# **A NOTE ON THE NEGRO** AND THE NEW DEAL By John P Davis

Executive Secretary, Joint Committee On National Recovery.

becomes even more chimerical. For istration. other groups of industrial workers in-

It is highly important for the Ne- creases in cost of living, coupled with gro citizen of America to take inven- the part time and irregular nature of tory of the gains and losses which the work, make the results of NRA have come to him under the "New negligible. In highly mechanized in-Deal." The Roosevelt Administra- dustries speed-up and stretch-out tion has now had two years in which nullify the promised result of NRA to to unfold itself. Its portents are bring increased employment through reasonably clear to anyone who ser- shorter hours. For the workers are iously studies the varied activities of now producing more in their shorter its recovery program. We can now work periods than in the longer perstate with reasonable certainty what iods before NRA. There is less emthe "New Deal" means for the Negro. ployment. The first sufferer from At once the most striking and irre- iewer jobs is the Negro worker.

futable indication of the effect of the Finally the complete break-down of "New Deal" on the Negro can be compliance machinery in the South has gleaned from relief figures furnished cancelled the last minute advantage by the government itself. In October to Negro workers which NRA's en-1933, six months after the present ad- thusiasts may have claimed. Farmers Exploited Under AAA ministration took office, 2,117,000 Ne-The Agricultural Adjustment Adgroes were in families receiving reministration has used cruder methods lief in the United States. These repin enforcing poverty on the Negro resented 17.8 percent of th total Nefarm population. It has made violagro population as of the 1930 Census. tions of the rights of tenants under In January 1935, after nearly two years of Recovery measures, 3,500,000 crop reduction contracts easy; it has Negroes were in families receiving rendered the enforcement of these rights impossible. The reduction of relief, or 29 percent of our 1930 popth acreage under cultivation through ulation. Certainly only a slight porthe government rental agreement tion of the large increase in the nummade unnecessary, large numbers of ber of impoverished Negro families tenants and farm laborers. Although can be explained away by the charithe contract with the government protable, on the grounds that relief advided that the landowner should not ministration has become more humane. As a matter of fact federal reduce the number of his tenants he did so. The federal courts have now relief officials, themselves, admit that refused to allow tenants to enjoin grave abuses exist in the administration of rural relief to Negroes. And this is reliably borne out by the disproportionate increase in the number of urban Negro families on relief to the number of rural Negro families on relief. Thus the increase in the number of Negroes in relief families is an accurate indication of the deepening of the economic crisis for black America.

such evictions. Faced with this Dred Scott decision against farm tenants, the AAA has remained discretely silent. Farm laborers are now jobless By the hundreds of thousands, the conservative government estimate of the decline in agricultural employment for the year 1934 alone being a quarter of a million. The larger portion of these are unskilled Negro agricultural workers-now without income and unable to secure work or relief.

