they are a minority.

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The chief objective of a long-term program is to combat what the late Wendell Willkie saw as the cause of the 1943 race riots in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Beaumont, Texas. He called this the "fascist attitude of mind." He denounced attempts to strip some of our citizens of their rights—economic, civic, and political, and contended that the attitude behind these attempts is just as fascist as that which made the Nazis want to lord it over whole peoples and nations.

In *Freedom Is More than a Word,* Marshall Field tells how the "nice, polite majority" overlooks the "manner in which, with our warped ideas of our own superiority and of the alleged inferiority of others because they are somehow different, we help to create and maintain an atmosphere of intolerance." As a result of permitting ourselves to be so self-centered, Mr. Field says, we "rationalize our violation of Christian principle in making it difficult or impossible for Negroes . . . to attend our churches. We treat the jim-crowing of our armed forces and public school systems, in violation of democratic principle and of federal constitutional guaranties, as an unfortunate but 'necessary' adjustment to the 'facts of life.' We find all-too-easy excuses for quotas and even bans in our professional schools, in jobs, in some unions, and in professional bodies, not to mention civic and social organizations. We permit and even demand that our federal government erect barriers against refugees from war-torn countries—the very sort of people for whom America was established as a refuge."

Housing

In the long-term program, housing and employment are the key issues. They do the most to create friction. Solution of these problems can do the most to promote racial understanding. Both must be faced frankly and attacked concretely. The educational work must be practical and tied in with current activities.

Housing involves almost every aspect of minority tensions. The areas in which Negroes, Chinese, or other minorities are crowded by restrictions invariably have high rents and inferior accommodations. This, in turn, is accompanied by economic and po-

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litical exploitation, ill health, inadequate schools, and poor hospitals or not enough of them. There is usually a serious lack of recreation facilities, except for bars. And, as Dr. Robert C. Weaver of the American Council on Race Relations has observed, these developments "bring suffering, despair, disillusionment, and frustration. They result in disorganized communities. They encourage adult and juvenile delinquency. They invite and nurture political corruption and cynicism. They foster group antagonisms."

Before World War II, Negroes were segregated into tight Black Belts in most northern cities with large Negro populations. The demands of war brought new thousands from rural districts into those already crowded Black Belts. Pressures from "white areas" prevented the building of new housing units in numbers at all comparable to those provided for whites. New miseries and new inflexibilities of city organization are thus created. And the war effort has been slowed up and damaged immeasurably by these housing handicaps placed upon Negro workers. The American Council on Race Relations takes the position that at least "all *public* housing should be open to qualified applicants regardless of race, creed, or color." It goes further. "Your local housing authority," the Council advises, "should plan to develop projects in which different groups *will* live together. This will require the selection of sites where minorities *will want* to live and in which majority families *will elect* to live. *Equipped with a definite policy of nondiscrimination and aided by the proper location of projects, your housing authority can establish interracial patterns of living.* Existing projects in Pittsburgh, New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, Springfield (Illinois), and Chicago have already done so."

Perhaps private enterprise will make great contributions to breaking down the Black Belt barriers. Enlightened businessmen for the first time are viewing such opportunities for investment in constructive democracy with considerable interest.

Jobs

The employment field, the other crucial problem area in race relations, focuses attention squarely on the anxiety we feel in the face of pressing economic insecurity. Most of us have a tendency

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to become hysterical in our thinking when our jobs are threatened. Unemployment is a dreadful threat. When it stalks the land, the heedless do awful things to their fellow men in their mad scramble to preserve a little security. They claw and kick. They become Jew- and Catholic-baiters, Negro and Nisei-beaters.

During the war some Negroes have gained employment in fields for which they were equipped but from which they had previously been barred. These included jobs in the higher grades of factory work and in certain clerical and professional areas. As A. A. Liveright, executive director of the American Council on Race Relations, has stated, "If America does not use its great power to maintain full employment in the United States and elsewhere in the world, it will be almost impossible to prevent interracial strife. Plans must be put into effect to bring together industry, organized labor, the government, and the public in conferences on employment planning to prevent the exploitation of race differences. Efforts can thus be initiated to integrate minorities into nonwar employment. American communities cannot afford the costs in disease, ignorance, crime, and human degradation occasioned by keeping minorities in hopelessly submerged castes, all too similar to the castes of India."

In employment, your interracial organizations should serve to strengthen federal and state Fair Employment Practices Committees. This should involve the re-education of war workers, the interpretation of needs and experiences and techniques to management and labor leadership, and the development of community sentiment in support of fair play in job opportunities.

Emergency Planning Is Also Needed

Few American communities have adequate long-term programs, and even fewer have had such programs in operation long enough to be effective. A great many cities and towns face the danger of trouble for which they are wholly unprepared.

The American Council on Race Relations realizes that the riot squad attitude toward race riot prevention is "too little and too late." The primary job is that of eliminating the causes of race friction. In this there is little place for strong-arm methods.

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But if race tension reaches the riot point, suppression is the only possible course. Without regard for race or creed, the rioters must be stopped as swiftly as possible. And this must be done with as little rough stuff as possible. Police squads and state militia, tear gas and armed jeeps can only patch up a truce and drive antagonisms underground, with rankling threats of how "next time" it will all be "different."

