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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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League for Human Rights, Cleveland, Ohio, 1944.





Number 4

## *This Is Cleveland . . .*

Nov. 1, 1944

Contents of  
*This Is Cleveland . . .*

Number 1:  
General Survey  
of the ethnic  
origin of  
Cleveland's  
population  
and the  
problems which  
derive from  
those origins.

Number 2:  
Italians and  
Southeastern  
Europeans.

Number 3:  
Germans.

### A CHALLENGE TO MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Cleveland, as a part of American Democracy, cannot achieve Democracy, unless her people see and understand both the dangers that surround them and the reasons for the existence of those dangers. The League for Human Rights believes that adequate and regular information on the sources of those dangers, their free discussion, and community action to eradicate them, will help to sustain the civic mind.

In this issue we appeal to our white citizens to examine their individual and group attitudes toward Negroes.

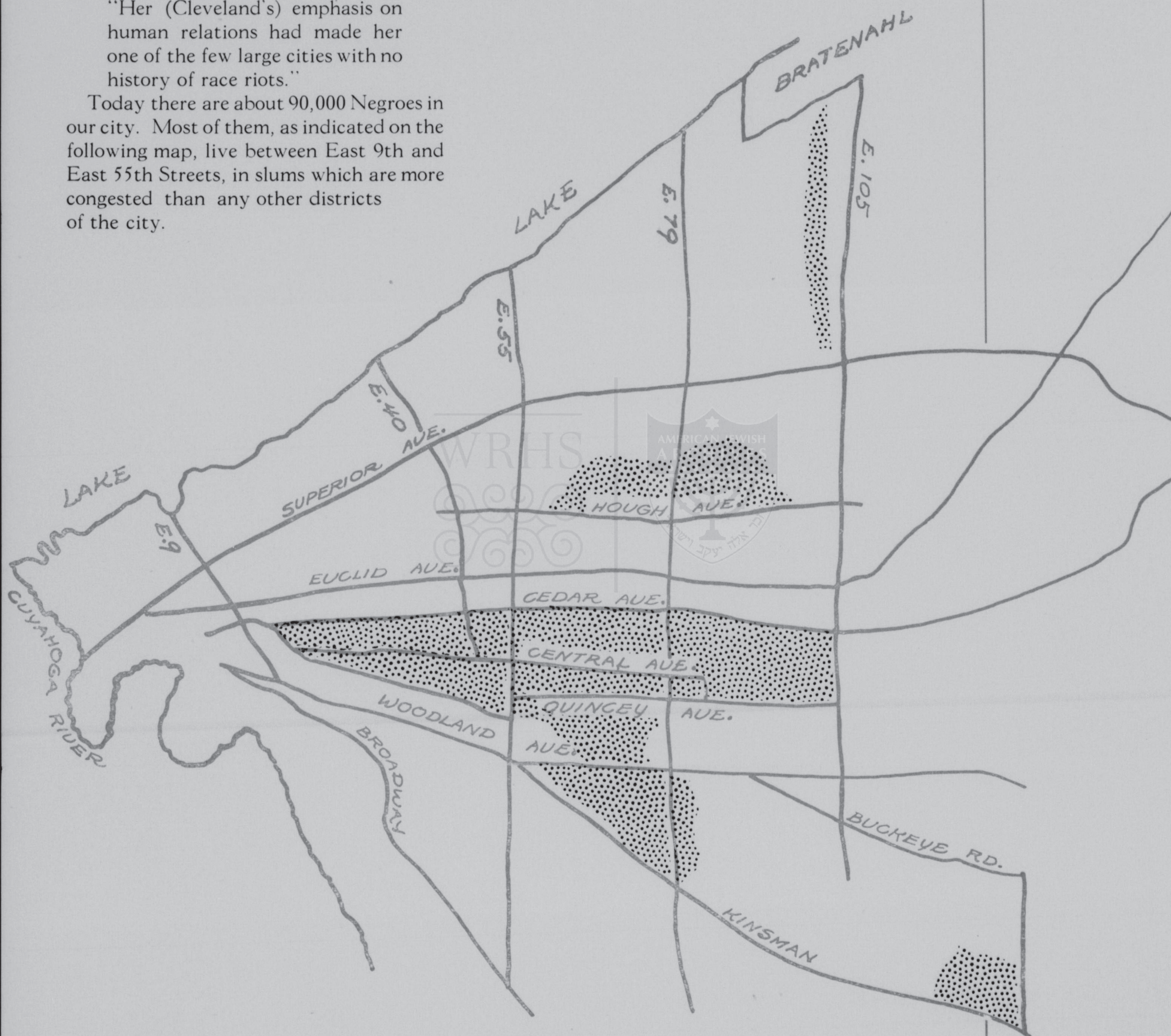
Published by  
The League for Human Rights  
Ninth-Chester Bldg.  
PRospect 5730



"From the point of view of the American Creed the status accorded the Negro in America represents nothing more and nothing less than a century-long lag of public morals. In principle the Negro problem was settled long ago; in practice the solution is not effectuated."<sup>1</sup> In the first issue of *This is Cleveland . . .*, we stated:

"Her (Cleveland's) emphasis on human relations had made her one of the few large cities with no history of race riots."