NRA Lowers Negro Standard of Living

But the unemployment and tenant The promise of NRA to bring high- evictions occasioned by the crop reer wages and increased employment duction policies of the AAA is not all. to industrial workers has glimmered For the tenants and sharecroppers away. In the code-making process who were retained on the plantations, occupational and geopraphical differ- the government's agricultural proentials at first were used as devices gram meant reduced income. Wholeto exclude from the operation of mini- sale fraud on tenants in the payment mum wages and maximum hours the of parity checks occurred. Tenants bulk of the Negro workers. Later, complaining to the Department of clauses basing code wage rates on the Agriculture have their letters referred gro workers remains disproportion-Thus looking beyond such a conferpreviously existing wage differential back to the locality in which they live ately lower than that of whites. ence one cannot fail to hope that it between Negro and white workers and trouble of serious nature often tended to continue the inferior status results. Even when this does not a trade school to train workers on the pression of black America demanding of the Negro. For the particular happen, the tenant fails to get his firms for whom none of these devices check. The remainder of the land he served as an effective means of keep-tills on shares with his landlord plans matured for the future of the not too much to hope that public opin-and secondly, if guilty, whether versity, and Palmer Memorial Ining down Negro wages, there is an brings him only the most meagre neeasy way out through the securing of cessities during the crop season, varyan exemption specifically relating to ing from three to five months. The out employment, following completion isting church, civic, fraternal, profesthe Negro worker in the plant. Such rest of the period for him and his fam-TVA. exemptions are becoming more num- ily is one of "root hog or die." erous as time goes on. Thus from The past year has seen an extension No one at TVA headquarters at effort in forging a mighty arm of prothe beginning relatively few Negro of poverty even to the small percen- Knoxville seems to have the remotest test against injustice suffered by the terson and Clarence Norris at Deworkers were even theoretically cov-tage (a little more than 20 percent) of idea of how Negroes in the Tennessee Negro. It is not necessary that such catur, Alabama, will be used in African Control of the Panered by NRA labor provisions. But employers did not have to rely land. For them compulsory reduction electricity which TVA is designed to On the problem of relief of the Negro to prove the innocence of Eugene delegate to the Y. M. C. A. world on the code-making process. The Ne- of acreage for cotton and tobacco produce. The officials frankly admit in America from intolerable poverty Williams and Roy Wright. gro worker not already discriminated crops, with the quantum of such re- that standards of living of the Negro there is little room for disagreement. against through code provisions had duction controlled and regulated by population are low that the introducmany other gaunlets to run. The local boards on which they have no tion of industry into the Valley is at out America as never before Negroes friends and sympathizers of the question of importance to him as to representation, has meant drastic re- present only a nebulous dream, that awake to the need for a unity of Scottsboro boys to redouble their all workers was, "As a result of all of duction of their already low income. even if this eventuates there is no as-NRA's maneuvers will I be able to Wholesale confiscation of the income surance that Negro employment will which perplex us. buy more?" The answer has been of the Negro cotton and tobacco far- result. The fairest summary that can Such a hope is not lacking in foun- the immediate, unconditional re-"No." A worker cannot eat a wage mer is being made by prejudiced local be made of TVA is that for a year or dation upon solid ground. Such an in- lease of the Scottsboro boys. Miss rate. To determine what this wage boards in the South under the very so it has furnished bread to a few stance as the "All India Congress" of Damon requested that all funds orators selected from contests a number of other factors. Thus rates nose of the federal government. In thousand Negro workers. Beyond British India furnishes an example for Scottsboro defense be rushed staged by the Staten Island, New for longshoremen seem relatively the wake of such confiscation has come that everything is conjecture; conjec- (and there are many) of what repress- to the national office of the I. L. York, Jamaica and New Rochelhigh. But when we realize that the a tremendous increase in land tenant- ture which is most unpleasant be- ed groups can do to better their social D., at 80 E. 11th Street, New le, N. A. A. C. P. branches will average amount of work a longshore- ry as a result of foreclosures on Ne- cause of the utter planlessness of and economic status. Perhaps, a York City. man receives during the year is from gro-owned properties.

forcement.

gerous precedent which throws back dition.

the labor movement and the organiza- In every major strike in this coun- by George Padmore, erstwhile Davis called for outlawing of 29 and Miss Edna Morgan won it. ion of Negro workers to a consider- try Negro union members have fought editor of the Third International company unions; labor represent- Subjec s must deal with the hisable degree. The scheme, whatever with their white fellow workers in a organ "The Black Worker" who ation on compliance boards; a na- tory, achievements, problems and its Negro sponsors may hope to the struggle for economic survival. The was ousted by Soviet Russia be- tional minimum wage based on activities of the Negro race. contrary, becomes therefore only an- bodies of ten Negro strikers killed in cause he protested against the annual labor income; abolition of The Lehman cup, given by Govother excuse for their white superiors such strike struggles offer mute testi- failure of the Communists to rally occupational, geographical and ernor Herbert H. Lehman, a diraintaining a "do-nothing" policy mony to this fact. Even the vicious to he aid of the African workers, other wage differentials; and ou.- rector of the N. A. A. C. P., will with regard to discrimination against policies of the leaders of the A. F. of In the same issue Daisy E. lawing of any differentials based go to the winning branch. Any cent in many cases-the wage rate Negroes in the Public Works Admin- L. in discrimination against Negro Lampkin, regional field secretary on race.

> pressure for solidarity from the ranks of the whites.

> > For May

Long Term New Deal Policies Condemn Negroes To Ghettoes Nation-wide Conference Scheduled

The Negro has no pleasanter outlook in the long term social planning ventures of the new administration. Plan-

homesteaders:

years to come.

ning for subsistence homesteads for elements of black America and the industrially stranded workers has been seriousness of the crisis for them make published documents. muddled enough even without consid- doubly necessary the consideration of eration of the problems of integrating the social and economic condition of Negroes into such plans. Subsistence the Negro at this time. It was a realhomesteads projects are over burdened ization of these conditions which gave with profiteering prices for the home- rise to the proposal to hold a national steads and foredoomed to failure by conference on the economic status of the lack of planning for adequate and Negroes under the New Deal at How-

permanent incomes for prospective and University May 18, 19 and 20. Demands Hearing in Juvenile At this conference, sponsored by the