To prevent this sort of thing in your town, it is necessary to set up an emergency program of detection, prevention, and suppression of race riots. We all hope that such riots will never occur in our community. But if we are at all realistic, we know that the danger exists in many places. In this pamphlet the advice and plans of many leading national organizations for emergency action have been brought together and summarized. A large number of veterans', women's, men's, service, trade association, trade union, parent-teacher, civic, youth, educational, social work, newspaper, radio, governmental, and religious organizations have cooperated in this venture. These organizations are listed on the inside of this pamphlet's front cover. The author and Dr. Norman D. Humphrey also benefited from similar aid in reporting and analyzing the Detroit race riot of 1943 in their book, *Race Riot.*

THESE ARE DANGER SIGNALS

MOST of us are sheltered from first-hand knowledge of interracial and other community tensions. It is only rarely that we see *and understand* the significance of a Negro-white fist fight in a bus, an American of Japanese descent being refused service in a restaurant or department store, a Jew being given the brush-off by an employment manager, a Mexican-American being discriminated against, or a Protestant or a Catholic being given a lecture on the "value" of residential "restrictions" by a real-estate salesman. Interracial crises shock us into awareness "without warning," it seems, but it is just because we cannot or—more likely —*will not* see the storm signals.

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A race riot does not occur without clear-eyed and well-informed observers predicting it in advance, sometimes months in advance. The Federal Office of Facts and Figures (later called the Office of War Information) had a confidential report *fifteen months* before the 1943 Detroit race riot that included this sentence, "Unless some socially constructive steps are taken shortly, the tension that is developing is very likely to burst into active conflict." The day after the rioting began, the Detroit *Free Press* stated, "Two months ago everybody in Detroit familiar with the situation knew that race riots were inevitable."

To make such predictions, level-headed observers want to know as much as they can about (1) the rumor situation, (2) incidents of friction, (3) demagogic groups, (4) delinquency and crime, (5) police attitudes, (6) congestion in housing and transportation facilities, and (7) employment conditions.

RUMOR SITUATION

Long before a race riot begins, stories begin to crop up of alleged insults and discriminations, frequently traceable to subversive groups but with a substantial underpinning of actual events. Then appear stories of imminent violence, of arming by another racial group, of the need to protect one's home and loved ones, of invasion from another part of the city or even from another city. Finally come the crisis rumors, the inflammatory accounts of sex assaults, beatings, gang activities, and murders.

In riots, as in most human activities, particularly those of a criminal nature, the participants reveal a striking anxiety to find justification for their actions. Fever-heightened rumors give rioters that false justification, that anesthetic for their consciences.

As a riot stage approaches, rumors circulate with increasing rapidity in barbershops, beauty parlors, bars, church socials, in lobbies, business gatherings, restaurants, union meetings, and family conclaves, in casual face-to-face and telephone conversations, and even in rare instances over the radio and in the newspapers. Their origins may be obscure, but on the eve of a riot rumors carry more and more obvious earmarks of artificial creation, and they travel with abnormal rapidity.

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INCIDENTS OF FRICTION

Warning incidents occur most frequently in buses and streetcars, subways and "els," in crowds in stores and theaters and on the street. When the cooperation of the police and transportation authorities is obtained, reports of these events can be compiled, compared, mapped, and made into a kind of interracial barometer. In interpreting them, a middle course must be steered between the complacent dismissal of a given report as of no consequence even though it may be significant when related to others, and the hysterical overrating of every report of friction. Such a balance can be accomplished through developing a perspective upon events by comparing them from month to month and from year to year over a period of time.

As evidences of friction increase in frequency, boldness, and violence beyond seasonal expectations, watch out for bloodshed and smashed store fronts. They may come next. And it isn't safe to be satisfied with an "ordinary" seasonal rise in events. Long-term efforts should be smoothing off seasonal upturns.

DEMAGOGIC GROUPS

Typical of the demagogic groups that are always with us are the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, the Christian Front, and the American Mothers. John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover* gave a recent picture of such divisive and subversive organizations. In learning about them and attempting to assess their importance in your community, be sure not to ignore or unduly discount the danger of a given demagogue or his group because he is small-time and nasty. The Austrian housepainter who led millions of dupes to slaughter millions of innocents was at first thought contemptible and insignificant. Every small-time demagogue has something of a Hitler in his makeup.

Fortunately, long before they become effective, demagogues show themselves in public and thus expose themselves to ridicule, analysis, counterpropaganda, and perhaps elimination. They cannot build their organizational power long in secret. They are ham actors who need notoriety. They are highly insecure people who

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have to convince themselves of their own importance through swaggering before a public. As a riot condition approaches, they move out more boldly into the open because they think they see greater acceptance for their views.

CRIME REPORTS

Delinquency and crime reports include serious frictions between members of different racial, religious, and cultural groups, but they also yield other valuable types of information. They tell especially about the character of current gang activities.

The war aggravated the general trend toward family disorganization in our cities that has been developing in an alarming manner for many years. This is revealed in part by the high tide in juvenile delinquency. When police reports of arrests of minors begin to climb, when social workers discover more and more children left alone while parents work or play, an explosion is in the making. Gangs of teen-age hoodlums, of potential and actual thieves, prostitutes, arsonists, and muscle-men, train the most vicious types of rioters.

POLICE ATTITUDES

Police attitudes of a dangerous sort, the kind that indicates a riot boiling-point, cannot be detected in official sources to any great extent. For storm warnings in this area, watch for:

(1) a rising distrustfulness of the police by Negroes and other minority members, usually paralleled by mounting arrests of minority members and by increasingly strident headlines in the minority press;

(2) evidence of more camaraderie between police and white hoodlums in the face of "a common threat" to white domination; and

(3) more and more accounts in the newspapers and from informants of third-degree and other police violence and of disciplinary action on a racial basis by police officials.

When the police come into open conflict with Negroes, Mexican-Americans, or members of other minorities, and the minorities

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indicate a rising dread of the police—when police-minority relations are reaching a feud-like stage—the danger signals are flying. And these signals are usually hoisted by one or both of two fundamental irritants: overcrowding and unsatisfactory employment conditions.