Today there are about 90,000 Negroes in our city. Most of them, as indicated on the following map, live between East 9th and East 55th Streets, in slums which are more congested than any other districts of the city.



Negroes themselves say that "Cleveland is the best city to live in." Cleveland has a city ordinance against discrimination; Negroes fill high positions in Federal, State and municipal offices. They may shop in the best stores; in those sections where they live mixed with Whites, no serious tensions have arisen; the same schools educate white and Negro children. With some persistence Negroes may get hotel accommodations; unmolested, they frequent the down-

<sup>1</sup>An American Dilemma. Gunnar Myrdal. Harper and Brothers, Publishers, New York & London. 1944. Page 24.



town movies and theatres; they go to concerts and meetings. Since the man-power shortage first made itself felt, we have seen them behind counters as sales people; they operate street-cars; they are nurses and student nurses; in some hospitals, such as City and Lakeside Hospitals, they are on the physicians' staffs; a number of hospitals take Negroes as private patients. They attend Western Reserve University, Cleveland College, Fenn College, and John Carroll University. A Negro was elected head of the Ministerial Association. Because of the favorable conditions existing in Cleveland, a Negro manufacturer who employs workers of both races has moved into the city. Cleveland newspapers, in reporting criminological news, do not indicate the color of the criminals; to some degree they carry feature stories on Negroes in civic life and in the army. The city administration, the schools, the volunteer organizations have committees on race relations; the problems vital to interracial relations have become standard topics in all educational programs of civic organizations.

Although we find community good will in our midst, we do not always realize that Negroes belong to the oldest stock in this nation. The first twenty slaves came to Virginia in 1619, one year before 101 pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. Let us not forget these beginnings of Negro American History. In 1865, all Negroes became citizens, with the exception of the few Britishers who came to Cleveland from the West Indies.

### DEMOCRACY APPLIED

At the moment when we are fighting a World War which has its only justification in the fact that it is a war to destroy the foes of Democracy we may well be concerned about the imperfections in our application of the principles of liberty and equality for all to ten per cent of our citizens. Cleveland is a "good" city for Negroes; but this "good," measured against these principles, is still very bad.

Except for the war itself, there is no issue that has created more discussion or has resulted in a greater torrent of literature than the Negro problem. People have become wide awake to danger. Intellectually, these problems of Democracy have been clarified. Just as most of us, recognizing the beneficial effects of vitamins on our health, nevertheless continue to indulge in starchy pastry and a meat, potato, and gravy diet, so we shy away from the healthy program of race relations which would make our Democracy strong.

Studies of American Negroes are studies of the development of our nation. They show our high aspirations, but they show our failures even more. Whenever we failed the weakest and poorest among us, we failed the Negro most; whenever we suppressed, we suppressed the Negro most. Whenever we became barbaric and violent, we wounded the Negro most; whenever we refused the newcomers among us, we rejected the Negro most; whenever we exploited, we exploited the Negro most. And yet it is by the attitude of the American White toward the American Negro that we can measure the degree to which Democracy among us has been forwarded or retarded.

The Negro differs from the foreign-born inasmuch as his life is the microcosm of what we call Americanism. In his 79 years of freedom he has again and again repeated the Horatio Alger story. George Washington Carver, the international scientist, was born a slave. In 1937, our own city celebrated "John P. Green Day," to commemorate the 92nd birthday of John Green, child of a slave, lawyer, State Representative and State Senator from Cleveland. Many a Negro lawyer, teacher or social worker in our city had an illiterate mother or grandmother who was born in slavery and who continued to slave under freedom in order to give to her free children the education which might enable them to compete with the best in the nation. The Negro is the most American of all Americans. He likes to have a good time; he sometimes resorts to violence when he is pushed around; he may look for easy money and he may work unbelievably hard for an education, or to buy a home and a car. He is a crusader for the American Creed, for in this Creed lies his future. He has no divided loyalties, no Old Country. Slavery destroyed his tribal and family heritage. He possesses nothing but America and she is like an evil stepmother to him, though he strives to turn her into a good mother. He is the last member in the social scale; the first in the fight against privilege. Therefore, it is he who is the most democratic among us.