In callous disregard of the interdic- Social Science Division of Howard on in the Constitution of the United University and the Joint Committee States against the use of federal funds on National Recovery, a candid and for projects which discriminate a- intelligent survey of the social and gainst applicants solely on the ground economic position of the Negro will i color, subsistence homesteads have be made. Unlike most conferences, hearings in the juvenile court for felt that he could render the been planned on a strictly "lily-white" it will not be a talk-fest. For months basis. The more than 200 applicants nationally known economists and other the two youngest Scottsboro boys, and invaluable serivce in connecfor the first project at Arthurdale, technicians have been working on pa- will be sought by Attorney Os- tion with certain projects which West Virginia were not even consid- pers to be presented. Unlike other nond K. Fraenkel, white, the In- the commission is promoting. ered, Mr. Bushrod Grimes ((then in conferences it will not be a one-sided ternational Labor Defense an- The ve eran Y. M. C. A. leader charge of the project) announcing that affair. Ample opportunity will be af- nounced this week. the project was to be open only to forded for high government officials two Jim-Crow projects for Negroes. the appearance on the platform of Norris.

Thus the new administration seeks in Negro workers and farmers themits program of social planning to per- selves to offer their own experiences petuate gheitoes of Negroes for fifty under the "New Deal." Out of such An even more blatant example of

the Negro and the nation.

representative of the mass opinion of Attorney-General A. Carmichael in point.

Dam. The homes are rented by the Negro citizens in America. All it can to that effect. iederal government, which at all times maintains title to the land and dwel- together on a nonrepresentative basis J. Horton was forced to separate the Y. M. C. A. as Senior Secrelings and has complete control of the well informed Negro and white tecn- the cases of Roy Wright and Eu- tary for Colored Work continues town mane ment. Yet officials at nicians to discuss the momentous prob- gene Williams from the others unchanged. The new arrange-TVA openly admit that no Negroes lem it has chosen as its topic. It can because of their ages when At- ment with the Inter-racial Comare allowed at Norris.

approaches an equitable proportion of it. It cannot act itself.

'Ethiopia and World Politics' in labor disputes.

workers is breaking down under the of the N. A. A. C. P. tells of successful organization work in the

South. John P. Davis lashes the impoverishment of Negro workers under the New Deal and there Y. M. C. A. Senior Secretary Will is an important statement on the This heightening of spirit among all much-discussed George Crawford case, accompanied by hither.o un-

## L. L. D. Moves to Free Youngest Scottsboro Boys

Court for Roy Wright and Eugene Williams

FOR RELEASE OF ALL BOYS

New York-CNA-Immediate Inter-racial . Commission, which Eugene Williams and Roy Wright, cause of race relations a unique

was encouraged to accept the ad-Fur her legal steps in the cases ded responsibility by recent op-"native white stock." As far North to present their views of the "New of Haywood Patterson and Clar- portunities to address importan. as Dayton, Ohio, where state laws Deal." Others not connected with the ence Norris are waiting on the Southern groups as an interpre er prohibit any type of segregation government, including representatives mandate to be handed down by of inter-racial good-will, and by against Negroes, the federal govern- of radical political parties, will also the U.S. Supreme Court. On the uniform courtesy and apprement has extended its "lily-white" appear to present their conclusions. April 1, that court reversed the ciation with which his services in pollar. Recently it has established Not the least important phase will be death sentences of Patterson and that connection were received. In a recent good will tour in Texas

### Hearing to be Set.

Two Issues Involved

The judge of a juvenile court,

he spoke by invitation before the B. L. Malone, white justice of State Teachers Association and in he Decatur juvenile court, was seven of the leading while colconference can and will come a clear interviewed las' week by C. B. leges, and everywhere was given cut analysis of the problems faced by Powell, white, Birmingham, Ala- a most cordial and sympathetic bama, lawyer associated with the hearing. His appearance last But a word of caution ought be Scottsboro defense of the I. L. summer as one of the principal

model town of Norris, Tennessee, by expressed with regard to this signifi- D. Malone agreed to set a date speakers a' the Southern Methodthe Tennessee Valley Authority. This cant conference. In the final analysis for the hearings and informed ist Summer Conference at Lake it cannot and does not claim to be Mr. Powell that he had notified Junaluska, N. C., is another case