CONGESTION

Congestion in housing and transportation facilities wears the nerves of everyone to the "jumpy" point, especially during a boom or a readjustment period. Negro housing facilities always lag far behind white facilities in a boom, in war or in peace, and then fail to show much improvement at other times. The tremendous accumulation of pressures within hemmed-in Negro districts is expressed in high rents, wretched conditions, and insolent landlords supported by "white cops." And sharp defensive movements on the part of white "property-owners' " associations, landlords, and realtors strive to keep the Negro community from expanding. Increases in the aggressiveness and urgency of such movements are forerunners of violence. Transportation facilities expand more rapidly in white suburban districts than in white and Negro slum neighborhoods, and, especially as they cross and recross exclusively white and colored slum areas, they become focal points of tension.

A solution to such problems that works amazingly well wherever it is tried is the simple one of permitting people to live wherever their tastes and financial resources, their friends, and desired facilities may lead them. Negroes and whites who lived as neighbors did not fight one another in the Detroit race riots. They had come to know and understand one another as human beings. Whites rioted against Negroes moving into the Detroit Sojourner Truth Homes in 1942. Then both whites and Negroes were amazed at the decline of friction after the Negroes had quietly made themselves at home.

Anti-Negro ideas and feelings have been introduced into many countries during this war for the first time by some American soldiers. Education can even more readily build constructive sentiments.

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EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

Negroes are the last hired and the first dismissed in industrial employment. Unwise management and union leaders have at times exploited color and religious differences in an effort to strengthen their position. But, as the New York State War Council has noted in its booklet, *How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries,* such tactics usually boomerang. Leading representatives of both management and labor now realize that upgrading, job-tenure, collective bargaining, and such standard considerations as hours, working conditions, and comfort facilities must be granted to all without reference to color, creed, or national origin.

When Negroes or other minorities are being made to feel especially insecure, when unions or bosses are failing to take ordinary precautions for the assurance of basic rights, storm signals are as likely to appear here as elsewhere. Such signals are likely to be seen in confidential and even in public reports by either management or unions or both.

Organize for Immediate Action

You can easily scout around and learn something about one or more of these danger areas. In a great many towns that "something" will be enough to convince you how essential it is for your town to have an emergency program. Just talk to a newspaper reporter who covers police cases, a social case worker with clients in a tough neighborhood, a Negro leader who is not just a bureaucrat but who actually has a personal following, and a police officer with a slum beat. These people see the ragged fringes of interracial relations at first hand. They can give you a bald and accurate picture of what they see daily in their own district.

If that picture is at all alarming, take the leadership in forming an emergency committee on interracial tensions that will have two jobs. These two jobs are: (1) *exploratory,* and (2) *emergency planning.* If your community already has an interracial body with a long-term program and with reasonably realistic leadership, it would be well to work with it. But insist that these

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two emergency jobs be handled separately and not be permitted to bog down into long-term projects. An emergency program requires specific and direct reporting and action. There is not time to wait for the more gradual—but in the long run more effective—processes of education, legislation, or administration.

The exploratory job of your emergency committee requires the sort of information that you got at the outset from the newspaper reporter, social case worker, Negro leader, and policeman. This pulse-feeling just needs to be placed upon a somewhat more systematic and adequate basis. Part of the committee should be made up, therefore, of people whose work brings them into daily contact with symptoms of interracial tensions—and who have shown sufficiently sympathetic and yet level-headed insight into interracial problems to understand the meaning of what they see and hear.

The emergency planning job demands the inclusion of leaders who could be helpful in preventing or suppressing a race riot if one occurred. These would probably be the mayor, police chief, head of the local state militia unit, superintendents of the public and parochial schools, outstanding Jewish, Protestant, and Roman Catholic clergymen, and responsible leaders of the commercial interests, veterans' and youth organizations, minority groups, trade unions, women's clubs, and other civic bodies.

Methods of Organization

A small working executive subcommittee, divisible into exploratory and planning groups, would give the whole emergency setup simplicity and effectiveness. On this executive subcommittee or steering body have the "no-nonsense" boys who are used to handling practical problems and to getting results. If possible, depending upon the extent and immediacy of the problem, the part- or full-time services of a paid worker would be a great asset. After the project gets under way, part-time paid aid would probably suffice, except in large cities. This kind of arrangement can many times be made by using part of the time of a staff member in an organization directly concerned with interracial or related matters.

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The budget for this emergency committee need not be large. But enough money should be raised to cover foreseeable costs, with a contingent fund to meet unusual demands. Above all, the funds should be available without red tape to meet needs as they arise, needs for extra help during critical periods, telephone calls and telegrams, taxis, and possibly mimeographing, some printing, and mailing.

As soon as possible, the emergency committee should have a clear definition of current and crisis activities. In other words, it should have a good blueprint, with responsibilities assigned to and understood by all. In order to help you and your committee develop such a blueprint, the following ten suggestions are offered as starting points.

IF A CRISIS THREATENS, DO THESE THINGS

LET us assume that an awareness of interracial tensions in your town has led you to establish such a committee as the foregoing suggests. To deal with a possible crisis, it is wise to take these ten additional steps as rapidly as possible:

1. *See that the mayor of your town knows how to bring in the state militia or, better, the U. S. Army with the least possible delay.* Do not take someone's bland statement as adequate assurance on this point. Check it in detail. Also get a firm commitment from the mayor, if possible, that he will call in the militia or the Army the moment that the need becomes at all clear. Few towns can depend upon their local police to quell anything so complicated as a race riot. They too often make common cause with the white rioters. As William H. Baldwin, president of the National Urban League, pointed out in his report on the 1943 Detroit race riot, "From all except official accounts, the police behaved with deplorable stupidity and callousness." The Detroit police are not exceptional; they are typical. Similar testimony exists concerning police handling of frictions in Los Angeles, Boston, Philadelphia, and many other cities and towns.