In our first issue of *This Is Cleveland* . . . , we said:

"The United States is the only nation conceived and created in the image of equality and liberty and justice for all . . . Thus American nationalism implies loyalty to these principles. . . . Their realization in public life is the glory for which our nation strives. The historical past, the ethnic group to which any citizen, naturalized or native, belongs, is not what matters. The value of a citizen derives from his devotion to the principles of this Democracy . . . Before the law, a man's origins are irrelevant. Where he wants to go is the essential factor. It is important whether he becomes a member of the spiritual community which is America, and helps to build a future based on ideas and reason . . . The American community is inclusive for all those holding the same convictions. A 'foreigner' in the true American sense, is a resident who excludes himself by hanging on in his mind and heart to the privileges of blood and history."

The Negro is a member of this spiritual community. But how many Whites are? Certainly not those who refuse the Negro physical membership in this spiritual community. The Negro identifies himself with the Constitution, but the Whites do not identify him with the civic body, which should be the living expression of the Constitution.

### FREEDOM'S GROWTH IN OHIO

In 1870 the territory today called Ohio had 45,000 white and 337 Negro residents. When Ohio drafted her constitution in 1802, there was much discussion as to whether or not Negroes should have equal rights. Some advocated it, others opposed it. The Western Reserve was settled by New England Puritans who brought with them their moral opposition to slavery and discrimination. The next group of settlers was composed of Scotch-Irish, many of whom came from small farms in Virginia where they had failed to compete successfully with the rich planters. They were against slavery for economic but not for moral reasons. Both groups of settlers had an ally against slavery in the slave-holders of the adjoining Southern States. Big land-owners did not cherish the idea of indigo and tobacco plantations in the North. These were crops which they believed could be profitably grown only with slave labor. So, through the coinciding interests of Northern abolitionists and Southern slave-holders, Ohio became a free state. However, Negroes were excluded from voting and could not bring suit in Court against white persons. Although they were "favored" by exemption from taxation and military duty, they were still obviously without true franchise.

By 1820 Ohio's population had grown to 576,000 Whites and 4,723 Negroes. In 1870, there were 3,601,111 Whites and 63,000 Negroes, or a proportion of not quite 2 per cent. Cleveland in those early days was an unimportant town compared to Cincinnati, which in 1860 had 161,000 residents compared to Cleveland's 43,000. Cincinnati's Negro population increased rapidly in the first decades of the 19th century. Many runaway slaves sought refuge there. Yet "Ohio Black Laws" were ill-famed throughout the nation. No Negro could settle in Ohio unless they were able to produce a certificate of Freedom and could post a bond. There was not a single school provided for them.

Abolitionists as well as free Negroes would shelter and help runaway slaves. Southern Ohio was the natural bridgehead for the slaves on their route to Canada, and Ohio was the main line of the Underground Railroad. There were many white and Negro station masters. Prominent citizens, such as Edward Wade and Salmon Chase championed Negro Rights in Cleveland. One of the most famous of white station masters was David Hudson, after whom our neighboring community of Hudson was named. Owen Brown, father of John Brown, lived in Ohio. Oberlin, Hudson, Huron, Vermilion, Lorain, Sandusky and Ashtabula were the border-gates opening into safe Canada. Nor was the number of slaves slipped over the border small. One single Negro station master helped more than a thousand to escape.

Slowly Ohio became more friendly toward Negroes. In 1832, Cleveland opened its first school for Negroes. The saying was that no fugitive could be captured in Cleveland. In 1842, the Ohio legislature decided that persons with more than 50 per cent white blood would be con-



sidered white. In the presidential campaign of 1848, William H. Seward urged Clevelanders:

"Reform your code, extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weary limbs at your door."

In that election so many free-soilers and abolitionists were elected to the Ohio legislature that the Black Laws were repealed. Since then Ohio has legally upheld equality for Negroes, although unlike the New England States and New York, Ohio has segregated schools in some sections.

#### GROWTH OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION IN CLEVELAND

1850-1940

Year	Total	White	Negro	Per-centage
1850	17,034	16,810	224	1.3
1910	560,663	552,215	8,448	1.5
1920	796,841	762,390	34,451	4.3
1930	899,732	827,833	71,899	7.9
1940	877,921	793,417	84,504	9.6

Nine and six tenths per cent is almost the median percentage of our Negro population in the nation. Cincinnati has 12 per cent; Columbus, 11.7; Philadelphia, 12; St. Louis, 13.3; Kansas City, 17.3; Gary, Indiana, 18.3; and Washington, 28.2 per cent.

About 70,000 Negroes moved to Cleveland during the last thirty years and joined the numbers of our latecomers. Coming from the rural South, they feel as puzzled and as confused in the new environment as do those from foreign lands. While the percentage of Negroes in our population increased, the percentage of foreign-born decreased. Some of these foreign-born have emigrated, many have died, and due to the immigration restrictions, no new influx has taken place. Our city is still growing, but its growth is through births, and through immigration from our own South. Whites and Negroes, but mostly Negroes, come here in the hope of a better life. Sometimes they have been lured into coming by agents of manufacturers in search of labor. They contributed to the industrial development of the city, but were not welcomed as participants in its community life. We made some efforts in behalf of our foreign-born population. Their own organizations and churches, the International Institute and the Citizens' Bureau provided for education and prepared for citizenship, for recreation and for a congenial atmosphere.