It should be clearly understood claim for itself is that it will bring On June 1, 1933, Judge James that Dr. Tobias' connection with furnish a base for action for any or- torney Fraenkel made application mission means only that he will TVA has other objectionable feat- ganization which chooses to avail it- for a writ of habeas corpus on the divide time between the two orures. While Negro employment now self of the information developed by grounds they were being illegally ganizations. The Commission

held without trial. At the time, counts itself fortunate in effect- Moone's Emerald Oil Guaranteed to

PAGE THREE

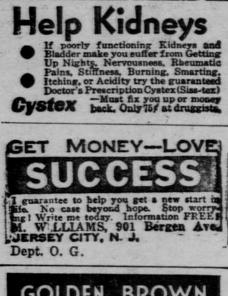
Island helds its contest. March

branch receiving the cup twice in succession or three times, will Tobias Joins Staff of keep it. Individual prizes of gold, silver and bronze medals will be awarded those winning first, second and third places.

> Evade Michigan Law to **Fix Death Penalty**

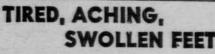
Atlanta, Ga., May 2-For the Detorit, Mich .--- CNA-Federal ensuing year, in addition to his authorities here are determined work as Senior Secre ary of the to execute James O. Kirk al-National Council of the Y. M. C. though Michigan law prohibits A., Dr. Channing H. Tobias will the death penalty.

devote part of his time to the Kirk, a laborer of Battle Creek. work of the Commission on In- Mich., in charged with "criminal ter-racial cooperation, according assault" within a United States to an announcement from the military reservation. Federal ofheadquarters of the latter organi- ficials are attempting to remove zation in this city. The Y. M. him from the jurisdiction of the C. A. agreed to share Dr. Tobia's state in order to secure a death time at the earnest request of the sentence.





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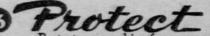
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loses much of its significance. When we add to that fact the increase in the cost of living-as high as 40 per

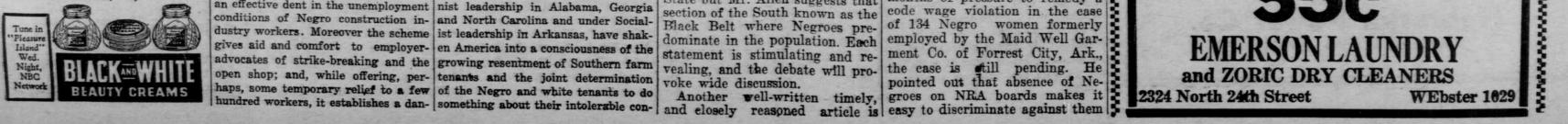


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this policy of "lily-white" reconstruc-

tion is apparent in the planning of the

town of 450 model homes is intended

for the permanent workers on Norris

those in charge of the project.

ten to fifteen weeks, the wage rate PWA Seeped Through With Prejudice Recovery legislation of the present gates from thousands of Negro organ- Davis Scores NRA and Nor has the vast public works pro- session of Congress reveals the same izations (and white organizations willgram, designed to give increased em- fatal flaws which have been noted in ing to recognize their unity of interployment to workers in the construc- the operation of previous recovery est) will furnish a vehicle for channel-

tion trades, been free from prejudice. ventures. Thus, for example, instead ing public opinion of black America. State officials in the South are in of genuine unemployment insurance One thing is certain: the Negro many cases in open rebellion against we have an administration plan pro- may stand still but the depression will the ruling of PWA that the same wage posing to exclude from any insurance not. And unless there is concerted scales must be paid to Negro and domestic and agricultural workers, in action of Negroes throughout the nawhite labor. Compliance with this which classes are to be found 15 out tion, the next two years will bring paper ruling is enforced in only rare of every 23 Negro workers. On ev- even greater misery to the millions of

of violation of this rule are unremed. "New Deal" slogans for the same raw country.

groes on public works projects in most Negro Masses Reacting to the Crisis instances. And even here discrimina-The sharpening of the crisis for Netion in employment is notorious. Such groes has not found them unresponsis bound to be the case when we realive. Two years of increasing hardize that there are only a handful of ship has seen strange movement investigators available to seek enamong the masses. In Chicago, New