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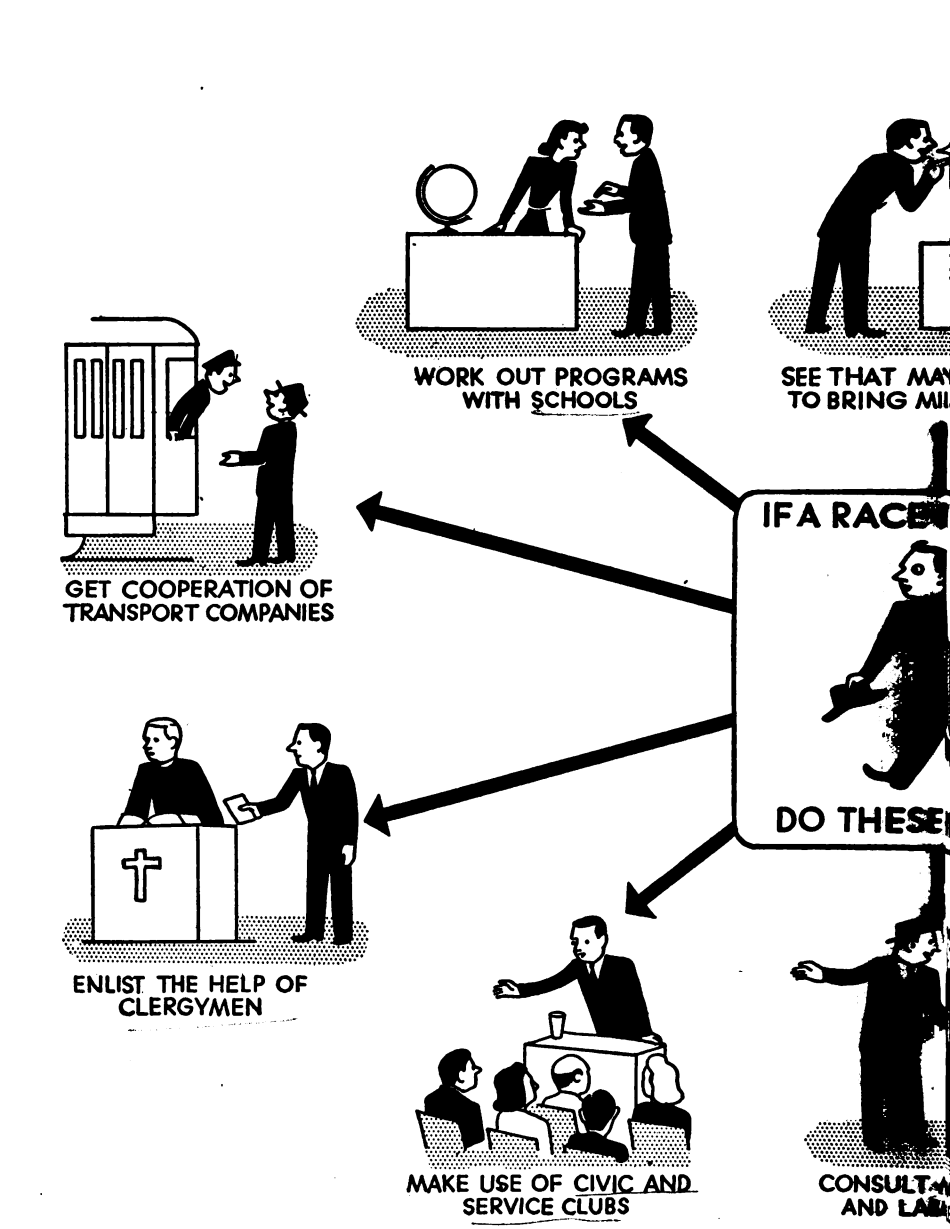