During the past ten years, about 2,000 Jews who were refugees from Nazi persecution have been integrated into Cleveland. This integration came about through the meticulous efforts and preparations of the established Jewish community of 100,000 who welcomed them, provided for them, and felt responsible for each of the newcomers. Churches, community organizations, and the Government, united in order to condition the community for the friendly reception of about 1800 Japanese-Americans, succeeded in obviating many possible obstacles which might have been contingent upon such a reception.

Much less community effort has been made on behalf of the 40,000 Negroes who came here since 1920, though we knew in advance that tensions must inevitably develop. We cannot very well hold our old Cleveland Yankee Negroes responsible. They were too few to cope with several times their own number. In addition, they themselves were still not fully accepted. They could hardly make the newcomers feel at home in a home which was not quite their own.

We failed in 1920; we failed again in 1942. Southern Whites and Negroes poured in as defense workers. Industry urged them to come. They found good jobs, but faced opposition as citizens. Property owners in residential sections objected to emergency housing for Negroes in their districts. In-migrant Negroes had difficulties with the schooling of their children, and were not able to find enough facilities for recreation. They had to double up in their living quarters; they felt all the evil results of crowded and inadequate homes as well as of undirected recreation.



In Detroit, just such a situation contributed to the riots. It is not too late to utilize our community experiences in adjusting the problems of the Negroes. Our foreign-born citizens frequently came from countries where their accidental historical origin automatically had put them into a group which by established law either is discriminated against or practices discrimination. That is true for Negroes and Whites from the South. The Southern Negro, like the foreign-born among us, frequently lacks education.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, he is faced with a combination of new difficulties. For the first time, he is given political equality and is even granted a certain amount of social equality. The place which the Whites expect him to take in Cleveland is not instantly obvious and is not defined. In this difficult situation, surrounded by unknowns, he has to use his own judgment, and his confusion is complicated and completed. In this situation of ambiguity and lack of understanding, he is joined by the white immigrant from the South, whose unfamiliarity with the North's pattern adds to his own as well as to the general community confusion.

There are no Jim Crow signs here, informing the Negro newcomer where he may or may not go. Theoretically, we permit him to go any place he likes. But there are public bathing places where Negroes may not swim; there are Y pools, where they are not admitted, or where they are admitted only at special hours set aside for their use. Not all institutions, such as orphanages and hospitals, which are supported by the Welfare Fund, a public trust, will accept Negroes, and some institutions and agencies serve Negroes as clients but exclude them from their staffs.

Negroes have been crowded into the "Colored Belt" since living quarters were refused to them in other localities. It is hard for a Southern Negro who expects freedom in the North, to understand that this freedom is restricted to political rights but includes social equality only to the extent that it is doled out to him bit by bit at the whim of individual Whites. In the South he knows the law and the code. How can he master the contradictory habits of the North?

### DISCRIMINATION IN THE NORTH

Our Negroes may vote, they may be elected for office, they may find justice in the courts, plead there as lawyers, or pass sentence as judges. Politically they have found equality. As a sizeable voting group, they are cultivated by persons running for office. In some sections they may hold the balance of power in elections. Our Ohio representatives in Washington have supported political equality for Negroes throughout the nation. They cast their vote against the Poll Tax; Representative Bender sponsored the anti-Poll Tax bill in the House; our two Senators voted for cloture in order to stop filibustering of the Southern Senators against the anti-Poll Tax bill.

Economically, Cleveland has participated in the progress made against job discrimination. No unsolvable case has arisen in controversies about the employment and upgrading of qualified Negroes. For permanency and improvement, we need the passage of the bill for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, drafted by Senator Chavez. This bill has had hearings, but has been shelved until after the election. Such a bill would put teeth into the temporary President's Committee for Fair Employment Practices. The Cleveland Office of the President's Committee has been an effective watchdog against discrimination in employment in our city. Since the Metropolitan Council for Fair Employment Practices, a voluntary committee of prominent citizens, backs the administrative Committee, this office has the support of true democratic action. Although we must be prepared for increased discrimination in employment, if and when employment should decrease, our present government, both parties, as well as labor and management, have promised to fight discrimination.

Procedures for preserving the present situation have been established, and laws for their safeguarding are before Congress. On the national political scene, Clevelanders who want to improve our Democracy have an easy path for action. They have only to back the machinery

<sup>1</sup>In 1930, of the population of the United States 10 years old and older, 5.6 per cent of the Negro and 13 per cent of the foreign-born was illiterate.