York, Washington and Baltimore the Recently a move has been made by struggle for jobs has given rise to Negro officials in the Administration action on the part of a number of to effect larger employment of Negro skilled and unskilled workers on public works projects by specifying that failure of a contractor to pay a certain percentage of his payroll to Newhere. The crisis has furnished re- vancement of Colored People, out gro artisans will be evidence of ranewed vigor to the Garvey movement. this week. Arrayed on the side cial discrimination. Without doubt-And proposals for a 49th state are of racial separation are Attorney

total employment; the payroll of Ne- "National Negro Congress" Suggested they were both 13 years old. While the government has maintained will furnish impetus to a national exproject, no Negro trainees have been a tolerable solution to the economic several thousand Negro workers who ion may be moulded by this conferin another year or so will be left with-ence to such an extent that already ex-judge finds a defedant incorrigib-ware has been connected with the

will see the necessity for concerted

Negro farmers who own their own Valley will be able to buy the cheap organizations agree on every issue.

mand for no re-indictments and

"National Negro Congress" of dele-

cases. The majority of the instances ery hand the administration has used underprivileged Negro toilers in this

have sunk the Negro farther into poverty and degradation.

He declared that 12 per cent more Negroes are now on relief Problem Solutios NRA began. At that time 17.8 per than in October 1933, when the cent of the Negroes were on relief. The figure now is in excess of 29 per cent he said.

FERA Jim Crowism

Protesting against wage differentials in codes, Davis mentioned the case of the fertilizer industry in Delaware which employs largely Negro workers. In order to pay them less, Delaware is listed as a southern state, though for other industries it is considered in the north and workers are paid

from joining unions in the south. however, he said.

ing this arrangement.

Bicgraphical Dr. Tobias is a native of Auaccording to the laws of the state gusta, Ga., and is a graduate of of Alabama, must pass on two is- Paine college and of Drew Theosues. They are, first, whether a logical Seminary. He is a trusdefendant is innocent or guilty, See of Paine college, Howard Unihe can be reformed. If the stitute. He taught six years at le, the case is sent back to the years has been connected with the

**Race Relations Group** 

Divide Time With Commission

on Inter-racial cooperation.

ordinary criminal court for trial. International Committee of the Witnesses who testified in the Y. M. C. A., for the last eleven previous trials of Haywood Pat- years as senior secretary. Dr. Tothe hearings before Judge Malone African Congress and later as a conerence at Helsingford, In 1928 he received the Harmon Aw-Anna Damon, acting national

Contest on May 13.

New York, May 2 .- Champion participate in the Metropolitan district oratorical contest held by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Curtis high school, Staten Island on Friday evening, May 3. Washington, May 2 .- Appear- Participating branches are holding as a representative of the Na- ing preliminary contests as foltional Association for the Ad- lows: New York at Grace church

vancement of Colored People be- on April 28; Jamaica at Allen A. fore the Senate Finance Commit- M. E. church, 160th St. near South tee on Aril 16, Attorney John P. Road, on April 26: and New Ro-Davis of this city scored the ad- chelle at Wingah Avenue Methodministration of federal relief and ist church on April 24. Staten NRA code differentials which

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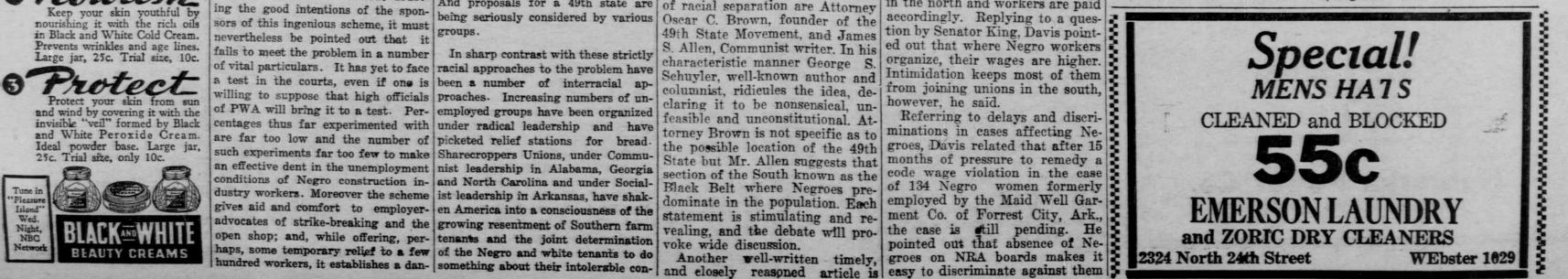


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State Held Race

groups seeking to boycott white em- ject of a spirited three-cornered ployers who refuse to employ Negroes. debate in the May issue of THE "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work!" CRISES, official organ of the Nacampaigns are springing up every- tional Association for the Ad-

# Separate Negro

New York, May 2 .- Whether or not the American Negro's salvation lies in a separate Negro state in this country is the sub-