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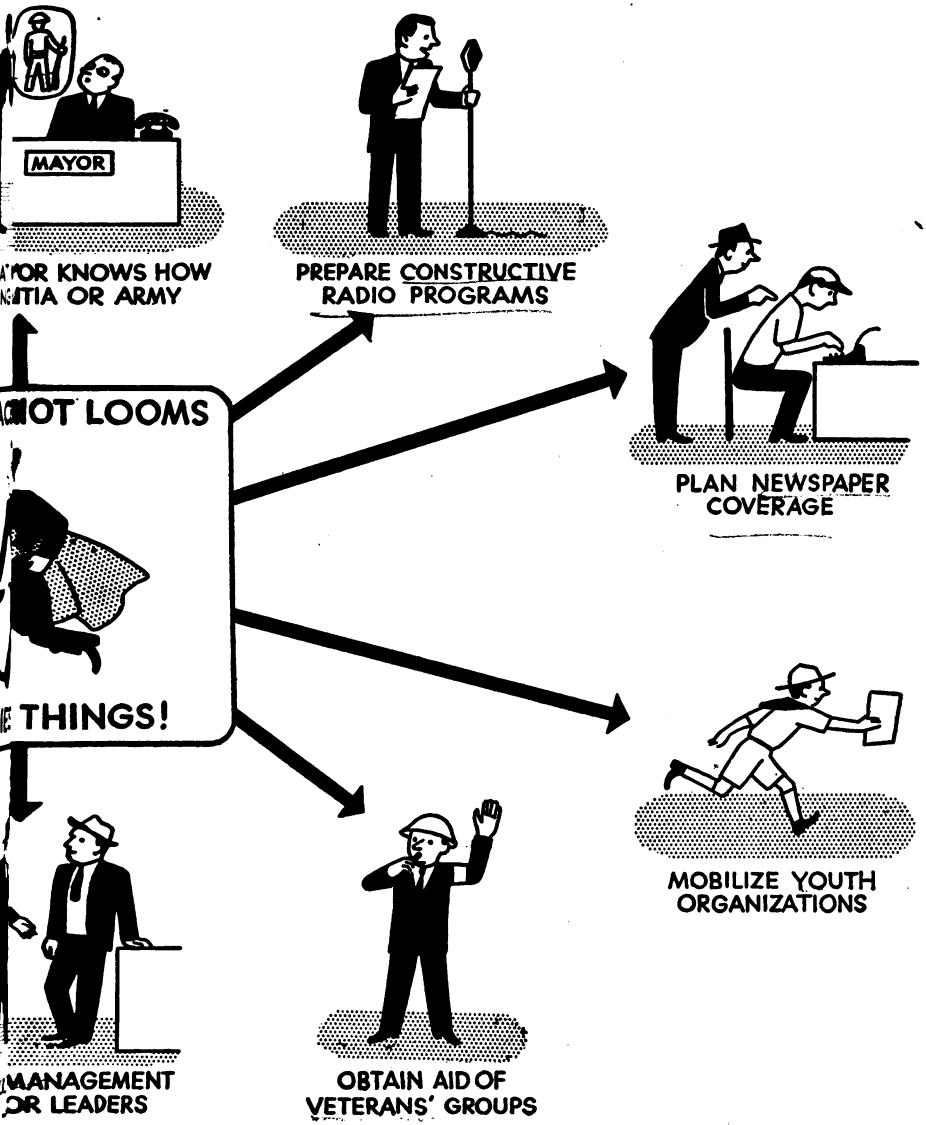

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2. *Prepare constructive radio programs.* Radio station managers will be glad to work out with a responsible citizens' committee a series of announcements and general procedures for the control of news broadcasts during an emergency period, to be held for possible use. And radio men can usually be counted upon, with public support, to go beyond this. They will join in planning and producing programs to counteract the conditions causing riots. To strengthen such programs, source materials should be obtained from local and national organizations. The public service division of national radio networks should be asked for special materials and recordings. Be sure that your station develops a series of spot announcements and interpretive programs ready to use throughout the crisis and also a well-formulated statement of policy for its newscasters on the handling of interracial tension reports.

3. *Plan newspaper coverage.* Newspaper editors, being close to the tensions of a town, can make many helpful suggestions. They will also be willing, in most cases, to work out with your committee emergency steps that their staffs can take if a crisis develops. Newspaper editors have a sense of community responsibility, and visits by citizens' groups are helpful in directing this sense toward the improvement of race relations. Such calls should be made at regular intervals in order to keep the editor informed of your activities. In preparation for tense interracial periods, digests of facts as well as series of front-page editorials and cartoons should be on file in each newspaper office. The cooperation and advice of the Negro and other minority press should be sought both as a means of securing facts, and as a particularly effective technique for reporting facts back to the minority members of the community.

4. *Work out programs with schools.* School superintendents will see the wisdom of drafting and placing in the hands of teachers detailed emergency instructions. Interracial incidents within school buildings are comparatively rare, but teachers and principals can do a great deal to calm excitement, to hold teen-agers in school and release them in a wise fashion, to interpret to them

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the gravity of race conflict and the probable consequences of it, and to obtain parent and police collaboration when needed and possible. Dr. Frank W. Hubbard, research director of the National Education Association, points out that "teachers and schools can do much to help the majority of children and youth keep themselves under control. Through the children a great deal could be done to reach the adults at home. We see no reason why in every community, faced by possible race problems, there could not be discussion between local civic authorities, leaders of racial groups, and representatives of the schools as to steps which teachers would take in an emergency. These plans could be put into operation by telephone."

Parent-teacher organizations can also help. They can plan to escort children to and from school. They can insist upon the schools' being kept open; they can stress the value and safety of keeping children in the schools where they normally get along together. And they can put pressure on the schools to emphasize both the short-run and long-range importance of education in promoting intergroup understanding and democracy.

5. *Get cooperation of transport companies.* Transportation officials will recognize the desirability of working out emergency plans for racial crises that their men will regard as routine and not alarming. The bravery and salty common sense of streetcar and bus operators have saved thousands from personal injury in tense racial flare-ups. Such heroism and intelligence should be recognized, dramatized, and rewarded.

The contributions that transportation officials and their employees can make to interracial understanding are great. Operators can be courteous and obliging to passengers without regard for their racial or cultural background. They can challenge passengers who make intolerant remarks or who get involved in disputes with persons of another race. These actions will place an emphasis upon fair play and understanding that will keep an atmosphere of intolerance from developing. Operators can also bring participants in serious incidents promptly to the attention of the nearest patrolman.

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6. *Enlist the help of the clergy.* Clergymen should use their moral authority and their courage to disperse rioters where possible and to rescue victims and provide sanctuary for those saved from the mob. Clergymen want to know in advance what they can do. They want to know, for example, how to set up local joint study conferences with the aid of national religious and interracial organizations. And they will want to learn the experience of others who have opened church doors in riot-shaken neighborhods. The chance of a mob pursuing a victim inside a church in a slum neighborhood is slight indeed. Ministers can also plan to show themselves to rioting mobs and to speak to them. This is very effective, and the danger of personal injury to a minister is slight. Whether his collar is reversed or not, a clergyman's presence is quickly sensed by mobsters and respected.