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now existing and to demand further the passage of the necessary laws.<sup>1</sup> The leading Negro organizations do not call for very much more themselves. They demand,

1. A Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee;
2. An end to segregation in the armed forces;<sup>2</sup>
3. The inclusion of Negroes in the U. S. peace conference delegations;
4. The recognition of China as an equal partner with the "Big Three" in settling postwar policy.

The latter request indicates clearly how closely connected our domestic race problem is with our position as an effective or ineffective leader in world order.

A real stalemate and deplorable lack of direction exists in the field of social discrimination. This is essentially a behavior problem on the side of the Whites as individuals or groups by which they express denial of due respect to a citizen because of his darker skin. Such behavior patterns cannot be wiped out by law. They work in the realm of the mind and can be changed only by a change of mind. The first step would be the realization in head and heart that by discrimination we violate the essence of those declared principles on which our country was founded, though we may break no actual law.

We do not have to repeat to our readers that science has not found a single biological fact which would establish the superiority of Whites over Negroes.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, Hitler has made talk about race superiority so obnoxious that there are today few Americans who openly dare to repeat such nonsense. However, that has not helped much in decreasing actual discrimination. The crux of the matter is that an honest discussion on a rational basis seldom convinces racists. The facts about races are taught in our high schools. At least in the North the principle of equality is accepted.

In the September issue of *This Is Cleveland* . . . , The League for Human Rights analyzed the pre-Hitlerian characteristic of adherence to the ideas of equality and liberty in teaching and in theory in Germany, at the same time that the ruling class practiced suppression and division of classes as a hangover from feudalism. Our own American hangover from a slave economy has remained an active power. Contempt for darker people seeps into our minds from early childhood, and its general practice is so mechanical that we become aware of it only on special occasions. Whenever such an occasion arises, our better knowledge is defeated by a reaction which we can only call a taboo reaction. White Americans appear to give their subconscious consent to the belief that a curse, about which they may not speak, hangs over our nation. The statement that "Negroes are different," implies more than the true statement that their skins are usually darker than that of the majority. Light-skinned Negroes, who are not "different," also know discrimination. Even those who pass as Whites and are unrecognizable as Negroes by their appearance, would not be accepted among Whites if the latter realized their origin.

About 20,000 Negroes pass into the white world every year in a clandestine way. Burckhardt DuBois, famous Negro writer, says that Negroes and Whites are separated by a glass plate which bars all communication. Passing from the Negro world into the white world is one invisible break in that glass plate.

The discrimination exercised against Negroes is identical with that brought to bear against foreigners or against any other outsiders. If they are denied certain jobs because they are not equipped for them, that is not discrimination. Discrimination starts when members of the dominant group, be they native-born, skilled workers, gentiles, men, or all Whites, exclude the weaker group from acquiring the necessary skills because they consider the desirable jobs as their own privileged domain. In our Cleveland schools, Negroes sometimes have been advised to discontinue training in technical high school on the grounds that they would not find jobs available upon completion of their training. Negroes who would like to become doctors drop that plan because they know that only a few internships in the whole nation are available to them and that without that training they would be inferior doctors. Sixty-eight internships for Negroes were available in 1931 in the whole United States; in 1939, there were 168, of which a few were in Cleveland.

<sup>1</sup>Anti-Poll Tax, Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee.

<sup>2</sup>The Army order to stop discrimination in all camp facilities is progress.

<sup>3</sup>*The Races of Mankind*, Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85. 1943 Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York, N. Y.



### DEMOCRACY RETARDED

Wherever non-discrimination and non-segregation become the accepted policy, as has been the case in government offices, in the Merchant Marines, in housing projects in Springfield, Illinois, in New York, Detroit, and Chicago, the results have been gratifying. Personal experiences make us believe that with a little more initiative and courage, many white Clevelanders would be willing to give non-discrimination a trial. The present situation in Cleveland, a comparatively good one, was achieved through the continuous work of Negroes and prominent white citizens who consistently supported the demands of Negroes. The war has stirred emotions and has directed thoughts towards higher values in our nation. Many have rededicated themselves to the ideals of Democracy as the only stable philosophy for relations between individuals, groups and nations. These emotions may be stronger than their taboos. But fear of the disapproval of their neighbors may be even stronger.

Actually, we often anticipate prejudice where it does not exist. To illustrate: In a Committee meeting on some public affairs, a young Negro girl had to deliver a message and some explanations from her employer. She did extremely well and her poise impressed the people present. After the girl had left, a Southerner bent over to a Clevelander who has long been a fighter for Negro rights. Before she started to speak, the Clevelander prepared herself for the punch she would deal out as soon as the Southerner voiced her prejudice. The latter, however, went on, "That was a lovely girl. How proud her mother will be." Such preconceived suspicion against an individual who comes from the South gives us a clue to the occasional discrimination sometimes practiced by those very ones who fight prejudice. It gives us a clue, too, as to how much stronger than all our suspicions must be the suspicion of Negroes against all Whites.