7. *Consult management and labor leaders.* Plant managers and union leaders are not likely to be confronted with more than minor incidents inside plants, but they can do a great deal to carry their influence beyond plant walls. Both can make it clear that they oppose race conflict. Then neither management nor labor can pin the blame or part of the blame upon the other. Union leaders, through shop stewards and educational officials, can mobilize union stalwarts to help avoid rioting. Union patrols, sponsored by the Greater New York Industrial Union Council (C.I.O.), were especially helpful during the 1943 Harlem outbreak. Management can use its plant loudspeakers, bulletin boards, and, when appropriate, announcements through local newspapers and radio stations to strengthen the forces of law and order. Labor-management committees, where they exist, can work out emergency steps in advance and place them in operation with a minimum of delay: Most union leaders know, quite graphically, that race friction is poison to unionism, and management is fast learning that it is just as poisonous to industrialism.

8. *Obtain the aid of veterans' groups.* Veterans' groups can help keep peace by understanding the fundamental issues. They can also aid the civil authorities to enlist emergency patrolmen from the various racial groups. The fact that some veterans'

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groups have had their records blackened by the anti-Mexican, anti-Negro, or other anti-minority activities of individual posts should not prejudice minorities or liberal leaders against such organizations as a whole. In a number of communities, local posts of national organizations, such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, have taken a strong stand for unity. One such example is the Hollywood post of the American Legion, which has admitted a Japanese-American veteran of World War II, and which has championed Japanese-Americans returning to the west coast.

9. *Mobilize youth organizations.* Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, and other young people's organizations can plan to mobilize to aid school officials and parent-teacher groups. They can help to keep teen-agers away from the riot area. They can get the younger children home quickly and safely. Older members can run errands. These groups are naturally even more useful in an effective long-term program.

10. *Make use of civic and service clubs and agencies.* Men's and women's civic service clubs can aid in hundreds of ways to create as much sentiment against rioting and for decent interracial relations as possible. Harlem's uprising of 1943 did not become an *interracial* struggle chiefly because the people of New York City were not, as a whole or to any great extent, moral participants in the event.

IF A RIOT BREAKS OUT, DO THESE THINGS

Get Out the State Militia or the U. S. Army—and Fast!

They can isolate the riot area, arrest and disarm all apparent participants, and patrol the streets. Rioters will battle policemen, but they have no enthusiasm about facing the U. S. Army. The disinterested efficiency of the Army is far more discouraging to white rioters than the anti-Negro tactics of some police departments.

If the mayor hesitates, develop immediate community pressure to force him to act. Previous planning, as outlined above, should

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make this a task that can be carried out very quickly. One bad clash, whether or not it results in a death, ought to convince His Honor that a riot is far too close for safety. Don't let the mayor experiment with whether or not his police force can handle the situation. An unusually well-trained and capably officered force may do it, but experimentation in this direction—as in Detroit—may cost many lives, even in a relatively small town.

Set the Publicity Wheels in Motion

Avoid radio utterances or newspaper statements that will make for hysteria, but give the people accurate and frank information concerning the existing threat. Information reported with an authentic air of completeness and candor will help cut down the circulation of unfounded rumors.

If a radio station or newspaper should make a mistake, it will not pay to become impatient and abusive. Newscasters and reporters, when their problems are understood and their abilities are respected, welcome honest and constructive aid from public-spirited citizens.

Check with the School Authorities

If their plans are set up in advance, principals and teachers will turn in an excellent performance. They may need additional aid, however, either from organizations or in the form of publicity. Check with them with these thoughts in mind.

Check with the Transportation Officials Repeatedly

They will probably need help from unions and veterans' groups if the riot is widespread and not well controlled. They will also want cooperation in having messages placed before their off-duty employees and the general public.

Mobilize Organizational Cooperation

The general outlines of this are given in the preceding list. Fortunately most organizations are keyed to the meeting of civic emergencies as a result of their wartime experiences, and will remain so for a number of years after World War II.

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Every Organization Can Help

Either in an emergency or in a long-term program, literally every organization can help. The national secretary of a well-known service club emphasizes that organizations should devote "great attention . . . to the underlying causes which might result in race riots, and considerable time . . . (to) . . . the removal of those particular causes. . . . What we need to be doing is to be working on those things which might prevent friction." The Girl Scouts have seen their way to serve by organizing almost five hundred interracial troops, mostly in the Middle West and East, and they are using more and more Negro volunteers and professionals. The 1944 convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers took as its theme "All Children Are Our Children." Mrs. Minetta A. Hastings, national president of the Congress, writes that the convention "stressed the fact that we could know no difference in race or creed in thinking of those things which are best for children." The American Management Association, in its pamphlet study of *The Negro Worker,* says that the challenge to industrial management is that it *"must be prepared to back up its policy of nondiscrimination in the face of the new situations which the end of the war must bring."* It promises that "the efforts to consolidate the Negro's position and make him a more productive member of industry will not be relaxed."

These are statements and samples of the activities of a few quite different organizations. They might be multiplied many times. The point, however, is clear: Every sort of organization can do its part in strengthening this important development.

Every organization can make its contribution toward creating an atmosphere of interracial understanding. The more certain it is that the majority of a community is sharply set against racial discrimination, the less likely it is that that community will have interracial incidents.

Every Citizen Can Help

"We are injuring our personalities with arrogance; we are blocking our own emotional growth," wrote the courageous

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young editor of *Flat Hat,* student publication at William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, alma mater of Thomas Jefferson. This young woman, Miss Marilyn Kaemmerle, also noted in the editorial for which the college administration dismissed her that "The most important work . . . must be done in educating ourselves away from the idea of White Supremacy, for this belief is as groundless as Hitler's Nordic Supremacy nonsense. . . . Not until we eliminate Nazi race tactics in our own everyday life can we hope for a victory which will bring peace for the universal Human Race of the One World."

She wrote that for Lincoln's Birthday, 1945. It should be echoed in all American hearts. Race problems are individual and personal as well as organizational. Racism warps personalities in unlovely and hateful directions. It continues Hitler's work in this live, free land. It can best be rooted out by showing each and every American the harm it does to him, to his family, and to his friends. Each American can make himself and American democracy healthier by curing himself of "scapegoatism" or inoculating himself against it through education.

The specific ways in which an individual can help in a tense interracial situation can be summed up in the form of a few simple "do's" and "don'ts." Here are five of each.

Five Dont's

Do not permit intolerant acts to go unchallenged in your presence. When someone sneers at the Catholics or the Jews; at the Negroes or the Japanese-Americans, the Americans of Mexican descent, or other racial and cultural minorities, take a polite but firm issue with him immediately. *An atmosphere of intolerance must not be permitted to grow.*

Do not permit yourself and your friends to do things "unconsciously" that are unfair or injurious to members of the less fortunate minorities. Such minority group members are said to be "touchy," but place yourself in their shoes and try to understand the many ways in which that touchiness is constantly being recreated regardless of their own desire to forget about it. America and the promise of America, and you yourself, must not be sold

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short by twisting your personality and making it ill with hostility toward minorities.

Do not permit yourself to become unduly alarmed by rumors of intergroup violence. Trust only responsible sources of information.

Do not pass rumors along. Even when rumors are told to another with the disclaimer, "This is only a rumor and naturally should not be believed," something is quite likely to be believed. A little more hysteria may thus be created.

Do not become an "innocent bystander." Even though you might want to observe a riot for quite good purposes, realize that the mere presence of additional persons in a riot zone helps to build up hysteria. Unless you are helping the authorities at their request, go home and stay there.

And Five Do's

Do "accentuate the positive."

Do praise acts of understanding and courage in interracial relations wherever you might see or learn them.

Do try to treat every human being, regardless of race, creed, and social status, with the understanding and courtesy you would want to receive from him.

Do keep yourself well informed through the radio and newspapers and, in a more general way, through magazines, pamphlets, and books. For example, read *The Races of Mankind,** written by the outstanding anthropologists, Drs. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. This will help you to place yourself in an intelligent perspective in relation to other racial and cultural groups.

Do, in case of a riot, leave the vicinity of the violence and take as many people with you as possible. Go home. Unless you are a member of an organization with specific tasks to perform in aid of the authorities, stay at home until it is safe to go out on the streets again. Encourage your friends to stay at home unless they are members of appropriate organizations.

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*Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85.

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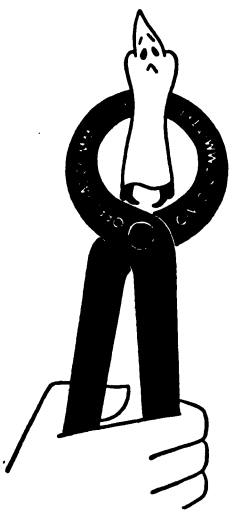
AFTER THE EMERGENCY HAS PASSED

AFTER you have carried through your emergency program, after the immediate threat has passed, then is the time to give your thought and your energies once more to the long-term program. It is only the long-term labors of sincere citizens and their organizations, well-informed and firmly dedicated to democracy as the imperative social philosophy, that the roots of racist "scapegoating" can be dug out and the disease destroyed.

A long-term program requires two types of careful organization: (1) The governor or mayor should appoint an interracial commission to coordinate governmental facilities along (a) fact-finding, (b) analytical and planning, and (c) implementing lines. (2) A civic interracial committee—independent of the governmental commission—should be sponsored by leading civic, religious, educational, business, and labor bodies.



The official commission will have the advantages of an "inside" position in focusing governmental activities to correct known ills and to modify governmental policies. It will also make use of the thinking, planning, and work in this area of social workers, police, the courts, investigators attached to other departments, and the administration generally.

The nonofficial citizens' committee has the advantages of flexibility and informality that are usually impossible in a governmental agency. Above all, it can effectively organize citizen pressures behind constructive projects of the commission, against the commission's political enemies, and also against efforts within the commission to turn to a "business as usual" or routinized psychology.

The goals of this long-term program, carried on by the two related organizations, have been outlined early in this pamphlet. Their efforts should be directed toward eliminating the handi-

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caps of minority groups in employment, housing, education, churches, and social life generally. This means action, not words. The programs should try to open the way for everyone to participate in American life according to his abilities as an individual and not merely as a member of a certain racial group.

Make Friends

Finally, in your sincere efforts to search out what you can do to help, try this experiment: Develop friendships with at least one member of each of several minorities. And be sure to remember that a friendship is not something you hand down from above. It is a relationship of give and take, of mutual respect and understanding. To make sure that the relationship will be such, it might be well to select persons of other racial groups who occupy approximately the same social and economic place you do. Most people will be surprised that this is possible, but it is.

In such an experiment, you may at first find yourself entering into the affair in the spirit of "what a fine democrat I am." This is a kind of self-flattery that will have to disappear if you are to reach a sound basis of mutual understanding. In fact, that is one of the chief tests of the success of this experiment. When you, as a member of the white group, no longer think you are making concessions by associating with your Negro acquaintance, he has by then become your friend.