We have recognized the foundation of the race prejudice in our country as a historical hang-over fortified by a taboo. Science and democratic conviction have exposed this taboo. Racists do not speak of facts and convictions. They resort to force as suppressors who lack good reasons always will. In order to block the development of an unprejudiced attitude fortified by truth, they suppress the teaching of truth. The Public Affairs Pamphlet, *Races of Mankind*, was withdrawn from the army on the appeal of Southern Senators. To what did these Senators object? The pamphlet prints some intelligence scores, based on AEF Intelligence Tests, of soldiers of the first World War. For example:

White Soldiers (Median Score)		Negro Soldiers (Median Score)	
Mississippi	41.25	New York	45.02
Kentucky	41.50	Illinois	47.35
Arkansas	41.55	Ohio	49.5

Northern Negroes scored higher than Southern Whites!

The rejection figures for sub-standard intelligence in the present draft reveal that for example, 10.8 per cent of the Whites from North Carolina, 10.4 per cent from Texas and 9.8 per cent from Arkansas are substandard, with a still higher rejection of Negroes, while only 2.8 per cent of the Negroes from Massachusetts are rejected, 2.8 per cent from Illinois and 2.4 per cent from New York. The average expenditure on education per child in Arkansas is \$37.00, in New York, \$157.00.

Environment and lack of education rather than race produce the statistics which seem to prove inherited inferiority. Nevertheless, many Whites, instead of helping to improve environment, make the most of traits due to defective environment in order to sustain their own desire to remain segregated.



In a discussion with a group of white people who were seriously concerned with their own attitude of discrimination, the following objectionable characteristics of Negroes were presented:

*Kinky hair and thick lips.*

Of course, external appearance at once was discarded as unimportant.

*Aggressiveness and servility.*

These two are mutually exclusive; both traits are found among all races. If they are more prevalent among Negroes, and they probably are, they are easily recognizable as emotional reactions to a hostile atmosphere which is unfavorable to the development of self-control and poise.

*Personal filth and disease.*

This is a general affliction of extreme poverty and inferior education, and is universally applicable.

*Laziness and inefficiency.*

These are the natural reactions to lack of appreciation and lack of opportunity, augmented by poor nourishment and insufficient training.

*Superstition and religious emotionalism.*

Since the foundation of discrimination among Whites is clearly based on taboos, it does not become Whites to blame Negroes for being superstitious. Education will remedy both. As long as no worldly opportunities are open to these underprivileged, religious emotionalism must be considered as a consoling escape from misery and a giving up to God who, more powerful than the white man, will open a heaven of happiness and luxury for his poorest children.

Aggressiveness, servility, superstition, laziness, inefficiency, unreliability, filthiness, disease, and criminality are undesirable. Except in the case of subnormal and perverted persons of all races, they are acquired through bad physical and mental environment, and are characteristic of both rural and city slums. The majority of our Negro population has been kept in sub-standard conditions. Rather than shake our heads pityingly about the inflictions of the Negroes, we should be amazed at how many of them, in spite of their background, have led decent and normal lives and are rising materially and culturally to and above the American standard.

The popular theory of Negro inferiority has been destroyed gradually. There remains the taboo, which can be conquered only by the honesty of the Whites and their willingness to participate in interracial relations. Only the America First Party, whose leader, Gerald L. K. Smith, proves in this respect that he is Hitler's little brother, has come out boldly with proposals for the liquidation of Negroes either by deportation to Africa or by other means. Smith shows the same contempt for the intelligence and good will of the American people that Hitler showed in regard to the world.

### **SOLVING THE AMERICAN DILEMMA**

It should be easy for Clevelanders to support all bills which aim toward political and economic equality in the nation. At present these bills are pending in the House and Senate:

*The Anti-Poll Tax Bill.*

*The bill for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee.*

The Supreme Court decision and the acceptance of that decision (in some Southern States) to grant Negroes the right to vote in the Democratic primaries, gives some hope that progress can be made. We must go on. We must demand that the Red Cross stop the separation of red blood into white and black blood. There are numerous white persons who because of this nonsense will not give blood or contributions to an agency which discriminates so flagrantly.

We should ask for experimental units of Whites and Negroes in the Army, manned by volunteers. To a small degree, both the Army and Navy have lessened their segregation habits. Officers' training in the Army always maintained mixed training. The *Pittsburgh Courier* reported the experimental organization of one mixed unit of combat soldiers.



Sheer expediency demands this change of policy. The United States will be one of the leading nations to which others will turn for counsel and for material help in building their Democracies. Many of these nations, embracing the majority of mankind, are colored. Our South American neighbors will watch us. China and India will hesitate to trust our word unless we prove to them that the American Creed is not hypocrisy.

In a Democracy, laws function only if the people back them and preserve them. Therefore, expediency is not enough. We need a change of mind, an inner acceptance of the idea of equality and liberty for all, a redemption of White America and her Creed. Such a change can be stimulated but not enforced from the outside. The individual alone can fulfill it. In some respects that is fortunate, since in this way everyone can have an active part. Whites can participate by changing their attitude and discarding their taboos, Negroes by becoming patient and less vindictive.

Such is the general task. In order to go beyond planning and discussion in our community, we must invent opportunities for exercising our good intentions. In Cleveland, a "good" city, where certain preliminaries have been fulfilled, we must pioneer for still better ways. The comparative smoothness of minority relations in Cleveland seems to have caused us to relax and to remain more conservative than other cities where tensions and riots posed the hard necessity of effectuating improvements. Thus, Chicago and New York schools have forwarded plans at this moment; Detroit, where the situation was so desperate, leads the field in improvements. There, the Superintendent of Schools has created an Administrative Committee on Intercultural and Inter-racial Education.

The Cleveland school system has given attention to these same questions. The Supervisor of the Social Studies Department announced in September that the Social Studies Department is engaged in making a survey of what Cleveland public schools are doing on the subject of international relations, what other communities are doing and what supplementary reading material should be added to that which Cleveland schools already have. The Board of Education broadcasts have provided excellent programs for the students. There have been free discussions in schools. High school students conducted a radio forum. However, Cleveland has not yet introduced the type of social study material that Chicago, New York, and Detroit are now using.

Our schools are not segregated. A mixed school with a mixed faculty is of course the very best background for an active and constructive American education. Due to unofficial housing segregation, rather than to faulty school administration, this favorable situation is not as strong as it once was. In 1924 the population in the "Colored Belt" was 34 per cent native white, 31 per cent foreign-born white, and 35 per cent Negro. About one hundred Negro teachers taught throughout the city. Today, the "Colored Belt" is more than 90 per cent Negro, and so are the schools in that district. Negro teachers are more or less concentrated in the Negro districts.

Our social agencies have tried to improve this situation, but Detroit instigated further measures. The Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit has adopted an Inter-Racial Code opposing segregation in the Council and recommending non-segregation in all member agencies. "The Board is of the opinion that where people of different races live, work, play, or worship together, conflict is reduced."<sup>1</sup>

It must not be assumed that Cleveland's Welfare Federation has been idle, it has published an excellent study of Cleveland's Central Area.<sup>2</sup> The next step should be the elimination of segregation in social agencies, and this process has in some instances been initiated during the past year. For example, the Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., and Girl Scouts have established mixed camps. The most progressive institutions have been our settlement houses. The greatest infractions seem to be the exclusion of Negro children from orphanages and institutions which house and educate problem children and those who come from broken homes. The greater ratio of police records of Negro youngsters as compared to that of Whites is due partly, as the Welfare Study states<sup>2</sup>, to the fact that frequently white children can be taken out of the hands of the police and spared a court record by proper institutionalization or by placement in good foster homes.

Cleveland has an official over-all Council in the Racial Relations Panel of the Cleveland Postwar Planning Council. Their report, released in June, ably pointed out the two fundamental

<sup>1</sup>Inter-Racial Code of the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit.

<sup>2</sup>The Central Area Social Study, Research Committee, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, July, 1944.



jobs which must be done at once. They are: end discrimination in employment, and improve housing facilities. The Panel also recommended to the Mayor the employment of an executive secretary and a staff to carry out the recommendations of the panel.

Second only to improvements in employment, better housing is of the utmost necessity. It would be far from right to say that Cleveland has done nothing in this direction. The Cleveland Church Federation points out that a third of all public housing was incepted in the Negro section.

How successful such efforts prove is shown in the study of the Cleveland Welfare Federation.<sup>1</sup> Outhwaite Housing Project is in the slum section of the Black Belt. Delinquency among children living in the housing project, with its nice apartments, playgrounds and Community Center, is less than half that among those living in the slums next door!

It seems then, that Cleveland has advanced to a point calling for a big forward step. Segregation in housing is the crucial problem.

The housing and school situations show an increase of segregation in Cleveland. The bi-racial solution of proportionate shares in appropriation but full segregation, as advocated in the South, has gained ground here. Can equality and liberty for all be realized if both races are equally but separately considered? Equal consideration and equal service cannot be guaranteed under segregation, since Negroes are a small minority in most parts of the country. Let us take the example of equal high school education. With 500 white and 50 Negro students to be served in a given district, it is obvious that a more varied staff, better buildings and laboratories and more choice in the curriculum can be offered to 500 than to 50. A mixed group of 550 can be educated with ease when the standards are high. This may necessitate two teachers and two rooms and fifty lockers more. With the best of will, a high school of 50 pupils must remain a skeleton.

The question of segregation is complex, indeed.