When you have one or several Negro, Mexican, or Japanese-American friends, you have a fund of first-hand experiences to pass on to other members of your own group. You can see society and people with more than one set of eyes. You are, more than ever, a force for good in our democracy.

Practice What You Preach

The folly of preaching one thing and practicing something else must be recognized from the outset. To drill interracial democracy into school pupils and then to deny Negroes a chance to teach in any but jim-crow classes is a contradiction apparent to pupils. To have a group of middle-class suburbanites demand

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housing for all in the slums without accepting all groups in their own community does more to create antagonism than to achieve a goal. The insecure people who suffer from racial prejudice cannot be helped to cure themselves unless we approach them on an honest basis—and as the lawyers put it, "with clean hands."

Make Race Riots Impossible

America has survived many race riots and many religious, political, economic, and other disturbances. But conditions have changed. The danger to our social welfare inherent in religious and racial clashes increases as we become more and more the members of a world community. We have learned to solve most of our domestic political and industrial disagreements peacefully. Elections and arbitration rather than civil wars and bloody strikes are becoming the rule. The day when Roman Catholic churches were burned in the United States has passed. Let us hope that the growing awareness of our responsibilities will soon rule out open clashes involving racial and religious groups. And then, if we keep at it, even the less overt group injustices will gradually diminish and disappear. Then race riots will not only be unnecessary. They will be impossible.



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TO SUMMARIZE, HERE ARE THE STEPS

1. Know that race riots are symptoms of a disease, not the disease itself. The disease is intergroup intolerance or "scapegoatism," closely related to Nazism and Fascism.

2. There is no substitute for a long-term program to promote sound interracial relations. An anti-riot program has value merely to patch up a truce and to give long-term methods a chance to work.

3. Keep your eye—or see that some organization keeps its eyes—on the seven areas in which danger signals of approaching race violence appear. Those who *will* look and *will* see, *can* see a race riot coming. These seven areas are: rumors, frictions, demagogues, delinquency and crime, police attitudes, congestion, employment.

4. Organize for immediate action. Get together an emergency committee of good explorers and good strategists of social action. The explorers will chart the problems, and the strategists will lay out the things to be done.

5. Make certain that the mayor of your town knows how to bring in the state militia or, better, the U. S. Army without delay.

6. Organize the channels of publicity for immediate action. See that they have "canned" materials at hand for the possible emergency.

7. Develop emergency plans with school and transportation officials, clergymen, management and labor leadership, veterans' groups, scouts, and men's and women's civic and service clubs and societies. Make sure that these plans can easily be placed in action.

8. Should a race riot break out, make sure that the state militia or the U. S. Army is on its way as soon as the danger becomes apparent. Then place the rest of the emergency program into immediate operation.

9. Every organization and every individual of good will can help —if only by keeping cool and keeping people off the streets.

10. After the emergency has passed, turn to and help build a substantial and permanent organization for the strengthening of interracial democracy in your community. In this long-term program make the focal points of attack congested housing in segregated districts and the dangerous anxieties that all feel in the face of pressing job insecurity.

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RATE YOURSELF!

How good a citizen of a democracy are you?

Today one of the most important tests of an American is his stand on race elations. Here is a questionnaire prepared by the American Council on Race Relations. Figure your own score on it. How good a democrat are you?

For each question check the box which most closely describes your reaction. Add up your score. If you rate between 80 and 100, you are probably making a real contribution to the improvement of race relations. If your score is between 60 and 80, you are not doing enough. If your score is below 60, you are consciously or unconsciously promoting racial and other intergroup antagonisms.

	10 points	5 points	0
1. *Do you think of George Washington Carver, Albert Einstein, and Enrico Caruso primarily as an exceptional Negro, Jew, and Italian—or do you think of them as exceptional* **individuals**, *a scientist, a mathematician, and a musician?*	I think of them as individuals	I think of them as a Negro, Jew, and Italian, but try to evaluate them as individuals	Invariably I think of them as a Negro, a Jew, and an Italian
2. *Do you refer to minority groups or group members as "chinks," "wops," "micks," or "hunkies"?*	Never	Sometimes	Always
3. *Are you training your children to understand that all Americans, regardless of race, creed, and color, have equal rights?*	Certainly	Realize I should	Why should I?
4. *Do you accept racial and religious differences as a matter of course, or do you think that differences imply inferiority?*	Accept them. Think differences make people more interesting	I know the facts of science: differences do not mean inferiority	My ways are better; my group is superior
5. *Do you have the guts to speak up when someone tells a joke that ridicules a whole race or religion?*	Yes, I try to show how such jokes may promote prejudices	I would speak up if it isn't embarrassing to do so	I would laugh
6. *Are you working with others against discrimination in your city, in your union, on your job, in your clubs?*	Yes	I would help if asked	What could I do?
7. *Have you written to your Congressman in support of FEPC, the antilynch bill, the repeal of poll tax?*	Yes—often, and I got friends to write	No. But I intend to do so	What good would it do?
8. *Do you repeat rumors about racial and religious groups?*	No. I investigate rumors and try to stop them	I don't repeat them, but I don't try to stop them	If they're hot, I pass them along
9. *Do you believe in "white supremacy," that "international bankers" are all Jews, that colored groups are made up of people who are all "childish, irresponsible, and lazy"?*	No. Besides being untrue, these catch phrases endanger democracy	I'm not quite sure	Of course I do!
10. *Have you ever bothered to obtain and read authentic and unbiased information about one or more of America's minority groups?*	Yes, and I got facts to use in talking with other people	I listen to such facts when I hear them	I'm not interested
TOTAL SCORE			

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