*Where would segregation start? With economic segregation? An economy within our economy? Negroes growing, producing, serving only for one another?* Of course, such an idea does not exist even in the Southern mind. The South does not care to lose either the Negro sharecropper or the Negro servant.

*Shall we institute this segregation with political segregation? A Negro State within our State, with a Negro Parliament, a Negro police force?* Nonsense.

Segregation always means cultural segregation. Why? Because of a taboo. Even if the institution of such segregation did not lead to inequality of benefits, it would violate our concept of individual freedom. Whites and Negroes who chose to communicate with one another would not have the freedom to do so. The State would interfere unjustly with that realm of personal life with which totalitarianism alone tampers.

The life of Democracy is coöperation. To order cessation of coöperation kills the spirit of Democracy. Under the Law, therefore, coöperation should be protected. Wherever public funds from taxation or money from public trusts is used, it should be used with the provision that color cannot be a reason for exclusion in any locality. Wherever taxation exists for housing, wherever merchandise and service are put on our free market, color distinctions may not exclude from buying and selling, and no special locality may be set aside.

The individual who wants to retain segregation for himself should, of course, be free to do so. He must shoulder the burden, however. It is romantic and sentimental to think that in many the desire for isolation may not be stronger than community spirit. Such segregation, then, should be made distinctly by the one who chooses it and should not be imposed on all. Not segregation, but segregation enforced from outside is discrimination. The segregationists may form their clubs, they may buy a tract of land and build a colony. But they then exclude themselves from such special democratic benefits as public schools, public transportation, Community Fund grants and tax relief. Religious, nationality, professional, or social groups desiring exclusiveness, are entitled to it. Those whom they exclude, however, must not be forced to pay the price of this exclusion. They alone who exclude must settle the account. Only then can we say to the world that we Americans do not know men by their color, and that Negroes are not denied any privileges granted to the rest of our citizens.

<sup>1</sup>The Central Area Social Study, Research Committee, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, July, 1944.

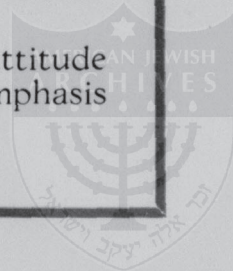


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Disseminates accurate information regarding the Nazi state today.

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*Reprinted From  
The Cleveland Press  
of Nov. 7, 1944*

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**Dilworth Lupton Says:**

## **To A. Lincoln, Esq.**

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**DEAR MR. LINCOLN:** When I heard Paul Robeson speak on Sunday afternoon at the reception given by the Ohio Citizens for Roosevelt, I couldn't help think how gratified you would have been that the American Negroes, whom you freed, had been able to produce such a superb person.

That city club audience would have been unbelievable in your day, Mr. Lincoln, and perhaps even beyond your fondest hopes for democracy. Negro, oriental and white, Jew, Catholic and Protestant, foreign-born and American-born, of every class—all sitting together and listening with an intentness I have rarely felt in any throng.

Once you get over your surprise at the extraordinary size and perfect physique of this distinguished Negro, you are next conscious of his quiet dignity, the aristocracy of his features, and that self-forgetfulness of the truly great. You can well imagine his speaking voice—soft and thoughtful, yet eloquent.

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He spoke mainly to his own people in the audience. And he spoke to them as you would have done, Mr. Lincoln, from the depths of his soul to the depths of theirs.

He praised them for their cultural gains, "greater advances than any other people had made in a similar period of time."

Then he warned them not to become over elated by the achievements of individual Negroes such as himself, or Marian Anderson (another singer) or Prof. Carver, the great Negro scientist.

"Never be satisfied," he said solemnly, "until every child of our race and of every other minority group is given a home environment and an education that will enable him to show whether or not he is capable of doing what some of us luckier ones have done. So long as any Negro is degraded in a city slum or in a share-cropper farm, you and I are degraded too." You said something like that once, Mr. Lincoln, and so did Jesus of Nazareth.

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Then he told us about singing Negro spirituals at concerts in Europe and in Asia, and how he had discovered that wherever he went the songs of common men who had suffered were similar to the songs of his own people. "What struck me," he said, "is not that races and peoples are unlike, but that they are so much alike everywhere."

"We are on the brink of a new era," he declared at the close. "All over the world men are beginning to realize that we are one people, whatever the color of our flesh. Unless we in America soon destroy our silly superstitions about race, history will move ahead leaving us a mere eddy near the bank."

Some Americans think that such talk stirs up rebellion. I wish they could have heard the reply you gave, Mr. Lincoln, when that charge was leveled against you. "I am not preaching civil war. All I am trying to do—now, and as long as I live—is to state and restate the fundamental virtues of our democracy, which have made us great, and which can make us greater."

Sometimes you must despair when you see how far we stray from your ideals of democracy, Mr. Lincoln. That's why I have written you this letter.